

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Public Opinion and National Service

Public Opinion and National Service

Defined simply, public opinion refers to how people think or feel about particular things. When it comes to public opinion regarding anything that touches politics and government, it is not safe to assume that the people doing the opining know lots—or even a little—about the particular things in question.

Take, for example, public opinion on Congress. As surveys over the last few decades suggest, most Americans hate Congress (the body generally has approval ratings in the teens, and in recent years has at times been in single digits); but, most Americans nonetheless love their own congressperson (more than 80 percent of incumbents who seek reelection are voted back in) while knowing next to nothing about Congress as an institution (for instance, most do not know that the House has 435 voting members, and more than half do not know that U.S. senators serve six-year terms).

Still, there is a school of scholarly thought professing that, while most citizens are poorly informed about government and care little about most public policy matters, most citizens are nonetheless pretty good at using limited information (or cues) to figure out what policies, parties, or candidates most nearly reflect their values or favor their interest, and then acting (or voting) accordingly.¹

And although the path to methodologically sound polling and the proper interpretation of results is steeper and more circuitous than ever, it is possible.² As many may know, the five rudiments of how to measure public opinion and interpret survey results remain unchanged:

1. If properly conducted, a survey of public opinion—a “poll”—can capture the opinions of 300 million citizens by interviewing as few as 1,500 of them.
2. To be “Properly conducted” the persons polled must be a random sample of the entire population, so that any given person has an equal chance of being interviewed. Achieving that requires stratified or multistage sampling that “stratifies” given subpopulations by size.
3. Repeating the process using equally randomized methods normally yields slightly different results, and the difference between the results of two surveys or samples is the sampling error. For instance, if one random sample shows that

50 percent of adult Americans approve of the president's performance, and another random sample taken at the same time shows that 45 percent do, then the sampling error is 5 percent.

4. Random sampling a sufficient number of respondents³ is only one part of the challenge. Another part is question wording. Questions must be worded so as to avoid ambiguity and loaded language, and the "same question" must sometimes be asked in different ways. For example, ask about "public welfare programs" and you get one set of responses; ask about "government aid to the poor" and you get another set of responses.⁴
5. Finally, even a well-worded, duly randomized survey that draws a sufficient number of respondents must be interpreted properly in each of at least two ways:
 - a. First, the "plus or minus" must be understood correctly as "predicting" a time-bound range of possible results. So, for instance, if a poll finds Smith with 53 percent support and Jones with 47 percent support +/- 3 percent, what the poll is "predicting" is only that were the population represented by the sample to have voted at the time the poll was taken, the result would have been somewhere between Smith 56 percent to Jones 44 percent and Smith 50 percent to Jones 50 percent. The "plus" and "minus" are exacted on "both sides" of any result (here Smith plus 3 and Jones minus 3, and Smith minus 3 and Jones plus 3).
 - b. Second, notwithstanding the now popular practice of averaging the results of recent polls on "the same" issue or choice—for example, averaging the results of presidential approval polls conducted at different times, with different sample sizes, of different populations or subpopulations (such as "all adults" versus "likely voters" versus "registered voters")—the "best polls" (i.e., the ones most likely to give you the same result if you polled the entire population at that same time rather than making an informed inference from a sample about that population) are always the biggest, duly randomized, and properly worded ones.

Analysis of Various National Service Polls

Starting with (to pluck the polling beam from our own eye first, since it is a survey that we co-supported) the 2013 survey conducted for Civic Enterprises (now Civic) by Hart Research, *Voters for National Service: Perspectives of American Voters on Large-Scale National Service*.

Survey #1: Voters for National Service

Based on interviews conducted over six days in early 2013 with 1,002 registered voters, and with a margin of +/- 3.1 percent, it is a fine survey as far as it goes. Its main conclusion, reported as "Key Finding #3," is that "voters overwhelmingly favor a system of voluntary national service, but oppose mandatory service."

But let's zero in on the "overwhelming" support for "voluntary national service." Defining it broadly in relation to "people of all ages" serving "America in a military or civilian capacity for one year," it polled among the sample of registered voters 46 percent strongly in favor, 34 percent in favor, 8 percent strongly opposed, and 7 percent opposed.

At that level of wording generality, and given a sample drawn from voting-registered adults,⁵ it would be surprising if support for "voluntary national service" polled less than a substantial and enthusiastic majority.

But the question did not ask (per the report's subtitle) about "large-scale" service. Its Figure 4 reports a majority answering "Not at all" (33 percent), "Not very" (16 percent), or "Not sure" (3 percent) when asked how "How interested would you be in a voluntary national service program at some point in the future?"

And when we get to its Figure 5—a series of results on each of thirteen separate "proposals to promote national service," "overwhelming support" is less evident than contingent and conditional support.

Indeed, only one proposal approximates the generic "voluntary national service" question's results ("Let people defray college costs in return for a year or more of national service," polling 48 percent strongly in favor and 37 percent in favor).

"Key Finding #3" might be more accurately phrased as "Registered voters conditionally support national service and overwhelmingly oppose mandatory national service." The report's Figure 2 finds "mandatory national service" polling 52 percent strongly opposed (higher than the 46 percent polling strongly in favor of "voluntary"), 19 percent opposed, 12 percent strongly in favor, and 10 percent in favor.

Survey #2: Roll Global Survey

Earlier in this paper (see footnote 17 above), we sourced a statement to a Roll Global survey. That 2014 poll's results were reported to the pro-universal national service Franklin Project (on which we both have served). The poll's results were based on a nationally representative survey of 1,008 persons ages 18 to 28 who were not employed full time, and who participated in a 10-minute online survey conducted in late February 2014. Nationally, about 1 in 5 persons in that age cohort were not employed at the time of the survey.

Asked in the 10-minute online survey about their interest in a year of "paid community service" in any one of nine different areas (education; children; social action; nonprofits; environment; disaster relief; arts and culture; health; and animal welfare) guaranteed to pay between \$8/hour and \$15/hour for non-professionals and

\$15/hour or more for professionals, 24 percent responded that they “definitely would participate.”

That 24 percent would translate into about 5.2 million persons or about 10 percent of the about 50 million persons of all employment statuses in the ages 18 to 28 cohort. Asked in an open-ended question why they would participate, the number one reason given by the “definitely would participate” sub-sample was “need a job/income” (38 percent of the sub-sample), followed closely by “want to volunteer/give back/do community service” (36 percent) and “generally liked the idea of the program” (25 percent).

Setting wholly to one side methodological questions and concerns swirling about online surveys of this species, only about 1 in 4 persons in that young adult cohort *without a full-time job* expressed that they “definitely would participate” in a program that paid all participants above the then federal minimum wage (\$7.25) even though it also offered prospective participants a nine-area menu of broadly defined service choices (and numerous broadly defined choices within each area) and involved no elements of compulsion.

