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ABSTRACT

This document reviews the status of political internships. Emphasis is placed on what they entail, when and where they operate, and the process of internships. Additional concern is placed on where they are and what they are doing; interns and non-interns-a comparison of two groups of political activists, 1961-1966; interns and non-interns-a comparison of two groups of political activists, Oregon, 1965; graduate and faculty internships, and notes toward a theory of internships. (MJM)

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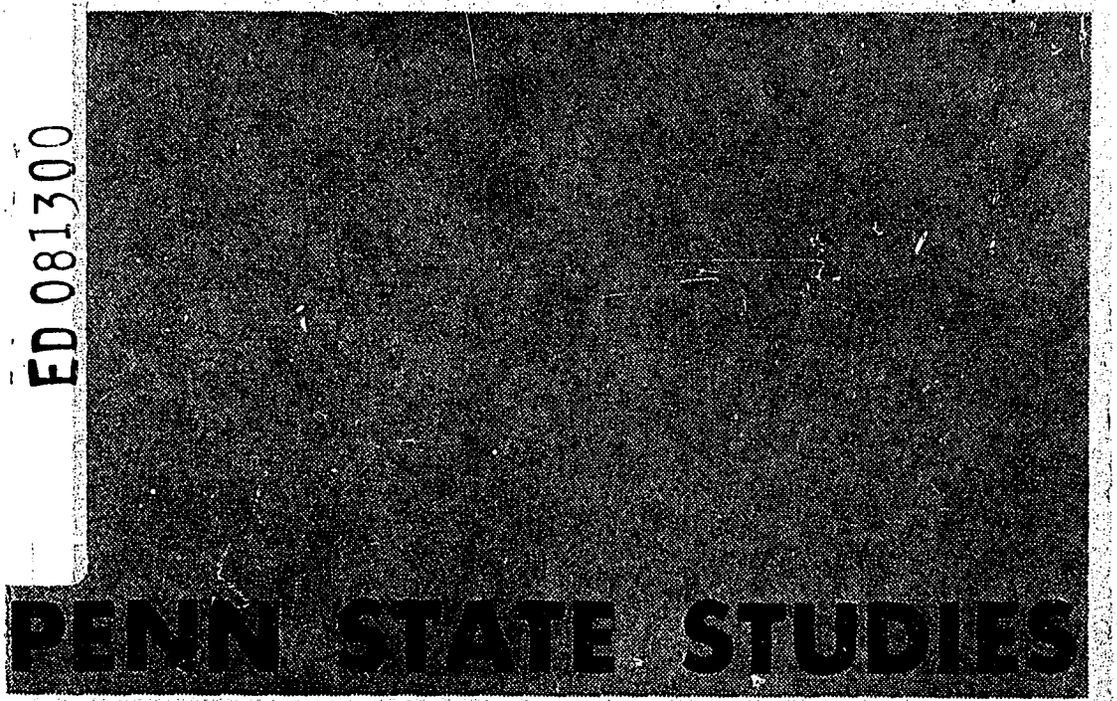

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POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: THEORY, PRACTICE, EVALUATION

by Bernard C. Hennessy

28

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(continued on inside back cover)

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY STUDIES NO. 28

POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: THEORY, PRACTICE, EVALUATION

by Bernard C. Hennessy

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
University Park, Pennsylvania

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people for giving me the opportunity to learn about participant observation by participating and observing. My greatest debt is to those men and women of the The National Center for Education in Politics, its twenty regional Centers, and the 500-plus colleges and universities that participated in NCEP programs. As NCEP Democratic National Committee Fellow 1959-60, as NCEP Associate Director 1960-61, and as NCEP Director 1961-69, I have had the good fortune to see hundreds of young scholars and young politicians mix theory and practice as political interns. For what I have learned from them and their teachers I am very grateful.

Special thanks go to the members of the NCEP Board of Trustees, to my predecessors as NCEP Director, George H. Williams and Rhoten A. Smith, and to my colleagues William P. Irwin, Charles O. Jor s, and Robert J. Huckshorn.

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To Maureen Drummy and James Robinson go thanks for extraordinary skill, insight, and patience in the direction of NCEP's national internship programs. Professor Robinson's recent essay, "Participant Observation, Political Internships, and Research," in

a volume edited by him, *Political Science Annual: An International Review,* Vol. II (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969), is a definitive review of studies and commentary on participant observation for the collection and handling of political field data.

Finally, this work is dedicated to J. Steele Gow, man of high principle and gentle wisdom, champion of the political intern.

INTRODUCTION

Like other education, political education is both formal and informal, intended and unintended.

