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THESIS

**CULTIVATING COHESION: BRINGING IMMIGRANTS
AND CITIZENS TOGETHER THROUGH NATIONAL
SERVICE**

by

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September 2022

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TOGETHER THROUGH NATIONAL SERVICE**

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ABSTRACT

Over the last decade, anti-immigrant sentiment has steadily increased in mainstream public and political discourse, the news, and on social media in the United States, causing deep political polarization among U.S. citizens and ostracization of certain immigrant groups. This thesis explores how the United States can use national service to strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants. Following a comparative analysis of one international and two domestic national service programs, this thesis finds that national service by itself does not necessarily bring diverse people together and cultivate close relationships or comradery; the program must have relevant and measurable objectives to be sustainable; and the program must be large scale to make lasting impact and change across a nation, and thus likely needs to be mandatory. Based on these findings, this thesis recommends that policy makers who wish to create a national service program that aims to strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants incorporate each of the following six elements: 1) commitment to diversity, inclusion, equity, and belonging, 2) measurable objectives, 3) parameterized participant selection for group formation, 4) program-provided group housing, transportation, and a food stipend, 5) near-peer mentor for every participant group, and 6) scale.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
FLQ	Front de libération du Québec
LEM	local experienced men
NCCC	National Civilian Community Corps
STEAM	science technology engineering art and math
WSWC	Whole School Whole Child
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One of the greatest strengths of the United States is its cultural diversity and the resultant successful collaboration between citizens and immigrants to build the largest national economy in the world.¹ One can look to the United States' high-technology and agricultural industries—both of which are significant players in the global market and employ thousands of foreign-born workers and U.S. citizens—for two examples of the importance of this collaboration.² Yet, diversity and immigration are also sources of tension, resentment, and distrust among citizens and immigrants despite their outstanding collaborative achievements.

Over the last decade, anti-immigrant sentiment has steadily increased in mainstream public and political discourse, the news, and on social media in the United States.³ The mainstreaming of anti-immigrant discourse has caused deep political polarization among U.S. citizens and has ostracized certain immigrant groups. Tension, fear, and distrust between immigrants and citizens are not just a societal concern—they are a homeland security issue with far-reaching impacts. The 2013 Boston Marathon bombing and the 2016 Orlando nightclub mass shooting highlight how prejudice and fear of immigrant communities could lead to radicalization if individuals never feel fully

¹ “Economy & Trade,” Issue Areas, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, accessed October 21, 2021, <https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/economy-trade>.

² “Agribusiness Spotlight: The Agribusiness Industry in the United States,” Select USA, accessed October 22, 2021, <https://www.selectusa.gov/agribusiness-industry-united-states>; Marcelo Castillo and Skyler Simnitt, “Farm Labor,” USDA Economic Research Service, March 15, 2022, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-labor/>; and Adrian Otoiu and Emilia Titan, “Trends among Native- and Foreign-Origin Workers in U.S. Computer Industries,” *Monthly Labor Review*, December 2017, <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2017/article/trends-among-native-and-foreign-origin-workers-in-us-computer-industries.htm>.

³ Anti-Defamation League, *Mainstreaming Hate: The Anti-Immigrant Movement in the U.S.* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 2018), 8–9, <https://www.adl.org/the-anti-immigrant-movement-in-the-us>.

integrated or accepted by U.S. society.⁴ Likewise, the 2019 mass shooting at an El Paso, Texas, Walmart, and the steep increase in hate crimes against Asians following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrate how anti-immigrant sentiment and discrimination can lead to violence against immigrant and citizen ethnic minorities in the United States.⁵

The United States is not the first country to struggle with internal division between different cultures and people. During the 1970s, Canada experienced tension between its Anglophone, Francophone, and Indigenous cultures. To address the widening division and the rise of home-grown terrorist attacks within the country, the Canadian government instituted a national service program called Katimavik to bring Canadians from diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds together.⁶ This thesis explores how the United States can likewise use national service to bring citizens and immigrants together to strengthen cohesion between the groups.

This thesis presents three case studies of national service programs that are relevant to the culture and context of the United States. Two case studies are of domestic programs—one historical and one current—and one case study is on a foreign program. The first case study examines the United States’ first and largest national service program,

⁴ The two brothers involved in the Boston marathon bombing, Tamerlan Tsarnaev and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, both obtained asylum in the United States as minors through their father. Omar Mateen, who was the gunman involved in the Orlando nightclub shooting, was born in the United States to immigrant parents. Julia Preston, “F.B.I. Interview Led Homeland Security to Hold Up Citizenship for One Brother,” *New York Times*, April 20, 2013, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/tamerlan-tsarnaevs-citizenship-held-up-by-homeland-security.html>; Ryan Andrew Brown et al., *What Do Former Extremists and Their Families Say About Radicalization and Deradicalization in America?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2021), https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RBA1071-1.html; Dan Barry et al., “‘Always Agitated. Always Mad’: Omar Mateen, According to Those Who Knew Him,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/19/us/omar-mateen-gunman-orlando-shooting.html>.

⁵ In August 2019, a gunman killed twenty-two people in an El Paso, Texas, Walmart because he believed there was a “Hispanic invasion of Texas.” Nineteen minutes before opening fire in the Walmart using an AK-47, the gunman posted an anti-immigrant screed on an online message board. He later confessed to law enforcement that he drove ten hours to reach El Paso, and that his intent was to kill Mexicans. “More Than 9,000 Anti-Asian Incidents Have Been Reported Since the Pandemic Began,” NPR, August 12, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/08/12/1027236499/anti-asian-hate-crimes-assaults-pandemic-incidents-aapi>; Vanessa Romo, “El Paso Walmart Shooting Suspect Pleads Not Guilty,” NPR Law, October 10, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/10/769013051/el-paso-walmart-shooting-suspect-pleads-not-guilty>.

⁶ Matthew S. Brennan and Kyle L. Upshaw, “American Service New National Service for the United States” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27799>.

the Civilian Conservation Corps, which was established by President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Great Depression and ran from 1933 to 1942. The second case study covers AmeriCorps, the United States' third non-military national service program, which was established in 1993 by President Bill Clinton and is still in operation today. Specifically, this case study examines City Year, which is one of AmeriCorps' largest State and National partner organizations. The third case study covers Katimavik, the Canadian national service program that inspired this research topic.

Each case study assesses how the national service structure and program impacts participants and the communities they serve. The thesis then conducts a comparative analysis of all three programs regarding their effectiveness in bringing together diverse participants and cultivating cohesion, bringing together participants and community members, and providing services that benefit and strengthen the nation. Based on the comparative analysis, this thesis identifies three major findings.

The first finding is that national service by itself does not necessarily bring diverse people together and cultivate close relationships or comradery. If the United States wishes to create a national service program that strengthens relationships between citizens and immigrants, the program must be developed with the specific intent to bring people from diverse backgrounds together and to foster inclusion, equity, belonging, and respect among those people. The second finding is that to make a national service program sustainable, the program must have relevant and measurable objectives. A national service program must be able to prove that it is achieving a goal that significantly benefits the nation to secure ongoing funding as well as political and public support. The third finding is that to make lasting impact and change across a nation, a national service program must be large scale, which likely means it needs to be mandatory.

Based on these findings, this thesis recommends that policy makers who wish to create a national service program that aims to strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants incorporate each of the following six elements:

1. commitment to diversity, inclusion, equity, and belonging
2. measurable objectives

3. parameterized participant selection for group formation
4. program-provided group housing, transportation, and a food stipend
5. a near-peer mentor for every participant group
6. scale

By developing a national service program with these recommendations, policy makers have the potential of building trust and a shared sense of purpose between two major groups within the United States, and in turn strengthen the nation against the destructive effects of division, fear, and polarization.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandfather, Vincent Mann, who first served his country in the Navy during WWII and then later served his community by working as a psychiatric technician at the Napa State Hospital. Grandpa, I wish you were alive today so I could tell you that your quiet example of service to country and community has had a lasting impact on my life. I would also like to dedicate this work to my grandmother, Elsie Mann, who recently passed away. Grandma, I miss you so much. Thank goodness you instilled in me the English tea drinking tradition—those cuppas got me through this thesis.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. PROBLEM STATEMENT

One of the greatest strengths of the United States is its cultural diversity and the resultant successful collaboration between citizens and immigrants to build the largest national economy in the world.¹ One can look to the United States' high technology and agricultural industries—both of which are significant players in the global market and employ thousands of foreign-born workers and U.S. citizens—for two examples of the importance of this collaboration.² Yet, diversity and immigration are also sources of tension, resentment, and distrust among citizens and immigrants despite their outstanding collaborative achievements. Historically, immigrants have been accused of taking jobs away from citizens, corrupting American culture and values, bringing crime and disease, and being inferior to American citizens.³

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, Muslims became a target of increased hate crimes and profiling by law enforcement, which drove a wedge between their communities and the United States government and complicated their integration into society.⁴ In 2014, a surge of unaccompanied minors from Central America—attempting to

¹ “Economy & Trade,” Issue Areas, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, accessed October 21, 2021, <https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/economy-trade>.

² “Agribusiness Spotlight: The Agribusiness Industry in the United States,” Select USA, accessed October 22, 2021, <https://www.selectusa.gov/agribusiness-industry-united-states>; Marcelo Castillo and Skyler Simnitt, “Farm Labor,” USDA Economic Research Service, March 15, 2022, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-labor/>; and Adrian Otoiu and Emilia Titan, “Trends among Native- and Foreign-Origin Workers in U.S. Computer Industries,” *Monthly Labor Review*, December 2017, <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2017/article/trends-among-native-and-foreign-origin-workers-in-us-computer-industries.htm>.

³ Kai Wei, Daniel Jacobson López, and Shiyu Wu, “The Role of Language in Anti-Immigrant Prejudice: What Can We Learn from Immigrants’ Historical Experiences?,” *Social Sciences* 8, no. 3 (March 2019): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8030093>.

⁴ Leila Fadel, “For Many American Muslims, the Legacy of 9/11 Lies in the Battle for Civil Rights,” NPR Weekend Edition Saturday, September 11, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/09/11/1036217570/9-11s-legacy-changed-life-for-muslims-in-america>; Ilir Disha, James C. Cavendish, and Ryan D. King, “Historical Events and Spaces of Hate: Hate Crimes against Arabs and Muslims in Post-9/11 America,” *Social Problems* 58, no. 1 (2011): 21–46, <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2011.58.1.21>.

enter the United States without inspection to claim asylum—sparked anti-immigration protests demanding the deportation of the children rather than resettlement.⁵

By 2015, immigration became a top political concern among Americans.⁶ That year, candidate Trump began campaigning on an anti-immigration stance. He declared he would build a wall between Mexico and the United States, implement a Muslim ban, end birthright citizenship, and reduce the number of H-1B non-immigrant visas.⁷ He claimed that Mexicans who entered the United States illegally brought drugs, crime, and were rapists.⁸ Leading up to the 2016 presidential election and during President Trump’s time in office, citizens became deeply split along partisan lines regarding President Trump’s rhetoric concerning immigrants, the Trump administration’s immigration policies, and whether those policies protected the United States or victimized immigrants.⁹ The immigrant community also became split between those who experienced ostracization and increased fear due to the Trump administration’s immigration policies or rhetoric and those who did not.

⁵ Alan Greenblatt, “What’s Causing the Latest Immigration Crisis? A Brief Explainer,” NPR Politics, July 9, 2014, <https://www.npr.org/2014/07/09/329848538/whats-causing-the-latest-immigration-crisis-a-brief-explainer>; Arit John, “Protestors Block Buses Full of Migrant Children in California,” *The Atlantic*, July 2, 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/07/protestors-block-buses-full-of-migrant-children-in-california/373854/>; Kirk Siegler, “As Immigration Crisis Grows, A Protest Movement Gains Steam,” NPR All Things Considered, July 17, 2014, <https://www.npr.org/2014/07/17/332251674/as-immigration-crisis-grows-a-protest-movement-gains-steam>.

⁶ Frank Newport, “American Public Opinion and Immigration,” Gallup, July 20, 2015, <https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/184262/american-public-opinion-immigration.aspx>; Lydia Saad, “One in Six Say Immigration Most Important U.S. Problem,” Gallup, July 16, 2014, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/173306/one-six-say-immigration-important-problem.aspx>; Jeffery M. Jones, “One in Five Voters Say Immigration Stance Critical to Vote,” Gallup, September 9, 2015, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/185381/one-five-voters-say-immigration-stance-critical-vote.aspx>.

⁷ Greg Allen, “Univision Cuts Ties with Trump after Comments about Immigrants,” NPR All Things Considered, June 25, 2015, <https://www.npr.org/sections/itsallpolitics/2015/06/25/417586527/univision-cuts-ties-with-trump-after-comments-about-immigrants>.

⁸ “Full Text: Donald Trump Announces a Presidential Bid,” *Washington Post*, June 16, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/06/16/full-text-donald-trump-announces-a-presidential-bid/>.

⁹ Laura Santhanam, “Trump’s Immigration Policy Splits Americans in Half, Poll Says,” PBS NewsHour, December 11, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/trumps-immigration-policy-splits-americans-in-half-poll-says>; Bettina Hammer and Craig Kafura, *Republicans and Democrats in Different Worlds on Immigration* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2019), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21289>.

Tension, fear, and distrust between immigrants and citizens are not just a societal concern—they are a homeland security issue with far-reaching impacts. The 2013 Boston marathon bombing and the Orlando nightclub attack highlighted how prejudice and fear of immigrant communities could lead to radicalization if individuals never feel fully integrated or accepted by U.S. society.¹⁰ Likewise, the 2019 mass shooting at an El Paso, Texas Walmart, and the steep increase in hate crimes against Asians following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrate how anti-immigrant sentiment and discrimination can lead to violence against immigrant and citizen ethnic minorities in the United States.¹¹

Immigration will continue to grow in the United States. This nation will always be a home to a mixture of citizens, permanent residents, individuals with pending residency applications, individuals who have been granted temporary protected status, and undocumented immigrants. With the resettlement of thousands of Afghan refugees and Special Immigrant Visa holders, and the growing number of asylum requests at our southern border, the United States must find a way to maximize the benefits of cultural diversity and address the divisions among citizens and immigrants. Failure to do so could threaten the safety of the nation.

The United States is not the first country to struggle with societal division and tensions between different cultures and people. During the 1970s, Canada faced tensions between the country's Anglophone, Francophone, and Indigenous cultures. When a

¹⁰ The two brothers involved in the Boston marathon bombing, Tamerlan Tsarnaev and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, both obtained asylum in the United States as minors through their father. Omar Mateen, who was the gunman involved in the Orlando nightclub shooting, was born in the United States to immigrant parents. Julia Preston, "F.B.I. Interview Led Homeland Security to Hold Up Citizenship for One Brother," *New York Times*, April 20, 2013, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/tamerlan-tsarnaevs-citizenship-held-up-by-homeland-security.html>; Ryan Andrew Brown et al., *What Do Former Extremists and Their Families Say About Radicalization and Deradicalization in America?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2021), https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RBA1071-1.html; Dan Barry et al., "'Always Agitated. Always Mad': Omar Mateen, According to Those Who Knew Him," *New York Times*, June 18, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/19/us/omar-mateen-gunman-orlando-shooting.html>.

¹¹ In August 2019, a gunman killed twenty-two people in an El Paso, Texas Walmart because he believed there was a "Hispanic invasion of Texas." Nineteen minutes before opening fire in the Walmart using an AK-47, the gunman posted an anti-immigrant screed on an online message board. He later confessed to law enforcement that he drove ten hours to reach El Paso, and that his intent was to kill Mexicans. "More Than 9,000 Anti-Asian Incidents Have Been Reported Since the Pandemic Began," NPR, August 12, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/08/12/1027236499/anti-asian-hate-crimes-assaults-pandemic-incidents-aapi>; Vanessa Romo, "El Paso Walmart Shooting Suspect Pleads Not Guilty," NPR Law, October 10, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/10/769013051/el-paso-walmart-shooting-suspect-pleads-not-guilty>.

separatist movement formed in Quebec, the Canadian government instituted a national service program called Katimavik to bring Canadians from diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds together.¹² This thesis seeks to explore how the United States can use mandatory national service to bring citizens and immigrants together to strengthen cohesion between the groups.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

How might mandatory national service help strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants?

C. RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis presents case studies of three non-military national service programs to assess how mandatory or voluntary national service might help strengthen relationships between citizens and immigrants. The programs were chosen based on their relevance to the culture and context of the United States. Two case studies are of domestic programs—one historical and one current—and one case study is on a foreign program: the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), City Year, and Katimavik, respectively. The CCC was the United States' first and largest national service program. City Year is one of the largest AmeriCorps partner programs and specifically aims to bring diverse AmeriCorps members together to address issues within the United States. The Katimavik was a program developed to address societal division within Canada.

The research investigates what each program intended to accomplish and the various impacts each program has had on the participants and communities or areas where service occurred. It then conducts a comparative analysis of each program's effectiveness in bringing together diverse participants and cultivating cohesion, bringing together participants and community members, and providing services that benefit and strengthen the nation. Using the findings of the comparative analysis, this thesis identifies what elements are needed to create a national service program that specifically aims to

¹² Matthew S. Brennan and Kyle L. Upshaw, "American Service New National Service for the United States" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/27799>.

strengthen cohesion between immigrants and citizens. The thesis then provides recommendations for policy makers on how to build such a program as well as ideas for future research on this topic.

The primary sources for this research are official government documents on the CCC, City Year, and Katimavik, including annual reports and surveys. Secondary sources are government websites, academic books, theses, and peer-reviewed articles.

D. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following chapter contains a literature review of scholarly research on three different topics. The first topic examines academic debates on what causes native populations to develop anti-immigration sentiment and prejudice against immigrants. The second topic studies the consequences of anti-immigrant prejudice and discrimination on immigrant populations. The third reviews sociological research on how national unity and social cohesion can be achieved. These three topics were chosen to gain a better understanding of why areas of friction exist in the relationship between citizens and immigrants in the United States, the implications of this friction on homeland security, and what methods can be used to cultivate cohesion or unity among diverse groups of people.

Chapters III–V are case studies of national service programs that were developed to bring diverse groups of people together to work on critical issues affecting their respective nations. Each case study begins with the historical background in which the program was created. Next, the chapter describes the program structure and the service experience. Then each case is analyzed regarding the program’s impact on communities and the nation as well as the program’s impact on participants.

The final chapter compares and analyzes the three national service programs to identify what programmatic and structural elements are critical to developing a national service program that can cultivate stronger cohesive relationships between immigrants and citizens. The chapter then provides recommendations to policy makers who are considering using national service to bring together diverse groups of people, specifically immigrants and citizens. The chapter concludes with ideas for future research on this topic.

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II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review examines academic debates on the drivers and consequences of anti-immigrant sentiment in native populations and the health and behavioral impacts of racial and ethnic discrimination on immigrants and their children. Additionally, it covers sociological research on how common identities can be created between diverse groups of people. The scholarly sources examined are peer-reviewed articles published in academic journals in sociology, psychology, medicine, and political science.

A. ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENTS AND PREJUDICE

Scholars do not coalesce on precisely what causes anti-immigrant attitudes and prejudice. Hainmueller and Hiscox delineated two schools of thought largely split between studies that suggested opposition to immigration is influenced by tensions caused by cultural and ethnic differences between native and immigrant populations and studies that attributed it to economic fears regarding labor market competition and fiscal burden on public services.¹³

Proponents of the first school of thought primarily use three theoretical perspectives to guide their research: group threat theory, contact theory, and cultural theory.¹⁴ Group threat theory, proposed by Blumer, hypothesizes that group threat and prejudice occur when a dominant ingroup perceives that a minority outgroup is growing and is diminishing its resources and status.¹⁵ For example, according to Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodríguez,

¹³ Studies that focus on labor market competition hypothesize that natives oppose immigration of individuals who have similar skills and abilities to their own. Studies that focus on fears of the fiscal burden on public services hypothesize that rich natives oppose the immigration of low-skilled workers because they resent paying taxes on the public services poor immigrants use. Jens Hainmueller and Michael J. Hiscox, “Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment,” *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 61–84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27798540>.

¹⁴ Michael Wallace and Rodrigo Figueroa, “Determinants of Perceived Immigrant Job Threat in the American States,” *Sociological Perspectives* 55, no. 4 (2012): 583–612, <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2012.55.4.583>.

¹⁵ Herbert Blumer, “Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position,” *Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (1958): 3–7, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1388607>; and Elizabeth Fussell, “Warmth of the Welcome: Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy in the United States,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 40 (2014): 483, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43049545>.

in the late 1990s, Houston, Texas's, Black community viewed the rapid increase in Latino student enrollment in historically Black high schools, in conjunction with a decrease in Black student enrollment, as a threat to the Black community's access to education and school culture.¹⁶ As a result, Black school board members voted against the minority Latino board members to change the Houston school system's bilingual education policy. This change resulted in Latino students accelerating through the school system's bilingual educational program, thus disadvantaging Latino students learning English as a second language.¹⁷ Many scholars use group threat theory as the foundation of their research as much of the prejudice against immigrants revolve around fear of losing opportunities and resources.

Contact theory, developed by Williams and expanded by Allport, hypothesizes that prejudice decreases with frequent positive interactions between majority ingroup and minority outgroup members, especially when ingroup and outgroup members engage with each other to work toward a shared goal.¹⁸ For example, as Dixon noted, when White Americans develop personal relationships or friendships with Asians and Latinos, their prejudice against Asian and Latino minority groups diminishes.¹⁹ On the other hand, cultural threat theory, developed by Douglas, proposes that majority ingroups fear that minority outgroups cause societal harm when they deviate from the cultural practices and identity of the majority ingroup.²⁰ For example, according to McLaren and Johnson, British citizens who believe that Muslim values do not align with British values prefer

¹⁶ Tatcho Mindiola, Yolanda Flores Niemann, and Néstor Rodríguez, *Black-Brown Relations and Stereotypes* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 114–15, ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁷ Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodríguez, 115.

¹⁸ Fussell, "Warmth of the Welcome," 483.

¹⁹ Jeffrey C. Dixon, "The Ties That Bind and Those That Don't: Toward Reconciling Group Threat and Contact Theories of Prejudice," *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (June 2006): 2196, <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2006.0085>.

²⁰ Mary Douglas and Mary Douglas, *Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1994), ProQuest Ebook Central; Wallace and Figueroa, "Determinants of Perceived Immigrant Job Threat," 586; and Fussell, "Warmth of the Welcome," 485.

more significant restrictions on immigration.²¹ Likewise, British citizens who perceive immigrant groups as failing to adopt or rejecting British customs develop anti-immigration sentiment.²² Although cultural threat theory aligns closely with group threat theory, it differs in that the feared loss is cultural identity rather than resources. Contact theory contrasts with group threat theory in that it holds that increased interaction reduces rather than increases prejudice. Despite their differences, researchers find evidence supporting all three theories; however, most scholars study only one or two theories at a time, therefore avoiding reconciling the differences between contact theory and group threat theory.²³

In the last decade, several researchers have begun to incorporate sociopolitical context into research regarding the causes of anti-immigrant attitudes. Although proponents of the first school of thought still base much of their research on group threat theory, contact theory, and cultural theory, many concur that political rhetoric and news media coverage of immigration play an integral role in forming anti-immigrant sentiment and prejudice.²⁴ For example, Fussell argued that political rhetoric around immigration and crime, especially the criminality of entering the United States without inspection, exacerbates group threat.²⁵ According to Fussell, this rhetoric pushes native populations with ethnocultural views to see these immigrant outgroup populations as threatening or amoral.²⁶ At the same time, she contended, political rhetoric around immigrants can polarize native populations by triggering those with more liberal views to sympathize with immigrants.²⁷ Her examination of political dialogue and its effect on opinions and attitudes regarding immigrants builds on Hopkins's research on how local and national politics cause immigrant prejudice and anti-immigrant sentiment in native populations. Hopkins

²¹ Lauren McLaren and Mark Johnson, "Resources, Group Conflict and Symbols: Explaining Anti-Immigration Hostility in Britain," *Political Studies* 55, no. 4 (2007): 724, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00680.x>.

