
THE CIVILIAN

CONSERVATION CORPS

RECOMMENDATIONS

of the

AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION

of the

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

FOREWORD

In this statement the American Youth Commission presents its findings and recommendations concerning one of the largest and most important of the new youth programs of recent years, the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The staff studies on which the present statement is based began with a comprehensive three-year investigation of the social and educational aspects of the CCC camps. After this investigation had been completed, the Commission was invited to assist in the development of an experimental training program in ten CCC camps in the Fifth Corps Area. This project was carried on for a period of 18 months, ending June 30, 1940. It provided an opportunity to test a number of proposals for improvement and brought the staff of the Commission into close contact with every phase of CCC administration. Staff reports on the original investigation and the later experimental program are now being completed for publication by Kenneth Holland, associate director of the Commission in charge of the studies.

The discussion of citizenship training in the present statement is based in part on an investigation of civic education in the CCC by Oliver H. Bimson, William G. Carr, and G. L. Maxwell of the staff of the Educational Policies Commission. The investigation was undertaken at the request of the American Youth Commission, which expresses its great appreciation for the assistance received.

This statement was considered and given preliminary approval at a meeting of the Commission on November 11 and 12, 1940. The draft statement was then referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Alexander, Dr. Dykstra, Dr. Givens, Reverend George Johnson, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, and Dr. Zook, which gave final approval to the statement in revised form on December 6. The following members were unable to be present at the meeting and did not participate in the formulation of this statement: Mrs. Fisher, Dr. Studebaker, Dr. Van Waters, and Mr. Woll.

FLOYD W. REEVES, *Director*

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

More than 2,500,000 young men have been enrolled in the CCC since 1933. There are now some 260,000 junior enrollees, between the ages of 17 and 23, in about 1,360 CCC work camps scattered all over the United States. A larger number of boys enter the CCC each year than the number who enter the colleges and universities of this country as freshmen. Work camps are no small factor in the life of the American people.

Because of the importance of the Civilian Conservation Corps as an agency for the care and education of youth, the American Youth Commission has been making a thorough study of it for some years. The Commission is convinced, from the extensive information obtained in this research, that the CCC is performing a service that is essential to the national welfare and of great value to the young men who participate. But the CCC has outgrown both its initial objectives and the machinery originally established for its operation. The information in the hands of the Commission points to a number of desirable changes in both the form of the organization and the nature of its program.

Forerunners of the CCC

The idea of placing youth in work camps goes back at least as far as Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, both of whom believed in the dignity of labor and its fundamental value in human life. Another suggestion for work camps came in 1912 from William James in his well-known essay, *The Moral Equivalent of War*. Through universal service in work camps, as James said, "The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fiber of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on . . . our gilded youth would be drafted off . . . to get the childishness knocked out of them and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. . . ."

The first actual work camp was organized abroad in 1920 by Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss, with the help of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends. Ceresole's group of young men, some of whom had fought on opposite sides in the World War, labored in the rebuilding of devastated areas in northern France.

The first nation to set up work camps was Bulgaria, which did so in 1920. In Germany some experimental camps were started in 1925 under private auspices, and these were taken up and expanded by the Brüning government in 1931, before Hitler came to power. The idea is not an invention

of the Nazis even in Germany. The work camp has become effectively established as a useful democratic institution through the operation of successful camps in Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, England, and the United States.

Purpose of the CCC

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in 1933 to provide work relief and to conserve and develop natural resources. After it had been operating for several months, the training of the enrollees was recognized as an important additional objective and provision was made for a camp educational program. As the years passed, it became increasingly apparent that the development of the young men during their stay in the camps was not only a major function of the Corps, but perhaps its most important objective.

It was thus natural that when the first federal reorganization plan was developed under the Reorganization Act of 1939, the CCC was assigned to the Federal Security Agency, to which also were assigned the National Youth Administration and the Office of Education. In his message to Congress transmitting the reorganization plan, the President said of the CCC: "Its major purpose is to promote the welfare and further the training of the individuals who make up the Corps, important as may be the construction work which they carry on so successfully."

In recent months, increased attention has been given to the usefulness of the CCC in connection with national defense. The value of the Corps for physical development, for creating a large body of citizens accustomed to camp life, and for training in specialized skills, from cooking to truck driving, is emphasized by the defense crisis. On the other hand, it has become clear that the CCC work camps are not well adapted to serve as special military training centers. The present need for military training can be met more effectively and economically through the military training camps now being established.

The American Youth Commission is convinced that the central purpose of the CCC should be that of improving the health, skill, and efficiency of the boys who are enrolled, to help them become useful and successful citizens in whatever occupation they may afterwards enter. The conservation work accomplished through the Corps should be regarded not only as valuable in itself, but also as an essential element in teaching youth a realistic appreciation of the true values in national life and a patriotic sense of membership in the national body of citizens.

Who Are the Enrollees?

Although no one young man could be picked from the 260,000 and called a typical CCC enrollee, a sort of synthetic individual can be described who

combines the characteristics that are most frequently found in the actual individuals who make up the Corps. At the time of entrance into the CCC this composite enrollee is between 17 and 18 years old, weighs 145 pounds, and is 5 feet 8 inches tall. His health is fairly good, though the physical requirements of the CCC are not so strict as those of the Army.

He has been living in a six-room house or flat, with his father and mother and four brothers and sisters. The home is not luxuriously furnished. There is no running water, no indoor plumbing, and no telephone or electric refrigerator.