Survey #3: National Mandatory Service Preliminary Research

Over four days in April 2016, Penn Schoen Berland conducted 500 online interviews among what its April 2016 report, *National Mandatory Service Preliminary Research*, characterized as “a representative sample of the U.S. general population” (with a margin of error of +/-4.38 percent). The respondents were asked questions intended to help the survey researchers “determine preliminary perceptions of a potential new national service program for young adults” and “understand key language that could be used to describe the program.” A majority (77 percent) of respondents were “favorable toward the program concept,” and “nearly 4 in 10” were “very favorable” toward it. But the “program concept” language to which the respondents were exposed was as follows:

All young adults in America would participate in one year of community service in an area of their choosing. It would be an opportunity for young Americans as they enter adulthood to shape their civic commitment to causes larger than themselves. This year of service would be required of all Americans and the benefits from the experiences would broaden the individual’s perspective of themselves, their communities, the country, and the working world. While participation in the program would be required of young people, it would also be open to Americans of all ages.

It is difficult to discern exactly what a favorable response to this statement can be interpreted as favorable towards:

- Choosing what community service to do and/or where to do it?
- An “opportunity” to be a part of something “larger than” oneself?

- Broadening personal horizons while benefitting others near and far?
- Doing a required year of service subject to terms and conditions that have not been specified? Some or all of the above?

The survey firm asked respondents “to evaluate a series of ways of describing the program” as its “goal was to (sic) understand the specific impact of words such as *mandatory* and *national*” (emphases in original). It found that “given the option of mandatory versus other ways of describing the requirement, mandatory” was by far the least popular, neck and neck for least popular with “compulsory.”

APPENDIX 2: Legal Opinion from a Nationally Reputable Law Firm

We obtained a legal opinion from a nationally-reputable law firm that came to the following conclusions:

“There are potentially several grounds on which a [Mandatory National Service Program] MNSP might be challenged under the United States Constitution, that it

- (1) violates the Thirteenth Amendment’s prohibition on ‘involuntary servitude’;
- (2) constitutes a taking under the Fifth Amendment;
- (3) violates the Free Speech, Freedom of Religion, and Establishment Clauses of the First Amendment;
- (4) violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;
- (5) deprives participants of substantive due process under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments; and
- (6) violates participants’ right to privacy. A carefully drafted MNSP statute, supported by a proper legislative history, should survive challenge on all of these grounds.

First, a MNSP is unlikely to be found to violate the involuntary servitude clause of the **Thirteenth Amendment**. That clause has been construed narrowly by the Supreme Court. These precedents require a court deciding if a MNSP violates the Thirteenth Amendment to decide if a MNSP involves slavery-like conditions, including coercion, *i.e.*, some form of physical or legal threat or restraint. If a MNSP included a criminal sanction that involved imprisonment, it might constitute coercion. However, other types of adverse consequences, even if quite harsh like the loss of government benefits, would not be sufficiently coercive to create involuntary servitude.

As to slavery-like conditions, claims that adults who had to repair roads for a few days a year or that high school students had to spend forty to sixty hours in community service over four years were forced into involuntary servitude have been rejected. However, no court has considered a requirement that citizens must spend at least a year on full-time service, except for cases involving mandatory military service or civil service in lieu thereof, which is expressly authorized by the Constitution's provision empowering Congress to raise armies. Nevertheless, provided the conditions of a MNSP – the amount of work and working conditions – involve choices or benefits to the workers and are not extremely onerous, they would likely not be held to be akin to slavery, and accordingly, would not violate the Thirteenth Amendment.

In addition, a MNSP would survive a Thirteenth Amendment challenge if participation in a MNSP is viewed as a civic duty. One way of structuring such a program would be to link participation in a MNSP to military service, which is undoubtedly a civic duty. Other examples of civic duties that courts have held fall outside the Thirteenth Amendment are required participation in judicial proceedings as jurors, witnesses, or court reporters, and performance of manual labor on public property. Again, however, those cases involve short-term obligations, nothing of the scope and duration of a MNSP.

Second, a MNSP is unlikely to be found to constitute a taking in violation of the **Fifth Amendment** if it provides adequate compensation to participants. Case 196 involving mandatory pro bono legal work provide guidance and suggest that money that participants lose from participating in the program – *i.e.*, money they would otherwise earn for their labor – could be a taking. By providing just compensation, a MNSP would avoid running afoul of the Takings Clause. What constitutes “just compensation” is unclear, but it would have to at least cover participants’ living expenses and comply with any applicable minimum wage laws.

Third, a MNSP can be crafted so as to avoid violating the **First Amendment**. The guarantee of free speech would only be implicated if participants were forced to work for service organizations with messages to which participants are ideologically opposed. If participants in a MNSP were offered non-ideological alternatives, they could not prove they were being forced to express views at odds with their personal ideologies. As for the religious clauses, A MNSP would not violate the Free Exercise Clause, because it would not preclude participants from practicing their religions, and Establishment Clause concerns could be avoided by limiting MNSP participation to non-religious organizations.

Fourth, a MNSP will survive any **equal protection challenge**. Young adults (e.g., 18- to 20-year-olds) are not a suspect classification, so a MNSP would be constitutional if it has a rational relationship to a legitimate state objective. A MNSP would serve possible state interests like instilling collective values, providing skills to young adults, and providing services to the needy. A court would likely find that participation in a MNSP is rationally related to those interests.

Fifth, like the equal protection analysis, the rational basis test should apply to any argument that a MNSP violates **substantive due process**. Because courts have held that the right not to do charitable work is a non-fundamental right unworthy of heightened scrutiny, the rational basis test should govern and would be met, as just discussed.

Sixth, a MNSP would not violate the **right of privacy**. Courts are unlikely to conclude that participating in – and reporting participation in – a MNSP violates the right of privacy. To avoid such an argument, the program should provide non-ideological work and limit the scope of what participants must report.

Accordingly, we believe that a MNSP can be structured to survive any constitutional challenge.”