The American child is taught in school: (1) that grown-ups vote for their leaders, (2) that voting for leaders is democracy, and (3) that democracy is good. He overhears his father tell a neighbor that both candidates are crooks and it is a waste of time to vote. Of such stuff is political education.

The formal part of political education is mostly rhetorical. Between the ages of six and eighteen—and often beyond eighteen—Americans are instructed, cajoled, bribed, and threatened, by tongue and print, to become good citizens.

Political education for American college students has been mainly rhetorical too—what there has been of it.

Not many colleges and universities have provided deliberate political or citizenship education programs for their students. Thomas and Doris Reed found that in 1948 only about half of the college students they surveyed were exposed to formal coursework in American politics, and only a handful were receiving education in the skills and arts of practical politics.[1]

It was to promote college programs in political education that the Citizenship Clearing House was established in 1947. Organized by Arthur T. Vanderbilt, then Dean of New York University's Law School, the Citizenship Clearing House beginning in

1952 sponsored, and partly financed, campus-level programs for education in practical politics.[2]

In the early years of the CCH-NCEP "Action Program," 1952-1955, it became apparent that there were several levels of political interest and skills among American college students. Political education programs that provided increased information and opinions about political issues and events were appropriate and useful to most college students. Support for political speakers on campus, for conferences on issues and political processes, and for mock political events, were of benefit to the majority. For those with slightly more knowledge and interest, the subsidy of political forums and Young Democratic and Young Republican clubs was found to be an effective use of limited funds, as was the sponsorship of field trips and other observation programs. But programs providing even more intensive political participation were increasingly emphasized.

1 POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: WHAT?

When students begin to show a high interest in politics, and when college faculty develop working relationships with political leaders, programs become possible that place students in actual political offices and roles. The episodic participation in local political campaigns had been encouraged by the Citizenship Clearing House from the beginning: some of the more energetic and imaginative teachers, in effect, used campaign assignments as local political laboratories.

There was, however, a need to make more explicit the field experiences of the students, to free these experiences from the periodicity and confusion of the campaign, and to relate them more systematically to the academic side of political education.

The political internship was entirely appropriate in these circumstances, and in 1955 CCH began to encourage its affiliate and campus directors to develop internship opportunities for their students. The term "internship" had been borrowed from medical education where, for many years, it has referred to that period of post-degree study and experience in which the young doctor is attached to a hospital staff for observation and supervised practice. In medical education, the internship and related periods of beginning practice like the "residency" are specialized apprenticeships, linked historically to the time when medical students received most, if not all, of their formal training as protégés and

assistants of practicing physicians. The clerkship in legal education is an historical and functional parallel.

The internship as a period of practical training under expert supervision had been taken over by the professional schools and departments of public administration in the 1930's.[1] In the development of professional competence and career experience, nothing was more "natural" than the effort to link the academic study of public administration and its practice with a transitional period of apprenticeship. The choice of the word internship was understandable also: the identification for the upwardly-aspiring public administrators was to be with the prestigious medical profession rather than with the lowlier crafts that used such terms as apprenticeship or on-the-job training for these transitional career experiences.

Similar influences must have been at work in the evolution of the idea of the political internship, although it is not explicitly clear why the programs were given the name internships. The origins of the first political internship program were described as follows:

> When a severe shortage of heating fuel developed during the winter of 1942-43, institutions engaged in non-essential activity like higher education of women were forced to close for the cold winter months. Government workers were, of course, in great demand at this time, so it was not difficult for the Wellesley College Political Science Department to arrange for a small number of its students to spend this long vacation in Washington as interns. So began the Wellesley Washington Internship Program. As far as I have been able to determine, this was the first organized attempt at the undergraduate level to supplement academic study with practical experience in politics. The unlikely combination of war and women started a trend in political education that has become increasingly widespread.
>
> By 1944 the fuel shortage had eased, and the college year resumed its normal pattern. Wellesley decided to continue its education experiment in Washington, but shifted the program to the traditional summer vacation period where it has remained to this day.[2]

In its inception the Wellesley program included both administrative interns and political interns, and so it continues to this day. But the line between administrative internship and political internships, like the difference between administration and politics, is fuzzy and difficult to discover in single cases. The distinction is a useful one, but its value lies mainly in describing *tendencies*,

rather than clear-cut situations of making policy or carrying out policy. Administrative internships tend to be well defined positions within a bureaucratic organization that serves an executive. *Political* internships are more broadly conceived, and generally found in electoral (party, nominating, campaigning) situations or in the offices of partisanly-elected officials. Assignments with pressure groups provide a special case of political internship, in which the politics of *influence* takes precedence over electoral politics and office-holding.