²² McLaren and Johnson, 724.

²³ Wallace and Figueroa, "Determinants of Perceived Immigrant Job Threat," 587.

²⁴ See Brader et al., Fussell, Hopkins, Valentino et al., Wei et al.

²⁵ Fussell, "Warmth of the Welcome," 493.

²⁶ Fussell, 493.

²⁷ Fussell, 493.

holds that political rhetoric plays an essential role in building opposition to immigration.²⁸ Until communities experience a sudden and noticeable change in their demographics, native communities are unlikely to develop strong feelings of prejudice or feel compelled to take an anti-immigration stance at the ballot box.²⁹ In other words, negative news media and political discourse regarding immigrants have little emotional effect in communities that are not exposed to new immigrants. Therefore, anti-immigration sentiment does not increase in those areas. Many researchers view rhetoric and media about immigrants as a key to understanding how prejudice and anti-immigration attitudes develop.

Another body of literature adds to this debate by focusing on how stereotypes and the cues associated with immigrants contribute to prejudice among native-born citizens. Brader, Valentino, and Suhay's research contributed to understanding how ethnic cues of specific immigrant populations in conjunction with media representation and political discourse can trigger a native population's prejudice against immigrants.³⁰ They posited that ethnic stereotypes combined with media coverage of immigrants can increase anxiety in native groups, leading to negative perceptions of immigrants.³¹ This perspective is interesting because Brader, Valentino, and Suhay expanded on Hopkins's work by acknowledging the various immigrant groups and how different cues may or may not make native populations believe immigration is a problem. For example, Brader, Valentino, and Suhay found that when the media emphasize the cost of immigration, native populations form negative emotions stigmatizing Latinos over European immigrants as poor, low-skilled workers.³² Wei, Lopez, and Wu expanded on the study of stereotypes and stigma and their impacts on immigrants.³³ They argued that socially marginalized immigrants

²⁸ Daniel J. Hopkins, "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 56, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409990360>.

²⁹ Hopkins, 56.

³⁰ Ted Brader, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay, "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 4 (2008): 959–78, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25193860>.

³¹ Brader, Valentino, and Suhay, 975.

³² Brader, Valentino, and Suhay, 973–75.

³³ Wei, López, and Wu, "The Role of Language in Anti-Immigrant Prejudice."

struggle to break free of recurring narratives and stereotypes that paint them as economic, security, or cultural threats.³⁴ In other words, the authors posited that language—particularly historical stereotypes and stigmatizing language—perpetuates anti-immigrant attitudes and fosters discrimination against immigrants.³⁵ Each of these researchers has, in their way, concluded that context and the history immigrants have with natives shape the perception of different immigrant ethnic groups. All in all, many scholars of the first school of thought conclude that societal and political rhetoric about immigrants significantly influences how native populations perceive immigrants.

On the other hand, academics who focus on the second school of thought contend that the fiscal burden of immigrants who use public services drives anti-immigrant attitudes. Facchini and Mayda maintained that low-skilled immigration negatively impacts wealthy natives because the latter pays the more significant share of taxes used to fund welfare services for poor immigrants.³⁶ They argued that the economic burden of poor immigrants results in anti-immigration sentiment among wealthy natives.³⁷ Similarly, Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter reasoned that low-skilled immigration fiscally affects high-income U.S. natives the most when the economic cost of poor immigrant populations results in increased taxes.³⁸ However, Hainmueller and Hiscox arrived at a much different perspective than Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter and Facchini and Mayda. When Hainmueller and Hiscox tested the fears of native populations regarding the fiscal impact of immigration on public services, they found that wealthy natives are less concerned than poor natives about the effect of low-skilled immigrants using welfare services.³⁹ They

³⁴ Wei, López, and Wu, 11.

³⁵ Wei, López, and Wu, 11.

³⁶ Giovanni Facchini and Anna Maria Mayda, “Does the Welfare State Affect Individual Attitudes Toward Immigrants? Evidence Across Countries,” *Review of Economics and Statistics* 91, no. 2 (2009): 312–13, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25651339>.

³⁷ Facchini and Mayda, 312–13.

³⁸ Gordon H. Hanson, Kenneth Scheve, and Matthew J. Slaughter, “Public Finance and Individual Preferences over Globalization Strategies,” *Economics & Politics* 19, no. 1 (March 2007): 29, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.2007.00300.x>.

³⁹ Jens Hainmueller and Michael J. Hiscox, “Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment,” *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 77, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27798540>.

posited that poor natives fear losing easy access to welfare services due to competition for public benefits with low-skilled immigrants. Thus, scholars do not concur on whether anti-immigration sentiment directly correlates to low-skilled immigrants' fiscal burden on tax-funded services.

Another area of research in the realm of economic drivers of anti-immigration sentiment is job competition. Scheve and Slaughter argued that the labor-market skills of immigrants greatly influence opinions about immigration such that individuals with trade skills oppose the immigration of workers who could replace them.⁴⁰ Hopkins agreed with this argument but adds that political rhetoric greatly exacerbates and encourages fears of labor-market competition and is the primary cause of anti-immigrant sentiment among this population.⁴¹ However, Hainmueller and Hiscox counterargued that economic self-interest is not a strong driver of anti-immigrant attitudes and policy preferences.⁴² They posited that both high- and low-skilled natives accept high-skilled immigrants but oppose low-skilled immigrants.⁴³ They contended these results indicate that job competition is not the primary concern for either group.

Similarly, McLaren and Johnson, who researched anti-immigration sentiments in Great Britain, found that economic self-interest does not play a prominent role in anti-immigration attitudes in Great Britain.⁴⁴ They concluded that while native Britons who strongly oppose immigration believe immigrants take jobs away from natives, they do not think such immigrants threaten their jobs.⁴⁵ Their findings indicated economic concerns trigger group threat rather than individual threat.⁴⁶ These sources represent the challenges of determining what causes native workers to react negatively to immigrant workers.

⁴⁰ Kenneth F. Scheve and Matthew J. Slaughter, "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences over Immigration Policy," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 144, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2646696>.

⁴¹ Hopkins, "Politicized Places," 56.

⁴² Hainmueller and Hiscox, "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration," 79.

⁴³ Hainmueller and Hiscox, 79.

⁴⁴ McLaren and Johnson, "Resources, Group Conflict and Symbols," 725.

⁴⁵ McLaren and Johnson, 725.

⁴⁶ McLaren and Johnson, 725.

Other researchers credit anti-immigration sentiment to the perceived burden of immigrants and its differential impact on them. Harell et al.'s research on Canadians' and Americans' attitudes toward immigration closely aligns with Hainmueller and Hiscox's findings. Both research groups argued that anti-immigration attitudes among natives, regardless of economic status, primarily target low-income immigrants who are viewed as financial burdens on society rather than as competitors for jobs.⁴⁷ However, Harell et al. noted that they do find merits to the economic self-interest argument because their study revealed high-skilled American natives express opposition to high-skilled immigrants, whereas high-skilled Canadian natives do not.⁴⁸ They hypothesized that the difference between the Canadian and U.S. immigration systems contributed to this variation in attitudes.⁴⁹ Canada admits more high-skilled employment-based immigrants versus family-based⁵⁰ immigrants into the country.⁵¹ The United States, on the other hand, welcomes more family-based immigrants, who tend to be low-skilled, versus high-skilled employment-based immigrants.⁵² According to Harell et al., due to the U.S. immigration system, high-skilled U.S. natives are less used to job competition with immigrants and thus feel more threat than Canadians when faced with high-skilled immigrants.⁵³ Harell et al. suggested that increasing the immigration of high-skilled immigrants would decrease anti-immigrant sentiment and prejudice.⁵⁴ To sum up, it appears location and context play an important role in determining how the presence of immigrant workers affects the attitudes of native workers.

⁴⁷ Allison Harell et al., "The Impact of Economic and Cultural Cues on Support for Immigration in Canada and the United States," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 3 (September 2012): 517–18, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423912000698>.

⁴⁸ Harell et al., 517–18.

⁴⁹ Harell et al., 505, 518.

⁵⁰ Family-based immigrant is a term used to describe immigrants who have been admitted into a country because they are relatives of citizens or permanent residents.

⁵¹ Harell et al., "The Impact of Economic and Cultural Cues," 505, 518.

⁵² Harell et al., 505, 518.

⁵³ Harell et al., 518.

⁵⁴ Harell et al., 520.

The wide and varied results from the different methods used to study perceptions of immigrants highlight how complex the study of anti-immigration sentiment is, according to Hellwig and Sinno.⁵⁵ Fussell maintained that increasing diversity within the United States complicates research on how groups react to each other.⁵⁶ Although scholars cannot reach a consensus on what causes prejudice and fear of immigrants, almost all studies touch on group threat theory, which speaks to how crucial social identity is to this subject.

B. CONSEQUENCES OF ANTI-IMMIGRANT PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION ON IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS

There are three primary bodies of research that address how anti-immigrant prejudice and discrimination impact immigrant populations. One body of research focuses on the behavioral effects of perceived discrimination while the other two examine the mental and physical health impacts. Although academics generally concur that perceived discrimination can negatively impact immigrant populations, scholars have arrived at different conclusions regarding how various rates of discrimination drive negative outcomes.

Early experiences of discrimination can occur at school and have lasting behavioral and psychological impacts on immigrant youth. Scholars Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin studied the interactions between native and immigrant youth in Swedish schools. According to them, immigrant youth who experience repeated harassment at school regarding their ethnicity or cultural background tend to engage in violent behavior ranging from verbal threats to physical fights and property damage.⁵⁷ They maintained that youth who strongly identify with their ethnic culture and feel disconnected from mainstream society are more likely to feel victimized by ethnic harassment and thus lash out with

⁵⁵ Timothy Hellwig and Abdulkader Sinno, "Different Groups, Different Threats: Public Attitudes towards Immigrants," *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 43, no. 3 (March 2017): 340, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1202749>.

⁵⁶ Fussell, "Warmth of the Welcome," 492.

⁵⁷ Sevgi Bayram Özdemir, Metin Özdemir, and Håkan Stattin, "Ethnic Harassment and Immigrant Youth's Engagement in Violent Behaviors: Understanding the Risk Factors," *Child Development* 90, no. 3 (May 2019): 808–24, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12975>.

violent behavior.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the authors held that the more social exclusion and harassment immigrant youth experience, the higher the likelihood that these youth will suffer psychological harm that may lead to negative behavior.⁵⁹ These findings suggest that children and teenagers who are exposed to discrimination at school are at risk of entering a vicious cycle of social exclusion, psychological trauma, and behavioral issues, which then may lead to further social exclusion, increased psychological harm, and escalated negative behavior.

Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin's examination of how the rate of discriminatory experiences relates to negative outcomes for recipients builds on research conducted by Pascoe and Richman. After conducting a meta-analysis of 134 studies on the health impacts of perceived discrimination, Pascoe and Richman held that perceived discrimination correlates to a decrease in healthy behavior or an increase in unhealthy behavior.⁶⁰ As individuals experience increased rates of perceived discrimination, their participation in unhealthy behavior also increases, impacting their physical and mental states.⁶¹ Saadi and Ponce further this research with their study of acculturation, discrimination, and mental health outcomes.

Like Pascoe and Richman, Saadi and Ponce also found that the more immigrants self-perceive discrimination based on their ethnic or racial background, the higher their chances are of developing mental illness.⁶² However, they also maintained that mental illness due to perceived discrimination is significantly higher among young acculturated immigrants.⁶³ Saadi and Ponce hypothesized that the reason young acculturated immigrants suffer from more mental illness than their less acculturated peers is due to the

⁵⁸ Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin.

⁵⁹ Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth A. Pascoe and Laura Smart Richman, "Perceived Discrimination and Health: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Psychological Bulletin* 135, no. 4 (July 2009): 540, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059>.

⁶¹ Pascoe and Richman, 540.

⁶² Altaf Saadi and Ninez A. Ponce, "Worse Mental Health among More-Acculturated and Younger Immigrants Experiencing Discrimination: California Health Interview Survey, 2015–2016," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 35, no. 5 (May 2020): 1422, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-019-05412-w>.

⁶³ Saadi and Ponce, 1422.

process of assimilation.⁶⁴ They speculated that contact between immigrants and the native population increases with assimilation, which in turn elevates the chance that assimilating immigrants will experience interactions that are discriminatory.⁶⁵ Furthermore, they suggested that as immigrants acculturate, they may become more aware of racial dynamics in the United States and thus develop an acute awareness of when they are being treated differently or unfairly.⁶⁶ These findings closely align with the research of Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin. Young immigrants who attend schools with large native populations and small immigrant populations are likely to go through a more intense acculturation process, which may expose them to higher rates of discrimination and thus lead to increased chances of mental health issues.

Contributing to this research, Ellis et al. arrived at a slightly different finding regarding mental health, acculturation, and perceived discrimination when studying Somali refugee youth in the United States. They found that girls who maintain a strong connection to their Somali identity suffer from less mental health issues when faced with discrimination than their female peers who have greater American acculturation.⁶⁷ Ellis et al. hypothesized that girls who choose through their own volition to wear a headscarf may feel pride in their culture of origin and chosen identity, which in turn may help protect them against discrimination.⁶⁸ However, these scholars found the opposite effect for boys: male youth who have higher levels of American acculturation are less affected by perceived discrimination than their male peers who maintain strong Somali acculturation.⁶⁹ Ellis et al. conjectured that Somali boys who dress in clothing that conforms with mainstream Black American culture may experience less discrimination regarding their ethnicity and more discrimination regarding race, thus causing them to socially identify with the Black

⁶⁴ Saadi and Ponce, 1424.

⁶⁵ Saadi and Ponce, 1424.

⁶⁶ Saadi and Ponce, 1422–23.

⁶⁷ Heidi B. Ellis et al., “Discrimination and Mental Health among Somali Refugee Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation and Gender - ProQuest,” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 80, no. 4 (October 2010): 572, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01061.x>.

⁶⁸ Ellis et al., 572.

⁶⁹ Ellis et al., 572.

American identity.⁷⁰ Ellis et al.'s research highlighted how gender and social identification with a specific immigrant group can lead to varied responses to discrimination.

Other scholars present contrasting perspective on racial and ethnic discrimination. For example, Schmitt et al. agreed with Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin and Saadi and Ponce that perceived discrimination is generally harmful to mental health, argued that perceived discrimination does not always have entirely negative consequences.⁷¹ In Schmitt et al.'s view, perceiving discrimination is related to social awareness, which is a trait that guides individuals in how they understand the world.⁷² They suggested that awareness of discrimination, though it may hurt psychologically, can also teach individuals how to cope and recognize their own abilities.⁷³ They felt that these coping skills can help individuals develop strategies to overcome or avoid discrimination and perhaps get ahead in life.⁷⁴ Schmitt et al. presented a unique perspective on the possible benefits of perceived discrimination.

Overall, research on this topic establishes that while discrimination itself is negative and can have harmful consequences, the outcome of perceived discrimination is reliant on many different factors. Age, gender, culture, host country, and personal experiences all play an important role in determining how perceived discrimination impacts an individual. Discrimination can be damaging and harmful, but it can also teach valuable life skills in an imperfect world.

C. AMERICAN UNITY AND SOCIAL COHESION

During his inaugural address, President Biden acknowledged the rising tension between different social groups within the United States and called for unity of the

⁷⁰ Ellis et al., 572.

⁷¹ Michael T. Schmitt et al., "The Consequences of Perceived Discrimination for Psychological Well-Being: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Psychological Bulletin* 140, no. 4 (July 2014): 937, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035754>.

⁷² Schmitt et al., 937.

⁷³ Schmitt et al., 937.

⁷⁴ Schmitt et al., 937.

nation.⁷⁵ Yet, the question arises whether national identity is needed to achieve national unity, and whether national identity is compatible with acceptance of diverse cultures. This issue is particularly salient for the United States, which has naturalized over 7.3 million immigrants from all regions of the world in the last decade.⁷⁶

The two forms of national identification that are most often discussed by scholars are “patriotism” and “nationalism.” There is a large body of literature that discusses the differences between the two, which Li and Brewer synthesized in their research regarding the consequences of national identification in the post-9/11 United States.. They held that patriotism is a positive embodiment of national identification because it is correlated with a secure ingroup that expresses love and pride for the country without contempt for outgroups.⁷⁷ They furthermore posited that patriotism is compatible with international cooperation and acceptance of multicultural values and may tolerate diversity within the ingroup.⁷⁸ On the other hand, they maintained that while nationalism is also connected to love and loyalty to country, it is a negative expression of national identification as the ingroup is often insecure and intolerant and the term is correlated with authoritarianism, chauvinism, and a desire to dominate other countries.⁷⁹

Based on these two definitions, Li and Brewer argued that patriotism and nationalism are psychological constructs that can be separated.⁸⁰ They hypothesized that it is possible to build a patriotic national identity that is tolerant of ingroup cultural diversity by developing the identity around shared goals and purpose rather than common heritage

⁷⁵ Joseph R. Biden, Jr., “Inaugural Address by President Joseph R. Biden, Jr.,” The White House, January 20, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/01/20/inaugural-address-by-president-joseph-r-biden-jr/>.

⁷⁶ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Naturalization Statistics,” Citizenship Resource Center, October 14, 2021, <https://www.uscis.gov/citizenship-resource-center/naturalization-statistics>.

⁷⁷ Qiong Li and Marilynn B. Brewer, “What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11,” *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 728, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00395.x>.

⁷⁸ Li and Brewer, 728.

⁷⁹ Li and Brewer, 728.

⁸⁰ Li and Brewer, 736.

and fixed attributes.⁸¹ Similarly, Molina and Preddie maintained that while feelings of nationalism and patriotism may be intertwined, it is also possible for individuals to be patriotic without being nationalistic.⁸² They found that nationalism drives support for restrictive immigration policy and policies that elevate English language above all other languages whereas patriotism does not.⁸³

However, other scholars counterargue that national identification is incompatible with multiculturalism. Following a study of 21 countries, Hjern concluded that national identity is tied to cultural nationalism, or the promotion of one cultural identity.⁸⁴ He maintained that the majority group's culture forms a country's national identity and the more individuals identify with a national identity, the more they discriminate against other cultures and minority ethnic groups within the country.⁸⁵ Thus, national identity is not inclusive of all individuals within a nation. Instead, it is dictated by the majority group and minority groups are expected to either assimilate or be excluded.

Similarly, Roccas, Schwartz, and Amit found that the more individuals develop national identification with their country of residence, the more they value tradition and conformity and are less open to change.⁸⁶ On the other hand, they held that individuals who highly value openness to change and making independent judgments based on their own experiences are less likely to develop or accept a national identity.⁸⁷ Their research indicates that national identity is tied to the cultural identity of the dominant group in a nation and that personal values dictate whether an individual will identify with the national

⁸¹ Li and Brewer, 729.

⁸² Ludwin E. Molina and Justin Preddie, "'Threatening Others': National Identity and Group Threats Predict Immigration Policy," *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 20, no. 1 (2020): 420, <https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12208>.

⁸³ Molina and Preddie, 425.

⁸⁴ Mikael Hjern, "Defending Liberal Nationalism—at What Cost?," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004): 42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183032000170169>.

⁸⁵ Hjern, 54.

⁸⁶ Sonia Roccas, Shalom H. Schwartz, and Adi Amit, "Personal Value Priorities and National Identification," *Political Psychology* 31, no. 3 (2010): 412, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00763.x>.

⁸⁷ Roccas, Schwartz, and Amit, 412.

identity. Hjerm's as well as Roccas, Schwartz, and Amit's research highlights the exclusionary nature of national identity, which contradicts the goal of unifying the people of a nation.

While Janmaat and Mons acknowledged the dilemma of trying to develop patriotism, national unity, and ethnic tolerance at the same time, they expanded on Li and Brewer's research by exploring if and how patriotism and ethnic tolerance can be cultivated through social cohesion. Specifically, they examined if elementary, middle, and high schools can promote social cohesion by teaching civic values, ethnic tolerance, patriotism, and a national sense of belonging among different ethnic groups.⁸⁸ They concluded that public education can foster social cohesion, which is compatible with subnational ethnic identity; however, the results are much better in national systems rather than federal systems.⁸⁹ They found when social cohesion is taught in nationally regulated school systems, ethnic tolerance is higher and students from ethnic backgrounds express more patriotism compared to students in federal school systems.⁹⁰ Janmaat and Mons speculated the disparity between federal and national systems is caused by the variation in how decentralized school systems implement social cohesion in the curriculum as compared to national systems, which enforce specific standards.⁹¹ While their finding is only related to social cohesion being taught in schools, their research suggests that patriotism as a form of national identification can be cultivated over time in a nation if the concept is taught on a national level.

It should be noted that scholars have not come to a consensus on the definition of "social cohesion." Chan, To, and Chan attempted to address this issue through their extensive review of the various definitions of social cohesion presented in academic literature. They proposed that social cohesion be defined as "a state of affairs concerning

⁸⁸ Jan Germen Janmaat and Nathalie Mons, "Promoting Ethnic Tolerance and Patriotism: The Role of Education System Characteristics," *Comparative Education Review* 55, no. 1 (2011): 56–57, <https://doi.org/10.1086/657105>.

⁸⁹ Janmaat and Mons, 78.

⁹⁰ Janmaat and Mons, 78.

⁹¹ Janmaat and Mons, 68.

both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging, and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations.”⁹² Furthermore, Chan, To, and Chan maintained that social cohesion is not associated with values related to tolerance of differences or respect for diversity.⁹³ They arrived at this conclusion based on the speculation that in earlier centuries, social cohesion in agricultural societies would be related to values based on tradition and hierarchy.⁹⁴ Their definition of social cohesion is interesting in that it looks to the past rather than toward the future and appears to relate more to nationalism than patriotism.

Expanding on Chan, To, and Chan’s research, Bottoni presented a contrasting definition of social cohesion. She posited that social cohesion involves interpersonal trust and social support among individuals, acceptance of individuals who are from different countries, civic engagement, and belief and trust in the legitimacy of institutions.⁹⁵ Bottoni’s definition correlates more to patriotism than nationalism and tracks closer to how Janmaat and Mons interpret the term.

Examining social cohesion from a different angle, Van der Meer and Tolsma measure how ethnic diversity in neighborhoods effects social cohesion. They found that ethnic diversity does not negatively impact social cohesion when it comes generalized trust, prosocial behavior, or willingness to engage in volunteer work or provide informal help.⁹⁶ In fact, they suggested that ethnic diversity overall fosters interethnic contact, which results in increased trust between ethnic groups.⁹⁷ These findings suggest that external influences,

⁹² Joseph Chan, Ho-Pong To, and Elaine Chan, “Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research,” *Social Indicators Research* 75, no. 2 (January 2006): 290, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1>.

⁹³ Chan, To, and Chan, 292.

⁹⁴ Chan, To, and Chan, 292.

⁹⁵ Gianmaria Bottoni, “A Multilevel Measurement Model of Social Cohesion,” *Social Indicators Research* 136, no. 3 (April 2018): 853, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-016-1470-7>.

⁹⁶ Tom van der Meer and Jochem Tolsma, “Ethnic Diversity and Its Effects on Social Cohesion,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 40 (2014): 474, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43049544>.

⁹⁷ van der Meer and Tolsma, 475.

such as activities that bring people together, help cultivate social cohesion within these diverse neighborhoods where it would otherwise not develop on its own.