The father and mother were born in the United States and went through the seventh grade in school. The father is most likely a farmer or an industrial worker. He has been out of work for about six months in the previous two years, and the family is on the relief rolls.

The boy himself has a little more schooling than his parents, having completed eight grades and part of the ninth, though it took him nearly eleven years to do it. His skill in reading and arithmetic is less than sixth-grade level. He believes that schooling helps in getting a job, and that he would be better off if he had stayed in school longer, although he is somewhat critical of the things he was obliged to study while in school.

As for work experience, he has done some odd jobs around the home, but he has worked for pay only a few months in his whole life, averaging between \$8.00 and \$9.00 a week. He has a commendable belief that the CCC will teach him how to work and he likes the idea. He has no feeling that hand labor is a disgrace, nor that happiness depends on having "lots of money."

For each of the points that have been described, our typical CCC enrollee is shown with the characteristics that appear most frequently in the entire group of junior enrollees. But it is clear that to think of the CCC as composed largely of youth like this would be to miss some of the most significant facts about the membership of the Corps.

Important segments of the CCC community include the 20 per cent of enrollees with foreign-born parents, the 10 per cent who are Negroes, and the 37 per cent from broken homes. Over 40 per cent of the enrollees have had no previous work experience. Three per cent are practically unable to read and write, and 22 per cent have not progressed in literacy beyond the level of the average child who has completed the fourth grade. On the other hand, 13 per cent have graduated from high school, and a few have attended college before entering the Corps.

An important minority of the enrollees come to the Corps with significant prior work experience. Many new enrollees already have good basic habits and aptitudes. These provide much of the enrollee leadership talent, without which it would be very difficult to operate the Corps.

The enrollees who differ from the average in one way or another present special problems and needs that have to be considered, especially in designing a successful training program. It is worth noting, however, that the enrollee group is not a representative cross section of all American youth nor even of all unemployed youth.

One conspicuous difference results from the fact that the CCC is exclusively a male institution. A second difference results from the age distribution in the Corps—33 per cent of the enrollees are boys of 17, and another 44 per cent are 18 or 19. A third entire group of differences results from the low-income family background of almost all the enrollees, and the deficiencies in the care, education, and training they have previously received. Many enrollees at the time of entering camp have become problems to themselves, their families, and their communities. In seeking to provide an effective program for the entire enrollee group, the Civilian Conservation Corps has a heavy responsibility.

Selection of Enrollees

A boy who desires to enroll in the CCC makes application to the welfare agent in his community. Acceptance or rejection of the application is in the hands of officials of the state and local public assistance bureaus, under the supervision of the CCC director's office. To be acceptable the applicant must be single, unemployed, and in need of work. There are no requirements in regard to education and experience.

With growing popular recognition of the value of the CCC as both a training agency and a conservation agency, work relief has become less important as an objective in the selection of enrollees. Regulations have been changed to admit youth who are in need of a job, without requiring that their families be destitute or on relief. Moreover, the CCC director's office has urged the state selecting agencies to give consideration to the applicant's probable fitness for CCC life and his capacity to benefit from it. In practice, however, the tendency is still to choose the boy whose family is on relief, whether the boy himself is suited to camp life or not, in order to reduce the local relief load.

In few cases have the background and experience of the selecting agents qualified them to select enrollees on the basis of ability to participate in and benefit from the work training program in the camps. In any event, the selecting agents are under such pressure in connection with relief administration that it is difficult to see how they could conduct selection with the greatest regard for the welfare of enrollees and for the efficient use of the CCC.

It is the belief of the American Youth Commission that in general CCC enrollees should be selected from among the unemployed, out-of-school

youth who have not adjusted well to a school environment and who seem likely to profit most from a work-centered training program under work camp conditions. But the Commission opposes any requirement as to financial need and favors instead a policy for the CCC that will entirely avoid any stigma of relief or charity attaching to membership in the Corps. Many parents who are not in acute financial need have sons who have left school, who are greatly in need of the kind of work experience and training that can be provided through the CCC, and who are unable to obtain private employment. As a public work and training institution, the Corps should be open to such young men and should give them an opportunity to engage in a significant type of national service.

The Commission believes that the selection of enrollees should be transferred from the public assistance divisions of the various states to their public employment offices. The CCC should be regarded by these offices as one of a number of possible alternative solutions for the problem of each junior applicant for employment. In a previous statement, the Commission has discussed the functions of public employment offices in the employment counseling and placement of young people.¹ These offices are rapidly expanding their specialized junior services and in many parts of the country are already well equipped to undertake the responsibility of selecting CCC enrollees.

The public employment offices have certain advantages which the public assistance division cannot duplicate. In particular, the employment offices are best able to assess the opportunities for private employment and to bring such opportunities to the attention of applicants before directing them to the CCC. Of equal importance is the fact that under the present defense training program the employment offices have become a major agency for referring unemployed workers to appropriate training institutions in accordance with their aptitudes and needs. It seems clear that no young person should be enrolled in the CCC until all of the opportunities available to him have been thoroughly canvassed and compared. The public employment offices provide the centers at which this can best be done.

Applicants for enrollment in the CCC are usually required to wait some weeks for the next admission date, since enrollees are taken into the Corps only once in three months. This practice is a major source of inefficiency, since the Corps is thus at full strength only for brief periods four times a year. Because of withdrawals for one reason or another, the total enrollment declines rapidly between admission dates. It is not uncommon for

¹ *The Occupational Adjustment of Youth*, adopted April 15, 1940, 16 pp. Available on request.

individual camps to dwindle from 200 to 140 or fewer enrollees in three months' time.