The interest in political internships lies, in part, and in a basic cultural sense, in the spirit of empiricism and pragmatism that all observers find permeating American life. Our education, like our philosophy and our politics, has never been far removed from social reality, or from the common attitudes and opinions of common men. Whether this is good or bad—or, as is more likely, *both* good and bad—will not be argued here. Enough to say that the word PRACTICAL is probably a bigger and more important word in America than in most other nations or cultures.

In the context of these cultural predilections, American political science was influenced after World War II by two tendencies that in some ways complemented and in some ways contradicted each other. The "behavioral persuasion" in political science urged the collection and codification of data—much of it field data only available from political actors and agencies. The "science" of politics had to be an empirical, replicable, and largely quantitative science to the behavioralists. But to hard-core behavioralists the other tendency in American political science, namely, the tendency to political activism and *policy* orientation, was anathema (or at least very dangerous), because it threatened to compromise "scientific objectivity." Both the extreme behavioralists and extreme policy activists were interested in reality, but the former feared personal involvement and the latter embraced personal involvement.[3] Fortunately, most political scientists were not extremists, but willing to search for (and maybe even to believe in, as a goal) the "value free science" at the same time they were voting their partisan biases, holding their policy preferences, and urging their students, as one put it, to "play around in practical politics."

So it was not surprising that some college teachers of politics began to search for ways to link the study and the practice of politics more effectively and systematically than merely "playing around." For the most interested students, for those with a flair for politics who were also scholars, the political internship seemed

an appropriate device. From their experience with assigning students to political campaigns, Professors Victoria Schuck of Mount Holyoke, Earl Latham of Amherst, E. E. Schattschneider of Wesleyan, and Arthur Naftalin of Minnesota, among others, began to encourage and experiment with the regular placement of students on politicians' staffs. CCH was a logical vehicle and gathering place for those interested in political internships.

After an extensive review of then-existing programs, CCH Associate Director John Swarthout reported in 1957 that

The word "internship" is frequently used very loosely to cover at least four kinds of activities:

(1) supervised observation programs, in which students spend periods of a week or so observing from the inside the functioning of a working agency;
(2) supervised participation programs, in which students work with parties, candidates, or others on a limited part-time basis, usually in connection with related courses;
(3) true internships, in which students perform substantially full-time on-the-job duties but under academic supervision; and
(4) probationary-orientation employment, in which the "intern" engages in full-time on-the-job activity, designed in part for training purposes but usually not under academic supervision and conducted with an eye to continuation of the intern in service with the agency upon completion of the internship period.[4]

There is general agreement that activities (3) and (4) are internships, the fourth type usually being designated a public administration or public management internship. There is some agreement that the third type is, as Swarthout calls it, the "true" internship, but one might question his implication that a part-time experience may not also merit the internship label. Swarthout's second activity may be regarded as a political internship, depending on the total set of conditions in any case. Most would agree that the first activity ought not to be regarded as an internship, but as an observational device.

Provisionally, we may say that a political internship is: a period of service as a regular staff member for a political agency or leader, under conditions that provide opportunities to observe the relationship of detailed practice to generalizations about politics (theories, propositions, or hypotheses). In short, an internship is an intensive period of practical work designed to sup-

plement, to exemplify, or selectively to highlight, the student's understanding of political fact and strategy.

The critical elements in any definition of internships are three: a real work situation as distinguished from speculation or simulation; the opportunity for the student to participate on the same basis as other workers; the opportunity for the systematic and continuous examination of the experience in relation to generalizations of political science. Unless all three of these characteristics are present, a political experience cannot accurately be termed an internship.

Intensity of experience is not enough. Presence in a political office is not enough. And, it goes without saying, it is not enough merely to call an experience an internship to make it so. Nor does it seem necessary to require—at least in the case of political internships—that the term be used only when participant observation is part of preparation for a career. In medical education, the internship is almost wholly career-oriented; practice teaching is also thought of as career training. Only rarely, if ever, would a medical intern or a practice teacher be found who did not intend to practice medicine or to teach. The public administration (especially city management) internship programs tend to be similarly directed.