While this body of research does not necessarily answer the question of whether a non-nationalistic patriotic national unity is achievable, it suggests that on a smaller scale, diverse ethnic groups can be brought together and taught social cohesion. In the end, it does not matter whether social cohesion is fostered through school, in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, or in other social spaces—as long as enough of the national population is taught to build trust in others, tolerance for diversity, and the value of civic engagement, the nation’s character will lean toward patriotism rather than nationalism.

In sum, this literature review establishes that the issues that cause prejudice and fear of immigrants are complex. Historical context, place, and ethnic identity all contribute to varying reasons as to why native populations develop anti-immigrant sentiment. Likewise, the consequences of perceived discrimination on immigrants are equally complicated and are reliant on a multitude of factors. Leaders may try to mend the complex fractures that can occur between native populations and immigrants through calls for national unity and ethnic tolerance; yet research has not yet established whether achieving non-nationalistic patriotic national unity is possible. However, research does suggest that cultivating social cohesion on a large scale among ethnically diverse groups may help societies inch closer to the elusive goal of patriotic unity.

III. THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS: 1933–1942

This chapter covers the United States' first and largest national service program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which was established as a relief measure for unemployed young men and veterans during the lowest point of the Great Depression, from 1933 to 1942. The first section explains the historical context in which the CCC was created. The next sections cover how the CCC was structured, what service looked like, and the impact the CCC had on enrollees and the nation.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The CCC was born during a time of great struggle in the United States. The Great Depression, a severe worldwide economic crisis and downturn that began in the United States in 1929 when the New York Stock Exchange crashed, left stocks at less than 50% of their value.⁹⁸ As stock prices continued to plummet, banks and businesses failed, and millions of Americans were left jobless.⁹⁹ Further compounding problems were ecological disasters that began displacing thousands of people across the country.¹⁰⁰ By 1932, many Americans were either displaced or jobless due to the severe economic depression and environmental crises. Small riots and hunger marches broke out across the nation and in November 1932, President Hoover lost the presidential election to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

⁹⁸ Library of Congress, "Overview: Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945," U.S. History Primary Source Timeline, accessed March 20, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/overview/>.

⁹⁹ Library of Congress; Library of Congress, "Americans React to the Great Depression: Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945," U.S. History Primary Source Timeline, accessed March 20, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/americans-react-to-great-depression/>.

¹⁰⁰ Over a century of aggressive deforestation across the nation eventually led to severe flooding along rivers which resulted in fertile topsoil in flooded agricultural fields being swept away. Compounding problems, strong winds combined with drought conditions lifted loose dry topsoil that had been over plowed and over grazed in Kansas, Oklahoma, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Arkansas high into the air, darkening the skies and making it impossible to plant and yield crops, creating what is known the Dust Bowl. John A. Salmond, "The Creation of the CCC," in *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study*, by John A. Salmond (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ccc/salmond/chap1.htm. Library of Congress, "The Dust Bowl," U.S. History Primary Source Timeline, accessed March 21, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/dust-bowl/>.

By the time President Roosevelt took office, over a quarter of the nation's working-age workforce was unemployed.¹⁰¹ Young American men were particularly impacted by the Depression. More than one third of the unemployed were young men of working age who were 25 or younger.¹⁰² Shortly after his inauguration, President Roosevelt began petitioning Congress for the establishment of a voluntary work relief program that would put unemployed men to work on projects conserving the nation's natural resources, thus addressing two emergencies through one program.¹⁰³ He argued that through a Civilian Conservation Corps, he could provide temporary employment for a quarter of a million men within several months by using funds already appropriated for public works but not yet used.¹⁰⁴ Roosevelt strongly believed that the CCC was the answer to conserving two critical resources within the United States: its natural resources and its human resources.¹⁰⁵ He maintained that the program would save a generation of America's young men from a life that lacked hope and purpose by putting them to work on important projects conserving the nation's lands and natural resources.¹⁰⁶ Through this work, these young men would develop national pride and learn what it meant to be a citizen of the United States.¹⁰⁷ After three weeks of debate, Congress gave its approval and the CCC was established within one month of President Roosevelt taking office.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Library of Congress, "Overview"; Library of Congress, "Americans React to the Great Depression."

¹⁰² Melissa Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service: Lessons from the Civilian Conservation Corps, VISTA, and AmeriCorps* (New York: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), 67, ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁰³ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress on Unemployment Relief," The American Presidency Project, March 21, 1933, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/message-congress-unemployment-relief-0>.

¹⁰⁴ Roosevelt.

¹⁰⁵ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Second Fireside Chat," The American Presidency Project, May 7, 1933, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/second-fireside-chat>.

¹⁰⁶ Roosevelt; Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 40.

¹⁰⁷ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 35.

¹⁰⁸ Donald J. Eberly and Michael W. Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?: A Study of Non-Military Service in Nine Nations* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 115.

B. THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS PROGRAM STRUCTURE

The CCC was open for unmarried male U.S. citizens between the ages of 18 and 25 who were jobless and from a family that was either receiving public assistance or was eligible to receive public assistance.¹⁰⁹ There were no skill level requirements and participation in the program was entirely voluntary. However, there were obligations that applicants were required to meet if they chose to enroll. Once accepted into the program, enrollees were expected to serve for six months and were required send between \$22 to \$25 of their \$30 monthly pay to their families.¹¹⁰ Enrollees who successfully completed their first six months of service were permitted to re-enlist, but they could not serve for more than two years in aggregate.¹¹¹ The service took place in forest camps where enrollees worked 40 hours per week on various conservation projects and in exchange received lodging, food, health care, dental care, evening education classes, and their monthly stipend.¹¹²

There were CCC camps in every state, including Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, as well as in the territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.¹¹³ Approximately 200 enrollees were placed in each camp. By the time the program ended, more than 4,500 CCC camps had been in operation across the nation.¹¹⁴ Four government departments collaborated to manage various aspects of the CCC. The Department of Labor

¹⁰⁹ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 77–78; J.J. McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Washington, DC: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1942), 16, <https://livingnewdeal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/CCC-Final-Report-of-Director-1942-.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ National Park Service, “The Civilian Conservation Corps,” National Park Service, accessed March 20, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-civilian-conservation-corps.htm>.

¹¹¹ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 71; National Park Service, “Civilian Conservation Corps,” Theodore Roosevelt National Park, April 10, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/thro/learn/historyculture/civilian-conservation-corps.htm>; and McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 112.

¹¹² National Park Service, “The Civilian Conservation Corps”; Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 65; John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), 49–53.

¹¹³ Ashley Mattingly, “Question 22: 1940 Census Provides a Glimpse of the Demographics of the New Deal,” *Prologue* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2012), <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/summer/question22.html>.

¹¹⁴ Joseph M. Speakman, “Into the Woods: The First Year of the Civilian Conservation Corps,” *Prologue* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2006), <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/fall/ccc.html>.

oversaw enrollee recruitment and enlistment and worked with local relief agencies to register interested applicants.¹¹⁵ Applicants were then routed over to the Army, which was responsible for running a pre-enrollment conditioning program to determine which applicants were physically and mentally capable of participating in the CCC.¹¹⁶ The Army was also charged with administering all aspects of the camps including camp construction, transportation of people and supplies, management of enrollees, educational programs, and medical care.¹¹⁷ The Department of Agriculture provided on-the-job training for enrollees and managed all conservation projects in state and national forests.¹¹⁸ The Department of the Interior also trained enrollees and supervised conservation projects in state and national parks.¹¹⁹ Once formally enrolled into the CCC, young men were sent to various camps across the United States.¹²⁰

Prior to formal enrollment, applicants who met the qualifications for selection were sent to a recruitment station where they were interviewed and underwent a medical examination.¹²¹ The applicants who passed their physicals were then sent to a military base for at least three weeks to undergo a conditioning program developed by the Army to

¹¹⁵ Neil M. Maher, “‘Work for Others but None for Us’: The Economic and Environmental Inequalities of New Deal Relief,” *Social History* 40, no. 3 (August 2015): 316, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2015.1043188>; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 30.

¹¹⁶ Maher, “‘Work for Others but None for Us,’” 316; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 30.

¹¹⁷ Robert Fechner, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps: Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938* (Washington, DC: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1938), 23, ProQuest Congressional.

¹¹⁸ Maher, “‘Work for Others but None for Us,’” 316; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 30.

¹¹⁹ Christine E. Pfaff, *The Bureau of Reclamation’s Civilian Conservation Corps Legacy: 1933 - 1942* (Denver, CO: Bureau of Reclamation, 2010), 6; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 30; and Maher, “‘Work for Others but None for Us,’” 316.

¹²⁰ John A. Salmond, “The CCC Is Mobilized,” in *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study*, by John A. Salmond (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ccc/salmond/chap2.htm; Maher, “‘Work for Others but None for Us,’” 316.

¹²¹ Charles E. Heller, “The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership for World War II, 1933–1942,” *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no. 3 (2010): 446, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/48608897>.

prepare and measure them for service.¹²² Applicants were given clothes, physical and mental aptitude tests, inoculations against typhoid and smallpox (and in regions where pneumonia and spotted fever rates were high, additional inoculations against those diseases as well), and were fed three substantial meals each day.¹²³ According to records, almost all of the young men who applied into the CCC were underweight, undernourished, and sickly due to the conditions of the Great Depression.¹²⁴ Most were in no condition to immediately begin engaging in full-time hard labor. After a few days of rest and plenty of food, the Army put the applicants through approximately a week of physical conditioning to prepare applicants for the full-time manual work that would be expected of them during their time in the CCC.¹²⁵ During the conditioning period, the Army would observe how applicants responded to orders and discipline, adhered to rules and Army structure, and handled hard labor.¹²⁶ If an applicant passed the medical examination, aptitude tests, and was deemed capable of following instructions, obeying rules, and completing work, the Army would have the individual take an oath of obedience and formally enroll him into the program.¹²⁷ The enrollee would then be shipped off to a camp.

Each camp was its own small community. Young men from different religious, cultural, educational, socioeconomic, ethnic, and geographic backgrounds were expected to adapt to living and working harmoniously with each other.¹²⁸ A little more than half of the enrollees were from rural communities and the rest were from urban areas. While the average enrollee had approximately an eighth-grade education, some enrollees were

¹²² Niel M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 96; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 135.

¹²³ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 96; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 135; and Heller, "The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership," 446; and McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 54.

¹²⁴ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 96.

¹²⁵ Maher, 96; Heller, "The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership," 446.

¹²⁶ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 135.

¹²⁷ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 135.

¹²⁸ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9, 17–18.

illiterate and others had already obtained university degrees.¹²⁹ Additionally, some enrollees were naturalized immigrants or the children of immigrants. Each camp contained a mixed group of young men who all shared at least one common experience: they had been on welfare and unemployed, which is how they qualified to participate in the CCC.

The camps were managed by Army officers and Navy, Marine, and Army reserve officers.¹³⁰ Each camp had large wooden barracks to house the enrollees, bath houses and a latrine block, officers' quarters, administrative buildings, a schoolhouse, mess hall, hospital, garage, recreation building, and a grassy field or cleared area for playing sports.¹³¹ Most camps had electricity and some camps had swimming pools, gardens, fishponds, and theaters.¹³² Each camp had its own personality depending on its geographical location and the officers running the camp.¹³³ Some camps were beautifully constructed and thoughtfully designed to fit in with the natural beauty of a surrounding area while others were unimaginative and utilitarian.¹³⁴ Enrollees contributed to the construction and personality of the camps they served in by helping build fences and gates, laying gravel paths, painting or polishing the walls of buildings, constructing fireplaces, planting trees and flower gardens, and other activities.¹³⁵

C. THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS SERVICE

When enrollees arrived at their assigned CCC camp, they were given two uniforms: a work uniform, which varied depending on the climactic conditions of the camp, and a spruce-green dress uniform to be worn at dinner and at events.¹³⁶ The uniforms, and particularly the dress uniform, were designed to build morale and CCC identity among the

¹²⁹ McEntee, 112.

¹³⁰ McEntee, 61.

¹³¹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 136.

¹³² Salmond, 136–37.

¹³³ Salmond, 136–37.

¹³⁴ Salmond, 136–37.

¹³⁵ Salmond, 137.

¹³⁶ Salmond, 137; Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 6.

enrollees. Of particular concern was that the uniforms fit well so that enrollees would build self-confidence and learn the value of maintaining personal appearance for future employment following their CCC service.¹³⁷ Outside of work, dinner, and formal events, the enrollees were free to dress in their own clothing and were even given clothing to take home upon completion of service.¹³⁸

As expected with the Army running the CCC camps, life for the enrollees was structured, much like in the military. Enrollees were placed into squads of 10 men each, which were part of a larger 30-man platoon.¹³⁹ The Army established a chain of command through assistant leaders who led squads and leaders who managed platoons.¹⁴⁰ Each enrollee was given the opportunity to compete for leader and assistant leader positions within the camps.¹⁴¹ Every camp had 16 assistant leader positions and eight leader positions, and the enrollees selected to serve in these positions earned a slightly higher pay to compensate them for their extra responsibilities.¹⁴² Enrollee leaders and assistant leaders who performed exceptionally well often became junior officers, educational advisors, foremen, project superintendents, and camp commanders after completing their CCC service.¹⁴³

Every camp kept the same daily schedule, regardless of whether it was in the Virgin Islands or North Dakota.¹⁴⁴ At 6 A.M., enrollees were expected to rise with reveille and be dressed and formed up outside for calisthenic exercises by 6:30 A.M.¹⁴⁵ Following

¹³⁷ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 138; Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 6.

¹³⁸ Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 6.

¹³⁹ Heller, “The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership,” 446.

¹⁴⁰ Heller, 446.

¹⁴¹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 20.

¹⁴² McEntee, 20.

¹⁴³ McEntee, 25.

¹⁴⁴ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 137.

¹⁴⁵ Salmond, 137; Eric Gorham, “The Ambiguous Practices of the Civilian Conservation Corps,” *Social History* 17, no. 2 (1992): 235, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4286017>.

physical training, the enrollees would have breakfast at the camp's mess hall.¹⁴⁶ Afterward, they were expected to quickly tidy their barracks and then form up in platoons for uniform inspection and roll call.¹⁴⁷ The enrollees would then depart for their assigned work site either by foot or by truck by 7:45 A.M., Monday through Friday.¹⁴⁸

The projects enrollees worked on were varied and were dependent on the location of the camp and the conservation work that was needed in the area. Projects were managed and supervised by a CCC foreman who would provide on-the-job training to inexperienced enrollees.¹⁴⁹ Enrollees worked from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with a half-hour lunch break mid-day and a short afternoon coffee break.¹⁵⁰ However, if the weather prevented the enrollees from completing a full day's work, they were expected to make up the lost time on Saturdays.¹⁵¹ Back at camp, enrollees were given an hour of free time to spend as they pleased.¹⁵² Most camps had sports fields where enrollees could play baseball, football, or basketball, some camps had swimming pools, and all camps had recreation halls where enrollees could play pool or table tennis.¹⁵³ Each camp also had a small library of books that would rotate between nine different camps for those who enjoyed or were interested in reading.¹⁵⁴

At 5:00 P.M., enrollees would don their dress uniforms, form up in platoons on the camp assembly grounds, and stand at attention for inspection.¹⁵⁵ Officers would examine

¹⁴⁶ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 84; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 138.

¹⁴⁷ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 138.

¹⁴⁸ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 84.

¹⁴⁹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 18.

¹⁵⁰ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 84; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 139; and James J. McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps: Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1941* (Washington, D.C.: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1941), 9, ProQuest Congressional.

¹⁵¹ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 84.

¹⁵² Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 139; McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9.

¹⁵³ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 139.

¹⁵⁴ Salmond, 139.

¹⁵⁵ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 18.

the personal appearance of enrollees from their hat to their shoes.¹⁵⁶ Once the inspection was finished and the flag was lowered for the night, the enrollees would proceed to the mess hall for dinner, which consisted of ample fresh vegetables, meat, fruit, and dessert.¹⁵⁷ Following dinner, training courses and educational classes were available from 6:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. for enrollees interested in furthering their education or learning new skills.¹⁵⁸

The CCC's educational program was very popular among enrollees and most attended classes after dinner. The CCC offered a variety of classes that ranged from basic literacy and vocational courses to university level science and philosophy classes.¹⁵⁹ By the end of the 1930s, approximately 92% of enrollees chose to attend evening classes.¹⁶⁰ Because many of the young men who signed up with the CCC knew nothing about conservation, the CCC used a mixture of on-the-job training and evening classes to teach the enrollees about the work they were engaged in, why it was important, and what impact it would have.¹⁶¹ Many enrollees developed a passion and pride in the work they did with the CCC and greatly enjoyed the classes offered in forestry, soil conservation, and conservation of natural resources.¹⁶² In fact, a 1937 study revealed that the forestry class was the most highly attended optional course offered by the CCC, with landscaping and nature study courses also attracting many students.¹⁶³ One of the most popular books among enrollees was the American Tree Association's textbook *The Forestry Primer*.¹⁶⁴ Initially, 25,000 copies of the book were donated to CCC; however, the American Tree Association was soon flooded with requests for additional copies from various CCC camps, so they ended up sending 100,000 more textbooks to the various camps across the United

¹⁵⁶ McEntee, 18.

¹⁵⁷ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 140; McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9.

¹⁵⁸ McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9.

¹⁵⁹ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 65.

¹⁶⁰ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 90.

¹⁶¹ Maher, 86–90.

¹⁶² Maher, 90.

¹⁶³ Maher, 90.

¹⁶⁴ Maher, 91.

States.¹⁶⁵ Many enrollees took advantage of the general education courses as well. Thousands of young men were able to complete grammar or high school through the CCC and a few even completed their college degrees.¹⁶⁶ About 110,000 enrollees who were illiterate when they entered the CCC had learned to write and read well enough to comprehend a newspaper by the time they completed their service.¹⁶⁷

The enrollees who chose not to attend classes after dinner were free to spend their time as they pleased. Some engaged in recreation or would travel to a nearby town. All enrollees had to be back by lights out at 10:00 P.M.¹⁶⁸ On Saturday mornings, enrollees were required to help fix and improve the camp, which ranged from repairs to landscaping and new construction (unless poor weather earlier in the week required work hours to be made up on Saturday).¹⁶⁹ Saturday afternoons and Sundays were completely free for enrollees.¹⁷⁰ The enrollees could go to nearby towns to spend pocket money on movies, dances, and other activities.¹⁷¹ Many played sports, sang in camp choirs, collaborated in theater projects, wrote for the national CCC newspaper *Happy Days*, or were involved in the creative process of their own camp's journal.¹⁷² Army camp administrators encouraged enrollees to establish clubs and sports teams to encourage bonding between enrollees from different backgrounds.¹⁷³ Many CCC camps had enrollee-run recreation committees, discussion groups, and advisory committees, although not all.¹⁷⁴

Since the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior did not have enough personnel to supervise the thousands of work projects taking place in CCC camps across

¹⁶⁵ Maher, 91.

¹⁶⁶ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 53.

¹⁶⁷ McEntee, 112.

¹⁶⁸ McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9.

¹⁶⁹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 19.

¹⁷⁰ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 142.

¹⁷¹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 19.

¹⁷² Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 142.

¹⁷³ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 62.

¹⁷⁴ Bass, 63.

the nation or train unskilled enrollees in forestry and the operation of machinery, the CCC began enrolling local woodsmen who resided near the camps into the CCC.¹⁷⁵ These men were given the title “local experienced men” (LEM) and their responsibility was to provide technical assistance and supervision of work projects.¹⁷⁶ To prepare the LEMs in leading and teaching large groups of unskilled young men, the CCC offered them foreman training, teacher training, and leadership courses.¹⁷⁷ The LEMs were not hired by the CCC, but instead were enrollees who were not subject to the age or marital status requirements.¹⁷⁸ They received the same benefits of food, lodging, health care, educational classes, and monthly salary as traditional enrollees. The inclusion of this group of men both helped the CCC manage thousands of conservation projects and alleviated concerns that the CCC was taking away jobs from professional woodsmen living near the camps.¹⁷⁹

Shortly after the CCC was established, the program was expanded to include separate CCC camps on reservations that were only for Native American men.¹⁸⁰ The CCC for Native Americans was modified to meet the needs of Native American communities. Unlike the traditional CCC program, Native American enrollees could be married and they were allowed to work from their homes since the camps were placed in reservations.¹⁸¹ Management of these camps from recruitment and selection of men to supervision and administration of work were controlled by the Office of Indian Affairs, which was an

¹⁷⁵ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 34.

Because the CCC enrolled over 250,00 enrollees per year, most of whom had no experience in forestry, the Department of Agriculture and the Interior needed to make sure the enrollees were adequately supervised so that they did not damage the nation’s forests or injure themselves. The Forest Service did not have enough employees to supervise this many people and were struggling to find qualified men to hire as supervisors until they turned to local foresters.

¹⁷⁶ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 48; Maher, *Nature’s New Deal*, 148. Local Experienced Men taught enrollees how to perform forestry work, properly use tools and equipment, and managed projects that were under the overall direction of the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior.

¹⁷⁷ Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Maher, *Nature’s New Deal*, 82.

¹⁷⁹ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 48.

¹⁸⁰ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 33.

¹⁸¹ Salmond, 33. Soil erosion due to severe drought had devastated Native American communities which traditionally relied on their natural resources as income generation.

agency embedded within the Department of the Interior.¹⁸² Like traditional enrollees, Native American enrollees received food, health care, optional evening education classes, and \$30 per month.¹⁸³

Although the CCC was open to all men who qualified to enroll regardless of race or ethnicity, Black men were routinely excluded from enrollment in Southern states when the program initially opened.¹⁸⁴ During the Depression, Black Americans were severely impacted and struggled with unemployment rates that were double that of the national average.¹⁸⁵ After the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People raised a complaint regarding discriminating enrollment practices, the director of CCC selection threatened to halt enrollment of all men in the states that were either failing to enroll or barely enrolling Black men into the CCC.¹⁸⁶ Because the CCC was so popular, the states that were engaging in the discriminatory practices immediately began enrolling Black men so that the CCC would not be shut down in their states.¹⁸⁷

Most Black men were placed in segregated camps, especially where the Black population was higher.¹⁸⁸ This separation eventually caused complications as many communities pushed back against having a Black CCC camp near them.¹⁸⁹ Establishing Black CCC camps became an issue because every time a camp was proposed, CCC would receive a flood of complaints and petitions demanding the camp be removed and replaced with a traditional CCC camp.¹⁹⁰ Ironically, there was less opposition to the placement of Black CCC camps in Southern states as compared to other states.¹⁹¹ This anomaly

¹⁸² Salmond, 33.

¹⁸³ Salmond, 33.

¹⁸⁴ Salmond, 88.

¹⁸⁵ Salmond, 88.

¹⁸⁶ Salmond, 91.

¹⁸⁷ Salmond, 91.

¹⁸⁸ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 70.

¹⁸⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 92.

¹⁹⁰ Salmond, 92.

¹⁹¹ Salmond, 43.

occurred because Southern states had a larger Black population as compared to other states. Eventually, the CCC mandated that Black CCC enrollees be placed in camps within their own states and that the governors of each state decide where Black CCC camps be placed.¹⁹² Some communities in Southern states embraced and even requested Black CCC camps be placed near their communities because they wanted to demonstrate that they did not condone prejudice opinions and beliefs, yet these communities were outliers.¹⁹³ Far more communities tried to prevent the establishment of nearby camps.

Because the Depression had also greatly impacted veterans, World War I (WWI) veterans were later also given their own CCC program. The average WWI veteran was 40 years old in 1933, and in addition to experiencing joblessness, many suffered from mental and physical impairments due to their military service.¹⁹⁴ Like the Native American CCC program, the veteran CCC program was not subject to the same regulations as the traditional CCC. Any war veteran was eligible to enroll in the CCC, regardless of age or marital status.¹⁹⁵ Veterans completed their service in separate camps and worked on conservation projects that were practical given their physical abilities and age.¹⁹⁶ Veteran enrollees were given food, lodging, healthcare, and optional evening education classes in addition to \$30 per month.