APPENDIX 3: The U.S. System in Global Perspective

Central Intelligence Agency-The World Fact Book

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/fields/2024.html>

Country	MILITARY SERVICE AGE AND OBLIGATION (YEARS OF AGE)
Afghanistan	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2016)
Albania	19 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; 18 is the legal minimum age in case of general/partial compulsory mobilization (2012)
Algeria	17 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; 19-30 years of age for compulsory service; conscript service obligation is 18 months (6 months basic training, 12 months civil projects) (2012)
Angola	20-45 years of age for compulsory male and 18-45 years for voluntary male military service (registration at age 18 is mandatory); 20-45 years of age for voluntary female service; 2-year conscript service obligation; Angolan citizenship required; the Navy (MGA) is entirely staffed with volunteers (2013)
Antigua and Barbuda	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; Governor-General has powers to call up men for national service and set the age at which they could be called up (2012)

Argentina	18-24 years of age for voluntary military service (18-21 requires parental consent); no conscription; if the number of volunteers fails to meet the quota of recruits for a particular year, Congress can authorize the conscription of citizens turning 18 that year for a period not exceeding one year (2012)
Armenia	18-27 years of age for voluntary or compulsory military service; 2-year conscript service obligation; 17 year olds are eligible to become cadets at military higher education institutes, where they are classified as military personnel (2012)
Australia	17 years of age for voluntary military service (with parental consent); no conscription; women allowed to serve in most combat roles, except the Army special forces (2013)
Austria	registration requirement at age 17, the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; 18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory military service (6 months), or optionally, alternative civil/community service (9 months); males 18 to 50 years old in the militia or inactive reserve are subject to compulsory service; in a January 2012 referendum, a majority of Austrians voted in favor of retaining the system of compulsory military service (with the option of alternative/non-military service) instead of switching to a professional army system (2015)
Azerbaijan	18-35 years of age for compulsory military service; service obligation 18 months or 12 months for university graduates; 17 years of age for voluntary service; 17-year-olds are considered to be on active service at cadet military schools (2012)
Bahamas, The	18 years of age for voluntary male and female service; no conscription (2012)
Bahrain	18 years of age for voluntary military service; 15 years of age for NCOs, technicians, and cadets; no conscription (2012)
Bangladesh	16-19 years of age for voluntary military service; Bangladeshi birth and 10th grade education required; initial obligation 15 years (2012)
Barbados	18 years of age for voluntary military service, or earlier with parental consent; no conscription (2013)
Belarus	18-27 years of age for compulsory military service; conscript service obligation is 12-18 months, depending on academic qualifications; 17-year-olds are eligible to become cadets at military higher education institutes, where they are classified as military personnel (2012)
Belgium	18 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; conscription abolished in 1994 (2012)

<u>Belize</u>	18 years of age for voluntary military service; laws allow for conscription only if volunteers are insufficient; conscription has never been implemented; volunteers typically outnumber available positions by 3:1; initial service obligation 12 years (2012)
<u>Benin</u>	18-35 years of age for selective compulsory and voluntary military service; a higher education diploma is required; both sexes are eligible for military service; conscript tour of duty - 18 months (2013)
<u>Bermuda</u>	18-45 years of age for voluntary male or female enlistment in the Bermuda Regiment; males must register at age 18 and may be subject to conscription; term of service is 38 months for volunteers or conscripts (2012)
<u>Bhutan</u>	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; militia training is compulsory for males aged 20-25, over a 3-year period (2012)
<u>Bolivia</u>	18-49 years of age for 12-month compulsory male and female military service; Bolivian citizenship required; 17 years of age for voluntary service; when annual number of volunteers falls short of goal, compulsory recruitment is affected, including conscription of boys as young as 14; 15-19 years of age for voluntary premilitary service, provides exemption from further military service (2013)
<u>Bosnia and Herzegovina</u>	18 years of age for voluntary military service; mandatory retirement at age 35 or after 15 years of service for E-1 through E-4, mandatory retirement at age 50 and 30 years of service for E-5 through E-9, mandatory retirement at age 55 and 30 years of service for all officers (2014)
<u>Botswana</u>	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
<u>Brazil</u>	18-45 years of age for compulsory military service; conscript service obligation is 10-12 months; 17-45 years of age for voluntary service; an increasing percentage of the ranks are "long-service" volunteer professionals; women were allowed to serve in the armed forces beginning in early 1980s, when the Brazilian Army became the first army in South America to accept women into career ranks; women serve in Navy and Air Force only in Women's Reserve Corps (2012)
<u>Brunei</u>	17 years of age for voluntary military service; non-Malays are ineligible to serve; recruits from the army, navy, and air force all undergo 43-week initial training (2013)

Bulgaria	18-27 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription ended in January 2008; service obligation 6-9 months (2012)
Burkina Faso	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; women may serve in supporting roles (2013)
Burma	18-35 years of age (men) and 18-27 years of age (women) for voluntary military service; no conscription (a 2010 law reintroducing conscription has not yet entered into force); 2-year service obligation; male (ages 18-45) and female (ages 18-35) professionals (including doctors, engineers, mechanics) serve up to 3 years; service terms may be stretched to 5 years in an officially declared emergency; Burma signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on 15 August 1991; on 27 June 2012, the regime signed a Joint Action Plan on prevention of child recruitment; in February 2013, the military formed a new task force to address forced child conscription; approximately 600 children have been released from military service since the signing of the joint action plan (2015)
Burundi	18 years of age for voluntary military service; the armed forces law of 31 December 2004 did not specify a minimum age for enlistment, but the government claimed that no one younger than 18 was being recruited; mandatory retirement age 45 (enlisted), 50 (NCOs), and 55 (officers) (2012)
Cabo Verde	18-35 years of age for male and female selective compulsory military service; 2-years conscript service obligation; 17 years of age for voluntary service (with parental consent) (2013)
Cambodia	18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory and voluntary military service (2012)
Cameroon	18-23 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; high school graduation required; service obligation 4 years; periodic government calls for volunteers (2012)
Canada	17 years of age for voluntary male and female military service (with parental consent); 16 years of age for Reserve and Military College applicants; Canadian citizenship or permanent residence status required; maximum 34 years of age; service obligation 3-9 years (2012)
Central African Republic	18 years of age for selective military service; 2-year conscript service obligation (2012)
Chad	20 is the legal minimum age for compulsory military service, with a 3-year service obligation; 18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary service; no minimum age restriction for volunteers with consent from a parent or guardian; women are subject to 1

year of compulsory military or civic service at age 21; while provisions for military service have not been repealed, they have never been fully implemented (2015)