The political internship, on the other hand, should be available to the person who has no intention of becoming a professional politician. As important as it is that political life have some of the security and prestige of other professions, the democratic ethos requires that large numbers of citizens develop and maintain a commitment to amateur participation in politics. The political internship ought to be available, therefore, to interested and qualified students with either vocational or avocational interests. On this point the political internship differs fundamentally from all other educational uses of participant observation. This is important because it has relevance to (a) the kinds of students who may be selected and (b) the timing of the internship in individual cases. At the very least it means that interns should not come only from political science or other social sciences, and that internships should not be given only in the junior year, for example, or only after certain courses have been taken.[5]

The political internship is, then, a device for enriching and complementing the study *of* politics with a period of supervised participation *in* politics. As Earl Latham put it: "it is the function of liberal education to provide the student with the means to acquire [political] understanding. Some methods are

more promising than others. One of the most promising is participation in and observation of the political process directly by students. A shorthand phrase for this is field work, the practice in operations that supplements the theory of the classroom."[6]

The role and posture of the intern, within this context, are well described by Kalman Silvert:

> . . . in this matter I am what an anthropologist would call a participant observer. . . . I consider myself an engaged scholar. By "engaged" I mean that I am personally concerned about the course of social events; by "scholar" I mean that I attempt not only to use objective procedures, but also to take care that the specific questions I ask are theoretically determined and not the fruit of passion. I also presume that to be a scholar means to assume the rights and duties of freedom of inquiry and communication accepting no covert sponsorship, being ridden by as few hidden motives as may be consistent with the dignity of personal privacy, and taking intellectual risks.[7]

2 POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: WHEN AND WHERE?

In their survey of politics courses in American colleges, Thomas and Doris Reed found, in 1949, only one college that offered what we now regard as political internships. Of the 218 colleges responding to their questionnaire, 14 had courses in which the students observed or participated in non-campus political activity. Most such courses required attendance at political meetings, field surveys (with or without formal interviewing), or participation in a campaign; but the Reeds discovered only one fully participant internship program involving supervision and course credit.[1]

From the Reed survey and from grapevine knowledge among interested political scientists it would seem that not more than two or three colleges were sponsoring political internships as early as 1950. We have already quoted from Philip Phibb's description of the beginnings of the Wellesley internship program. His account of the growth of the Wellesley program after World War II is not altogether consistent with the Reed Report, although it is not necessarily inconsistent, and the differences may be entirely definitional. Because most of the Wellesley students were assigned to administrative agencies in Washington, the Reeds may not have regarded that as a *political* internship program. Phibbs says, at any rate, that "when the Director [of the Wellesley program] went to Washington in 1950 to arrange assignments for the interns, he found, like all his successors, that

he was competing for positions with directors from several other New England colleges that had started internship programs."[2]

From 1950 to 1955 Wellesley accepted women interns from several other New England colleges. Phibbs reports that in 1954 two Dartmouth men were included; he notes laconically that "the next year, 1955, Wellesley abandoned its brief experiment in coeducation and established the joint program with Vassar College which the two institutions have continued to this day."[3] Meanwhile, in 1947, Professor Victoria Shuck had established an independent political internship program for students of Holyoke College, with most of the interns being assigned to senatorial and congressional offices in Washington. Whereas the balance in the Wellesley program had been for assignments with federal agencies, the Holyoke program was primarily oriented to Capitol Hill.

Between 1950 and 1955 a number of other internship programs were sponsored: American University, Amherst, Ohio Wesleyan, and the University of Southern California, for example. Some of the early CCH regional founding conferences considered internships, and in a few places they were approved. Thus the *Detroit News* reported on September 6, 1953:

> Student Political "Internship" Planned By Both Parties in State
>
> Lansing, Sept. 5—Michigan political leaders pledged themselves here this week to establish "internships" for college and university political science students. Political science professors pledged themselves to furnish outstanding students and give them college credits for work as "interns, working under the direction of practical politicians."

Yet, for the most part, in the period 1950-1955 there was no expansion of political internships that would make one doubt the cautious generalization of the Reeds: "the use of internships, except at the local level where they can be carried on part-time without undue interference with the student's general career, is not likely in the future to play any considerable part in the preparation of students for participation in politics."[4]

The most significant development in the early 1950s was the establishment of the American Political Science Association's Congressional Fellowship Program (at first called Congressional Intern Program) in 1953. This was an important breakthrough; the *Washington Post* commented editorially, "It would be difficult to devise a better program for acquainting a limited num-

ber of advanced students with the operations of Congress." The APSA program was open to young college teachers and Ph.D. candidates with all work except the dissertation completed; young journalists were also eligible.

However, NCEP files disclose little undergraduate or graduate internship activity until the summer of 1956. In that year a few state NCEP affiliates were encouraged to experiment with full-time summer internships and campaign internships in the fall. The Indiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rocky Mountain affiliates placed interns in the summer and/or fall presidential campaign.

Under local sponsorship, a few interns were placed in the summer of 1957. Then, in the fall, the NCEP national Board of Trustees approved a plan for the rapid expansion of internships as a major program of the NCEP affiliates. There was, at that time, a bias for full-time internships and, also, a disposition to support only internships with party committees or candidates. In 1958, after much discussion, the NCEP Executive Committee agreed to place students with elected governmental officers and pressure groups.