Despite its immense popularity, the CCC eventually came to an end in 1942, shortly after the United States entered World War II (WWII). The Great Depression had come to an end, and the war had reinvigorated the economy. Because the CCC never developed beyond its primary purpose of providing of unemployment relief, there was little justification to keep the program running, especially when the United States needed to fund a war and needed young men to serve in it. The CCC appeared to directly contradict the war effort—its existence would take young military-aged men out of the war effort and the Army would have to expend its resources to run these domestic camps. Additionally, the

¹⁹² Salmond, 92.

¹⁹³ Salmond, 93.

¹⁹⁴ Salmond, 36.

¹⁹⁵ Salmond, 36.

¹⁹⁶ Salmond, 37.

funds needed to run the CCC were funds that could go toward the military instead. Thus, on June 30, Congress voted to dissolve the CCC.

D. ANALYSIS

In only nine years, over three million young men from different backgrounds and geographical locations served in the CCC, far surpassing in size and scale all other national service programs that have followed it.¹⁹⁷ During the program's years of operation, CCC enrollees worked on over 150 different types of projects related to soil erosion, flood and fire control, reforestation, wildlife control, emergency response, land and recreation development, transportation development, and other conservation measures.¹⁹⁸ By the time the program closed, enrollees had planted three billion trees, helped control soil erosion on approximately 40 million acres of farmland, developed 800 new state parks, laid 89,000 miles of telephone lines, restored nearly 4,000 historic structures, and spent 6.5 million days fighting forest fires, among many other activities.¹⁹⁹ To put it simply, the work that CCC enrollees completed was massive in scale. A final report of the CCC estimated that the value of the work completed by enrollees was worth around US\$2 billion (more than US\$36.3 billion in 2022 dollars).²⁰⁰

The following section first examines the impact of the CCC on the United States. Particularly, it explores how the CCC affected families of CCC enrollees, communities that lived near CCC camps, businesses that partnered with the CCC, and U.S. society in general. Second, it examines how the CCC impacted enrollees who served.

¹⁹⁷ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 35. To put the scale of the program in perspective, the second oldest national service program, The United States Peace Corps, which was founded in March 1961 and is still running today has had less than 300,000 volunteers serve in its sixty-one years of existence. AmeriCorps, another large national service program that was created in September 1993, has had approximately one million volunteers serve—or one third of the volunteers the CCC received—after 28 years. “Fast Facts,” Peace Corps, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://www.peacecorps.gov/news/fast-facts/>; “AmeriCorps: Serve,” AmeriCorps, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://americorps.gov/serve>.

¹⁹⁸ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 105–6; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 45.

¹⁹⁹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 92, 106.

²⁰⁰ McEntee, 92, 106.

1. Impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps on the Nation

The CCC had two objectives: providing employment relief to American men who were severely impacted by the Great Depression and saving and restoring the nation's natural resources. One of the program's great successes was its ability to not only provide employment relief to over three million men but also provide financial relief to struggling Americans through the requirement that each enrollee send the bulk of their salary home to their families. According to a final report written by the director of the CCC, each enrollee helped support approximately three other people through the payment they received from the CCC.²⁰¹ As a result, the program ended up providing relief to around 12 million Americans who were on welfare or eligible for welfare.

The CCC also gave employment to hundreds of thousands of other individuals living in the United States. From 1933 to 1942, the CCC employed over 235,000 reserve officers as foremen, project managers, educational advisors, and camp administrators.²⁰² It also employed around 50,000 mechanics in addition to varying numbers of carpenters, artisans, engineers, wildlife technicians, foresters, and agronomists who all worked in the camps.²⁰³

Outside of the camps, the CCC provided jobs to factory workers, farmers, merchants, warehouse workers, and transportation workers, among others, through its vast purchases. Every camp required building materials in addition to tools, machinery, vehicles, furniture, recreation facilities, food, clothing, uniforms, shoes, bedding, and a variety of supplies.²⁰⁴ These materials and goods were largely fabricated and sourced within the United States, and where possible, in the areas immediately surrounding each of the thousands of camps spread across the country and its territories.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ McEntee, 50.

²⁰² McEntee, 34.

²⁰³ McEntee, 34; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 87, 90.

²⁰⁴ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 34.

²⁰⁵ McEntee, 35; Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 8.

The CCC earned widespread popularity across the United States in part because so many people impacted by the Depression benefitted from the camps. Rural communities near the camps experienced a boost to their economies through the goods and services that flowed from their communities into the camps. Farms suddenly had a customer that needed large quantities of fruit, vegetables, meat, and eggs.²⁰⁶ Local businesses benefitted from selling lumber and other supplies and services to the camps and enrollees who wished to spend pocket money. Farmers affected by the Dust Bowl benefitted from soil erosion control projects carried out by the CCC, which helped make their land viable for farming. Even urban areas far removed from the work of the CCC experienced gains. Families on welfare enjoyed financial aid if they had a family member enrolled in the CCC. That money was then funneled into businesses in cities and large towns as the families began buying goods. Likewise, large industry experienced a boost in demand for equipment, machinery, hardware, clothing, and other various supplies that could not be sourced from the local areas around the camps.

Additionally, for some communities, the CCC's work helped provide future income generation, therefore extending the program's economic impact far beyond its years of operation. By 1942, the CCC had developed over 62,000 acres of public campgrounds and picnic areas, created 800 new state parks, and made significant improvements to established parks.²⁰⁷ These recreational areas continue to attract visitors today, which in turn provides business to nearby communities. A study of letters sent to the director of the Civilian Conservation Corps from 1933 to 1941 found that 85% were in support of the CCC, and most were either petitions requesting for camps to be installed near the requestor's community or petitions for the continuation of already existing camps.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ To give an estimate of the produce consumed annually by the CCC, we can look to the 1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps. According to this report, in fiscal year 1938, the CCC purchased nearly 100 million eggs, 75 million pounds of flour, 62 million pounds of potatoes, 62 million pounds of beef, 28 million pounds of pork, and six million gallons of milk, in addition to canned vegetables, fruit, spices, and other types of food. Almost all the produce was sourced from the United States aside from tea, spices, and a few other items which are not grown in the United States. Fechner, *1938 Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 8.

²⁰⁷ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 104–7.

²⁰⁸ Michael Wayne Sherraden, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps" (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 1979), 216.

An interesting consequence of the CCC benefitting so many different groups was the political unity that developed in support of the program. By 1936, 67% of registered Republican and 92% of registered Democratic voters indicated that they supported the CCC.²⁰⁹ Additionally, a study of 4,000 individuals from diverse professional backgrounds in California revealed that 95% approved of the CCC.²¹⁰ In fact, across the United States, the CCC maintained an approval rating above 80% in all regions.²¹¹ Both Republican and Democratic congressmen petitioned for camps in their states because installation of camps resulted in higher ratings among their constituents.²¹² Even Republican newspapers that were strongly opposed to President Roosevelt's New Deal programs made an exception for the CCC and praised it as a highly beneficial project.²¹³ Further demonstrating the CCC's ability to bring the two major U.S. political parties to a consensus on the benefits of the CCC was the campaign of Alfred Landon, the Republican presidential candidate who ran against President Roosevelt in 1936. Appealing to the popularity of the CCC among both Republicans and Democrats, he claimed that he would improve the CCC if elected.²¹⁴

While it is acknowledged that not every project the CCC carried out was environmentally sound, overall, the CCC met its second objective by saving critical pieces of the nation's resources not only during its nine years of operation but also in the decades that followed.²¹⁵ Particularly, the CCC made significant strides in reversing the rapid deforestation that threatened to wipe out the nation's forests and timber supply. The CCC

²⁰⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 113; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 163.

²¹⁰ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 48.

²¹¹ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 163.

²¹² Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 102.

²¹³ Salmond, 57.

²¹⁴ Salmond, 69.

²¹⁵ During the CCC's years of operation, some wildlife ecologists disagreed with the CCC's definition of conservation and criticized the CCC of creating ecological imbalances through wildlife projects such as stocking fish into rivers and streams, stocking deer in certain mountain areas, feeding wildlife, systematically eliminating predatory animals in some regions, and draining swamps to control mosquitos. We now know that there are ecological consequences to introducing non-native species of animal, insect, or fish to an ecosystem that in many cases are more harmful than beneficial; however, at the time, the impact of changing an ecosystem was not widely studied or taken into consideration. Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 9; McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 106–7.

also helped slow soil erosion on millions of acres of agricultural land where years of poor land management had stripped the soil of its fertility and structural integrity.²¹⁶

When the CCC was established, only 100 million acres of untouched forest remained in the continental United States as compared to the over 800 million acres of virgin forest that existed when the country was founded.²¹⁷ Prior to the Great Depression and the collapse of the construction industry, timber companies were felling trees faster than they could grow back. The consequences of clear-cutting tracks of land had resulted increased flooding along rivers, which caused destructive soil erosion on agricultural fields and pastures.²¹⁸ By 1941, enrollees had planted three billion trees on over two million acres of the United States and its territories and aided in forest stand improvement on over four million acres.²¹⁹ Through this work, enrollees began the critical process of repairing some of the damage caused by excessive and unregulated timber harvesting. Enrollees also spent nearly six and a half million man-days fighting forest fires and over 700,000 man-days putting in place fire prevention measures.²²⁰

Most significantly, the CCC made the American public aware of the importance of conservation and played an integral role in opening public dialogue on environmentalism, conservation, ecology, and the importance of conserving the nation's natural resources.²²¹ The popularity of CCC among the American public inspired people to come together to establish tree planting groups, and in some cases, launch small-scale programs that mimicked the CCC.²²² Even schools began adding conservation to their curriculum.²²³ As enrollees began returning home after service, they further contributed to spreading

²¹⁶ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 3, 122–25.

²¹⁷ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 4.

²¹⁸ Salmond, 4.

²¹⁹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 105–6; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 45.

²²⁰ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 106.

²²¹ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 70.

²²² Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 15, 159.

²²³ Maher, 159.

awareness of the national importance of conservation to their friends, families, and community members by talking about the projects they worked on with the CCC.²²⁴ Thousands of enrollees eventually began working in the conservation sector following their service in the CCC, thus extending the program's impact well beyond its closure date.²²⁵

2. Impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps on Enrollees

One of the most fascinating but poorly documented aspects of the CCC was the program's social impact and the sheer number of people from diverse backgrounds it brought together. The Great Depression impacted young men from all walks of life. University graduates, high school dropouts, the uneducated, American born, naturalized immigrants, young men from cities and towns or from rural mountain and farm communities all had the potential to find themselves unable to obtain employment and a burden on their struggling families. As a result, the CCC ended up enrolling men from a wide variety of educational, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.²²⁶ Aside from the unfortunate policy of segregating Black and Native American enrollees, CCC made no effort to separate or categorize the rest of the enrollees into specific camps, so men from different backgrounds ended up serving together.²²⁷

There are numerous accounts of enrollees with diverse backgrounds learning to work, live, and get along with each other.²²⁸ Former enrollees described serving alongside men of different ethnicities and backgrounds and how the important work they were engaged in together helped them develop a shared American spirit and patriotism.²²⁹ In his final report on the CCC, Director James McEntee noted that, "In a sense the CCC camps

²²⁴ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 70.

²²⁵ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 15.

²²⁶ Neil M. Maher, "A New Deal Body Politic: Landscape, Labor, and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (July 2002): 446, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3985917>; McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 9.

²²⁷ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 106–7; Heller, "The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership," 446.

²²⁸ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 61–62; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 106; McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 75.

²²⁹ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 108–9.

were miniature melting pots where youth from varying backgrounds and racial origins touched shoulders with each other on a basis of equality.”²³⁰ However, the CCC did not keep records on the ethnic, educational, or geographical background of enrollees or where they were ultimately placed. This lack of data makes it difficult to assess the diversity of the camps and whether the enrollees formed a common identity and bond as the CCC director and other scholars have claimed.

Although the data regarding diversity and enrollee identity does not exist, scholars Salmond and Sherraden both examined enrollee dissatisfaction and disruption in CCC camps. While there were instances of protests, fights, and mutinies in some camps, they were few in number and neither scholar noted any that were related to intergroup clashes or ethnic, cultural, or religious differences among enrollees.²³¹ Rather, most enrollee protests were over food or working conditions.²³² The lack of documentation on clashes between enrollees with different backgrounds taken in conjunction with personal accounts from former enrollees who described learning to get along with other young men from a variety of different backgrounds suggests that the CCC was successful in bringing diverse young men together without major incident.

Unfortunately, Black Americans and Native Americans were excluded from the experience of mixing with a diverse set of peers who shared a common struggle of being jobless and on welfare. This was an opportunity the nation lost in bringing together young American men from all backgrounds in one place during their formative years to work together toward a shared goal. By legitimizing forced racial segregation at the federal level and then later catering to communities that protested the establishment of Black CCC camps, the federal government failed not only the young Black men who served in the CCC but also communities that would have benefitted from having their preconceived beliefs and opinions challenged.

²³⁰ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 75.

²³¹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 132–33; Sherraden, “The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps,” 123–24.

²³² Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 132–33; Sherraden, “The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps,” 123–24.

However, despite segregation, the CCC did ultimately give enrollees a common identity as CCC members both during and following service regardless of what type of camp in which they served. A CCC enrollee who served in a traditional CCC camp in Hawaii could relate to an enrollee who served in a Black CCC camp in Georgia or a Native American enrollee who served in a camp on their reservation because they all wore the same uniform, experienced the same camp day-to-day structure, and worked on projects that were designed to conserve the nation's natural resources. In fact, the program was so popular among enrollees that they created an alumni association that met annually up until the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic.

One of the most striking ways in which service in the CCC impacted enrollees was through bodily transformation. Approximately 70% of the young men who were enrolled in the CCC were found to be significantly underweight, sickly, and in poor physical condition due to the conditions of the Great Depression.²³³ Many of the underweight young men were starkly aware that their bodies looked weak and underdeveloped, which caused them to question their masculinity and self-worth.²³⁴ Through the CCC, enrollees received three substantial and balanced meals per day, regular exercise through manual labor, free health and dental care, and secure housing where they could have a full night of rest in a bed. According to an extensive study conducted by the Office of the Surgeon General, the average enrollee gained between 11 and 15 pounds within a few months of service.²³⁵ Even if the enrollees gained nothing else from their experience in the CCC, they likely left the program in much better health than when they entered unless they were injured or killed which, unfortunately, occurred at an alarmingly high rate during the program's early years.²³⁶

²³³ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 92; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 117; and McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 55.

²³⁴ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 93.

²³⁵ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 58; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*

²³⁶ McEntee, *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 21.

Many enrollees also benefitted from the educational programs provided by the CCC. By the time the program terminated, approximately 110,000 illiterate enrollees had learned to write and read well enough to comprehend a newspaper.²³⁷ Additionally, over 1,000 enrollees were able to complete their high school educations and earn diplomas during their service.²³⁸ A small subset of enrollees completed college-level courses and obtained degrees.²³⁹

When the CCC came to close in 1942, the United States had been thrust into WWII following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although enrollees had never received military training, they were physically fit from the work they had engaged in through the CCC and many had learned how to operate machinery, equipment, and large vehicles. Additionally, CCC enrollees knew how to form up in platoons and march, had learned to follow orders through a chain of command, and were experienced in living in barracks with approximately 200 other young men from different backgrounds. Compared to an average recruit, they were already partially trained and conditioned, which greatly benefitted the U.S. military during the war.²⁴⁰ It is estimated that over half of former enrollees served in WWII and many were able to rise rapidly in the military ranks due to the leadership skills they learned in the CCC.²⁴¹ While military training or readiness was never the purpose of the CCC, it indirectly prepared enrollees to enter the military during a time of need.

E. CONCLUSION

The CCC was established at a very particular time in American history and addressed specific crises of that era: mass employment and ecological disasters that were exacerbated by poor land management. On the social impact side, the program achieved what it set out to do and more. It provided temporary jobs to young men, veterans, and

²³⁷ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 112; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 53. To be declared literate by the CCC, enrollees needed to be able to read and comprehend a newspaper.

²³⁸ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 53.

²³⁹ Salmond, 53.

²⁴⁰ Heller, “The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership,” 448.

²⁴¹ Heller, 448.

forestry professionals who had been adversely affected by the Great Depression. It served as an alternative to welfare and gave these men a purpose and for some, a new passion. Additionally, it helped stimulate the economy by sending much of the enrollees' paychecks out to their families and bringing business to communities located near the camps. For some communities, business continued to increase even after the CCC camps closed because they were located near newly developed or improved national and state parks.

Perhaps unintentionally, the CCC camps brought a wide variety of men together under the discipline of the U.S. Army, where they were required to learn to live and work with each other despite differences in religion, culture, education, and ethnicity. Through the CCC, these men developed a group identity that was tied to American patriotism. Together, they served their country by working on projects of national importance—projects of significant size that both the enrollees and the American public could view when finished. They had also inadvertently learned basic skills necessary to transition into the military in a time of great need.

The amount of work that the CCC accomplished in just nine years demonstrates the power of large-scale national service programs. However, debate regarding the positive and negative ecological impacts of the various CCC projects also raises a pressing concern regarding large programs that enact rapid change. While programs of the CCC's scale can result in considerable benefits, they are also capable of causing considerable destruction.

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IV. AMERICORPS:1993–PRESENT

This chapter covers AmeriCorps, the United States’ third non-military national service program, which was established in 1993 by President Bill Clinton. The purpose of AmeriCorps is to bring Americans together through volunteer service to solve issues that challenge American communities.²⁴² Unlike the two national service programs that came before it—the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Peace Corps—AmeriCorps does not manage or run any programmatic activities. Instead, it provides volunteers and funding to organizations that are dedicated to serving and improving communities.²⁴³

AmeriCorps has many program components and partners with over 2,000 organizations each year.²⁴⁴ Its largest program is State and National, which enrolls approximately 65,000 participants per year.²⁴⁵ AmeriCorps State and National connects participants with organizations that address a wide variety of critical community needs, such as working with disadvantaged youth, providing educational, health, and environmental cleanup services, responding to disasters, and building affordable housing.²⁴⁶ In addition to AmeriCorps State and National, there are several other AmeriCorps program components:

- Volunteers in Service to America connects participants to organizations dedicated to fighting and eliminating poverty.
- The National Civilian Community Corps (NCCC) is a residential program that assigns teams of young adults to local and national non-profits that focus on meeting national and community needs related to environment

²⁴² “Our Impact,” AmeriCorps, accessed January 29, 2022, <https://americorps.gov/about/our-impact>.

²⁴³ “About: Bringing Americans Together to Serve Communities,” AmeriCorps, accessed June 8, 2022, <https://americorps.gov/about>.

²⁴⁴ AmeriCorps.

²⁴⁵ “Serve: Find Your Best Fit,” AmeriCorps, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://americorps.gov/serve/fit-finder>.

²⁴⁶ Joselynn H. Fountain and Abigail R. Overbay, *The Corporation for National and Community Service: Overview of Programs and Funding*, CRS Report No. RL33931 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2019), 2, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL33931.pdf>.

and energy conservation, infrastructure improvement, disaster relief, environmental stewardship, and development.

- NCCC and Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) Corps places young adults in FEMA-led projects.
- The Retired Senior Volunteer Program connects participants 55 years and older with a variety of service organizations.
- Foster Grandparent connects participants 55 years and older with organizations dedicated to mentoring and tutoring students.
- Senior Companion connects participants 55 years and older with organizations dedicated to helping seniors²⁴⁷

Because AmeriCorps is so large and sends participants to so many different organizations and service areas, it is impossible to assess how AmeriCorps specifically impacts individuals who serve or those who are recipients of service. Therefore, this chapter focuses on one of AmeriCorps' largest State and National partner organizations: City Year. Founded in 1988 by two Harvard Alumni, City Year was an early member of AmeriCorps and has received enthusiastic endorsements from Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama.²⁴⁸

A. CITY YEAR

City Year's mission is to "build democracy through citizen service, civic leadership and social entrepreneurship" by bringing together teams of "young adults from diverse

²⁴⁷ AmeriCorps, "Serve."

²⁴⁸ Bill Copeland and Michael E. Raynor, *From Downward Spiral to Virtuous Cycle: City Year's Breakthrough Innovation in Education* (Philadelphia: Deloitte, 2018), 1, https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/DeloitteWhitePaperSingles_03.2018-1.pdf; Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 153.

backgrounds for a demanding year of full-time community service.”²⁴⁹ Specifically, City Year AmeriCorps members are charged with helping students at systemically under-resourced, low-performing schools gain the skills and confidence they need to graduate from high school and lead successful lives.²⁵⁰ City Year is committed to building an organizational culture that is diverse, equitable, and inclusive of everyone, regardless of race, sexual orientation, gender, national origin, political affiliation, disability, or religion.²⁵¹ Like the CCC, City Year has dual objectives:

1. to develop City Year AmeriCorps members into equitable and inclusive leaders, problem solvers, and active citizens and
2. to improve the academic, social, and emotional skills of students living in areas of concentrated poverty so that they may become empathetic, engaged citizens who contribute to their communities and the work force.²⁵²

To achieve these objectives, City Year developed a Whole School Whole Child (WSWC) model of service delivery. Through this model, AmeriCorps members provide both in-classroom support and entire school programs and services.²⁵³ Most importantly, AmeriCorps members work to form positive developmental relationships with students and guide them toward academic, social, and emotional growth.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ “Equity Summit Four: Big Citizenship,” City Year, February 26, 2021, <https://www.cityyear.org/milwaukee/stories/equity/equity-summit-four-big-citizenship/>; and City Year, “About,” City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/>; and Leslie M. Anderson and Lara Fabiano, *The City Year Experience: Putting Alumni on the Path to Lifelong Civic Engagement* (Boston: City Year, Inc., 2007), i, <https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/The-City-Year-Experience-PSA-FINAL-1-11-07.pdf>.

²⁵⁰ City Year, “Equity Summit Four”; and City Year, “About”; Anderson and Fabiano, *The City Year Experience*, i.

²⁵¹ “Equity Work,” City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/equity-work/>.

²⁵² “A Unique Approach,” City Year, accessed May 28, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/impact/unique-approach/>; City Year, “Equity Work”; and City Year, *In School and On Track: City Year’s Strategy for Long-Term Impact in America’s Highest-Need Schools*, Phase II (Boston: City Year, Inc., 2018), 1, https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Prospectus_Phase_II_03.18_.pdf.

²⁵³ Julie Meredith and Leslie M. Anderson, *Analysis of the Impacts of City Year’s Whole School Whole Child Model on Partner Schools’ Performance* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2015), 3, <https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/PSAstudy2015.pdf>.

²⁵⁴ City Year, *In School and On Track*, 3–4.

B. CITY YEAR PROGRAM STRUCTURE

City Year places teams of six to 12 AmeriCorps members at a single school for 11 months of full-time service.²⁵⁵ Each team is intended to be racially and ethnically diverse; however, the degree of diversity varies from team to team. To be eligible to serve, applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 25, have a high school diploma or general educational diploma, and be a U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident.²⁵⁶ The organization deploys AmeriCorps members to elementary, middle, and high schools in 29 different cities across the United States.²⁵⁷ Applicants can either apply to a specific city and indicate three backup preferences or they can allow City Year to choose their placement.²⁵⁸ If selected to serve, City Year AmeriCorps members are sent to a one-month long intensive Basic Training Academy before starting service.²⁵⁹

During the academy, AmeriCorps members learn about City Year's evolution and its culture, values, and goals.²⁶⁰ City Year trainers and external experts teach members about City Year's WSWC model and their role as student success coaches within that framework.²⁶¹ As student success coaches, City Year AmeriCorps members support their partner teacher in an assigned classroom, organize whole school activities, and serve as

²⁵⁵ "What to Expect," City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/what-to-expect/>.