Undoubtedly there are some advantages in bringing enrollees to the camps in groups at stated intervals. It would seem to the Commission, however, that earnest consideration should be given to opening the Corps for new applicants at least once each month.

Assignment to Camp

Until each new enrollee is accepted and assigned to a camp, he does not know where he is to go. His camp may be within a few miles of his home, or several hundred miles away, depending on the numbers needed by different camps.

Only in rare instances is any attempt made at present to classify the new enrollees and assign them to camps best suited to their needs or capacities. Perhaps this could be done to only a limited extent under any circumstances, since there is need in every camp for a wide range of enrollee talent. But the Commission believes that the whole subject of assignment to camp is deserving of much more study and experimentation than it has so far been given.

On the basis of its own studies, the American Youth Commission is convinced that there can and should be great improvement in the provision made for illiterate enrollees. Since new enrollees are assigned to camp without regard to the degree of their literacy, almost every one of the CCC camps has at least two or three enrollees who are illiterate and several others who are very nearly so. The Commission believes that an adequate special program should be provided for illiterates and near-illiterates. In order that this may be possible, selected camps should be designated as literacy training centers for the CCC. At least 30, and not more than 60, illiterates should be assigned to each such camp, in order to provide a sufficient group for special teaching service without destroying the efficiency of the camp for other purposes.

An intensive study of the camp experience and adjustment of several hundred CCC enrollees indicates that so far as possible most enrollees should be sent to camps between 50 and 150 miles from their homes. If this is done they will be largely on their own resources without being entirely cut off from home visits and employment contacts. Assignments to distant camps should be made only with the consent of the enrollee.

Experience in Camp

In the CCC camp the whole mode of living is different from anything the new enrollee has previously known. In many cases he has never been away from home before. In camp he becomes part of a company of 200,

directed and disciplined by older men. Instead of sleeping in a room by himself or with a brother or two, he sleeps with 40 other boys in a large barrack. He eats with the whole 200, at regular times. There is no mother or sister to look after him; he must do his own laundry, make his own bed, take care of his own clothes. He is strictly regimented as to the time to get up, time to go to work, time to eat lunch, time to stop work, time to eat supper, and time to go to bed. He must obey health and safety regulations that he never heard of before. From a world he knows and friends he trusts, he goes at the age of 17 or 18 into a new world and among a crowd of old-timers who may—and often do—take advantage of the tenderfoot.

It is not surprising that many new enrollees give up and go home before they have had time to get acclimated to camp life. Others become sullen or rebellious, defiantly breaking the rules until they get themselves expelled with a disciplinary discharge. Records show that out of a total enrollment of 2,500,000, nearly 500,000 have ended their camp experience through desertion or for disciplinary reasons. Evidently there are many who do not fit into the program with entire success, although the majority of enrollees are distinctly benefited by the CCC and recognize the fact.

The present system of selection is undoubtedly responsible for the presence in camp of many enrollees who do not benefit from the experience. As previously suggested, the system of selection and assignment to camp should be improved.

There is also great need for the development of adequate orientation programs for the enrollees, in order to facilitate adjustment to the camp environment and to minimize the number of desertions because of initial homesickness. At present the new recruits are sometimes herded about with little individual attention at the reception centers. On reaching the typical camp they are issued their equipment, given a few perfunctory lectures, and put to work after a few days of physical conditioning. While an orientation program is supposedly provided, in practice the camps which provide a friendly reception, careful individual attention, and a competent introduction to camp life are in the minority.

Within a short time after entering camp, the enrollee is assigned to a work crew. Enrollees with conspicuously good qualifications are in demand for a variety of assignments, but the average enrollee is assigned to a job with little attention to his individual aptitudes and needs. Each enrollee is given some instruction about his job while he is working, and also frequently in early morning or evening periods. The normal working day on the project is eight hours, including the time spent in transportation between the camp and the working place, and time for lunch. Enrollees are also required to do additional work around the camp, such as improving

the grounds, making sidewalks, and painting buildings. Sometimes forest fires, floods, or other emergency conditions require long hours of intense effort, and at such times the eight-hour working day is not observed.

Outside of working hours, the enrollee is expected to spend several hours a week in classes in academic or vocational subjects. Attendance is supposedly voluntary but in practice is greatly influenced by various forms of disciplinary action amounting to compulsion. When not on the job or in classes, the enrollee is free for such recreational activities as may be available.

Administrative Personnel in the Camps

The success of the individual enrollee, first in adapting himself to camp life and later in gaining skill and knowledge, depends largely on the type of men who direct the camp activities. His personal contacts with the camp officials, the advice they offer, the example they provide, and above all their ability to create a vital spirit of unity and cooperation in the life of the camp will generally determine whether or not the enrollee benefits from his experience in the CCC.

There are usually twelve adults at each camp who act as full-time supervisors and officials, though the majority of them may live outside the camp. In addition, a physician, a dentist, and a chaplain, employed by the CCC, work part time in the camp. An assortment of instructors from nearby schools or from the WPA, the NYA, or other organizations also assist with the camp program.

The enrollee soon discovers that although he takes orders from the War Department officers in charge of the camp, he has few personal or social contacts with them. The class separation between officers and men is similar to that found in the Army. Officials dine in separate rooms and live in private quarters.