Chile	18-45 years of age for voluntary male and female military service, although the right to compulsory recruitment of males 18-45 is retained; service obligation is 12 months for Army and 22 months for Navy and Air Force (2015)
China	18-24 years of age for selective compulsory military service, with a 2-year service obligation; no minimum age for voluntary service (all officers are volunteers); 18-19 years of age for women high school graduates who meet requirements for specific military jobs; a recent military decision allows women in combat roles; the first class of women warship commanders was in 2011 (2012)
Colombia	18-24 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; service obligation is 18 months (2012)
Comoros	18 years of age for 2-year voluntary male and female military service; no conscription (2015)
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	18-45 years of age for voluntary and compulsory military service (2012)
Congo, Republic of the	18 years of age for voluntary military service; women may serve in the Armed Forces (2012)
Cote d'Ivoire	18-25 years of age for compulsory and voluntary male and female military service; conscription is not enforced; voluntary recruitment of former rebels into the new national army is restricted to ages 22-29 (2012)
Croatia	18-27 years of age for voluntary military service; 6-month service obligation (2012)
Cuba	17-28 years of age for compulsory military service; 2-year service obligation; both sexes subject to military service (2012)
Curacao	no conscription (2010)
Cyprus	Cypriot National Guard (CNG): 18-50 years of age for compulsory military service for all Greek Cypriot males; 17 years of age for voluntary service; 14-month service obligation (2016)
Czechia	18-28 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Denmark	18 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; conscripts serve an initial training period that varies from 4 to 12 months according to specialization; reservists are assigned to

	mobilization units following completion of their conscript service; women eligible to volunteer for military service (2012)
Djibouti	18 years of age for voluntary military service; 16-25 years of age for voluntary military training; no conscription (2012)
Dominican Republic	17-21 years of age for voluntary military service; recruits must have completed primary school and be Dominican Republic citizens; women may volunteer (2012)
Ecuador	18 years of age for selective conscript military service; conscription has been suspended; 18 years of age for voluntary military service; Air Force 18-22 years of age, Ecuadorian birth requirement; 1-year service obligation (2012)
Egypt	18-30 years of age for male conscript military service; service obligation - 18-36 months, followed by a 9-year reserve obligation; voluntary enlistment possible from age 16 (2012)
El Salvador	18 years of age for selective compulsory military service; 16-22 years of age for voluntary male or female service; service obligation is 12 months, with 11 months for officers and NCOs (2012)
Equatorial Guinea	18 years of age for selective compulsory military service, although conscription is rare in practice; 2-year service obligation; women hold only administrative positions in the Navy (2013)
Eritrea	18-40 years of age for male and female voluntary and compulsory military service; 16-month conscript service obligation (2012)
Estonia	18-27 for compulsory military or governmental service, conscript service requirement 8-11 months depending on education; NCOs, reserve officers, and specialists serve 11 months (2013)
Ethiopia	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no compulsory military service, but the military can conduct callups when necessary and compliance is compulsory (2012)
Fiji	18 years of age for voluntary military service; mandatory retirement at age 55 (2013)
Finland	18 years of age for male voluntary and compulsory - and female voluntary - national military and nonmilitary service; service obligation 6-12 months; military obligation to age 60 (2012)
France	18-25 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; 1-year service obligation; women serve in noncombat posts (2013)
Gabon	20 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)

Gambia, The	18 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; service obligation 6 months (2012)
Georgia	18 to 34 years of age for compulsory and voluntary active duty military service; conscript service obligation is 18 months (2012)
Germany	17-23 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; conscription ended 1 July 2011; service obligation 8-23 months or 12 years; women have been eligible for voluntary service in all military branches and positions since 2001 (2013)
Ghana	18-26 years of age for voluntary military service, with basic education certificate; no conscription; must be HIV/AIDS negative (2012)
Greece	19-45 years of age for compulsory military service; during wartime the law allows for recruitment beginning January of the year of inductee's 18th birthday, thus including 17-year-olds; 18 years of age for volunteers; conscript service obligation is 1 year for the Army and 9 months for the Air Force and Navy; women are eligible for voluntary military service (2014)
Guatemala	all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 50 are eligible for military service; in practice, most of the force is volunteer, however, a selective draft system is employed, resulting in a small portion of 17-21-year-olds conscripted; conscript service obligation varies from 1 to 2 years; women can serve as officers (2013)
Guinea-Bissau	18-25 years of age for selective compulsory military service (Air Force service is voluntary); 16 years of age or younger, with parental consent, for voluntary service (2013)
Guinea	18-25 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; 18-month conscript service obligation (2012)
Guyana	18 years of age or older for voluntary military service; no conscription (2014)
Holy See (Vatican City)	Pontifical Swiss Guard Corps (Corpo della Guardia Svizzera Pontificia): 19-30 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; must be Roman Catholic, a Swiss citizen, with a secondary education (2013)
Honduras	18 years of age for voluntary 2- to 3-year military service; no conscription (2012)
Hungary	18-25 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; 6-month service obligation (2012)
India	16-18 years of age for voluntary military service (Army 17 1/2, Air Force 17, Navy 16 1/2); no conscription; women may join as officers, currently serve in combat roles as pilots, and will soon be allowed in all combat roles (2016)

Indonesia	18-45 years of age for voluntary military service, with selective conscription authorized; 2-year service obligation, with reserve obligation to age 45 (officers); Indonesian citizens only (2012)
Iran	18 years of age for compulsory military service; 16 years of age for volunteers; 17 years of age for Law Enforcement Forces; 15 years of age for Basij Forces (Popular Mobilization Army); conscript military service obligation is 18 months; women exempt from military service (2012)
Iraq	18-40 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2013)
Ireland	18-25 years of age for male and female voluntary military service recruits to the Permanent Defence Forces (PDF; 18-27 years of age for the Naval Service); 18-28 for cadetship (officer) applicants; 18-35 years of age for the Reserve Defence Forces (RDF); maximum obligation 12 years (PDF officers), 5 years (PDF enlisted), 3 years RDF (4 years for Naval Service Reserves); EU citizenship, refugee status, or 5-year residence in Ireland required (2014)
Israel	18 years of age for compulsory (Jews, Druze) military service; 17 years of age for voluntary (Christians, Muslims, Circassians) military service; both sexes are obligated to military service; conscript service obligation - 32 months for enlisted men and 24 months for enlisted women (varies based on military occupation), 48 months for officers; pilots commit to 9 years of service; reserve obligation to age 41-51 (men), age 24 (women) (2015)
Italy	18-25 years of age for voluntary military service; women may serve in any military branch; Italian citizenship required; 1-year service obligation (2013)
Jamaica	17 1/2 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Japan	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; mandatory retirement at age 53 for senior enlisted personnel and at 62 years for senior service officers (2012)
Jordan	17 years of age for voluntary male military service; initial service term 2 years, with option to reenlist for 18 years; conscription at age 18 suspended in 1999; women not subject to conscription, but can volunteer to serve in noncombat military positions in the Royal Jordanian Arab Army Women's Corps and RJAF (2013)
Kazakhstan	18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory military service; conscript service obligation is 2 years, but Kazakhstan may be