²⁵⁶ "FAQ," City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/application-process/faq/>.

²⁵⁷ "Locations," City Year, accessed June 26, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/locations/>.

²⁵⁸ City Year, "FAQ."

²⁵⁹ Brittany White, "What to Expect at the Start of City Year Service," City Year, June 13, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/the-corps/what-to-expect-at-the-start-of-city-year-service/>.

²⁶⁰ White; Monica Mielke et al., *Year 4 Evaluation of City Year New York's Whole School Whole Child Initiative* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2014), 18; and Leslie M. Anderson and Monica Mielke, *Year 2 Evaluation of City Year New York's Whole School Whole Child Initiative--Final Report* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2012), 10. City Year's values are: Service to a cause greater than self; Students first, collaboration always; Belief in the power of young people; Social justice for all; Level five leadership; Empathy; Inclusivity; Ubuntu; Teamwork; and, Excellence. "Values," City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/values/>.

²⁶¹ Thomas A. Bryer et al., *National Service and Volunteerism: Achieving Impact in Our Communities* (Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Lexington Books, 2014), 145, ProQuest Ebook Central; City Year, "City Year's Whole School, Whole Child Approach" (Boston: City Year, 2021), 1, <https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/WSWCoverview21.pdf>.

near-peer mentors, tutors, and role models for students.²⁶² The student success coach role is the most important element of the City Year program because student success coaches are the conduit through which the WSWC model is delivered to students. AmeriCorps members must be able to work effectively with individuals within the entire school ecosystem—from school administrators to teachers, parents, and students—for the model to work.²⁶³ Most importantly, AmeriCorps members need to develop trusting, supportive relationships with the students they serve.

AmeriCorps members are taught how to identify the three “early warning indicators” that signal a student may be at risk of dropping out of school:

1. Poor Attendance: absences of 20 days or more
2. Poor Behavior: two or more behavioral incidents and
3. Poor Course Performance: failing to meet reading proficiency by the end of the third grade, failing English or math in sixth through ninth grades, failing two or more courses in ninth grade, having to repeat ninth grade, or earning less than a 2.0 grade point average²⁶⁴

City Year trainers instruct AmeriCorps members on intervention techniques for students who trigger one or more of the indicators.²⁶⁵ AmeriCorps members also learn how to execute effective one-to-one and small-group tutoring in mathematics, English language arts, and social-emotional skill building.²⁶⁶

²⁶² City Year, “City Year’s Whole School,” 1.

²⁶³ Copeland and Raynor, *From Downward Spiral to Virtuous Cycle*, 7.

²⁶⁴ Mary Bruce et al., *On Track for Success: The Use of Early Warning Indicator and Intervention Systems to Build a Grad Nation* (Washington, DC: Civic Enterprises, 2011), 3, https://new.every1graduates.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/on_track_for_success.pdf; “Resources,” City Year, accessed July 18, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/impact/research-publications/resources/>.

²⁶⁵ City Year, “What to Expect”; “City Year AmeriCorps Members Are Student Success Coaches,” City Year, August 4, 2021, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/education/city-year-ameri-corps-members-are-student-success-coaches/>.

²⁶⁶ Meredith and Anderson, *Analysis of the Impacts*, 3–4; City Year, “City Year’s Whole School,” 1.

During academy, members also receive their school and team assignments.²⁶⁷ While City Year does its best to create diverse teams, the level of diversity is dependent on the volunteers who apply at each site. Each team is also assigned an impact manager who is a full-time staff member of City Year.²⁶⁸ Impact managers typically supervise two teams and oversee the teams' continued training following the academy.²⁶⁹ Throughout the service year, impact managers provide AmeriCorps members with one-to-one mentoring, guidance, leadership development, and performance feedback.²⁷⁰ Additionally, impact managers supervise the partnership between teams and their school administrators and teachers.²⁷¹

Some teams are also assigned team leaders or service leaders, who are City Year AmeriCorps members who have returned for a second year with the organization.²⁷² Compared to first year members who work primarily with students as student success coaches, team leaders work on a broad level with school administrators, partner teachers, and the impact manager to ensure students are benefitting from the program.²⁷³ They also coach and support their first-year team members as they complete their year of service. Both impact managers and team leaders meet regularly, one-to-one with their team members throughout the service year. Service leaders, on the other hand, continue their

²⁶⁷ White, "What to Expect at the Start of City Year Service."

²⁶⁸ City Year, "What to Expect."

²⁶⁹ Zandra Casto and Ksenija Taylor, "How Impact Managers Support Their City Year AmeriCorps Members," City Year, April 12, 2019, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/the-corps/how-impact-managers-support-their-city-year-ameri-corps-members/>; City Year, "What to Expect"; City Year, "City Year's Whole School."

²⁷⁰ Casto and Taylor, "How Impact Managers Support"; City Year, "What to Expect"; City Year, "City Year's Whole School."

²⁷¹ City Year, "What to Expect."

²⁷² City Year, "Return for a Second Year," City Year, accessed June 17, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/return-for-a-second-year/>.

²⁷³ "Spotlight on CYP Team Leaders, Tessa Hannigan and Emilio Weber," City Year, August 30, 2021, <https://www.cityyear.org/philadelphia/stories/the-corps/spotlight-on-cyp-team-leaders-tessa-hannigan-and-emilio-weber/>; City Year, "Return for a Second Year."

roles as student success coaches and also take on additional responsibilities by leading and supporting their first-year team members.²⁷⁴

In addition to Basic Training Academy, AmeriCorps members receive follow up training throughout their service year through quarterly Learning and Development Days and a Mid-Year Summit training.²⁷⁵ Learning and Development Days serve as continued professional development training where members hone their skills as student success coaches. During the Mid-Year Summit, members work on competencies related to civic service and reflect on how they have grown and learned from the experience.²⁷⁶

Once AmeriCorps members complete Basic Training Academy, they are sent to their respective sites to begin their service year. City Year holds most AmeriCorps members responsible for arranging and funding their personal relocation expenses; however, AmeriCorps members who must travel more than 50 miles to reach their assigned site are reimbursed \$500.²⁷⁷ Neither AmeriCorps nor City Year provide AmeriCorps members with housing, day-to-day transportation, or food during their service year.²⁷⁸ Instead, AmeriCorps members are allotted a biweekly stipend of at least \$890, though members who serve in cities where the cost of living is higher are allotted up to \$1,122 bi-weekly.²⁷⁹ To help AmeriCorps members transition into their service year, City Year provides an online platform for new AmeriCorps members to connect with each other and discuss housing and transportation as well as information on recommended neighborhoods and trusted rental agencies.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ City Year, “Return for a Second Year.”

²⁷⁵ “Training,” City Year, accessed June 15, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/what-to-expect/training/>; Bryer et al., *National Service and Volunteerism*, 146.

²⁷⁶ City Year, “Training.”

²⁷⁷ City Year, “FAQ.”

²⁷⁸ City Year.

²⁷⁹ “Compensation,” City Year, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/benefits-resources/compensation/>. The compensation listed is specifically for the 2022 – 2023 term of service.

²⁸⁰ City Year, “FAQ.”

C. CITY YEAR SERVICE

Upon arrival at their site, all City Year AmeriCorps members attend a site-wide meeting where they learn more about the school district they will be working in and how City Year operates within its structure.²⁸¹ Because each City Year team works with different school districts and schools across the nation, service components and member responsibilities can vary. Most sites place City Year teams in elementary, middle, and high schools; however, some sites only service one or two school types.²⁸² While there is a general structure and methodology to City Year service, the experience is different at each school due to variations on how school administrations and school districts operate.²⁸³

Before their first official day of service, all AmeriCorps members are issued three uniforms: a student success coach uniform, a training uniform, and physical service uniform. When engaging in any City Year service, AmeriCorps members are required to represent City Year and AmeriCorps by wearing the uniform that corresponds appropriately with the type of service in which they are engaged. City Year has become known for the distinctive red and yellow jackets that its members wear as part of their uniform.²⁸⁴ The jackets, which have “CITY YEAR” stamped across the back and feature prominent City Year, AmeriCorps, and American flag patches, have become a symbol of the organization, its service, and values.²⁸⁵ The uniforms serve several purposes. They help City Year AmeriCorps members form a collective City Year corps identity. The uniforms signal that City Year and its AmeriCorps members are committed to and proud

²⁸¹ “City Year AmeriCorps Members Own Unique Responsibilities as Coordinators,” City Year, December 22, 2016, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/the-corps/what-do-ameri-corps-members-do-own-unique-responsibilities-as-coordinators/>.

²⁸² City Year, “Locations.”

²⁸³ “Top Five Questions You Have about City Year Service, Answered,” City Year, November 16, 2021, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/benefits-resources/top-five-questions-you-have-about-city-year-service-answered/>.

²⁸⁴ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 153; City Year, “Uniform Requirement and Details” (Boston: City Year, 2021). City Year jackets are typically red; however, due to the color red being associated with violent gangs in Sacramento, San Jose, and Los Angeles, City Year created yellow uniforms for members serving in California.

²⁸⁵ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 153; “Red Jacket Society,” City Year, accessed June 16, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/partnerships/red-jacket-society/>; and City Year, “Uniform Requirement and Details,” 1.

of the service the organization provides to the community.²⁸⁶ The uniforms also make City Year service members visible to those who may have never heard of the program and thus can serve to open conversations regarding City Year's purpose and mission.

A typical day of service for City Year AmeriCorps members follows a general structure from Monday through Friday. Before every school day, members assemble in their assigned team to go over the schedule for the day and conduct a readiness check to make sure everyone is in uniform.²⁸⁷ The team then proceeds to the entrance of their school to conduct "Morning Greeting," a distinctly City Year practice in which a team forms two parallel lines outside the front of their school and sets a motivational, energetic, and positive tone for students as they start their school day.²⁸⁸ AmeriCorps members offer high-fives, chant motivational messages, sing, and dance with students as they pass through the team's Morning Greeting tunnel to start their school day.²⁸⁹ Once greetings are finished, each AmeriCorps member proceeds to their respective classrooms that they have been assigned to for the year, where they support their partner teacher and students.

In the classroom, AmeriCorps members serve as student success coaches, rotating among students and building personal relationships.²⁹⁰ Their purpose is to create a welcoming learning environment that is engaging and equitable.²⁹¹ Teachers do not always have the time to focus on students who are falling behind or are exhibiting behavioral issues, so the AmeriCorps member's job is to provide the support these students need.

²⁸⁶ "Order Uniform," City Year, accessed June 16, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/prepare-for-service/order-uniform/>.

²⁸⁷ Annika Bell, "A Day in the Life of a City Year," City Year, December 13, 2018, <https://www.cityyear.org/new-hampshire/stories/the-corps/a-day-in-the-life-of-a-city-year/>; City Year, "Top Five Questions."

²⁸⁸ "The Experience," City Year, accessed June 15, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/experience/>; Rebecca Kropp, "Morning Greeting," City Year, December 9, 2019, <https://www.cityyear.org/boston/stories/our-impact/morning-greeting/>; City Year, "Top Five Questions."

²⁸⁹ City Year, "The Experience"; Kropp, "Morning Greeting."

²⁹⁰ City Year, "The Student Success Coach Role: A Critical Capacity to Create More Equitable, Personalized and Engaging Learning Environments" (Boston: City Year, June 2021), 1, https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/SSCOOverview_GeneralExternal_06.21.pdf; City Year, "City Year's Whole School," 1.

²⁹¹ City Year, "The Student Success Coach Role," 1.

Students who are struggling academically or behaviorally are pulled aside by the AmeriCorps member for one one-to-one or small-group tutoring in math, English, or social-emotional skill building.²⁹² AmeriCorps members additionally assist their partner teacher with whole classroom activities and routines.²⁹³

During lunch, team members might run a lunchtime club or spend time connecting with students.²⁹⁴ At the end of the school day, AmeriCorps members record and analyze student progress with their partner teacher and identify students who need additional support or who have exhibited one or more of the early warning indicators.²⁹⁵ If a student is showing signs of poor attendance or is struggling to complete homework, the AmeriCorps member assigned to that student's classroom might reach out to the family to try to understand why the issues are occurring and find possible solutions.²⁹⁶

Once the school day is over, AmeriCorps members shift to running after-school programs, which can be in collaboration with their team members or with partner teachers. AmeriCorps members develop programs based on the needs of the whole school and can include homework labs or enrichment programs such as STEAM (science, technology, engineering, art, and math) activities, clubs, sports programs, or any program that helps and motivates students.²⁹⁷ At the end of the day, each team reconvenes to debrief and close out the day. Most City Year AmeriCorps members work 10 to 12 hours each day, which can be exhausting, so some teams take the time to engage in light activities, relax, and decompress with each other before going their separate ways.²⁹⁸ During academy,

²⁹² City Year, "City Year's Whole School"; City Year, "City Year AmeriCorps Members Are Student Success Coaches"; and "What Do City Year AmeriCorps Members Do? Run Afterschool Programs," City Year, March 20, 2019, <https://www.cityyear.org/national/stories/the-corps/what-do-city-year-ameri-corps-members-do-run-afterschool-programs/>.

²⁹³ City Year, "City Year's Whole School."

²⁹⁴ City Year, "A Unique Approach."

²⁹⁵ City Year, "City Year's Whole School."

²⁹⁶ "City Year San José - Full Year Position Description," City Year, accessed June 18, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/apply-now/city-year-san-jose-full-year-position-description/>.

²⁹⁷ City Year, "What to Expect"; City Year, "What Do City Year AmeriCorps Members Do?"; Carson Ho, "Day in the Life: Mr. H," City Year, February 27, 2020, <https://www.cityyear.org/sacramento/stories/the-corps/day-in-the-life-mr-h/>.

²⁹⁸ Ho, "Day in the Life"; City Year, "FAQ."

members are taught to end their service days on a positive note, even if the day was challenging.²⁹⁹

Another important element of City Year AmeriCorps service is leadership and coordinator roles. Aside from being a student success coach at a school, every AmeriCorps member is assigned a coordinator role, which is a designated function outside of the day-to-day work they do in the classroom.³⁰⁰ In this role, AmeriCorps members are expected to become experts and leaders in a specific area of service. For example, one team member might be a positive school climate coordinator who is responsible for developing and organizing a designated space for students with behavioral issues so they can be guided through reflection cycles and other social-emotional skill-building exercises before returning to the classroom.³⁰¹ Another team member might be a communications coordinator who is in charge of writing newsletters and managing the team's various social media accounts.³⁰² There are many different coordinator roles, and AmeriCorps members are given the opportunity to indicate their top two preferences at the start of their service.³⁰³ Ultimately, impact managers and team leaders work together to determine which coordinator role each team member will be assigned.³⁰⁴ The assignments are based on what will best meet the needs of the students while also developing the AmeriCorps member's leadership skills.³⁰⁵

Throughout their service, members receive health, dental, and vision insurance as well as mental health therapy. They also qualify for the AmeriCorps Childcare Benefits Program, loan forbearance, and loan forgiveness. Upon completion of service, members receive the Segal Education Award, which can be used for future education or to pay for

²⁹⁹ City Year, "FAQ."

³⁰⁰ City Year, "Top Five Questions."

³⁰¹ City Year, "City Year AmeriCorps Members Own Unique Responsibilities."

³⁰² City Year, "Top Five Questions."

³⁰³ City Year, "City Year AmeriCorps Members Own Unique Responsibilities."

³⁰⁴ City Year.

³⁰⁵ City Year.

student loans. Additionally, members can apply for scholarships at various universities that are only open to City Year AmeriCorps alumni.

D. ANALYSIS

City Year's goals for both the AmeriCorps members who serve and the students they work with are arguably ambitious. To achieve its goal of increasing high school graduation rates and reducing educational inequity, the organization needs AmeriCorps members who are capable and passionate about delivering programs. Additionally, it needs AmeriCorps members to take what they learned from City Year and continue the fight for equal education and diversity, inclusivity, and belonging in communities and schools.

Most importantly, the organization needs funding. In order to obtain enough funding to make an impact, City Year must prove that its program and WSWC model is effective and thus worth investing in. The organization has tracked its impact and growth across the years through a series of commissioned studies by Policy Studies Associates, Deloitte, the Everyone Graduates Center, and Intentional Futures. Because City Year has dual goals, this section first examines the effect of City Year service on the schools and students it serves. This section then shifts to examine the effect of City Year on AmeriCorps members.

1. Impact of City Year Service on Students and Schools

City Year's objectives regarding students is to improve their academic, social, and emotional skills so that they can become empathetic, engaged citizens who contribute to their communities and the workforce. The organization's impact on partner schools and students, particularly regarding academic and social-emotional outcomes, has been well documented over the last decade through a series of studies carried out by various institutions. Research establishes that students and partner schools benefit from the support and additional programs City Year AmeriCorps teams offer.

A 2014 study of City Year's WSWC model found that elementary school students who worked with City Year AmeriCorps members in the classroom or in afterschool programs performed noticeably better on their Common Core English Language Arts

test.³⁰⁶ The majority of teachers and school staff surveyed regarding City Year's WSWC programming expressed that they believed City Year AmeriCorps members not only improved students' literacy and overall academic skills but that they also positively impacted students' attitudes, motivation, and confidence.³⁰⁷ Teachers noted that AmeriCorps members developed close mentoring relationship with students and were able to connect with the students as near-peers and role models.³⁰⁸ Ninety percent of teachers surveyed stated that they believed City Year AmeriCorps members motivated their students to learn by making the school experience more enjoyable and engaging.³⁰⁹ Students surveyed also expressed that they liked how their AmeriCorps member would make learning fun and find alternative ways of presenting concepts and explaining materials to help them understand.³¹⁰ Teachers observed that students had fewer absences when AmeriCorps members were present and would express excitement when the AmeriCorps member was in the classroom.³¹¹

Another study published a year later established that schools that partnered with City Year significantly out-performed schools with similar academic performance and demographic characteristics.³¹² Students who were attending schools that partnered with City Year were approximately two times more likely to perform better on their English Language Arts state assessments and three times more likely to show improvements in mathematics assessments.³¹³

In 2020, the Everyone Graduates Center at the John Hopkins University School of Education released a report evaluating City Year's impact on the social-emotional

³⁰⁶ Mielke et al., *Year 4 Evaluation*, 67.

³⁰⁷ Mielke et al., 49–54.

³⁰⁸ Mielke et al., 49–50.

³⁰⁹ Mielke et al., 54.

³¹⁰ Mielke et al., 50–54.

³¹¹ Mielke et al., 54.

³¹² Julie Meredith and Leslie M. Anderson, *City Year's Whole School Whole Child Model on Partner Schools' Performance* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2015), 5, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED570167.pdf>.

³¹³ Meredith and Anderson, 18–19.

development and academic achievement of students from third to 10 grades. Consistent with previous findings, the researchers found that nearly 70% of students who worked with City Year AmeriCorps members improved their emotional competencies, such as empathy, goal-directed behavior, optimistic thinking, and learning interest.³¹⁴ Students also improved social competencies such as self-awareness, social awareness, personal responsibility, relationship skills, trust, and reflection.³¹⁵ The study also found that the more time students spent with AmeriCorps members receiving mathematics or English language arts tutoring, the greater their academic developmental gains.³¹⁶ Additionally, students were also less likely to miss school.

In 2018, Deloitte evaluated the return on investment for schools that partner with City Year. The organization estimated that the average partner school is gaining the equivalent of \$676,000 in academic, behavioral, and attendance services for the cost of \$150,000 per year.³¹⁷ The cost for City Year to provide an impact manager and 10 AmeriCorps members to an average partner school is approximately \$400,000 per year, which is covered by a combination of funding from AmeriCorps and philanthropic organizations.³¹⁸ This study established that City Year brings value to partner schools and communities.

City Year has been able to win the support of large philanthropic organizations such as the Bill and Melina Gates Foundation as well as 45% of Fortune 100 companies by proving that its model is effective at improving students' academic outcomes.³¹⁹ This support has allowed the organization to continue to grow and continually seek

³¹⁴ Robert Balfanz and Vaughan Byrnes, *Connecting Social-Emotional Development, Academic Achievement, and on-Track Outcomes: A Multi-District Study of Grades 3 to 10 Students Supported by City Year Americorps Members* (Baltimore, MD: Everyone Graduates Center at the Johns Hopkins University School of Education, 2020), 4, 18, https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/EGC_CityYearReport_BalfanzByrnes.pdf; City Year, *In School and On Track*, 14.

³¹⁵ Balfanz and Byrnes, *Connecting Social-Emotional Development*, 4, 18.

³¹⁶ Balfanz and Byrnes, 4.

³¹⁷ Copeland and Raynor, *From Downward Spiral to Virtuous Cycle*, 2.

³¹⁸ Copeland and Raynor, 2.

³¹⁹ City Year, "Our Partners," City Year, accessed July 10, 2022, <https://www.cityyear.org/about/partnerships/>.

improvement and innovation, thus increasing its likelihood of creating a greater impact on systemically under-resourced schools.

2. Impact of City Year Service on AmeriCorps Members

City Year strives to develop its AmeriCorps members into equitable and inclusive leaders, problem solvers, and active citizens who will, throughout their lives, work to improve the nation and their communities. Since its founding, City Year has grown a network of over 37,000 AmeriCorps alumni. It has consistently maintained diverse cohorts of AmeriCorps members, with the most recent cohorts having 57% people of color.³²⁰ In 2018 and 2020, City Year conducted surveys of their alumni to see what career paths they had taken and how many chose to work in education.

In its 2018 Alumni Survey, City Year received responses from approximately 5,000 alumni who served in City Year between 2014 and 2017.³²¹ Seventy-two percent of alumni indicated that they had chosen service-oriented careers. Forty-seven percent were working in the education sector or at an education nonprofit, 15% were working for the government or a nonprofit that was not focused on education, and 10% were working in the fields of medicine, health, or social services.³²² Of the alumni who chose jobs in education, 16% had become teachers.³²³ These results suggest that City Year AmeriCorps alumni continue to strive to make a positive impact on their communities, which was one of City Year's objectives. However, what the survey does not establish is to what degree City Year service influenced alumni in their career choice.

An indicator that City Year service may be influencing alumni to enter the teaching profession is the percentage of alumni of color who chose to become teachers. Approximately 20% of U.S. public school teachers are people of color and less than 2% are men of color. However, of the City Year AmeriCorps alumni who chose to become

³²⁰ City Year, "2020 City Year Alumni Survey" (Boston: City Year, 2020), 1, <https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/AlumniSurveyOverviewFY20-3.pdf>.

³²¹ City Year, "2018 City Year Alumni Survey" (Boston: City Year, 2018), 1, <https://www.cityyear.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/AlumniSurveyOverviewWeb.pdf>.

³²² City Year, 1–2.

³²³ City Year, 1–2.

teachers, 39% are people of color and 10% are men of color.³²⁴ This suggests that City Year is effective at putting AmeriCorps members of color on a path of becoming an educator.

In 2002, City Year commissioned three interlocking studies to measure the effect City Year service had on AmeriCorps alumni. Although dated, the information in these studies shed some light on the influence and impact of City Year service on AmeriCorps members. The alumni cohort study measured whether City Year was achieving its goal of increasing civic engagement and leadership among its AmeriCorps members.³²⁵ It also measured the effect of City Year service on alumni educational attainment and career choice. The City Year parent study assessed how the parents of City Year alumni perceived their child's development following City Year service.³²⁶ It additionally evaluated whether City Year service had any influencing factors on increasing the civic engagement of immediate family members of City Year alumni. The longitudinal study of Alumni examined the effects of City Year service on alumni over a four-year period, particularly regarding civic engagement, cross-boundary relationships, and career development.³²⁷ The study compared the alumni to a control group of peers of similar age and demographic who applied and were accepted into City Year, but ultimately never served.