The War Department officials in the camp are the company commander and his assistant, called a subaltern. They work as civilians, but under Army regulations and the strict supervision of regular Army officers. The camp officers are expected to be qualified by education and experience to carry on the War Department's part of the camp program as determined in 1933—to procure food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention, to administer the camps, and maintain discipline. Beyond this, no qualification is required although they are directly responsible for the educational program.

Until recently the company commanders and subalterns were chosen from among the Army reserve officers. Under the stress of the national defense program, many of the most able camp officers are now being called to active military duty. They are being replaced in the camps mainly by

other reserve officers who are less well qualified. In some cases no reserve officers have been available and other persons have been appointed.

It seems clear that if preference continues to be given to reserve officers in appointing camp officials, the average tenure in office will become very short, camp administration will constantly be disrupted, and in general the reserve officers who remain in CCC camps during the national defense emergency will be those least qualified for active military duty.

The American Youth Commission recommends, therefore, that all requirements as to Reserve Corps membership be dropped, and that the best qualified available individuals be appointed to fill vacancies in CCC camp administration as such vacancies occur. In most cases, the best qualified available personnel are probably already attached to the Corps in lower positions from which they could be promoted.

The educational adviser to the company commander is the one official in each camp who is supposed to be qualified to carry on an educational and training program. His prescribed qualifications, however, do not require either previous experience in work camps or experience in organizing programs of related training for young workers. Often he is primarily academic in his background and outlook.

It has been difficult to obtain well-qualified educational advisers for a variety of reasons—a relatively low salary level, almost no opportunity for promotion in the Corps, and an unsatisfactory working situation in which the activities of the educational adviser are subordinated to other major aspects of camp life. Turnover rates for educational advisers have been chronically high throughout the life of the Corps; educational advisers with excellent qualifications for their work have usually left the Corps for other employment at the earliest opportunity.

In each camp a distinct group of officials and supervisors has charge of the work project on which enrollees are engaged during the working day. The group includes usually a project superintendent, a junior technician, four senior foremen, and two or three skilled workers. These officials are usually men with technical or trade experience, and are expected to be qualified to carry on the work projects efficiently with enrollee labor. They are appointed by the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior, as the case may be, and represent the interests of those departments in securing as much productive conservation work from the Corps as possible.

Work project supervisors conduct the instruction of enrollees on the job and in matters relating directly to the job. In recent years the Departments of Agriculture and Interior have both made distinct efforts to improve the quality of the enrollee training which is provided through the work supervisors. These efforts are said to have resulted in increased productivity, as well as benefiting enrollees.

Although the CCC is now more than seven years old, personnel policies for the administrative personnel have never been regularized. The Corps has been excepted from the civil service laws and rules, the various agencies cooperating in the administration of the Corps have followed differing policies, and in many cases appointments have been subject to political influence. Some form of partisan political endorsement seems to have been required in connection with appointments to about 60 per cent of the project supervisory positions.

Fortunately, under the recent legislation extending the merit system, it is now possible to bring about great improvements in personnel administration for the Corps. The American Youth Commission believes that the administrative personnel of the CCC should be speedily brought into the classified civil service, that all forms of political influence in connection with appointments should be outlawed, and that every possible effort should be made to secure and retain outstandingly competent people in the administration of the Corps.

General Results of Camp Life

All evidence points to a great improvement in the health and fitness of enrollees as the result of camp life. Outdoor work, ample food, and regular sleep are the major factors in physical improvement. The camps have an exceptional record of administration, moreover, in the fields of sanitation, preventive medicine, and accident prevention.

Specific treatment for remedial physical defects is being provided increasingly. In particular, itinerant units to provide dental care travel from camp to camp, and every enrollee who remains for a full enrollment period is given a dental examination and such ordinary forms of treatment as may be needed. Many enrollees have never previously received dental treatment and almost all are in need of it.

Among the benefits obtained by enrollees, the work experience obtained on the job must be given a major, if not the most important, place. Many of the work projects, it is true, require only the simplest types of common labor. Even on projects such as these it is possible to learn how to get along with foremen and fellow workers, the proper care of simple tools and equipment, the importance of an honest day's work and a responsible attitude toward the job—all the things that go into the development of good work habits.

About one-third of the jobs available to enrollees in the average camp require something more than ability to do common labor and offer substantial opportunities for the development of various skills. Camps engaged in construction projects are likely to have the greatest number of jobs in which enrollee skills can be developed, but every camp requires a number

of cooks and truck drivers and also affords enrollees an opportunity for promotion to jobs which require special ability and are on a higher pay schedule.

In addition to job training, related training, and the training which results from the enforcement of camp discipline, almost all enrollees participate in organized evening classes of one sort or another. These classes constitute the official educational program in the camps, and cover a wide range of academic and vocational subjects. They are organized by the camp educational adviser under the direction of the company commander, and are taught in part by the adviser, by camp administrative personnel, by the work project supervisory force, by teachers from the WPA education program, and by youth from outside the camp who receive NYA assistance.

Notwithstanding the effort that has gone into the educational program, it seems clear that it would have a much greater training influence if it were integrated more completely with the work and life in camp. Most of the enrollees did not progress normally when they were in school and have distinctly adverse attitudes toward classroom studies when they arrive in camp. The result is that although enrollees go through the motions of class participation, the benefits are much less great than might be supposed from the extensiveness of the educational program. The program has undoubtedly achieved some training values and has been especially successful in a small number of camps in which unusual qualities of leadership have been demonstrated.