	<p>transitioning to a contract force; 19 is the legal minimum age for voluntary service; military cadets in intermediate (ages 15-17) and higher (ages 17-21) education institutes are classified as military service personnel (2012)</p> <p>18-26 years of age for male and female voluntary service (under 18 with parental consent), with a 9-year obligation (7 years for Kenyan Navy); applicants must be Kenyan citizens and provide a national identity card (obtained at age 18) and a school-leaving certificate; women serve under the same terms and conditions as men; mandatory retirement at age 55 (2012)</p>
Kenya	
Korea, North	<p>18 is presumed to be the legal minimum age for compulsory military service; 16-17 is the presumed legal minimum age for voluntary service (2012)</p>
Korea, South	<p>20-30 years of age for compulsory military service, with middle school education required; minimum conscript service obligation - 21 months (Army, Marines), 23 months (Navy), 24 months (Air Force); 18-26 years of age for voluntary military service; women, in service since 1950, admitted to 7 service branches, including infantry, but excluded from artillery, armor, anti-air, and chaplaincy corps; HIV-positive individuals are exempt from military service (2012)</p>
Kuwait	<p>17-21 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription suspended (2012)</p>
Kyrgyzstan	<p>18-27 years of age for compulsory or voluntary male military service in the Armed Forces or Interior Ministry; 1-year service obligation, with optional fee-based 3-year service in the callup mobilization reserve; women may volunteer at age 19; 16-17 years of age for military cadets, who cannot take part in military operations (2013)</p>
Laos	<p>18 years of age for compulsory or voluntary military service; conscript service obligation - minimum 18-months (2012)</p>
Latvia	<p>18 years of age for voluntary male and female military service; no conscription; under current law, every citizen is entitled to serve in the armed forces for life (2012)</p>
Lebanon	<p>17-30 years of age for voluntary military service; 18-24 years of age for officer candidates; no conscription (2013)</p>
Lesotho	<p>18-24 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; women serve as commissioned officers (2012)</p>
Liberia	<p>18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)</p>
Libya	<p>18 years of age for mandatory or voluntary service (2012)</p>

Lithuania	18 years of age for military service; 9-month service obligation; Lithuania converted to a professional military in the fall of 2008, although the decision continues under judicial review; a new law passed in March 2015 restored conscription on a limited, 5-year basis; in March 2016, Lithuania's National Security and Defense Council recommended permanently restoring conscription service (2016)
Luxembourg	18-24 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; Luxembourg citizen or EU citizen with 3-year residence in Luxembourg (2012)
Macedonia	18 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription abolished in 2008 (2013)
Madagascar	18-25 years of age for male-only voluntary military service; no conscription; service obligation is 18 months for military or equivalent civil service; 20-30 years of age for National Gendarmerie recruits and 35 years of age for those with military experience (2012)
Malawi	18 years of age for voluntary military service; high school equivalent required for enlisted recruits and college equivalent for officer recruits; initial engagement is 7 years for enlisted personnel and 10 years for officers (2014)
Malaysia	17 years 6 months of age for voluntary military service (younger with parental consent and proof of age); mandatory retirement age 60; women serve in the Malaysian Armed Forces; no conscription (2013)
Maldives	18-28 years of age for voluntary service; no conscription; 10th grade or equivalent education required; must not be a member of a political party (2012)
Mali	18 years of age for selective compulsory and voluntary military service; 2-year conscript service obligation (2012)
Malta	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2014)
Mauritania	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Mexico	18 years of age for compulsory military service, conscript service obligation is 12 months; 16 years of age with consent for voluntary enlistment; conscripts serve only in the Army; Navy and Air Force service is all voluntary; women are eligible for voluntary military service; cadets enrolled in military schools from the age of 15 are considered members of the armed forces (2012)

Moldova	18 years of age for compulsory or voluntary military service; male registration required at age 16; 1-year service obligation (2016)
Mongolia	18-27 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; 1-year conscript service obligation in land or air forces or police for males only; after conscription, soldiers can contract into military service for 2 or 4 years; citizens can also voluntarily join the armed forces (2015)
Montenegro	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Morocco	20 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; service obligation - 18 months (2012)
Mozambique	registration for military service is mandatory for all males and females at 18 years of age; 18-35 years of age for selective compulsory military service; 18 years of age for voluntary service; 2-year service obligation; women may serve as officers or enlisted (2012)
Namibia	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Nepal	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2014)
Netherlands	17 years of age for an all-volunteer force (2014)
New Zealand	17 years of age for voluntary military service; soldiers cannot be deployed until the age of 18; no conscription; 3 years of secondary education required; must be a citizen of NZ, the UK, Australia, Canada, or the US, and resident of NZ for the previous 5 years (2013)
Nicaragua	18-30 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; tour of duty 18-36 months; requires Nicaraguan nationality and 6th-grade education (2012)
Nigeria	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Niger	18 is the presumed legal minimum age for compulsory or voluntary military service; enlistees must be Nigerien citizens and unmarried; 2-year service term; women may serve in health care (2012)
Norway	19-35 years of age for male compulsory military service; 16 years of age in wartime; 17 years of age for male volunteers; 18 years of age for women; 1-year service obligation followed by 4-5 refresher training periods through ages 35-60, totaling 18 months (2012)

Oman	18-30 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Pakistan	16-23 years of age for voluntary military service; soldiers cannot be deployed for combat until age 18; the Pakistani Air Force and Pakistani Navy have inducted their first female pilots and sailors; the Pakistan Air Force recruits aviation technicians at age 15; service obligation (Navy) 10-18 years; retirement required after 18-30 years of service or age 40-52 (2012)
Papua New Guinea	16 years of age for voluntary military service (with parental consent); no conscription; graduation from grade 12 required (2013)
Paraguay	18 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; conscript service obligation is 12 months for Army, 24 months for Navy; volunteers for the Air Force must be younger than 22 years of age with a secondary school diploma (2012)
Peru	18-50 years of age for male and 18-45 years of age for female voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Philippines	17-23 years of age (officers 20-24) for voluntary military service; no conscription; applicants must be single male or female Philippine citizens with either 72 college credit hours (enlisted) or a baccalaureate degree (officers) (2013)
Poland	18-28 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; conscription phased out in 2009-12; service obligation shortened from 12 to 9 months in 2005; women only allowed to serve as officers and noncommissioned officers (2013)
Portugal	18-30 years of age for voluntary military service; no compulsory military service, but conscription possible if insufficient volunteers available; women serve in the armed forces, on naval ships since 1993, but are prohibited from serving in some combatant specialties; reserve obligation to age 35 (2012)
Qatar	conscription for males aged 18-35; 4-month general obligation, 3 months for graduates (2014)
Romania	conscription ended 2006; 18 years of age for male and female voluntary service; all military inductees (including women) contract for an initial 5-year term of service, with subsequent successive 3-year terms until age 36 (2015)
Russia	18-27 years of age for compulsory or voluntary military service; males are registered for the draft at 17 years of age; 1-year service obligation (conscripts can only be sent to combat zones after 6 months of training); reserve obligation for non-officers to age 50; enrollment in military schools from the age of 16, cadets classified as members of the armed forces