The alumni cohort study established that, overall, City Year attracted and enrolled diverse AmeriCorps members. Of the alumni who served in the years spanning from 1988 to 2003, 46% were White, 29% Black, 13% Latinx, 5% Asian, 1% Native American, and 7% Other.³²⁸ These percentages were not constant. In the organization's first 10 years, the percentage of White members was slightly higher than non-White members and hovered

³²⁴ City Year, "2018 City Year Alumni Survey."

³²⁵ Anderson and Fabiano, *The City Year Experience*, i.

³²⁶ Katrina G. Laguarda, *City Year Parent Study: Exploring City Year's Impact on Younger Alumni and Their Parents* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2007), i.

³²⁷ Leslie M. Anderson, Katrina G. Laguarda, and Imeh J. Williams, *The Effect of the City Year Experience over Time: Findings from the Longitudinal Study of Alumni* (Washington, DC: Policy Studies Associates, Inc., 2007), i–ii.

³²⁸ Anderson and Fabiano, *The City Year Experience*, 13.

approximately around 51%.³²⁹ By 1999, however, the percentage of non-White members increased, particularly among Black members, thus creating a more diverse demographic. From 1999 to 2003, 41% of members were White, 35% Black, 11% Latinx, and the remaining were a mix of Asian, Native American, and Other.³³⁰

Interestingly, City Year was not found to be uniform in its distribution of AmeriCorps members by race and ethnicity when building teams despite the program's goal of bringing together diverse young people and teaching them to build relationships across boundaries. The site-to-site variation in diversity was likely caused by three factors: housing, transportation, and site preference. Because housing and transportation was not provided by City Year, AmeriCorps members may have been more inclined to request site placement in the city they already lived in or were familiar with rather than struggle to find affordable housing and public transportation in a new city. As a result, some sites were very diverse because they were in cities with an already diverse population such as Chicago and San Jose, while others, such as sites in New Hampshire where the population is more homogenous, had teams that were around 80% White and 20% Other.³³¹

Despite the lack of consistency in the distribution of AmeriCorps members by race and ethnicity, 92% of alumni reported that City Year had contributed to their ability to work with diverse individuals.³³² Furthermore, over 90% of alumni credited City Year for teaching them how to work on a team and lead others to task completion.³³³ These responses indicate that City Year is highly effective at teaching young people to work across boundaries. These are important civic engagement skills that City Year strives to develop in its AmeriCorps members.

³²⁹ Anderson and Fabiano, 16.

³³⁰ Anderson and Fabiano, 16. The demographics of City Year after this study continued to shift. According to the City Year AmeriCorps member data from 2018- 2020, 57% of AmeriCorps members are people of color: 34% Black, 16% Latinx, 7% Asian, and 5% Other.

³³¹ Anderson and Fabiano, 16.

³³² Anderson and Fabiano, 23.

³³³ Anderson and Fabiano, 23.

The longitudinal study of alumni further supports the findings that City Year service helps people from diverse backgrounds connect and build close relationships. In the year that they completed service, 98% of alumni from the 2003 cohort reported that they had close friendships with individuals of a different race, 97% reported having close friends from a different social class, and 98% reported being friends with individuals of a different religion.³³⁴ Although the percentages dropped into the 70s and 80s over the course of three years, alumni were still significantly more likely to have cross-boundary friendships as compared to the control group.

Alumni also overwhelmingly credited City Year for teaching them the importance of public responsibility and service to community.³³⁵ Furthermore, nearly 90% of alumni stated City Year helped them understand “issues and problems facing society.”³³⁶ Based on these responses, it appears City Year service exposed many AmeriCorps members to societal issues that they never noticed, did not understand, or had not seen. Their service experience likely also showed them the impact community service can have on individuals and communities.

The longitudinal study of alumni found that alumni had an average political efficacy score of 78, which was higher than the control group.³³⁷ In other words, alumni believed more strongly than the control group that participating in the political process was important and that their ideas and opinions had an impact on what the government does. In turn, the study found alumni turned out to vote in state and local elections in much higher numbers than the control group and that alumni participation increased over time.³³⁸ Alumni also participated in significantly higher levels of volunteering in the years following completion of service as compared to the control group.³³⁹ These results indicate that City Year either influenced or reinforced AmeriCorps members’ trust in the

³³⁴ Anderson, Laguarda, and Williams, *The Effect of the City Year Experience over Time*, 23–24.

³³⁵ Anderson and Fabiano, *The City Year Experience*, 25.

³³⁶ Anderson and Fabiano, 26.

³³⁷ Anderson, Laguarda, and Williams, *The Effect of the City Year Experience over Time*, 28.

³³⁸ Anderson, Laguarda, and Williams, 38, 41–42.

³³⁹ Anderson, Laguarda, and Williams, 38.

democratic system and belief in civic responsibility. Importantly, all these activities require trust in others and a willingness to communicate opinions and feelings.

Overall, the studies indicate that City Year is effective at bringing diverse groups of people together so that they may share perspectives and learn how to communicate and work across differences. City Year service also appears to help further develop AmeriCorps members' commitment to civic engagement by exposing members to underserved communities.

E. CONCLUSION

City Year is an interesting and ambitious organization that has set out to address a critical issue in the United States: the educational inequity that impacts children who live in neighborhoods where poverty is widespread and schools are systemically under-resourced. Its holistic WSWC model is clearly effective in helping some students improve their social and emotional competencies as well as their English Language Arts and mathematics scores. However, it is not yet clear if City Year is effective at influencing these students to become more active citizens, nor is there research on what students do after graduating from high school.

Overall, City Year has a sound program model that appears to foster positive development in both AmeriCorps members and the students they serve. One drawback of the program is its requirement that AmeriCorps members find and secure their own housing. National service should not look like paid volunteerism and AmeriCorps members should not have to worry about housing and food security while serving their nation. The stipend model serves to separate AmeriCorps members rather than bring them together. If free group housing were provided, then AmeriCorps members would have more opportunities to learn to work across differences with others and gain new perspectives.

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V. KATIMAVIK: 1977–PRESENT

This chapter covers Katimavik, a Canadian national service program that was developed in response to division and tension between Canada's Anglophone and Francophone population. The purpose of the program was foster understanding and unity among young people of different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds in Canada. Katimavik is still in existence today; however, the program went through periods of struggle that split Katimavik into three distinct phases. This chapter reviews the historical period that led to Katimavik's birth and its three phases.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since its founding, Canada has struggled with cultural tension between its English-speaking, French-speaking, and Indigenous populations who, for the most part, reside in separate areas of the country.³⁴⁰ There are three groups of Indigenous peoples who are recognized by the Canadian government: the Inuit, Metis, and First Nations. The Inuit inhabit the Arctic region of Canada while Metis and First Nations peoples are spread across the country.³⁴¹ Quebec, Canada's largest province by landmass and second largest province by population, contains primarily French-speaking citizens. During the 1960s and 1970s, Canada faced turmoil as a Quebec separatist movement gained traction and threatened to divide Canada.³⁴² From 1963 to 1970, over 200 domestic terrorist bombings were carried out in Canada by the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ), a militant Quebec independence organization.³⁴³ The FLQ's terrorist activities eventually culminated in the October Crisis of 1970 when the FLQ kidnapped a British trade commissioner and later

³⁴⁰ *Britannica*, s.v. "Canada – Quebec separatism," accessed February 2, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Canada/Quebec-separatism>.

³⁴¹ "Inuit," Indigenous Peoples and Communities, June 18, 2021, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100014187/1534785248701>; and "Indigenous Peoples and Communities," Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, August 30, 2022, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100013785/1529102490303>.

³⁴² Michael Joseph Laslovich, "Parti Quebecois and Quebec Separatism" (master's thesis, University of Montana, 1978), 54–56, <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/3180/>.

³⁴³ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Front de libération du Québec (FLQ)," accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/front-de-liberation-du-quebec>.

kidnapped and killed the Quebec Minister of Immigration, Manpower and of Labour.³⁴⁴ The deliberate targeting of government officials by the FLQ resulted in the invocation of the War Measures Act by then–Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.³⁴⁵ This was the first time that the War Measures Act had been invoked when Canada was not at war.

During this same period, Canada faced conflict in another region of the country as well. Frustrated by historical marginalization, Canada’s Indigenous population began demanding the government honor long overdue treaties and other legal documents that granted sovereignty and land titles to Canada’s First Nations.³⁴⁶ In response, the federal government proposed to instead dissolve all past treaties and eliminate Indian legal status so that First Nations people would have the same legal rights and responsibilities as the rest of the Canadian population. Canada’s Indigenous population strongly rejected this proposal and began holding large protests and calling for self-determination for Indigenous peoples, which led to the eventual withdrawal of the proposal.³⁴⁷

One of the measures Canada took to address division and internal conflict regarding the rights, responsibilities, and loyalty of its citizens was to launch a youth volunteer national service program aimed at bringing people together from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds across Canada.³⁴⁸ Founded in 1977, the program was named Katimavik after the Inuktitut word meaning “gathering together” or “meeting place” and

³⁴⁴ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “October Crisis,” accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/october-crisis>.

³⁴⁵ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, “October Crisis; *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Pierre Elliott Trudeau,” accessed February 4, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/pierre-elliott-trudeau>. The War Measures Act can be invoked by the Governor in Council and allows the federal government to take temporary measures to protect the nation in a time of crisis. Legislative Services Branch, “Consolidated Federal Laws of Canada, Emergencies Act,” July 2, 2003, <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/e-4.5/page-1.html>.

³⁴⁶ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “The White Paper, 1969,” accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-white-paper-1969>; *Britannica*, s.v. “Canada – The Trudeau Years, 1968–84,” accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Canada/Quebec-separatism>.

³⁴⁷ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, “The White Paper, 1969”; *Britannica*, “Canada – The Trudeau Years, 1968–84; *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada,” accessed February 4, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-rights>.

³⁴⁸ Bernard J. McMullan and Phyllis Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies: Katimavik, The Canadian Youth Corps* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1986), 20, <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED283034>.

was considered by some to be a nation-building program.³⁴⁹ Katimavik was designed as a nine-month program for unmarried 17-to-23-year-old Canadian citizens and landed immigrants (permanent residents) and could seamlessly fit into a gap year.³⁵⁰

Katimavik initially ran for nine years from 1977 to June 1986. The program's primary objective was to use civic service to bring together young Canadians from different cultural backgrounds, teach them to live harmoniously with each other and share knowledge, and encourage them to learn either French or English as a second language.³⁵¹ In its second year, the program added four goals to help clarify the ambiguity of its objective, which did not explain what type of civic service would be performed or who would benefit from such service.

Katimavik's four goals were

1. to help participants develop a better understanding of themselves, other individuals, and their country through a variety of experiences.³⁵²
2. to help Canadian communities improve their quality of life through collaborative projects with Katimavik while also teaching participants the importance of community service so that the spirit of service and volunteerism would continue after completion of the program.³⁵³
3. to develop environmental awareness among participants as well as teach the importance of conservation and how to live an environmentally friendly lifestyle.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁹ Katimavik, "Who We Are," Katimavik, accessed January 29, 2022, <https://katimavik.org/en/we-are/>; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 8.

³⁵⁰ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 7; "Landed immigrant" is another term for "permanent resident." "Citizens of Canada and Bermuda," Travel and Tourism, accessed February 24, 2022, <https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/us-visas/tourism-visit/citizens-of-canada-and-bermuda.html>.

³⁵¹ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 8; and McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 8.

³⁵² McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 21.

³⁵³ McMullan and Snyder, 15, 23.

³⁵⁴ McMullan and Snyder, 23.

4. to expose participants to different regions and cultures in Canada and therefore begin the dismantling of provincialism.³⁵⁵

Compared to the initial objectives of the program, the four goals did a slightly better job at explaining what Canadian communities and participants could gain through Katimavik service. However, despite its efforts to maintain political support, Katimavik was unable to survive Canada's parliamentary shift from a Liberal majority to a Conservative majority following the 1984 election. When Canada's Conservative Party gained majority in Parliament, Katimavik was unable to persuade the newly appointed prime minister that the program was worthwhile to continue funding.³⁵⁶ The program's demise was likely due to Katimavik's failure to release reports on the program's impact until 1984, despite having been in existence for eight years. The report released in 1984 by OPCAN-Katimavik only covered the 1983–84 fiscal year, so there was little data for Katimavik to present regarding the program's accomplishments. In 1984, the government's primary concern was no longer separatist movements but rather economic inflation, high levels of unemployment, and the need for fiscal restraint.³⁵⁷ Katimavik's goals no longer aligned with the priorities of the new administration, and it was unable to garner enough political support to overcome this issue. In 1986, the federal government cut Katimavik's funding, thus terminating the program.³⁵⁸

Following the funding cut, Katimavik clung to existence as a faint shadow of itself in a Montreal suburb through the support of a private foundation.³⁵⁹ For years, it operated as an outdoor recreational and training center.³⁶⁰ During that time, Katimavik offered

³⁵⁵ McMullan and Snyder, 23.

³⁵⁶ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 9.

³⁵⁷ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Pierre Elliott Trudeau," accessed February 4, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/pierre-elliott-trudeau>; Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program* (Gatineau, Québec: Canadian Heritage, 2010), <https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.694505/publication.html>.

³⁵⁸ Katimavik, "Who We Are"; McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 7–8; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 10.

³⁵⁹ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 8.

³⁶⁰ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, 60; Katimavik, "Who We Are."

programs in leadership, social skills, physical fitness, and volunteering to youth in neighboring communities.³⁶¹

In 1994, Katimavik's funding was reinstated by the federal government when the Liberal Party once more gained a majority in parliament.³⁶² The new prime minister, Jean Chretien, ran on a campaign promising to increase government spending to the levels of previous Liberal governments and place priority on programs and initiatives that would stimulate the labor market and job creation.³⁶³ While Katimavik's intention continued to be to bring diverse youth from different areas of Canada together to learn to live and work together, the program shifted its mission to match the job-creation objective of the new administration. Katimavik's new mission was to substantially cultivate the personal, professional, and social development of participants through community service, provide practical skill acquisition to prepare participants to enter and grow in the Canadian workforce, and expose participants to the multicultural Canadian reality so that they could form lasting relationships with communities and people different from their own.³⁶⁴ Overall, the program managed to combine professional development with its original objective of creating a more unified and multiculturally tolerant youth population in Canada.

In 2006, the federal government suspended automatic renewal of Katimavik's funding, which threw the future of the program into uncertainty.³⁶⁵ In the years that

³⁶¹ Mary L. Mackillop, "Healthy Habits of Giving in Youth Lead to Volunteers of Tomorrow" (master's thesis, Royal Roads University, 2004), 8, https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk4/etd/MQ93778.PDF?is_thesis=1&oclc_number=60738987.

³⁶² James L. Perry, "Civic Service in North America," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 4 suppl (2004): 167S-183S, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764004269743>; and Katimavik, "Who We Are."

³⁶³ The Canadian Encyclopedia, s.v. "Jean Chr tien," accessed February 26, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/joseph-jacques-jean-chretien>

³⁶⁴ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program* (Gatineau, Qu bec: Canadian Heritage, 2006), 1, <https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.822569/publication.html>; R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study of the Katimavik Program: Final Report* (Ottawa, Canada: R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd, 2006), 4, <https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/katimavik2006socioeconomicstudy.pdf>.

³⁶⁵ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 8.

followed, the government conducted annual reviews to determine whether Katimavik would continue to receive funding.³⁶⁶ Katimavik survived another five years until funding was suspended once again by the federal government in 2012.³⁶⁷ The reason behind the decision to cut funding is unknown; however, in 2011, the prime minister's government was facing pressure after having been found in contempt of the Parliament for lack of transparency regarding budgetary information.³⁶⁸ Perhaps the questions raised on government spending contributed to the decision to halt funding for Katimavik.

Despite the loss of funding, Katimavik did not disappear. That same year, the program was relaunched by Katimavik alumni. The traditional Katimavik model was paused and replaced with an Eco-internship program. In 2017, Katimavik added a Socio-internship option and launched an Indigenous Youth in Transition project with Tlicho and James Bay Cree First Nation governments.³⁶⁹ Katimavik's traditional National Experience program based on the 1977 model fully relaunched in January 2018 and is still running today.

The next sections cover the three eras of Katimavik's existence.

B. THE FIRST ERA: 1977–1986³⁷⁰

When Katimavik was initially founded, its primary objectives were to use civic service to bring young Canadians from different cultural backgrounds together, teach them to live with and understand each other, and encourage them to learn either French or English as a second language.³⁷¹ It is important to note that youth development was

³⁶⁶ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, 8.

³⁶⁷ Katimavik, "Who We Are."

³⁶⁸ *Britannica*, s.v. "Stephen Harper," accessed March 6, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Stephen-Harper>.

³⁶⁹ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2017–2018* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2018), 6, https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/AnnualReport2018_final_En.pdf.

³⁷⁰ Detailed descriptions of Katimavik's programs are scarce. Only one comprehensive report exists on Katimavik's structure, which is *The Youth Corps Case Studies: Katimavik, The Canadian Youth Corps* by McMullan and Snyder. Other reports and academic papers support the facts presented in the *Youth Corps Case Studies*, but none go into as much detail as McMullan and Snyder's piece.

³⁷¹ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 8.

Katimavik's primary goal and that every element of the program's structure was designed to achieve that goal.³⁷² Teaching Canada's young adults social skills, personal responsibility, and cultural awareness was viewed as a long-term investment to improve Canadian society.³⁷³

1. First-Era Katimavik Program Structure

Katimavik was developed under the umbrella of the experiential learning philosophy, in which participants were expected to learn through hands-on experiences. Katimavik used a four-step cycle to explain their process: separation (the willingness to step into a new environment—i.e., choosing to participate in Katimavik and leave a known environment), encounter (the act of doing and experiencing new things—i.e., fully participating in Katimavik-directed activities), reflection (consciously reviewing new experiences and contextualizing them with prior experiences—i.e., examining Katimavik service as it relates to one's life), and incorporation (integrate the learning experience to guide future activities and actions—i.e., shape future actions and decisions based on lessons learned through the Katimavik experience). Almost every element of Katimavik's design can be linked back to experiential learning.

Katimavik service was nine months long and was divided into three trimesters.³⁷⁴ Participants from various parts of Canada were placed into groups of 12, which they remained in for the entirety of their service. Based on Canada's population data, Katimavik developed parameters in which to diversify group formation. A computer algorithm was then used to sort participants into cohorts that reflected the composition of Canada's population.³⁷⁵ Through parameterized participant selection, each Katimavik group was assigned six males and six females, four native Francophone speakers, and eight native

³⁷² McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 55.

³⁷³ McMullan and Snyder, 55.

³⁷⁴ Jean-Guy Bigeau, "Katimavik: Designing the Future for Youth," *Canadian Issues*, Fall 2004, 6, ProQuest; McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 7.

³⁷⁵ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 2; and McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16.

Anglophone speakers.³⁷⁶ Additionally, all 12 of the participants had to be from different regions of Canada.³⁷⁷ This group composition guaranteed that participants from different backgrounds would live together and have the opportunity to collaborate and share knowledge and skills. It also set the tone for an immersive experiential learning experience in which participants would be expected to develop meaningful relationships with individuals who had different life experiences and outlooks from their own.

Each trimester, participants were sent to serve in communities located in a vastly different area of Canada.³⁷⁸ Two trimesters were in English-speaking regions and one trimester was in a French-speaking region, which meant that all participants would experience living in a community where the predominant language spoken was different from their native language.³⁷⁹ Most of the communities that partnered with Katimavik were in rural areas; however, Katimavik also partnered with urban communities and the program required that one service trimester be in an urban community.³⁸⁰ The rules regarding service community-type ensured that participants would be exposed to different cultures and ways of life. It also gave participants the opportunity to understand the differing needs of rural versus urban communities so that they may gain a greater understanding of their country and the diverse people who live within its borders.

Katimavik also gave participants the opportunity to serve one trimester in the Canadian Armed Forces where they would learn specific skills such as sanitation and hygiene, firefighting, sailing, navigation and map reading, leadership and management, and first aid.³⁸¹ For the military option, Katimavik partnered with the Canadian Department of National Defense to develop a service trimester.³⁸² Not many Katimavik participants requested a military trimester, but those who did were expected to complete

³⁷⁶ Bigeau, “Katimavik”; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 7.

³⁷⁷ Bigeau, “Katimavik”; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 7.

³⁷⁸ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 12.

³⁷⁹ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 18.

³⁸⁰ McMullan and Snyder, 1.

³⁸¹ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 14.

³⁸² Eberly and Sherraden, 14.

basic training and attended classes in the evenings.³⁸³ This option gave participants who were interested in joining the armed forces or pursuing a career in the military a chance to experience some elements of military service.

An additional element of the program were homestays, which were called “billeting.”³⁸⁴ At each English-speaking site, participants were required to live for two weeks with a local family, and at each French-speaking site, participants were required to live for three weeks with a local family.³⁸⁵ The purpose of billeting was to teach diversity and to provide a language and cultural immersion experience.³⁸⁶ Participants were encouraged to stay with a family whose lifestyle was very different from their own. This model gave participants a safe place to test a lifestyle that perhaps they were interested in experiencing.

Communities that wished to host Katimavik groups had to present an application to Katimavik detailing what work projects they wished to complete with the help of Katimavik participants.³⁸⁷ Katimavik assessed the projects based on the degree in which they would benefit the host community as well as contribute to the overall development of the participants.³⁸⁸ All work projects were managed and supervised by community sponsors who provided equipment for participants to use.³⁸⁹ Potential sponsors worked extensively with Katimavik in establishing the length and scope of proposed projects and were required to learn Katimavik’s philosophy and purpose.³⁹⁰ Because the communities Katimavik worked with were diverse and had different needs, the projects that Katimavik participants worked on were wide ranging and varied.

³⁸³ Eberly and Sherraden, 14.

³⁸⁴ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 18.

³⁸⁵ McMullan and Snyder, 18.

³⁸⁶ McMullan and Snyder, 8.

³⁸⁷ McMullan and Snyder, 41.

³⁸⁸ McMullan and Snyder, 41–42.

³⁸⁹ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

³⁹⁰ Eberly and Sherraden, 42.

The structure of Katimavik service was rigorous. Each trimester, participants were required to spend approximately 75% of their time on traditional physical labor projects and 25% of their time on social service work projects.³⁹¹ Examples of physical projects include construction and renovation, gardening and landscaping, clearing trails and constructing bike paths, and maintenance.³⁹² Social service projects included working with the elderly, mentally handicapped, and school children; supervising and organizing community events; and serving as guides at historic sites.³⁹³ These examples are a very small sample of the types of projects Katimavik participants were engaged in. In addition to working on a service project with a community sponsor, participants were also expected to plan and execute an individual development project, participate in a group development project, volunteer eight or more hours on an activity within the community, attend conferences and workshops, complete a variety of learning programs, and help run a household with their fellow group members.³⁹⁴ Each activity was designed to help participants develop personal and social responsibility, teach teamwork, and build the participants' knowledge of Canada and the needs of Canadian communities. Many participants struggled to complete everything expected of them, which Katimavik expected and accepted.³⁹⁵ The program was designed to challenge participants through a wide variety of experiences.

Throughout Katimavik's first era, the 75:25 ratio of physical work to social work requirement was difficult to actualize. The primary complication was that there was less need for physical projects in urban communities and social projects were tough to organize in rural communities.³⁹⁶ Despite these challenges, Katimavik maintained its focus on

³⁹¹ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 44–46; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

³⁹² McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 45; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

³⁹³ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 45; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

³⁹⁴ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

³⁹⁵ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 49.

³⁹⁶ McMullan and Snyder, 44.

physical projects over social work because physical work projects were visible and could be used to attract public and political support.³⁹⁷ It was easier to measure and demonstrate the impact of physical projects than social work projects.