Political internships in America began to grow rapidly in 1958. That year NCEP received from the Falk Foundation $23,000.00 exclusively for undergraduate internships. From 62 interns in 1958[5] to 384 in 1965, the number of NCEP affiliates' internships, with one year's exception, went steadily upward. During this period, the internship activities of the colleges individually supported by the Falk Foundation and the APSA Congressional internship program were enlarged by Ford Foundation grants to 12 states for graduate-level legislative internships modeled after the California pilot program in 1957 (see chapter 7).

A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS

It may be useful to identify the different kinds of political internships from the practice of APSA, NCEP, and the Falk and Ford Foundations.[6] These classifications, originally developed for identification, were based on academic level of intern, on the period of service, and on the office of assignment. NCEP sponsored undergraduate, graduate, and faculty internships, with the largest part of its total support going to undergraduates.

a) NCEP Undergraduate

From June 1958 to September 1966 the NCEP affiliate network

sponsored 2,153 undergraduate internships.[7] These have been both full-time and part-time internships, in the summer or during the academic year. Part-time internships usually provide four to fifteen hours of work per week for an academic semester or year. Except for students living in state capitals or in the Washington, D.C. area, the part-time internship is almost always with a local official or a party committee. Full-time internships may be with any political leader at any governmental level. The level of NCEP full-time interns ranged from the White House to township managers. The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh provided most of the money NCEP spent for undergraduate internships, and *all* such internships were arranged and supervised through the 20 state and regional NCEP affiliates. There have been no national NCEP programs for undergraduates.

b) Independent Undergraduate Programs and Occasional Placements

In addition to internships sponsored by NCEP affiliates, we have pointed out that a number of independent programs place students in summer positions (mainly in Congress and other Washington offices). Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, and Goucher College have such programs, as do Amherst and Williams. From time to time the Falk-grantee colleges[8] sponsored internships for undergraduates—Grinnell College, The University of North Carolina, and Vanderbilt University have done so, for example—but in many of the college political education programs supported by that Foundation the interns have been graduate students.

Finally, some undergraduates are placed with political leaders directly by their political science professors, or with their professors' consent, under circumstances that justify the name of internships. There may be 10 to 20 individual college teachers who place a total of 20 to 30 students in such internships each year.

For the rest, what are euphemistically called internships are part-time or temporary student jobs in political offices, or more likely, in quite routine administrative agencies. On this point there is no reason to change the comments expressed in our report to the Falk Foundation in 1962:

> We are obliged to distinguish the internships we [NCEP] sponsor from mere summer employment of students in governmental jobs. The [annual summer White House] seminars—actually lectures to large num-

bers of students—were described as being conducted for the political interns working for administrative agencies. These so-called interns were in fact temporary employees, mainly holding low-level civil service ratings, with summer jobs in Washington. Very few seem to have been in contact with political decision-makers or to have arranged their summer activities with a view to complementing and enriching their study of politics and government. Without these elements, the summer employment of such students may have been of value to the employing agencies, financially helpful to the students, and even educational in some ways—but hardly to be described as political internships in the sense in which we regard our own internships.

c) NCEP and Unaffiliated Graduate Program

A small number of graduate internships were arranged through NCEP affiliates after 1956. Perhaps 5 per cent of the affiliates' 2,153 interns (1958 to 1966) were graduate students. Selection and assignment procedures were similar to those employed for undergraduate internships. Periods of service tended to be somewhat longer for graduate interns, stipends proportionately larger, and the educational structuring (the integration of the internship experience into the students' programs of study—see below) more carefully fashioned and supervised. The Rocky Mountain, Southern California, and Wisconsin affiliates sponsored a number of early and experimental graduate internships from 1956 to 1960.

From 1960 to 1966 most NCEP graduate interns were selected and placed under a national program. NCEP Graduate Fellowships in State and Local Politics provided five-months full-time internships for a total of 107 persons. These internships were given in national competition to graduate students in the social sciences and to new lawyers in the first year after receiving their LL.B. degrees. Of the 107 Graduate Fellows who served from 1960 to 1966, 65 were graduate students in political science, of whom 42 were Ph.D. candidates and 23 M.A. candidates; 31 were new lawyers; three were Ph.D. candidates in economics, five were graduate students in history, and three in sociology. The 107 Graduate Fellows came from 55 different colleges and universities. More than half of the placements were in governors' and mayors' offices; few assignments were made with party committees or state legislators (see Table 2-1).