The existence of a separate educational program as a special segment of camp administration has tended somewhat to distract attention from the possibility of unifying the enrollee's entire camp experience into an education of the most vital sort. The vocational aspects of such an education can best be cared for through the development of a work-centered training program in which the main emphasis is placed upon relating training to the job and giving as much training as possible on the job.

Such a program was developed by the staff of the American Youth Commission in ten CCC camps of the Fifth Corps Area. All jobs available to enrollees were classified in terms of skill levels and promotion possibilities. New enrollees were given tryout experiences in the beginning jobs and were given definite statements of the requirements for promotion to higher level jobs. Classroom instruction was reorganized to provide the off-the-job training required for promotion. Promotions to the more desirable and highly rated enrollee jobs were given only to those enrollees who had qualified in accordance with the requirements. The results were a higher level of enrollee morale and achievement.

When an enrollee leaves the Corps at the end of his enrollment period,

he is given transportation to the point at which he was selected, is permitted to keep one complete outfit of the clothing provided in camp, and beginning in 1941, will be paid savings from his earnings which will be accumulated for him at the rate of \$7 a month. On arriving home, the social workers through whom he was originally selected for enrollment may visit him, encourage him to register at the public employment office, and offer other suggestions.

Unlike the Selective Service System by which men are being placed in the Army for a term of compulsory military training, the Civilian Conservation Corps has no statutory obligation to assist in restoring ex-enrollees to normal civilian life. Administrative efforts along these lines have consisted mainly of attempts to bring about a larger amount of activity by the state selecting agents. Since these agents are concerned mainly with relief administration and are given no financial assistance for the follow-up of ex-enrollees, the effort is not highly successful. In many cases the benefits received by the enrollees from the camp experience are dissipated during a period of unemployment and maladjustment after return to their homes.

The American Youth Commission is strongly convinced that much greater attention should be given to the adjustment of enrollees at the time they leave camp and during the period immediately after. As previously recommended, initial selection should be transferred to the public employment offices. Follow-up services for ex-enrollees should also be carried on mainly through these offices. There should be a close working relationship between camp and employment office, with exchange of vocationally significant information when the enrollee enters camp and when he leaves camp.

Moreover, the central administrative organization of the Corps itself should constantly carry on intensive sample follow-up studies as a means of evaluating the training accomplishment and bringing about improved administration. The results of the camp experience can only be truly measured in terms of the effect on the after-lives of former enrollees. The systematic case study of even so few as a hundred former enrollees a year, selected at random, would provide a fund of information for the improvement of the Corps which does not now exist in official quarters.

The American Youth Commission will soon publish a report of case studies covering some 400 CCC enrollees. This report will have great value for the time being, but it will in no sense be a substitute for continuing studies of the same sort.

In general, the Commission concludes that the educational and training program of the CCC should be planned to utilize to the maximum the resources that are peculiar to camp life and the work projects. Training in health, first aid, and safety should continue to be emphasized for all en-

rollees. Social, civic, and religious training should be based upon the possibilities inherent in group life in the camps. Finally, a work-centered program of vocational training should be developed throughout the Corps as the major training activity. This program should provide for tryout experiences in beginning jobs, controlled sequences of experience and training on the work projects, adequate related training to assist enrollees who seek advancement, and the use of the possibilities for advancement within the Corps itself as the major incentive to enrollee interest and participation in training. Underpinning the entire program should be a system of guidance by which the abilities and aptitudes of every enrollee are promptly discovered and carefully developed.

Effects on Citizenship

The studies of the Commission confirm the general impression of the public that most enrollees benefit from their experience in the CCC. The question may be asked, however, "Is the average enrollee a better citizen when he leaves camp than when he entered?" The answer is probably, "Yes, he is a better citizen." But agreement to this response would not be unanimous among those who have studied the CCC most intensively. Among those disagreeing would be many who are most concerned for the maintenance of democratic processes in American life.

Part of the confusion concerning the effect of the CCC on citizenship reflects confusion of thought as to what constitutes good citizenship. The good citizen is a composite of many virtues. Different individuals differ widely in the value they attach to some of these virtues.

There is, for example, the virtue of obedience. Unquestioning obedience under all circumstances is not the supreme virtue in a democracy. On the other hand, obedience under appropriate conditions is essential to coordinated group activity, without which civilization could not exist. Most people would agree to these statements as a matter of principle. Yet many extreme points of view on both sides of a sensible middle ground find expression when obedience is under discussion as a virtue to be inculcated by the CCC.

The Commission believes that much confusion of thought can be avoided if a distinction is made between two levels of citizenship. The lower, minimum level consists of those habits, attitudes, and activities of the individual which are essential for the maintenance of an orderly society under any form of government, democratic or otherwise. The second level of citizenship includes all of the requirements of the first level and in addition the characteristics of individual citizens that are required for the successful functioning of the democratic form of government, in which the citizen is

expected to participate. The first level might be designated as conforming citizenship, the second as contributing citizenship.

The essentials of conforming citizenship are elementary in character and are very important. They include health habits and vocational competence by which the individual will ordinarily avoid becoming a burden to society; sufficient ability to observe the moral code and to live and work with others to avoid becoming a public nuisance under the conditions of civilized life; and ability and willingness to understand and carry out simple instructions, both oral and written, under circumstances when coordinated action is urgent.