In comparison with other national service programs, Katimavik was unique in that completion of work projects was considered less important than the personal development of participants.³⁹⁸ Work was viewed as one of many programmatic elements that served to develop the social responsibility, self-confidence, and sense of citizenship in participants.³⁹⁹ However, the lack of emphasis on work and the numerous competing activities of Katimavik service also created a wide variety in the quality and quantity of work accomplished by participants.⁴⁰⁰ Some participants were enthusiastic and passionate about their projects while others found their projects inconsequential or unfulfilling. Studies found that, overall, Katimavik participants accomplished a lot, but that they could have done better had there been more emphasis on work completion.⁴⁰¹

2. First-Era Katimavik Service

To be eligible to serve in Katimavik, applicants had to be between 17 and 21 years old at the time of enrollment and in good physical and mental health.⁴⁰² If selected, Katimavik participants received a single ticket to travel independently to their first assigned work site.⁴⁰³ This independent travel was important because it was considered the participant's first step toward personal development and self-responsibility through experiential learning. Upon arrival in their first community of service, participants immediately began living together with their group in a Katimavik house.

³⁹⁷ McMullan and Snyder, 44.

³⁹⁸ McMullan and Snyder, 9, 49.

³⁹⁹ McMullan and Snyder, 9, 53.

⁴⁰⁰ McMullan and Snyder, 49, 54; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

⁴⁰¹ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 49, 54; Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

⁴⁰² McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 76.

⁴⁰³ McMullan and Snyder, 56.

Katimavik participants were expected to work together to manage and maintain their house.⁴⁰⁴ As a group, their responsibilities included shopping for nutritious food, adhering to an allotted budget, preparing group meals, eating together in the morning and evening, sharing household chores, and learning to live together in harmony.⁴⁰⁵ Each house was supervised by a Katimavik group leader who lived with the participants and facilitated their program experience. They assisted the participants in transitioning into group living, taught healthy communication habits by encouraging open discussion of feelings and opinions, and enforced the Katimavik Code of Conduct.⁴⁰⁶ Group leaders also were responsible for directing learning programs on topics such as nutrition, environmental awareness, work skills, technology, and second language learning.⁴⁰⁷

Group leaders were slightly older than the participants—typically between their mid-20s and 30s—and were extremely important to the program because of the role they played in facilitating the participants’ learning experience.⁴⁰⁸ They did not move with the groups but instead managed a single Katimavik house and welcomed a new group each trimester. Most group leaders joined the program with previous experience or training working with young adults.⁴⁰⁹ Additionally, prior to the start of each program year, all group leaders were required to attend one month of rigorous training in group leadership, teaching methods, administrative procedures, and safety.⁴¹⁰ The training, which took place at a center in Île-Perrot, Montreal, served to connect group leaders before they dispersed to their different sites.⁴¹¹ During training, Katimavik placed group leaders into “trimestral

⁴⁰⁴ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13; and McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16.

⁴⁰⁵ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16.

⁴⁰⁶ McMullan and Snyder, 57–58. The Code of Conduct prohibited sexual relations among volunteers, the use of drugs and alcohol in the house, and required all volunteers to equally share duties.

⁴⁰⁷ McMullan and Snyder, 33.

⁴⁰⁸ McMullan and Snyder, 33; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 11.

⁴⁰⁹ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 33, 38.

⁴¹⁰ McMullan and Snyder, 33, 38.

⁴¹¹ McMullan and Snyder, 40.

teams” of three.⁴¹² A trimestral team worked with the same three Katimavik groups during a program year. This structure gave group leaders a support network of two other peers who would be able to relate to and discuss some of the challenges they may face with group members.

Group leaders typically arrived at a site approximately one month ahead of the first participant group. Their primary role was to help participants build relationships in the community they were serving in, foster the growth and development of participants, and monitor groups as they learned to live and share responsibilities in their Katimavik house.⁴¹³ A critical early job for group leaders was to help participants learn personal and group responsibility as many of them were young and most likely had not lived away from home; however, as the group got to know each other better and form a group bond, the group leader was expected to step back and allow the participants to manage the household and their daily activities.⁴¹⁴ It is important to note that group leaders were mentors, resources, and disciplinarians, and were not to be treated as parental figures by the participants.⁴¹⁵ Each group leader presumably had their own style of working with Katimavik groups, but they always had their trimestral team peer-group to discuss progress and pace.

Learning healthy and effective communication skills across language barriers was considered an important aspect of the Katimavik program.⁴¹⁶ Group leaders were responsible for encouraging participants to express their opinions and to bring problems and issues out into the open.⁴¹⁷ To aid group leaders who perhaps did not have as much experience in teaching communication beyond the initial four-week group leader training, Katimavik incorporated group discussion of feelings and opinions into evening learning

⁴¹² McMullan and Snyder, 40.

⁴¹³ McMullan and Snyder, 33.

⁴¹⁴ McMullan and Snyder, 57.

⁴¹⁵ McMullan and Snyder, 57.

⁴¹⁶ McMullan and Snyder, 58.

⁴¹⁷ McMullan and Snyder, 58.

programs.⁴¹⁸ Participants also had regular evaluations with their group leader where they reflected upon and discussed the changes they were experiencing.⁴¹⁹ Katimavik's efforts in developing healthy communication habits in participants was impressive. They offered numerous platforms—from group living to working with local community groups to mentoring sessions with group leaders—in which participants could practice communication with individuals with different personalities, opinions, beliefs, cultural backgrounds, and language skills. Katimavik arguably achieved its overarching goal to foster youth development through a variety of experiences; however, it did not manage to generate enough public or political support to avoid a funding cut in 1986.

C. THE SECOND ERA: 1994–2012

Upon reinstatement, Katimavik released a new mission statement that stated the program aimed to “foster the personal development of our nation’s young people through a challenging program of participant community work, training and group interaction.”⁴²⁰ The program additionally asserted its mission would be achieved by bringing diverse young Canadians together so that they may form lasting bonds with each other and with the communities they served in, and in turn increase their employability and develop an appreciation for Canada’s multicultural nature. The professional development element seems out of place given that the rest of the mission statement was about multiculturalism and bringing people together. However, since Katimavik lost funding during a time when the Canadian government was focused on job-creation strategies, it is unsurprising Katimavik tried to rebrand itself as a professional development program. If the program wanted to survive, it needed to demonstrate that its programs were relevant to the current goals of the federal government. In fact, a 2006 evaluation conducted by the Department

⁴¹⁸ McMullan and Snyder, 58, 61.

⁴¹⁹ McMullan and Snyder, 61.

⁴²⁰ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 4; and Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 1.

of Canadian Heritage went so far to assert, “Katimavik is focused on the skills youth need to enter and advance in the workforce.”⁴²¹

Yet, Katimavik’s stated objectives at that time were

1. to contribute substantially to the personal, social, and professional development of the participants;
2. to promote community service; and,
3. to offer a diversified experience fostering a better understanding of the Canadian reality.⁴²²

Only one out of the three objectives mentioned professional skill building, which raises the question of how focused Katimavik really was regarding this issue. Katimavik also notably dropped its goal of promoting environmental awareness. Almost all reports covering Katimavik’s first era from 1977 to 1986 agree that the program largely failed at teaching environmental awareness to participants.⁴²³

1. Second-Era Katimavik Program Structure

Despite the added goal of professional development and the removal of environmental awareness, Katimavik’s programmatic structuring generally remained the same. The program length was shortened from nine months to seven months and group size was decreased from 12 participants to 11 participants. Katimavik continued to use parameterized participant selection for group formation; however, some minor changes were made to group composition so that groups more accurately represented Canada’s population breakdown by province. Each group was specifically assigned one participant from the Atlantic provinces; one from the Yukon Territory or British Columbia; two from the Northwest Territories, Prairies, or Nunavut; three from Quebec; and four from Ontario.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, ii. The Department of Canadian Heritage is a department of the Canadian federal government that works with organizations that are involved in the cultural, civic, and economic life of Canadians. Canadian Heritage, “Canadian Heritage,” September 13, 2020, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage.html>.

⁴²² Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 1; and R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 4.

⁴²³ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 108.

⁴²⁴ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 2.

2. Second-Era Katimavik Service

In 2000, Katimavik piloted two summer leadership programs to target a portion of Canada's young population that did not qualify to participate in Katimavik due to age.⁴²⁵ The Leader program was specifically for 16–19-year-old Canadians and landed immigrants, and the LeaderPlus program was for those between the ages of 22 and 26.⁴²⁶ Participants had the options of serving six weeks or nine weeks. Although the pilot went well, Katimavik chose to end both programs because they failed to meet Katimavik's main objectives of promoting cultural diversity, second language learning, and community service.⁴²⁷ Rather than restructure the two programs, Katimavik instead began working on improving the leadership development segment within the overall Katimavik program.⁴²⁸

In 2008, Katimavik experimented with another short program model that was also based on experiential learning. The Eco-internship program was designed for university students and college graduates between the ages of 18 to 30 who were interested in working on environmental issues.⁴²⁹ This program was born following a CA\$1.4 million funding contract with the Quebec government in which Katimavik committed to creating an innovative sustainable development program that would benefit Quebec.⁴³⁰ Internships in two different regions of Quebec were offered in the areas on eco-citizenship, sustainable ecological development, and environmental protection.⁴³¹ The program was a success and in the years the followed, participants had the choice to participate in either three- or six-

⁴²⁵ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2000–2001* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2001), 22, <https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Annual-Report-2000-2001-Katimavik.pdf>.

⁴²⁶ Katimavik, 22.

⁴²⁷ Katimavik, 22.

⁴²⁸ Katimavik, 22.

⁴²⁹ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Audit of the Katimavik Program* (Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Heritage, 2010), 8, <https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.694091/publication.html>; Katimavik, "Who We Are"; Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2009), 34–35, <https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/rapportannuelen20082009.pdf>; and Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2007–2008* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2007), 34.

⁴³⁰ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2007–2008*, 34.

⁴³¹ Katimavik, 34.

month internships in four different regions of the province.⁴³² During their service, interns worked with host communities in addressing contemporary ecological needs such as sustainable agriculture, water management, energy efficiency, biodiversity protection and conservation, and climate change.⁴³³ Interns additionally worked with a facilitator who provided guidance, coaching, and exposure to professional networks.⁴³⁴

In 2009, Katimavik launched three themed-based programs that were each six months long.⁴³⁵ Participants who were interested in only serving for six months had the option of participating in an Eco-citizenship and Active Living program, a Second Language and Cultural Diversity program, or a Cultural Diversity and Civic-Engagement program.⁴³⁶ Participants who chose the Eco-citizenship and Active Living program served in three different communities in Canada where they worked on projects that promoted environmental stewardship and healthy lifestyles.⁴³⁷ The program was created to expose participants to the various ecological challenges Canadian communities face.⁴³⁸ Those who chose the Second Language and Cultural Diversity program served in two different communities: one Anglophone community and one Francophone community.⁴³⁹ This was a cultural and linguistic immersion experience in which participants lived with a host family who helped facilitate cultural immersion and second language acquisition.⁴⁴⁰ Participants engaged in work that gave them the opportunity to practice their second language skills and/or exposed them to the culture and people of the region. Participants

⁴³² Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 34.

⁴³³ Katimavik, 34; Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Audit of the Katimavik Program*, 8; and Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2007–2008*, 34.

⁴³⁴ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 35.

⁴³⁵ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 6; Katimavik, “Who We Are”; Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 32.

⁴³⁶ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 32–33; Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 6; and Katimavik, “Who We Are”; and Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 32.

⁴³⁷ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 32.

⁴³⁸ Katimavik, 32.

⁴³⁹ Katimavik, 33.

⁴⁴⁰ Katimavik, 33.

who chose the Cultural Diversity and Civic-Engagement Program served in three very different communities: a large urban city, a rural town, and a Northern Canadian community.⁴⁴¹ This program provided a diverse experience in which participants learned the history, geography, economy, and socio-cultural composition of the communities they served in.

D. THE THIRD ERA: 2012–PRESENT

Following yet another cut by the federal government, Katimavik's traditional program ground to a halt. However, alumni helped keep Katimavik alive for university students and college graduates through its Eco-internship program, which continued to receive funding from the Quebec government. This section covers the Katimavik's third-era program structure.

1. Third-Era Katimavik Program Structure

In 2014, Katimavik was able to bring back its Eco-citizenship and Active Living program through the Quebec government.⁴⁴² The program was shortened to three months and was renamed Eco-stage.⁴⁴³ Participants in four regions of Quebec worked four days per week on projects that involved environmental awareness and protection.⁴⁴⁴

In 2015, Katimavik piloted the Canadian Youth Leadership Program, a four-month program designed specifically for young Metis living in Alberta.⁴⁴⁵ The participants lived in a Katimavik house, worked on community projects that were designed to provide training for future employment, and attended an introductory Aboriginal Studies course at Trent University.⁴⁴⁶ This was the first time Katimavik developed a program specifically for one of Canada's Indigenous populations.

⁴⁴¹ Katimavik, 33.

⁴⁴² Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2014–2015* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2015), 5, https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Katimavik_Report_2015_EN.pdf.

⁴⁴³ Katimavik, 5.

⁴⁴⁴ Katimavik, 5.

⁴⁴⁵ Katimavik, 9.

⁴⁴⁶ Katimavik, 9.

In 2017, Katimavik announced critical changes to its mission and programming.⁴⁴⁷ The organization moved active reconciliation with Canada's Indigenous communities to its core focus and released three 21st-century core competencies to help participants transition into adulthood in the modern era: civic engagement, employment, and personal development.⁴⁴⁸ Additionally, the program added a Socio-internship option, based on the same structure as the Eco-internship. Socio-interns worked on projects in Quebec communities that promoted physical and mental health, and education on safe and healthy behaviors.⁴⁴⁹

In 2018, Katimavik released a new mission that was to “develop diverse youth as engaged, caring citizens and capable contributors and leaders for a better Canada. Katimavik fosters understanding, respect and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples and with Canada's other diverse cultures, regions and the environment.”⁴⁵⁰ Its new vision was to create “diverse, engaged and empowered youth working together to create just relationships and transform communities, the environment and themselves for a better Canada.”⁴⁵¹ After years of development, Katimavik finally launched its Indigenous Youth in Transition project, which was designed to provide volunteer opportunities to young men and women between the ages of 18–30 from the Tlicho and Cree First Nations communities. Participants resided together in Katimavik houses, volunteered in various community organizations, and attended courses at Trent University and First Nations University of Canada.

2. Third-Era Katimavik Service

The Canadian government additionally restored funding to Katimavik in 2018 through the Canada Service Corps. The new funding allowed Katimavik to relaunch the

⁴⁴⁷ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2016–2017* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2017), 3, https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/katimavik_annual_report_1617_august29.compressed-1.pdf.

⁴⁴⁸ Katimavik, 3.

⁴⁴⁹ Katimavik, 9.

⁴⁵⁰ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2017–2018*, 1.

⁴⁵¹ Katimavik, 1.

short form of its original program under the name of National Experience.⁴⁵² Young Canadians and landed immigrants from 18–25 once more had the opportunity to serve and live with a diverse cohort of 11 participants in two very different communities across Canada for a five-and-a-half-month period. Six communities in different provinces across Canada partnered with Katimavik for the relaunch. To help pay for the National Experience program, Katimavik added a new requirement that participants fundraise prior to the program’s start date unless it would be a barrier to participation in the program due to personal circumstance.⁴⁵³ Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, Katimavik’s leadership decided to continue its full program schedule. In fact, during the middle of the pandemic, the program received a record number of applications.⁴⁵⁴

In 2021, Katimavik launched a 12-week career development program for young adults called FuturePerfect.⁴⁵⁵ Participants work on developing competencies and skills that will help them enter the Canadian workforce. Any citizen, permanent resident, or landed refugee 30 and younger can participate as long as they are the age of the majority in their home provinces.⁴⁵⁶ The program is intended for young adults who face high competition for employment where they live. Like the Katimavik National Experience program, FuturePerfect uses the group living model. Eight participants live together in Katimavik houses across Canada where they receive a week and a half of training on professional skills. Participants then submit their resumes and applications to employers who have partnered with Katimavik for the FuturePerfect program. Employers offer jobs to the participants who they feel are a good fit with their organization. Katimavik partners with non-profit organizations, public organizations, and private-sector companies, in the industries of finance and healthcare, service and hospitality, trades and manufacturing, and

⁴⁵² Katimavik, 2.

⁴⁵³ Katimavik, “National Experience,” Katimavik What We Offer, accessed January 29, 2022, <https://katimavik.org/en/we-offer/national-experience/>.

⁴⁵⁴ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2020–2021* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2021), 2,13, https://www.canva.com/design/DAEjiSpGHXo/mYRciAmyKkNpq_7D3_D2Vw/view.

⁴⁵⁵ Katimavik, “FuturePerfect,” Katimavik What We Offer, accessed March 10, 2022, <https://katimavik.org/en/we-offer/futureperfect/>.

⁴⁵⁶ Katimavik.

non-profit and social. Participants work for 35–40 hours per week, Monday through Friday, and are paid for their work. Since the participants are paid employees, FuturePerfect does not give participants a food stipend; however, rent, utilities, internet, and a home phone are provided at no cost. Overall, FuturePerfect tries to retain the traditional Katimavik model, which encourages cross-boundary relationships in a paid internship environment.

E. ANALYSIS

Katimavik is a unique program in that its overarching objective from its inception has been to use civic service to bring young Canadians from different cultural backgrounds together, teach them to live harmoniously with each other and share knowledge, and encourage them to learn either French or English as a second language.⁴⁵⁷ In other words, youth development is the goal while civic service is the tool used to reach that goal. The focus on youth development over all else has challenged Katimavik over the years, as its impact on Canada is not easily measurable. However, Katimavik has proven to be adept at testing different programs to try to rectify this issue. The following two sections analyzes Katimavik's impact on the Canadian communities it serves and then on participants.

1. Impact of Katimavik on Canadian Communities

During Katimavik's first era, the program struggled to prove that the volunteer work Katimavik groups engaged in improved quality of life in Canadian communities, which led to its eventual funding cut from the federal government. Several years after its founding, Katimavik employed a firm called Econsult to conduct an economic impact assessment on Katimavik's 1980–1985 program years. Rather than measure Katimavik's social and physical work accomplishments, the report instead focused on the number of hours each volunteer worked and the hourly wage the volunteers would have earned had they been paid employees. However, since Katimavik did not prioritize work productivity with its volunteers, this measurement model turned out to be problematic.⁴⁵⁸ Econsult found that the quality and timeliness of work produced by volunteers were less than what

⁴⁵⁷ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 8.

⁴⁵⁸ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 109.

would be expected and required of a paid employee even through the breadth and depth of work volunteers were expected to complete far exceeded what was required of a wage-earning worker.⁴⁵⁹

Furthermore, Econosult asked community sponsors to evaluate the quality of the work participants completed, the participants' skill level, and their overall motivation. There were three possible rating options: excellent, good, or fair, or very skillful, somewhat skillful, or not skillful. Nearly 70% of sponsors rated participant motivation and the quality of their completed work as "good," and their skill level as "somewhat skillful."⁴⁶⁰ However, despite these lukewarm ratings, most sponsors expressed appreciation for Katimavik participants.⁴⁶¹ Econosult's results indicated that while Katimavik's impact on communities regarding services provided were average, the program was fairly successful in facilitating positive relationships between participants and community sponsors.

Econosult's final report estimated that the federal government spent approximately CA\$109.6 million funding the Katimavik program, but the work volunteers produced only amounted to about CA\$58.7 million during the reviewed program years.⁴⁶² Given these statistics, it is unsurprising that the federal government cut Katimavik's funding during a period of fiscal conservatism. Scholars McMullan and Snyder noted that while volunteers did accomplish a significant amount of work during Katimavik's first era, the volunteers could have achieved much more had there been an emphasis on completing projects on time.⁴⁶³ They furthermore speculated that Katimavik's failure to prioritize project completion in host communities may have contributed to the program's demise. When the federal government was poised to terminate funding, leaders of host communities did not rally and fight for Katimavik's continuation.⁴⁶⁴ The lack of strong support from host

⁴⁵⁹ McMullan and Snyder, 53–54; and Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 13.

⁴⁶⁰ Econosult, *Economic Impact Assessment of the Katimavik Program, Phase 2: Final Report* (Montreal, Canada: Econosult/Lavalin, 1985), 30.

⁴⁶¹ Econosult, 62.

⁴⁶² Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 16.

⁴⁶³ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 109.

⁴⁶⁴ McMullan and Snyder, 115.

communities indicated that perhaps Katimavik needed to shift some of its focus from volunteer development to community service.

Katimavik made significant programmatic changes during its second era, which resulted in positive outcomes. The program's Eco-internship community work partners expressed much higher satisfaction with Katimavik's impact on their communities as compared to the community sponsors during Katimavik's first era. Katimavik's evaluations in 2006 and 2010 noted that over 90% of community work partners were very satisfied with the service participants provided.⁴⁶⁵ In a 2008 assessment, over 90% of community work partners felt that the work participants delivered was of high quality and contributed greatly to the communities.⁴⁶⁶ In fact, Katimavik performed so well that every single community partner renewed their contract with Katimavik for the following year. The improved perception of the work delivered by Katimavik participants indicate that the program found a better balance between volunteer development and civic service.

Unfortunately, the economic cost of Katimavik continued to be an issue during Katimavik's second era. A 2006 economic evaluation found that the monetary cost per volunteer was high compared to other similar youth programs.⁴⁶⁷ Additionally, salary costs represented 40% of total program costs, which was very high compared to similar programs.⁴⁶⁸ The high salary expense for the program is not all that surprising given that Katimavik hired group leaders for every Katimavik house. By 2010, Katimavik was able to bring down its program costs to match that of other similar youth programs; however, it still depended heavily on financial contributions from the federal government.⁴⁶⁹ Katimavik's dependency on federal funding put it at risk because it struggled to prove to

⁴⁶⁵ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 47–48; R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 28.

⁴⁶⁶ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2008–2009*, 35.

⁴⁶⁷ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 46.

⁴⁶⁸ Department of Canadian Heritage, 46.

⁴⁶⁹ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 48.

policy makers that the program was significantly benefitting communities or tangibly helping participants.

Much of Katimavik's third era was reduced to side programs due to funding restrictions; however, annual reports of Katimavik's status show that volunteers with the Eco-stage contributed significant hours of volunteer work to Quebec communities. During the 2015–2016 program year, 44 volunteers provided more than 18,000 hours of environmental protection and sustainable development service.⁴⁷⁰ Based on annual reports, it appears that the Eco-stage and Socio-stage programs received support and praise from community partners.⁴⁷¹ As of the time of this writing, Katimavik has not released reports on the relaunched National Experience program and the new FuturePerfect Program, so their impact cannot yet be measured.

While Katimavik has improved its impact on Canadian communities over the course of its three eras, its areas of service lack focus. Rather than addressing a specific and pressing issue in Canada, Katimavik has been a Jack-of-all-trades but a master of none throughout its programmatic years. This lack of focus has made it difficult for the program to establish that the service projects it completes significantly benefits Canada. Without solid data, Katimavik will continue to struggle to secure increased funding, which in turn impacts overall program size.

2. Impact of Katimavik on Participants

Katimavik's strength has consistently been its impact on participants. Its group living model and parameterized participant selection in group formation successfully brings together young Canadians from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Its use of group leaders for program facilitation appears to be an effective method to teach participants the responsibilities of running a cohesive household and how to live and communicate with individuals who are different from themselves.

⁴⁷⁰ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2015–2016* (Montreal, Canada: Katimavik, 2016), 12, https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/KTM_AnnualReport2016_EN_LR.pdf.

⁴⁷¹ Katimavik, *Katimavik Annual Report: 2016–2017*, 9.