	<p>note: the chief of the General Staff Mobilization Directorate announced in March 2015 that for health reasons, only 76% of draftees called up during the spring 2015 draft campaign were fit for military service (2015)</p> <p>18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; Rwandan citizenship is required, as is a 9th-grade education for enlisted recruits and an A-level certificate for officer candidates; enlistment is either as contract (5-years, renewable twice) or career; retirement (for officers and senior NCOs) after 20 years of service or at 40-60 years of age (2012)</p>
Rwanda	
Saint Kitts and Nevis	18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Saint Lucia	18 years of age for voluntary security service; no national army (2012)
San Marino	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription; government has the authority to call up all San Marino citizens from 16-60 years of age to service in the military (2012)
Sao Tome and Principe	18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory military service; 17 is the legal minimum age for voluntary service (2012)
Saudi Arabia	17 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)
Senegal	18 years of age for voluntary military service; 20 years of age for selective conscript service; 2-year service obligation; women have been accepted into military service since 2008 (2013)
Serbia	18 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription abolished December 2010; reserve obligation to age 60 for men and age 50 for women (2013)
Seychelles	18 years of age for voluntary military service (younger with parental consent); no conscription (2012)
Sierra Leone	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service (younger with parental consent); women are eligible to serve; no conscription; candidates must be HIV negative (2012)
Singapore	18-21 years of age for male compulsory military service; 16 1/2 years of age for volunteers; 2-year conscript service obligation, with a reserve obligation to age 40 (enlisted) or age 50 (officers) (2012)
Slovakia	18-30 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription in peacetime suspended in 2006; women are eligible to serve (2012)
Slovenia	18-25 years of age for voluntary military service; conscription abolished in 2003 (2012)

Somalia	18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory and voluntary military service (2012)
South Africa	18 years of age for voluntary military service; women are eligible to serve in noncombat roles; 2-year service obligation (2012)
South Sudan	18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory and voluntary military service; the Government of South Sudan signed a revised action plan with the UN in March 2012 to demobilize all child soldiers within the SPLA, but recruitment of child soldiers by the SPLA and the opposition increased in 2014; as of the end of 2015, UNICEF estimates that 15,000 to 16,000 child soldiers had been used by the SPLA and rebel forces in the country's civil war since it began in December 2013 (2015)
Spain	18-26 years of age for voluntary military service by a Spanish citizen or legal immigrant, 2-3 year obligation; women allowed to serve in all SAF branches, including combat units; no conscription, but Spanish Government retains right to mobilize citizens 19-25 years of age in a national emergency; mandatory retirement of non-NCO enlisted personnel at age 45 or 58, depending on service length (2013)
Sri Lanka	18-22 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; 5-year service obligation (Air Force) (2012)
Sudan	18-33 years of age for male and female compulsory or voluntary military service; 1-2-year service obligation; a requirement that completion of national service was mandatory before entering public or private sector employment has been cancelled (2012)
Suriname	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription; personnel drawn almost exclusively from the Creole community (2012)
Swaziland	18-30 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; compulsory HIV testing required, only HIV-negative applicants accepted (2012)
Sweden	18-47 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; Swedish citizenship required; service obligation: 7.5 months (Army), 7-15 months (Navy), 8-12 months (Air Force); the Swedish Parliament has abolished compulsory military service, with exclusively voluntary recruitment as of July 2010; conscription remains an option in emergencies; after completing initial service, soldiers have a reserve commitment until age 47 (2013)
Switzerland	19-26 years of age for male compulsory military service; 18 years of age for voluntary male and female military service; every Swiss male has to serve at least 260 days in the armed forces;

conscripts receive 18 weeks of mandatory training, followed by seven 3-week intermittent recalls for training during the next 10 years (2012)

[Syria](#) 18 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; conscript service obligation is 18 months; women are not conscripted but may volunteer to serve; re-enlistment obligation 5 years, with retirement after 15 years or age 40 (enlisted) or 20 years or age 45 (NCOs) (2012)

[Taiwan](#) starting with those born in 1994, males 18-36 years of age may volunteer for military service or must complete 4 months of compulsory military training (or substitute civil service in some cases); women may enlist; women in Air Force service are restricted to noncombat roles; for men born before December 1993, compulsory service (military or civil) is 1 year; for 8 years after discharge, men are subject to training recall four times for periods not to exceed 20 days (2016)

[Tajikistan](#) 18-27 years of age for compulsory or voluntary military service; 2-year conscript service obligation; males required to undergo compulsory military training between ages 16 and 55; males can enroll in military schools from at least age 15 (2012)

[Tanzania](#) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription (2012)

[Thailand](#) 21 years of age for compulsory military service; 18 years of age for voluntary military service; males register at 18 years of age; 2-year conscript service obligation (2012)

[Timor-Leste](#) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; 18-month service obligation; no conscription but, as of May 2013, introduction of conscription was under discussion (2013)

[Togo](#) 18 years of age for compulsory and voluntary military service; 2-year service obligation (2012)

[Tonga](#) 16 years of age for voluntary enlistment (with parental consent); no conscription; the king retains the right to call up "all those capable of bearing arms" in wartime (2012)

[Trinidad and Tobago](#) 18-25 years of age for voluntary military service (16 years of age with parental consent); no conscription; Trinidad and Tobago citizenship and completion of secondary school required (2012)

[Tunisia](#) 20-23 years of age for compulsory service, 1-year service obligation; 18-23 years of age for voluntary service; Tunisian nationality req. (2012)

[Turkey](#) 21-41 years of age for male compulsory military service; 18 years of age for voluntary service; 12-month conscript obligation for non-university graduates, 6-12 months for university graduates

	(graduates of higher education may perform 6 months of military service as short-term privates, or 12 months as reserve officers); conscripts are called to register at age 20, for service at 21; women serve in the Turkish Armed Forces only as officers; reserve obligation to age 41; Turkish citizens with a residence or work permit who have worked abroad for at least 3 years (1095 days) can be exempt from military service in exchange for 6,000 EUR or its equivalent in foreign currencies; a law passed in December 2014 introduced a one-time payment scheme which exempted Turkish citizens 27 and older from conscription in exchange for a payment of \$8,150 (2013)
Turkmenistan	18-27 years of age for compulsory male military service; 2-year conscript service obligation; 20 years of age for voluntary service; males may enroll in military schools from age 15 (2015)
Uganda	18-26 years of age for voluntary military duty; 18-30 years of age for professionals; no conscription; 9-year service obligation; the government has stated that while recruitment under 18 years of age could occur with proper consent, "no person under the apparent age of 18 years shall be enrolled in the armed forces"; Ugandan citizenship and secondary education required (2012)
Ukraine	20-27 years of age for compulsory military service; conscript service obligation is 18 months (2015)
United Arab Emirates	18-30 years of age for compulsory military service for men, optional service for women; 17 years of age for male volunteers with parental approval; 2-year general obligation, 9 months for secondary school graduates; women may train for 9 months regardless of education (2014)
United Kingdom	16-33 years of age (officers 17-28) for voluntary military service (with parental consent under 18); no conscription; women serve in military services including some ground combat roles; the UK's Defense Ministry is expected to further ease existing women's restrictions by the end of 2016; must be citizen of the UK, Commonwealth, or Republic of Ireland; reservists serve a minimum of 3 years, to age 45 or 55; 17 years 6 months of age for voluntary military service by Nepalese citizens in the Brigade of Gurkhas; 16-34 years of age for voluntary military service by Papua New Guinean citizens (2016)
United States	18 years of age (17 years of age with parental consent) for male and female voluntary service; no conscription; maximum enlistment age 42 (Army), 27 (Air Force), 34 (Navy), 28 (Marines); 8-year service obligation, including 2-5 years active duty (Army), 2 years active (Navy), 4 years active (Air Force, Marines); DoD is eliminating prohibitions restricting women