The essentials of contributing citizenship in a democracy are different in character, more difficult to define, and much harder to bring about through any training process. They include ability to take responsibility in accordance with one's capacity for leadership; respect for the opinions and civil rights of others; awareness of the concept of the general welfare and a disposition to be guided by it; ability to participate effectively in the activities of a variety of self-governing groups; familiarity with major social problems and issues which must ultimately be solved through informed public opinion; a sound working knowledge of the operation of government in relation to the duties and obligations of citizenship; and finally an understanding of the basic principles of democracy and a deep loyalty to it both in principle and in practice.

This frame of reference needs only to be stated to indicate both the extent and the limitations of the citizenship training that is given by the Civilian Conservation Corps. It is steadily taking group after group of immature, undisciplined boys who have not previously been among the most successful of their generation, and is making men of them. In general, it is making them competent citizens within the limits of conforming citizenship. This is an important accomplishment. However much it may fall short of the ideal, it ought not to be minimized or despised.

Moreover, the CCC is not without merit in the development of contributing citizenship. In this respect it has been most successful in connection with the training of enrollee leaders. Each company of 200 enrollees is allowed one senior leader, nine leaders, and sixteen assistant leaders, who receive higher pay and correspond in rank and status to the non-commissioned officers in the Army. The opportunity for promotion which is open to all enrollees provides one of the most important incentives for individual progress in camp, and the enrollees who actually serve as leaders receive experience and training of special value from the standpoint of contributing citizenship.

The major weakness of the CCC consists of the limited extent to which it prepares most enrollees to participate in self-governing forms of group

action or even to direct their own activities as individuals. From this standpoint the Corps is of little assistance in the development of contributing citizenship.

The essential nature of the Corps and the characteristics of the typical enrollee conspire to place severe limitations upon the extent to which training for contributing citizenship can be given in the camps. The American Youth Commission believes, however, that much more could be done than is being done at present.

Two definite steps in the direction of improved citizenship training seem feasible in connection with the way in which enrollees spend their time when not at work. The first has to do with the recreational program in the camps, the second with the program of classroom education.

The recreational activities in most CCC camps are at present very poorly conducted. A limited conception of recreation has obtained, with emphasis on athletics, movies, and such indoor games as pool, ping-pong, and cards. Enrollees have been left largely to their own devices and given very little training in recreational leadership for themselves.

When the Commission was recently given an opportunity to assist in developing an experimental program in ten CCC camps, it became evident that the leisure-time interests of enrollees provided the one place in the camp regime where there might be some experimentation with self-government. The experiment was therefore tried of setting up camp recreational councils, elected directly by the enrollees and made up of enrollees. It was found possible, without violating War Department regulations, to give some actual power to these councils.

It was not easy to overcome the inertia of enrollees and officials in order to develop functioning recreational councils. The importance of even this small beginning in the development of contributing citizenship was demonstrated by the difficulties that were encountered.

In the camps where the greatest success was achieved, however, the following outcomes were demonstrated: (1) The company commander, subaltern, and educational adviser were relieved of much of the detail of the recreational program; at the same time it became possible for much more detailed work to be done. (2) Acceptance of responsibility for recreation by representative enrollees brought about a recreational program that had the support of the camp, with attendant benefits to morale. (3) A number of enrollees received training in recreational planning and organization that should be of value when they return to their homes. (4) Enrollees were given practice in using the tools of democracy—free discussion, the ballot, majority rule, representative government, delegated responsibility. Thus they learned to do some of the things required of capable citizens who function at the contributing level.

The classroom educational program for enrollees as now conducted involves a large amount of compulsion, even though most of it is supposedly a voluntary spare-time activity. In view of the compulsory work day and the many other compulsory aspects of group life in camp, the Commission believes that the greater part of the educational program through organized classes should be placed upon a truly voluntary basis, and incentives developed which will permit it to function on this basis.

If instructional activities are brought into a sufficiently vital relationship to camp life, the work project, and the opportunities for advancement, the Commission believes that an active and highly useful instructional program will become possible on the basis of voluntary participation. Many enrollees may choose not to participate; but those who do participate will obtain practice in planning their own lives which will be of great value for citizenship both in camp and in later years.

The Commission recognizes that even the relatively simple steps just advocated would encounter great difficulty if undertaken immediately in all of the camps under present circumstances. If progress is to be achieved along these lines, there must be some change in the philosophy of those who lead and administer the Corps, and the professional qualifications and personal competence of the administrative personnel must be lifted to a markedly higher level.

Negroes in the CCC

In considering the results of the CCC, appropriate attention should be given to its record in the field of race relations.

About 10 per cent of the enrollees in the CCC are Negroes. This percentage has been established as a definite quota and provides for Negro participation approximately in proportion to the ratio of Negroes to the total population of the United States. Negro enrollees remain in the CCC for periods averaging more than twice as long as those characteristic of white enrollees. There is some reason to believe that the typical Negro enrollee looks upon the camp experience as a greater opportunity than the typical white enrollee.

Most Negro enrollees are assigned to camps made up exclusively of Negroes, of which there are 83 in twelve southern states and 68 in other states. In addition, 59 mixed camps in New England states and 12 elsewhere each contain one or more Negro enrollees. Relations between the races have usually been harmonious in the mixed camps. Negro enrollees have been among those voted most popular and most likely to succeed in mixed camps containing a majority of white enrollees.