Two separate studies from Katimavik's first era determined that participants greatly benefitted from the program's first-era group structure and group living arrangement. Notably, the participants were found to have learned through the program how to execute social-emotional leadership, teach and learn from each other, and work together as a cohesive group to accomplish tasks.⁴⁷² Participants additionally learned about other cultures through their team members and from the three very different communities they served. An evaluation conducted in 1985 revealed that 86% of participants reported that Katimavik was either useful or very useful, with more leaning toward the latter.⁴⁷³ The assessment also found that participants were more likely to enroll in school following service as compared to the national average for 17–21-year-old Canadians.⁴⁷⁴

During Katimavik's second era, the program released a series of comprehensive reports in 2002, 2006, 2008, and 2010. During this era, Katimavik claimed service would contribute to the professional development of participants and provide skills to help them enter the Canadian workforce. Studies of Katimavik found that nearly two-thirds of Katimavik participants reported that the program helped them choose a career path or reaffirmed their career choice.⁴⁷⁵ However, only 41% of surveyed participants reported that Katimavik service increased their ability to get a job.⁴⁷⁶ It appeared that Katimavik service exposed participants to various career options but failed to provide a pathway to employment.

On the other hand, a 2006 report that focused on the social impact of Katimavik found that following service, participants had increased awareness and knowledge of the values and challenges that rural Canadian communities face compared to what they

⁴⁷² Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 15; and McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 108.

⁴⁷³ Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 15.

⁴⁷⁴ Eberly and Sherraden, 15.

⁴⁷⁵ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 17; Étude Économique Conseil, *Evaluation of the Economic and Social Impacts of the Katimavik Program: Final Report* (Quebec, Canada: Etude Economique Conseil (EEC Canada), 2002), 3, <https://katimavik.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/eecrapportfinalen2002.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁶ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 17; Étude Économique Conseil, *Evaluation of the Economic and Social Impacts*, 3.

understood when they entered the program. The report also noted that 97% of respondents declared that after Katimavik service, they appreciated cultural differences in Canada, and 90% of respondents reported that they could better relate to people and cultures in different regions within Canada.⁴⁷⁷ Ninety-two percent of respondents expressed that Katimavik gave them community cohesion and a sense of belonging even after completion of service.⁴⁷⁸ Former participants also reported that Katimavik service taught them responsibility, leadership, teamwork, and work ethics.⁴⁷⁹ An annual report released by Katimavik in 2012 reaffirmed the social impact of Katimavik, indicating that the program was consistent in its ability to instill a sense of multiculturalism and Canadian unity among participants. Overall, the various reports found that individuals who completed Katimavik service were very satisfied with their experience and departed the program with an increased understanding of Canada and its geographic, environmental, and cultural diversity.⁴⁸⁰

F. CONCLUSION

The fact that Canada's original Katimavik program concept is still in existence today after two federal funding cuts and periods of alternative programming speaks to the positive impacts of this unique national service program. Thanks to the program's group structuring method, Katimavik achieves its primary objective of bringing young people with different experiences, backgrounds, and perspectives together to develop a group identity that remains inclusive, welcoming, and curious of others. In addition, by sending Katimavik groups to vastly different communities across Canada, the program makes it more likely that participants will have their preconceived beliefs and opinions challenged. Katimavik's strengths lie in its unwavering focus on bringing cultural awareness, personal growth, and national unity to Canada's young adults. However, the program's weakness

⁴⁷⁷ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 21.

⁴⁷⁸ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., 21, 42.

⁴⁷⁹ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., 22.

⁴⁸⁰ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 33–34; R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 24; Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 18.

has been and continues to be its struggle to prove that social development is worth funding. Most assessments on Katimavik measure the work participants accomplish during their service against the cost of running the program; yet the work that participants produce is only one segment of the programming. Unfortunately, it is impossible to measure the economic impact of creating a more unified Canada through teaching young generations healthy communication skills, cultural awareness and acceptance, and the importance of service to communities.

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VI. ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis seeks to answer the question, “How might mandatory national service help strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants?” Accordingly, this paper researched and analyzed three non-military national service programs that were developed to bring together diverse groups of people to work on critical issues affecting their respective nations. Each national service program was analyzed individually regarding its impact on program participants and on the communities served. This chapter provides a comparative analysis of all three programs. Following the analysis, this chapter presents findings and offers recommendations to policy makers in the United States on developing a national service program that specifically aims to cultivate social cohesion between citizens and the various immigrant groups that are an integral part of our multicultural nation. The chapter ends with suggestions for future research on this topic.

A. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Research on the CCC, City Year, and Katimavik revealed several trends. This section provides a comparative analysis of the three programs on their effectiveness in bringing together diverse participants, bringing together participants and community members, and providing services that benefit and strengthen the nation.

1. Bringing Together Diverse Participants and Cultivating Cohesion

There are two distinct ways that the CCC, City Year, and Katimavik achieve bringing together diverse participants: program-provided housing and diverse group formation. The CCC and Katimavik both provide group housing, transportation, and food to their program participants while Katimavik and City Year utilize diverse group formation to create diverse participant groups. A significant benefit of providing housing and transportation to participants is that expectations are set with participants that they will go wherever the program sends them since all expenses are covered. Through this model, the CCC was able to assemble together U.S. citizen men from diverse ethnic, religious, geographic, and educational backgrounds in large outdoor wilderness camps where they lived, worked, ate, engaged in recreation, and attended classes together for the entirety of

their service. According to various accounts, CCC enrollees learned to work collaboratively and get along with people from a variety of different backgrounds in this environment.⁴⁸¹ Former enrollees also described developing a shared American spirit and patriotism with fellow enrollees who were of different ethnicities and backgrounds from their own, which indicates that the CCC's group living model was successful in cultivating bonds and a shared identity among diverse enrollees.⁴⁸²

However, despite the CCC's success in bringing diverse enrollees together, a significant drawback of the program was that it failed to teach or encourage acceptance of diversity. Instead, the CCC had a nationalistic flair in that it discriminated against minority non-White racial groups and endeavored to assimilate enrollees from various ethnic backgrounds. The program segregated Black and Native American enrollees into separate camps so that they could not mix with enrollees accepted into the traditional CCC camps. Additionally, traditional CCC camps were promoted as melting pots that transformed hyphenated Americans into American men.⁴⁸³

In contrast, both Katimavik and City Year actively advocate for respect, understanding, inclusivity, and equity of diverse cultures and peoples. These two programs intentionally place diverse participants together for the entirety of the service period so that the participants can build relationships and learn how to work together toward a common purpose. Katimavik's method of group formation is particularly interesting because the program uses parameterized participant selection to sort program participants into cohorts of 11 to 12 participants that reflect the composition of Canada's population regarding gender, national language, and geographic region.⁴⁸⁴ Additionally, Katimavik further diversifies groups by race, ethnicity, immigrant status, sexual orientation, gender identity,

⁴⁸¹ Bass, *The Politics and Civics of National Service*, 61–62; Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 106; McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 75.

⁴⁸² Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 108–9.

⁴⁸³ Maher, 108; McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 75.

⁴⁸⁴ Department of Canadian Heritage, *Summative Evaluation of the Katimavik Program*, 2; and McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16.

religion, and socio-economic status.⁴⁸⁵ The program's group formation method ensures that participants from a wide variety of communities and backgrounds are brought together.

Katimavik can use parameterized participant selection because it provides group housing, transportation, and a food stipend to its participants, which eliminates financial or logistical restraints that might prevent a participant from serving in their assigned group. The program achieves high levels of cohesion among program participants by keeping groups together for the entirety of the program. Throughout service, participants are required to share household responsibilities, learn healthy and effective methods of communication, and live together harmoniously despite cultural, language, and personality differences.⁴⁸⁶ According reports on Katimavik across the years, a great majority of alumni have expressed that Katimavik's group-living model gave them community cohesion and a sense of belonging.⁴⁸⁷ Additionally, almost all surveyed alumni assert that Katimavik service helped them appreciate cultural differences in Canada, which indicates the program's group formation method is highly successful in fostering acceptance of diversity among participants.⁴⁸⁸

While City Year also creates diverse groups, its approach to group formation is markedly different from Katimavik. Whereas Katimavik's group diversity is predominantly based on cultural, geographic, and language differences, City Year's group diversity model is primarily focused on bringing together participants of different racial and ethnic identities.⁴⁸⁹ The program measures its diversity by the percentage of Black, Latinx, Asian, and other people of color in each group. However, City Year is also committed to promoting diversity, belonging, inclusion, and equity across all aspects and

⁴⁸⁵ "Mission and Vision," Katimavik, accessed January 29, 2022, <https://katimavik.org/en/we-are/#missionvisionEN>.

⁴⁸⁶ McMullan and Snyder, *Youth Corps Case Studies*, 16.

⁴⁸⁷ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., *Social and Economic Impact Study*, 21, 42.

⁴⁸⁸ R.A. Malatest & Associates Ltd., 21.

⁴⁸⁹ City Year, "Equity Work."

dimensions of identity, whether it be related to gender, sexual orientation, religion, political affiliation, origin, color, or disability.⁴⁹⁰

Despite City Year's commitment to diversity, it is far less exact in its team formation as compared to Katimavik and thus has varying levels of diversity team to team. City Year's inconsistency in diverse group formation is related to its failure to provide housing and transportation to participants. Because the program does not provide these benefits, it cannot easily group and send participants to a location without taking into consideration the financial feasibility of a particular site placement. Not all City Year service locations have easily accessible public transit, and relocation expenses can far exceed the one-time \$500 reimbursement City Year offers to AmeriCorps members who must travel 50 miles or more reach their assigned service site. To provide equal opportunity to AmeriCorps members from various socioeconomic backgrounds, the program allows AmeriCorps members to choose which city they would like to serve in during the application process.⁴⁹¹ As a result of this practice, City Year's pool of diverse applicants is constrained to who applies and is accepted for service at each location. Some sites attract a highly diverse applicant group while other sites struggle to attract applicants from a variety of backgrounds.

Although City Year participants do not live together, the nearly year-long service period and intensive one-month basic training academy appear to help teams form close bonds. Studies on City Year alumni have established that alumni overwhelmingly support diversity and believe that City Year service helped them develop close relationships with people from different backgrounds.⁴⁹² Furthermore, AmeriCorps members are trained to mentor students on how to work across differences with people who different from themselves. The results of the studies and the training AmeriCorps members receive suggest that AmeriCorps members develop close relationships with their students as well as their fellow team members.

⁴⁹⁰ City Year.

⁴⁹¹ City Year, "FAQ."

⁴⁹² Anderson, Laguarda, and Williams, *The Effect of the City Year Experience over Time*, 23–24.

Overall, the CCC and Katimavik demonstrate how program-provided housing and transportation give national service programs more control over where participants serve and how participants interact with each other. The CCC and Katimavik's group living model offers an environment for people with different backgrounds and personalities to experience living together. Group living furthermore challenges participants to work across differences and come together over common goals and purpose. Katimavik and City Year, on the other hand, demonstrate how program-provided housing and transportation impacts a program's ability to create diverse participant groups. Consequently, the two programs provide examples of different methods national service programs can use to cultivate close relationships between diverse participants.

2. Bringing Together Participants and Community Members

In addition to fostering cohesion between diverse participants, national service also has the potential to cultivate relationships between participants and community members. The CCC, City Year, and Katimavik each present varying levels of success in bringing participants and community members together through program structure.

Out of the three programs, the CCC fostered the most contact between participants and community members due to the sheer scale of the program. The CCC opened over 4,500 CCC camps across the United States over the course of nine years.⁴⁹³ Many of these camps were within a few hours of a rural community or town. CCC enrollees would travel to these towns after dinner or on the weekends, which helped build relationships between enrollees and community members. Furthermore, local foresters, wildlife technicians, agronomists, mechanics, engineers, carpenters, and artisans also traveled to CCC camps to help train and educate enrollees.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ Speakman, "Into the Woods."

⁴⁹⁴ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942*, 34. Because the CCC enrolled over 250,00 enrollees per year, most of whom had no experience in forestry, the Department of Agriculture and the Interior needed to make sure the enrollees were adequately supervised so that they did not damage the nation's forests or injure themselves. The Forest Service did not have enough employees to supervise this many people and were struggling to find qualified men to hire as supervisors until they turned to local foresters.

The CCC camps were so popular that 85% of letters sent to the director of the CCC from 1933 to 1941 expressed support for the CCC, and most contained petitions asking for camps to be installed near the requestor's community or petitions for the continuation of already existing camps.⁴⁹⁵ While there is little research on how close the relationships were between enrollees and community members, these letters indicate that communities had positive views of the enrollees and the program in general.

While much smaller in scale as compared to the CCC, City Year is an excellent example of a program that develops strong relationships between participants and community members. AmeriCorps members serve for 11 months in one school and work in the same classroom every day.⁴⁹⁶ This long-service duration allows AmeriCorps members to build meaningful and trusting relationships with their students, their students' families, their partner teacher, and school staff. The schools City Year serves are in areas where poverty is concentrated and students come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds, which exposes AmeriCorps members to economic, racial, and cultural diversity.⁴⁹⁷ Likewise, because AmeriCorps members work as near-peer mentors and role models, students are exposed to different perspectives and can witness diverse City Year teams working together across differences.

Of the three programs, Katimavik presents the less-effective model for building close relationships between participants and community members. Although Katimavik has always sent participants to various communities across Canada, either through its national service or theme-based programs, the service period at each community has always been three months or less. The short service periods limit relationship building between community members and participants. The program's loss of federal funding in its first era was an indication that participants and community members failed to form close bonds, as community leaders did not petition the government to continue Katimavik's

⁴⁹⁵ Sherraden, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps," 216.

⁴⁹⁶ City Year, "What to Expect."

⁴⁹⁷ City Year, "Equity Work."

funding. Katimavik's continued struggles with funding suggest that relationships between participants and community members do not run as deep as the CCC and City Year.

Altogether, City Year appears to be the most effective in fostering close relationships between participants and community members. City Year succeeds in this realm because its mission and purpose require that AmeriCorps members form trusting and supportive relationships with the students, schools, and communities they serve. However, the CCC demonstrates the power of scale plus popularity. While communities may not have developed as close of bonds with CCC enrollees as AmeriCorps members and their students, the number of camps and enrollees resulted in connections between millions of people.

3. Providing Services that Benefit and Strengthen the Nation

All three of these case studies provide examples of how a national service programs can benefit and strengthen a nation; however, Katimavik's struggle to maintain federal support and funding highlights the importance of having an objective that is measurable. Likewise, the CCC's closure after nine years of overwhelming popularity in Congress and among the American public underscores the necessity that national service programs maintain a purpose that is relevant to the needs of the nation.

The CCC was an impressive program in that it had two clear, measurable objectives that it met on an incredibly large scale. The program provided unemployment relief to three million men and these men completed conservation projects across the United States and its territories that were worth an estimated US\$2 billion (more than \$36.3 billion in 2022 dollars)..⁴⁹⁸ Additionally, the CCC stimulated the U.S. economy during the Great Depression by purchasing goods from American businesses, hiring American workers, and completing projects that resulted in income generation for some of the communities located near CCC camps.

The CCC's accomplishments were highly visible, measurable, and helped rebuild the nation during a time of environmental and economic crises, which made it popular

⁴⁹⁸ McEntee, *Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 43.

among the public. In turn, the program's accomplishments and popularity influenced political unity within the U.S. Congress. The CCC further strengthened the nation by giving three million enrollees experiences and skills that would later benefit the country. When the United States entered WWII, approximately one and a half million CCC alumni enlisted into the military.⁴⁹⁹ Compared to an average recruit, they were already partially trained and conditioned, which greatly benefitted the U.S. military during the war.⁵⁰⁰

However, once the U.S. economy recovered from the Great Depression and the country entered WWII, the CCC failed to pivot its objectives to address a new problem. Since unemployment was no longer a critical issue, half of the program's objectives were no longer relevant, which led to its eventual closure. While the CCC demonstrates what scale can accomplish, it also exemplifies the risk of allowing a program's objective or mission to slip out of relevancy.

City Year is an example of a program that has figured out how to balance both measurable and non-measurable objectives to secure funding. The program identified a critical issue in the United States (high drop-out rates in school districts where poverty is concentrated) and developed a holistic model to improve the academic performance and social-emotional skills of students at these schools. While it is easy to measure changes in academic performance and argue that higher graduation rates are beneficial to the United States, it is not easy to measure the benefits that arise when young people learn how to manage their emotions and navigate difficult social situations. Yet, City Year does not have to fight for funding to provide social and emotional skill building for students because standardized tests establish that schools that partner with City Year consistently score higher on English Language Arts and mathematics tests.⁵⁰¹ The program's success in academic skill building has helped City Year secure funding and support from the federal

⁴⁹⁹ Heller, "The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership," 448.

⁵⁰⁰ Heller, 448.

⁵⁰¹ Meredith and Anderson, *City Year's Whole School*, 18–19.

government, large philanthropists, and Fortune 100 companies.⁵⁰² This steady flow of funding allows City Year to continue growing and developing its holistic approach.

Katimavik, on the other hand, has an objective that is not measurable, which has caused funding issues throughout its history. The primary problem the program seeks to address is tension among Canada's multicultural communities. However, there is no way to tangibly measure to what extent healthy communication and increased understanding and respect among diverse Canadians benefits and strengthens the nation. Although Katimavik participants also work on service projects in the communities they serve in, the projects are varied and do not address a critical issue that impacts a significant portion of the Canadian population. Thus, even though Katimavik is successful in cultivating close relationships between diverse participants, the program lacks data points that prove the program's benefit to the nation.

B. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, this thesis finds that a national service program with the right structural elements has the potential to cultivate stronger relationships between permanent residents and U.S. citizens. Specifically, the research has resulted in three findings:

- (1) National service by itself does not necessarily bring diverse people together and cultivate close relationships or comradery. The program must be developed with the specific intent to bring together people from diverse background and to foster inclusion, equity, belonging, and respect between those people.
- (2) To make a national service program sustainable, the program must have relevant and measurable objectives. A national service program must be

⁵⁰² "Our Partners."

able to prove that it is achieving a goal that significantly benefits the nation to secure ongoing funding as well as political and public support.

- (3) To make lasting impact and change across a nation, a national service program must be large scale, which likely means it needs to be mandatory.

Based on these findings, this thesis recommends that policy makers who wish to create a national service program that aims to strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants incorporate each of the following six elements into the program development.

1. Commitment to Diversity, Inclusion, Equity, and Belonging⁵⁰³

The national service program must, like City Year and Katimavik, promote diversity, inclusion, equity, belonging, and respect between different immigrant groups and citizens. These values establish the purpose of the program. They also set the tone regarding what the program expects from participants and how participants should conduct themselves.

2. Measurable Objectives

The program must have at least one measurable objective that addresses a critical and pressing issue in the United States. This element is particularly important because funding and longevity of the program will depend on the program's ability to prove that its purpose is relevant and that its services benefit the nation. Strengthening cohesion between citizens and immigrants cannot be the primary purpose of the program as cohesion or relationship building is not measurable. The program should adopt a dual objective model, as it has proved successful for the Civilian Conservation Corps and City Year.

3. Parameterized Participant Selection for Group Formation

The program should, like Katimavik, implement parameterized participant selection for group formation. This group formation model allows the program to be precise in how it brings together diverse individuals. The diversity parameters can easily be altered to align with the multicultural reality of the United States and the social goal of

⁵⁰³ City Year, "Equity Work."

the program, which is to cultivate closer relationships between different immigrant groups and U.S. citizens.

4. Program-Provided Group Housing, Transportation, and a Food Stipend

The program must provide participants with group housing, transportation, and a shared stipend for food. This is the ideal way to implement parameterized participant selection for group formation so that participants can be placed anywhere in the United States without financial or logistical restrictions. Additionally, by providing housing and transportation rather than a stipend, the program avoids accusations that national service is merely paid volunteerism. Ideally, group housing should be in the form of a house so that participants learn to share the responsibility of running a household.

5. A Near-Peer Mentor for Every Participant Group

Each participant group should be assigned a near-peer mentor, much like Katimavik's group leader and City Year's impact manager. The mentor must be a salaried employee of the program and have the skills to guide and tutor participants in healthy social, emotional, and communication practices. The mentors should also ensure the values of diversity, equity, inclusion, belonging, and respect are instilled in the groups.

6. Scale

Ultimately, for the national service program to have a significant impact on the relationship between citizens and immigrants in the United States, the program must be large scale. To achieve the scale needed, the program must either be mandatory or provide enough benefits to participants that the great majority of the United States' young population will be incentivized to voluntarily serve. The CCC provides an example of a voluntary program that achieved a scale that was large enough to have a significant and lasting impact on the United States. Yet, the CCC was established at a very particular time in American history and addressed specific crises of that era: mass unemployment and ecological disasters that were exacerbated by poor land management. Unique conditions

like those that might influence millions of young people sign up for national service do not exist today.

AmeriCorps has attempted to replicate the scale of the CCC and offers a variety of different service options for citizens and permanent residents of all ages. The program tries to incentivize people to serve by offering participants a variety of benefits, such as loan forbearance, loan forgiveness, childcare benefits, and scholarships; yet, after 29 years only one million participants have served in the program.⁵⁰⁴ These results indicate that even with benefits, voluntary service will not attract enough of the population to foster meaningful change in the relationship between immigrants and citizens. Thus, this thesis finds that mandatory service is likely the only way to achieve the scale needed to stimulate a nationwide shift toward developing inclusion, equity, belonging, and respect between diverse immigrant groups and citizens.

C. FUTURE RESEARCH

While this thesis identifies six elements that are pertinent to developing a successful national service program that will strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants, the findings open different avenues for future research. Given that this thesis calls for mandatory national service, further research is needed to determine how mandatory service can be implemented in the United States without violating the constitutional right set in the 13th Amendment that “neither slavery no involuntary servitude ... shall exist within the United States.”⁵⁰⁵ Additionally, research is needed to explore how much a program of this nature would cost and how long participants should serve. Researchers may want to investigate whether the program could still achieve its objectives through a hybrid model where the mandatory period is short, but benefits or rewards are offered if participants choose to extend their service.

Another interesting area for future research is how to best parameterize participant selection for group formation. The United States is a diverse country that is the home to

⁵⁰⁴ “AmeriCorps: Serve,” AmeriCorps, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://americorps.gov/serve>.

⁵⁰⁵ “U.S. Constitution - Thirteenth Amendment,” accessed September 6, 2022, <https://constitution.congress.gov/constitution/amendment-13/>.

nearly 45 million immigrants from all regions of the world.⁵⁰⁶ Additionally, each state has its own geography and culture. Other diversity factors can also be incorporated, such as sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, dominant language, and socio-economic status to name a few. While there are many different factors that can be incorporated to increase group diversity, each group can only have a certain number of participants for the practicality of living in a shared house and developing close group cohesion.

Developing an effective large-scale program that addresses critical issues will not be easy. Along with the potential for strengthening the United States against threats and creating a more cohesive and healthy society, a program of this size will also be vulnerable to mismanagement, mediocre execution of programming, and government overspending. Future research is needed to examine how a nationwide large-scale program can maintain quality and achieve its objectives.

Overall, this thesis is merely a starting point—the tip of the iceberg. The research sought to discover how mandatory national service might strengthen cohesion between citizens and immigrants. The case studies of the CCC, City Year, and Katimavik revealed trends that can be used to bring diverse groups of participants together, foster inclusive and respectful relationships between people from diverse backgrounds, and provide services that benefit and strengthen the nation. Consequently, six elements from these case studies were identified as necessary to create a national service program that specifically seeks to cultivate stronger cohesion between diverse immigrant groups and citizens in the United States. However, while this thesis may answer how national service can be used to strengthen relationships between citizens and immigrants, it opens numerous questions regarding implementation. Hopefully, other scholars will carry this research forward so that the academic and expert community dedicated to social cohesion may work toward achieving a more inclusive and equitable relationship between citizens and immigrants in this nation.

⁵⁰⁶ Cecilia Esterline and Jeanne Batalova, “Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States,” Migration Policy Institute Spotlight, March 17, 2022, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states>.

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