Table 2-1: Placement of NCEP Graduate Fellows

Year	Office Type				Total
	Governors	Other State Officials	Mayors	Other Local Officials	
1960	1	2	1	2	6
1961	4	4	1	2	11
1962	7	2	0	2	11
1963	7	2	3	1	13
1964	4	5	3	1	13
1965a	6	4	2	1	13
1965b	8	5	5	4	22
(Note: Two Classes of Graduate Fellows were placed in 1965.)					
1966	11	2	4	1	18
Totals:	48	26	19	14	107

Some universities quite regularly assign a few graduate students to political offices for a summer, a semester, or a full academic year. From the University of Arizona, for example, one graduate student each semester is assigned to the Washington office of one of the Arizona members of Congress. However, graduate political internship *programs* are still a rarity in American universities. More common, as in the case of undergraduates, is the occasional placement of a graduate student for a semester or year on a part- or full-time basis with a political leader. As yet the academic demand for political internships as part of teacher or researcher training is negligible to slight.

d) Ford Foundation Legislative Graduate Internships

In 1957, five California colleges inaugurated a graduate internship program that was in some degree, at the state level, a parallel program to the APSA Congressional Fellowship program. Graduate students in political science and journalism and law students were eligible for the ten-month full-time internship. Interns served with state legislative leaders, the state paying one-half of the stipend and the Ford Foundation paying the other half and all the administrative costs. Eight interns were placed in California in 1957-58. Later, similar internships were established in ten other states[9] and Puerto Rico. Typically, the programs were managed by an inter-university committee, or by the state's legislative council. It would appear that in an average recent year a total of 50 to 60 such state legislative graduate interns

were placed, with perhaps as many as 350 students having served as interns in the eleven years in which these programs have been in existence.

No comprehensive evaluation of the Ford Foundation's legislative internship program has been undertaken. However, the Foundation has reviewed the program several times for its internal administrative purposes, and the directors in several of the states have assessed their own programs. Occasionally some of the directors have met at professional association meetings; the APSA internship evaluation conference in Miami, January 14-16, 1966, provided a useful summary and review of the program. On the whole it appears that the program has been successful. In May, 1966, the Foundation provided a substantial grant to the American Political Science Association to develop guides to professional standards and central administrative coordination for the program. The California State Assembly agreed in 1965 to assume full costs of this program in their state; since then Illinois and Ohio have also agreed to support the continuation of the program without Foundation help.

e) APSA Congressional Fellowship Program

The American Political Science Association's Congressional interns have been drawn entirely from advanced predoctoral and early postdoctoral social scientists, journalists, and lawyers. Their assignments in congressional offices, under conditions of long tenure and high skill-level, have made possible an unparalleled opportunity for close study of Congress. The experience of the APSA Congressional Fellows should provide much material for evaluating the worth of participant-observation for the improvement of teacher competence and political research.

In 1965, Everett Cataldo, then of the Ohio State University, evaluated the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program. Cataldo, himself a former Fellow, sent questionnaires to 143 Fellows who had served between 1953 and 1965.[10] Among the political scientists who had been Fellows, about half were beginning college teachers (about half of these—or a quarter of the total number of political scientists—had the Ph.D. degree), and about half were still in graduate school.

Cataldo found that a majority of the APSA Fellows had had no prior practical political experience. The partisan preferences among the Congressional Fellows have not been held to be as important for that program as they have been for the NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellowships. Nevertheless, a similar pat-

tern of partisan distribution appears. "The vast majority of Fellowship appointments in both the House and the Senate have been among Democrats. . . . In addition, there is a high concentration of Fellowship appointments among certain members of both parties in both chambers."[11] Later some comparisons will be made between Cataldo's data on the APSA program and information obtained from former NCEP Fellows.

The former APSA Congressional Fellows were "nearly unanimous" in their opinion that the fellowship year was a help to them professionally, and nearly 90 per cent reported that their Washington experiences increased their knowledge of national politics "considerably" or "very substantially." An especially gratifying result of the APSA program is the extent to which former Fellows are now encouraging or supervising other political internships: 85 per cent of the respondents said they would recommend the program "very strongly" to other qualified applicants, and 30 former Fellows are involved in the direction of other participant-observation programs.

f) Summary of Participation in Political Internship Programs 1953-1967

How many political internships were served by college students or faculty during the period (1953 to 1967) when data were gathered for this study? No completely accurate count is possible, but an informal estimate would put the number at slightly more than 3,000. Of these, about 2,200 were established by NCEP affiliates and the National Center, perhaps 500 by colleges and universities in regular programs and *ad hoc* arrangements, possibly 300 in the Ford Legislative Internship programs, and 161 in the APSA Congressional Fellowship program.