A definite policy has been followed for some years of employing Negroes as educational advisers in Negro camps. With very few exceptions Negroes

have been excluded from all other supervisory and administrative positions, even in camps where all of the enrollees are Negroes. One Negro college graduate with a Reserve Corps commission who entered the CCC as an enrollee in 1934 was successively promoted to company clerk, subaltern, and company commander of a camp in New York state. For some years the Negro CCC camp at Gettysburg National Military Park has operated with an all-Negro staff, including the project superintendent and supervisory force as well as the commander, subaltern, and educational adviser.

Possibly it would be somewhat difficult to staff all of the Negro camps immediately with Negro administrative personnel, but the Commission believes that there should be much more rapid progress in this regard than has so far been apparent. Undoubtedly there are many more Negroes with good qualifications for appointment to camp and work project staffs than have so far been appointed. Several hundred white enrollees have been promoted to positions above the rank of leader enrollee, but not more than five or six Negro enrollees have been so promoted even in the Negro camps. This indicates discrimination, inasmuch as Negroes are serving successfully as leader enrollees in all of the Negro camps. There is no lack of talent from which further promotions might be made.

Those responsible for the administration of the CCC have had little faith in the ability of Negroes to occupy positions of leadership, and have been afraid to experiment with what faith they did have. Yet the record of Negro educational experience in both southern and northern states indicates clearly that Negroes can direct work and training institutions and that they can do so in a manner which will meet with the approval of their neighbors, white and colored. The American Youth Commission believes that the Civilian Conservation Corps should study this experience carefully. Although it is recognized that administrative problems would be involved, the Commission believes that the CCC should take steps to increase the use of Negro supervisory and administrative personnel for Negro camps as rapidly as possible.

Administrative Set-up of the CCC

The CCC still retains essentially the same divisions of authority and administration that it had in 1933. At the start the organizing work was placed under the Army because it was the only agency with the experience and facilities for the rapid organization of the camps. The Departments of Agriculture and Interior were likewise brought in to organize the work projects because of their special experience and facilities. Officials of these departments still take the enrollees early in the morning, work them on the project during the day, and return them in the late afternoon to the War Department officials at the camp.

The educational advisers, who function in the camps under the direction of the company commanders, are selected by the United States Office of Education and receive professional leadership from it, but are employed by the War Department.

There has naturally been much effort to coordinate the work of the various officials at each camp, but with each group reporting to a different overhead authority, full coordination has not been attained. In particular, coordination of enrollee training is supposed to be brought about by a camp educational committee, consisting of the company commander who serves as chairman, the project superintendent, and the educational adviser. Since the commanders are primarily responsible for camp operation, the superintendents are primarily responsible for production, and the educational adviser occupies a markedly subordinate status, effectively coordinated training programs occur rather infrequently.

The division of authority and responsibility in each individual camp reflects the similar situation which prevails on a national scale. The director of the Civilian Conservation Corps presides over an administrative organization of some 35,391 employees, all of whom are now on a civilian status and are paid from CCC funds, but who are actually appointed and supervised as indicated by this list:

Employees of the Department of Agriculture.....	12,244
Employees of the Department of the Interior.....	6,068
War Department personnel other than educational personnel	14,630
Educational personnel, selected by U. S. Office of Education, employed by the War Department... ..	1,572
Employees in motor repair shops, operated in the field by the CCC director.....	785
Central administrative staff, including the CCC director and his appointees.....	92
	35,391*

It is an administrative miracle that so disjointed an organization has functioned as well as it has. It has been able to function only by the constant formulation of precise agreements among the cooperating agencies. The rigidities brought about by numerous written regulations and agreements, many of which could be negotiated only with much effort, have interfered with needed experimentation and in many ways have not been conducive to rapid progress.

Originally the arrangement probably worked for economy, since the cooperating agencies drew upon their regular facilities when the CCC was first established, but this virtue has long since been lost. There is no

* These statistics are averages as of August 1940.

reason to believe that any cooperating federal agency is failing to charge CCC appropriations with the full cost of services rendered in CCC administration.

Although the welfare and training of enrollees has become the major objective in the continuation of the Corps, this objective has not been recognized in the structure of the organization. The director of the Corps, notwithstanding his responsibility for the administration of the enterprise and the training of enrollees, is compelled to function primarily as a mediator between the conflicting views of the cooperating agencies.

The American Youth Commission is convinced that the present administrative situation is not one which should be allowed to continue. If the Corps is to make its expected contribution to the national defense effort or even to function effectively under peace-time conditions as a training and conservation agency, there must be much more unification in the administration of the Corps.

In particular, in view of the urgent problems of military defense to which undivided attention should be devoted, the Commission recommends that the War Department be relieved of its responsibility for the operation of CCC camps at the earliest possible date. The civilian personnel employed by the War Department from CCC funds should be transferred to CCC and should report directly to the head of the Corps.

The Departments of Agriculture and Interior must inevitably continue to play some part in the administration of the Corps because the national forests, parks, and other public lands are the site of most of the work projects. Nevertheless it would be possible to establish a relationship by which those departments would select the projects in advance and inspect and approve them on completion, but with the actual direction of the projects carried on by the Corps. A completely unified program in the camps will not be possible until some such plan is developed.

Meanwhile, the step which should be taken now is the transfer of camp administration, and the establishment of a direct, unified line of authority between the head of the Corps and the head of each individual CCC camp.