	from assignments in units smaller than brigades or near combat units (2013)
Uruguay	18-30 years of age (18-22 years of age for navy) for male or female voluntary military service; up to 40 years of age for specialists; enlistment is voluntary in peacetime, but the government has the authority to conscript in emergencies; minimum 6-year education (2013)
Uzbekistan	18 years of age for compulsory military service; 1-month or 1-year conscript service obligation for males; moving toward a professional military, but conscription in some form will continue; the military cannot accommodate everyone who wishes to enlist, and competition for entrance into the military is similar to the competition for admission to universities (2013)
Venezuela	all citizens of military service age (18-60 years old) are obligated to register for military service, though mandatory recruitment is forbidden; the minimum conscript service obligation is 12 months (2015)
Vietnam	18-25 years of age for male compulsory and voluntary military service; females may volunteer for active duty military service; conscription typically takes place twice annually and service obligation is 18 months (Army, Air Defense), 2 years (Navy and Air Force); 18-45 years of age (male) or 18-40 years of age (female) for Militia Force or Self Defense Force service; males may enroll in military schools at age 17 (2013)
Yemen	18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service; no conscription; 2-year service obligation (2012)
Zambia	national registration required at age 16; 18-25 years of age for male and female voluntary military service (16 years of age with parental consent); no conscription; Zambian citizenship required; grade 12 certification required; mandatory HIV testing on enlistment; mandatory retirement for officers at age 65 (Army, Air Force) (2012)
Zimbabwe	18-24 years of age for voluntary military service; no conscription; women are eligible to serve (2012)

APPENDIX 4: U.S. National Service System in Global Perspective

Eight Vignettes on Alternative Civilian Service

Austria

<https://www.bmeia.gv.at/en/travel-stay/living-abroad/military-and-alternative-civilian-service/alternative-civilian-service/>

A *Zivildiensterklärung* (a declaration for alternative civilian service) is subject to certain formal requirements. One can only perform this alternate service in Austria. Other forms of service—a voluntary social year or year in environmental protection—may also fulfill the obligation. In addition, a service year abroad (for 12 months), developmental assistance (2 years), or memorial, peace or social service (12 months) may be a substitute for compulsory alternative civilian service.

Belarus

<http://belarusdigest.com/story/belarus-introduces-alternative-civilian-service-26309>

Alternative civilian service got underway in Belarus in the fall of 2016. After a decade of parliamentary debates, “alternativschiki” will serve three years, or twice the length of time required of military conscripts. Those with religious pacifist beliefs are offered 36 months of paid time in the healthcare sector or other social system institutions, agriculture, railroad maintenance, or whatever the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection deems appropriate. Until the passage of this new law, Belarusian men who could not serve because of their religious beliefs were considered no different than draft dodgers. It is said that the Ministry has worked to make this alternative to the military unattractive to potential recruits. Only religious grounds are considered, the pay is low, and the time spent in alternative service is high.

Finland

<http://sputniknews.com/europe/20150514/1022139903.html>

[https://www.suomi.fi/suomifi/english/services by topic/public safety and order/defence/non-military service/index.html](https://www.suomi.fi/suomifi/english/services%20by%20topic/public%20safety%20and%20order/defence/non-military%20service/index.html)

[https://www.suomi.fi/suomifi/english/services by topic/public safety and order/defence/non-military service/index.html](https://www.suomi.fi/suomifi/english/services%20by%20topic/public%20safety%20and%20order/defence/non-military%20service/index.html)

It was reported in 2015 that ever more Finnish reservists were asking to be assigned to the country’s civilian service, a placement usually reserved for conscientious objectors and the unfit. According to the Finnish *Suomi.fi*, a Finnish public sector online portal for citizens: “Instead of military service, men can choose to do non-military service. This includes training and work which benefits society.

This service is carried out at institutions and locations approved by the Centre for Non-Military Service in Finland. Non-military service cannot be performed in one's current place of employment. It must be applied for using the Ministry of Employment and the Economy's non-military service application form, which is then submitted to the Call-up Board.” A person performing their military or non-military service and their spouse and children can apply to the Social Insurance Institution (*Kela*) for a Conscript's Allowance for the time of service. Total objection means refusing to perform either military or non-military service. Total objectors can make a written declaration of their objection or not report to their place of service. According to Finnish law, total objectors receive an electronically monitored sanction or a prison sentence.”

Israel

Military and Civilian National Service in Israel

Israel has a longstanding national service program, comprising both a mandatory military service in the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), and a voluntary civilian national service program, Sherut Leumi. Due to various categories of exemptions, only about half of all Israeli youth aged 18 to 24 serve in the military. From the same age bracket, about 15 percent serve in the civic national service. Although Arab Israelis and ultra-Orthodox Jews are exempt from mandatory military service, 30 percent of those exempt youth voluntarily choose to do a term of military service. In comparison, only four percent of American youth serve in the military and less than one percent serve in civilian national service.

Israel's civilian national service program requires 30 to 40 hours per week over one to two years through selected organizations in the areas of education, health, welfare, environmental projects and homeland security. Participants receive a living stipend, travel costs, health insurance, tax exemptions and possible tuition reimbursements. While the program is operated by the Israeli National Civic Service Authority, it also receives support from The Opportunity Fund for Civic Service and other philanthropic sources. In recent years, there has been a push to engage different populations, including Arabs, Ultra-Orthodox youth, disabled individuals, individuals with criminal records, and at-risk youth, to serve.