THE FINANCING OF INTERNSHIPS

Financial arrangements for political internships vary considerably. In almost all cases, an educational agency pays some part (usually half or more) of the cost. Sometimes the educational agency pays the full cost (as with NCEP national graduate and faculty internships and APSA congressional internships). A more common arrangement is for some of the intern's stipend to be supplied by the office in which he serves. A matching contribution of one-half the stipend is regarded by some as the optimum, with the educational agency paying the full cost of program

administration: such a division is sought and achieved in the Ford legislative internship program. The conventional wisdom argues on two counts that the political leader ought to make a money contribution to the internship: (1) such contributions make the educational agency's money go farther, and (2) the quality of the experience is improved if the political leader has and shows enough commitment to be willing to take part in the financing of the internship. The first argument is true on the surface, but like so many other aspects of the conventional wisdom on internships the second point has not been empirically demonstrated.

In some cases, the contributing official pays his share to the educational agency which, in turn, pays the full stipend to the intern. NCEP followed such a practice from 1958 to 1967 with the National Committee Faculty Fellowships. The more usual practice, however, is for the educational and political agencies to make separate stipend payments to the intern; such was the case with NCEP undergraduate interns.

It had been assumed, before 1965, that for predoctoral political internships, the part of the stipend paid by the educational agency is entirely tax free, and that $300 a month is tax free for postdoctoral internships. That part of the stipend paid by the political office has always been regarded as taxable, however. Where interns have reported their income using the above formula there are no known cases of subsequent demand for payment by the Internal Revenue Service. But when clarifications or rulings have been sought IRS has held that *where part of the stipend is paid by the political office (and thus taxable), the rest of the stipend is also taxable even though paid by the educational agency.* NCEP received such a ruling in 1965; it was held then that the educational institution's stipend payments to undergraduate interns were taxable income for the students. No rulings have been sought or received regarding the taxability of stipends received wholly from the educational agency, and we continue to believe that such grants are tax free to predoctoral students and that $300 a month is tax free to postdoctoral interns.

3 POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: HOW?

There is no handbook to good internship administration. The lack of such a manual may be, in part, a reflection of an anti-"administration" bias by the internship managers who think of themselves as having keen "political" skills not reducible to administrative rules. More likely, however, no one has written an internship manual because none of the still-very-few people who have had the requisite experience has also had the time and will to do so. Certainly the need for an internship manager's guide has been recognized. Some beginnings and first approximations to such a manual have been made. The best of these, and one from which portions of this chapter are borrowed, is Sidney Wise's "The Administration of an Internship Program," a paper prepared for the APSA Internship Evaluation Conference, April 16, 1965.[1]

GENERAL RULES AND GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

There are four general rules for good internship administration:

1. The managers must have extensive advance knowledge of the political environment in which the intern is to be placed. This means that the internship manager(s) should know in considerable detail the persons, and coalitions of groups and group leaders, who are the actors in and about the offices to which the

intern is to be assigned. The recent political history of the office and/or political principal, the factional disputes within the party and immediate political "power structure" of the office or candidate, and the major "issues" (broadly defined) of the moment, must be generally understood if the assignment is to be productive for both intern and principal.

2. There should be clear advance understanding of the general responsibilities and expectations of the intern and political principal (or the principal's agent—e.g., the Administrative Assistant to the governor or congressman). The intern should know clearly when and to whom he is to report, and what his general role may be. While the need for flexibility and trial-and-error is obviously important, attention to simple matters, such as who the intern's immediate on-the-job supervisor is to be, will greatly facilitate orientation and minimize confusion in the first few days.

3. During the internship period, there should be regular supervision of the intern by the academic manager. "Regular" need not be daily, of course, but *periodic* (at least once a week), *direct* communication between intern and academic supervisor should be provided for. Even more important than fixed visits or telephone conversations, both of which are common and necessary, is the provision for ready channels of communication between intern and academic supervisor. Generally, supervision means (a) providing aid to the intern in the *mechanics* of the internship (financing, hours, office roles, etc.), and (b) maintaining the sense of the experience's *academic relevance* during the internship.

4. Finally, the ideal general rules of internship management require that the ultimate control of the enterprise should remain in the hands of the academic manager. This means that, in the extreme case, the academic manager should decide (in consultation with the intern and the political principal) whether to terminate or drastically change an assignment.

Let it be admitted that these rules are a counsel of perfection. They are a statement of the ideal case. And ideal cases are never achieved in practice. The application of these general rules and perspectives will vary quite widely in real cases and depend at bottom on the political and interpersonal sensitivities of the participants.