Relations to Other Youth Programs

The Civilian Conservation Corps is not the only agency which seeks to provide a program for unemployed out-of-school youth. Another federal agency, the National Youth Administration, also operates two such programs, one consisting of about 500 work camps known as resident centers and the other consisting of local work projects throughout the country for youth who remain at home. The various NYA work projects on which young men are employed include most of the types of work offered by the CCC as well as a variety of types of mechanical workshop experience.

In October 1940, about 225,000 youth were enrolled in the NYA work programs, including about 130,000 young men.

In general, any youth who is eligible for enrollment in the CCC is also eligible for enrollment in the NYA. Many CCC enrollees are in fact on NYA rolls either before or after their CCC experience and many of those who participate in one agency or the other have to choose between them. The choice is likely to be affected by such factors as the aggressiveness of the respective selecting agents, the extent to which the youth is well informed concerning both programs, differences in the cash allowances offered, and other factors either irrelevant or only partially relevant to youth welfare and national welfare.

Previously in this statement the Commission has recommended that selection for the CCC be carried on through the public employment offices. The same recommendation should undoubtedly be made for the NYA out-of-school programs. If these recommendations are carried out, selection for each type of program will be improved and there will also be desirable coordination of selection and assignment in accordance with the needs of individual youth.

Enrollee selection is not, however, the only point of conflict between the CCC and NYA. The functions of the two agencies are so similar that they duplicate at point after point. Aside from the fact that the NYA serves both boys and girls, no principle of differentiation between the two agencies can be discovered from an examination of their work. They are in constant competition for appropriations, for administrative personnel, and for enrollee youth. The need for their services is at present so great that together they only partially meet the need, but with greater coordination they would meet it more effectively.

The American Youth Commission concludes, therefore, that the CCC and NYA should be consolidated in a single new youth service, which would continue the work programs now carried on by both CCC and NYA, and any other work projects for youth that may be found appropriate. Both CCC and NYA are now located in the Federal Security Agency, and the consolidated youth service should be organized as one of the units of that agency, where it can function in close relationship to the U. S. Employment Service Division and the U. S. Office of Education. Leadership in bringing about improved cooperation in youth service among these units should be regarded as one of the major functions of the Federal Security Agency.

Conclusion

Work camps for youth have undoubtedly captured the interest and enthusiasm of the American people. They have benefited more than

2,000,000 youth and advanced the cause of conservation perhaps a generation.

Possibly the time may come when the camps will no longer be needed to absorb unemployed youth in large numbers. Work camps have already demonstrated training values for particular types of youth, however, that indicate a permanently useful future for some type of work camp program as a public training institution.

Meanwhile, the American Youth Commission is convinced that with more unified administration and relatively simple changes in program, the present work camps can be made very much more useful for the national welfare.

Other Recommendations of the American Youth Commission

A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

Specific suggestions relating to health, education, and unemployment.

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUTH

A statement concerning activities which communities can and should carry on in behalf of youth.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF YOUTH

Recommendations concerning the whole problem of the occupational adjustment of youth—guidance, vocational training, and job placement facilities.

SHOULD YOUTH ORGANIZE?

Recommendations on aspects of the urgent problem of how best to train youth for the opportunities and responsibilities of democracy.

YOUTH, DEFENSE, AND THE NATIONAL WELFARE

A consideration of the relationship between an effective plan for national defense and the needs of youth.

Available upon request from

THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION
744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION

"Recent social and economic changes in the United States have given rise to difficulties in the care and education of young people with which existing institutions are quite unprepared to deal adequately. . . . Without some provision for basic planning to meet this situation, there is serious danger that present conditions may constitute a fundamental threat to the national welfare."

In these terms, the American Council on Education, a nongovernmental organization composed of major national educational associations and institutions, in 1935 called attention to the need for a nation-wide study of the problems of American youth, and created the American Youth Commission to:

1. consider all the needs of youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving those needs;
2. plan experiments and programs which will be most helpful in solving the problems of youth;
3. popularize and promote desirable plans of action through publications, conferences, and demonstrations.

The American Youth Commission was established to perform a public service; it is nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nongovernmental. It welcomes the interest of all and would appreciate comments and suggestions with reference to its work. The members of the Commission are:

OWEN D. YOUNG, *Chairman*
Honorary Chairman of the Board,
General Electric Company

HENRY I. HARRIMAN, *Vice Chairman*
Formerly Chairman of the Board,
New England Power Association

MIRIAM VAN WATERS, *Secretary*
Superintendent, Reformatory for
Women, Framingham, Massachu-
setts

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice President, Julius Rosenwald
Fund

CLARENCE A. DYKSTRA
President, University of Wisconsin

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
Author

WILLARD E. GIVENS
Executive Secretary, National Edu-
cation Association

GEORGE JOHNSON
Director, Department of Education,
National Catholic Welfare Confer-
ence

MORDECAI W. JOHNSON
President, Howard University

CHESTER H. ROWELL
Formerly editor, *San Francisco*
Chronicle

WILLIAM F. RUSSELL
Dean, Teachers College, Columbia
University

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER
United States Commissioner of Ed-
ucation

HENRY C. TAYLOR
Director, Farm Foundation

MATTHEW WOLL
Vice President, American Federa-
tion of Labor

GEORGE F. ZOOK
President, American Council on Ed-
ucation

FLOYD W. REEVES, *Director*
744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.