Shnat Sherut, or a Pre-Army Service Year, is a program where high school graduates defer their military service one year to participate in a volunteer service program. The program is highly selective since the IDF only allows about 3,000 deferments each year ([number based on 2014-15](#); ~5,000 students applied). Almost 100 percent of graduates will serve in the IDF after the service year, usually in highly regarded positions. Students do not receive post-service benefits such as tuition reimbursements, but their organization provides housing, a living stipend, and pocket money during the year. Students may work in areas such as immigrant absorption, informal education, helping youth at risk and working with youngsters from peripheral areas. There is also a particularly selective component of the

program created in 1998 under the [Jewish Agency for Israel](#) that sends over 100 students to serve the Jewish diaspora around the globe.

A Common Rite of Passage & Culture of Giving Back

Israel's national service system is largely considered successful at inspiring national unity and equality through a common rite of passage, supporting a culture of giving back, and even [spurring the nation's economic success](#), as participants develop problem-solving skills, learn how to work across lines of difference, and build strong professional networks through their service. It offers important lessons for the United States. First, by linking military and civilian service, everyone can serve, even those who are otherwise not qualified for military roles. Second, the public-private partnership with a strong role for government has meant broad participation is financially feasible, and aimed at national goals while meeting local needs. The recent push in Israeli to engage vulnerable populations, including Arab Israelis and individuals with criminal records, is likely to increase its role in building a sense of connection across societal lines, which is needed in the U.S. as well. Finally, the skills and social ties individuals develop in both the IDF and Sherut Leumi that increase their post-service employment potential suggest a greater role for service in U.S. workforce policy.

Germany

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-twilight-of-the-civvies-germany-to-scale-back-mandatory-civilian-service-a-692751.html>

In 2011, Germany abolished military conscription, but a vital part of the German social safety net has been the civilian service required of conscientious objectors. In 2010, just before abolishing conscription, Germany moved to shorten the military conscription time from nine months to six. Those who objected to this change mentioned that the decrease would result in less service to assist those in need. The German government, which has paid for the alternative program for these conscientious objectors (young men) and female volunteers, had indicated that there would be enormous savings. A compromise reached at that time allowed for a voluntary extension in service time.

The Russian Federation

<http://eng.mil.ru/en/career/alternative.htm>

According to the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, Russia was the first country in the world to introduce alternative service to the military. Every Russian citizen has the right to serve in an alternative civilian service if their convictions or religious beliefs would not allow them to serve in a military capacity. The ministry notes that after the 1917 Revolution, Russia, along with Britain and Denmark recognized a citizen's right to refuse military induction for reasons of conscience. Following in 1919, a decree to allow one to refuse military service because of one's religious beliefs, was instituted. A court was established to

determine what kind of alternative civilian work would be appropriate to military service. Once World War II ensued, alternative service was eliminated. Once the Soviet Union collapsed, in 1993 the RF Constitution established the right to alternative civil service “in accordance with peacekeeping, philosophical, moral-ethical, political or religious convictions.” All alternative civilian service (ACS) must be performed at state-owned facilities and those who choose ACS must serve and may not on their own terminate employment, strike, or hold another job at the same time. The Military Commissar instructs a citizen where to report in accordance with a plan approved by the Federal Service for Labor and Employment. Such lists of appropriate organizations are reviewed and approved annually. Such assignees will serve 21 months at organizations subordinate to federal bodies of the executive power or 18 months as civilian personnel in the Russian Federation armed forces.

Switzerland

http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/service-abroad_aid-work--an-alternative-to-army-service/35097560

Young Swiss men are given the alternative of serving abroad instead of being in the Swiss army. Recruits to this type of alternative service have high demands placed upon them. A young man must have vocational training or two years of study, speak the language of the country he is assigned in to serve, and be aware of the risks associated with the country or community in which he will serve. The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation reports that this kind of service is very popular among young people who want to travel and are also prepared to expose themselves to potentially difficult situations. Men who want to be considered for this type of service must take a conscience test and explain why they feel that they cannot participate in military service. Alternative service lasts 1.5 times as long as military service, so, the willingness to serve much longer is proof to some of the strength of the conscientious objector’s conviction.

Taiwan/Republic of China

<http://www.taiwan.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=27218&ctNode=1967&mp=1001>

<http://www.nca.gov.tw/engver/eng-1.asp>

<http://english.docms.gov.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=142994&ctNode=16148&mp=121012>

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (as of 4/23/2010), all healthy men were required to serve for a period of 14 months at the earliest opportunity between the ages of 18 and 36. Taiwan, as of this writing, was moving to an all-volunteer force and the period for compulsory service was cut from 14 to 12 months. The Ministry of Interior is in charge of national conscription administration. It is indicated in the description of the conscription agency (last reviewed on 8/16/16) that once a person is deemed eligible for military service that “Substitute Service” may be granted without prejudice. It is written that “any enlisted man when rated as qualified for reserve service after his physical examination may within a specified time apply for performing Substitute service with the Military Service

Section of the Public Office....where his household is located.” The Substitute Military Service Center operated under the Department of Compulsory Military Service provides approved draftees jobs in various public sector positions. They stated: “The implementation of substitute military service offers a brand-new prospect in Taiwan’s military service system. Various sectors of the society have pinned great hopes and expectations on this revolutionary service. The devotion of human resource from substitute service will facilitate the government’s ability to provide public services to a large extent.

NOTES

¹ The literature is voluminous, but a decent sample would begin with the classic statement of the perspective, V.O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), and might include the following: S. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); B. I. Page and R.Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); T.M. Moe, *Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public* (Washington, D.C.: the Brookings Institution, 2001); and R.S. Ericson and K.L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, 8th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2010).

² For instance, see N. Malhotra and J.A. Krosnik, “The Effect of Survey Mode and Sampling on Inferences about Political Attitudes and Behavior,” *Political Analysis* 15, no. 3 (2007), pp. 286-323; and D. Yeager et al., “Comparing the Accuracy of RDD Telephone Surveys and Internet Surveys Conducted with Probability and Non-Probability Samples,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (2011), pp. 709-747.

³ For any population over 500,000, pollsters need to make about 15,000 calls to reach a number of respondents (technically, the number computes to 1,065) sufficient to ensure that the opinions of the sample differ only slightly (by plus or minus 3 percent) from what the results would have been had they interviewed the entire population from which the sample was drawn.

⁴ The first study of note on this particular poll wording issue is T. Smith, “That Which We Call Welfare by Any Other Name Would Smell Sweeter,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1987), pp. 75-83.

⁵ As noted earlier in this paper, in recent national elections, more than 80 million eligible voters did not vote; more specifically, about 40 million adult citizens were not registered to vote, and about another 40 million were registered to vote but did not do so. As one might expect, there are a host of differences among and between registered voters, non-registered adults, and registered non-voters that might be expected to yield differences in each subpopulation’s opinions on given issues; and, one might also expect “all adults” nationally to poll differently than any given non-randomly chosen or target subpopulation (e.g., registered voters, unionized workers, college-educated senior citizens, etc.).