The success of the intern, as an intern, will depend generally on his emotional stability and security more than on his intelligence as measured by I.Q. or academic achievement tests; it will

depend more on his energy, tact, and sense of political curiosity, than on his prior experience in political activity. But if he has all of these—stability, intelligence, energy, tact, curiosity, and experience—he can hardly fail.

The success of the internship, beyond those qualities that relate directly to the intern, depend also on the political principal involved. The politician with whom the intern serves must have, most importantly, an appreciation of the *educational* nature of the internship. This is the without which nothing. He must be willing and able to create an atmosphere of welcome for the intern and, beyond that, a sense of involvement and commitment on the part of the intern. He should be busy enough to provide real work, not make work, for the intern—but not so busy as to be remote or inaccessible. We do not expect any politician to compromise his career, or his staff relationships, or the issues in which he has a stake, to the internship arrangement. Unless the internship has practical value for him it ought not to be undertaken. But, his advantages being assured, he has a responsibility also to create an environment advantageous to the intern.

The politician must be willing to see his participation, at least in some measure, as a contribution to the intern's education; he must not see it primarily, or even mainly, as a way of getting inexpensive help. Congressman Herman Toll (D.-Penn.), with this perspective, met with his interns every Monday morning, reviewed their work, and assigned projects. Senator Paul Douglas had students writing research and position papers, and met with them in informal seminars to discuss their work. Senator Hugh Scott rotated his summer interns from one part of his office to another so they could get a feel for the variety of work, and so they could exchange experiences and reactions among themselves.

PERIODS OF INTERNSHIPS

In length and timing of internships, two distinct patterns have been developed. There are, first, part-time internships in which the students serve a stipulated number of hours; per week or month or academic semester, in the assigned political office. Each such assignment is tailored to suit the individual needs of the intern and to fit into his academic and personal schedule. In many cases, the part-time internships are related to courses being taken by the students during the semester or year of the internships. Political parties, local government, public administration, legislature courses supply most of the interns who serve on a

part-time basis. A typical arrangement might call for eight to ten hours a week, for a semester-long period of 14 to 16 weeks, in the office of the cooperating political leader; such an intern might receive a stipend of $150.

The second type of internship is a full-time assignment to a political office. Most full-time internships are served during the summer, ordinarily for an eight or ten week period (although six or twelve week summer internships may also be arranged). A few colleges and/or regional internship programs support full-time internships during one of the semesters, trimesters, or quarters of the academic year; the student interns in all such cases receive course credit for the internship experience. Many, but not all, of the summer full-time and academic-year part-time interns also receive credit for the internships as part of their course work. Occasionally an internship will provide both part-time and full-time experience, as when a student serves full-time during the summer and then continues on a part-time basis during a fall election campaign. The timing of the internships is deliberately kept flexible to take advantage of unpredictable or *ad hoc* opportunities that arise at the local or state levels.

OFFICES TO WHICH INTERNS ARE ASSIGNED

We have seen that some political internship programs, especially the graduate and faculty programs financed by the Ford Foundation, have limited assignment to designated offices. The congressional and state legislative graduate internships were so restricted, as were the NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellowships (though the range in the latter was very broad).

At the undergraduate level, and in those programs supported by the Falk Foundation, the NCEP affiliates and independent college internships had almost complete freedom in choosing political offices for intern assignment. Table 3-1 shows the political offices served in by undergraduate NCEP interns during the summers and academic years from June 1958 to September 1966.

In the table, "candidates" refers to internships with non-incumbents who are candidates. These are always campaign internships, of course. Internships with the other listed groups or officials may or may not involve the students in campaigns. A very large share of the congressional internships are full-time in Washington, but some are full- or part-time in district offices. Local officials are most often mayors and city managers, but a

Table 3-1: Offices in Which NCEP Undergraduate Interns Served, June 1958 to September 1966

Office Type	Academic Year	Summer	Total
Candidates	178	94	272
Congressmen	109	402	511
Conventions	66	—	66
Interest Groups	53	53	106
Local Officials	176	115	291
Party Committees	184	358	542
State Executives	40	60	100
State Legislators	250	15	265
Totals	1056	1097	2,153

wide range of offices have had interns. State executives are most often governors, but there again the variety of assignments is large.

Table 3-1 reveals the cumulative effects of NCEP's long term bias in favor of student involvement with political parties and candidacies. The "citizenship training" elements in the original CCH (as distinguished from the general liberal education or research elements) presupposed emphasis on activity in political parties. Internships evolved out of the occasional participation of students in campaigns under professorial encouragement or supervision. The relatively early development of congressional internships is probably a consequence of (a) the attraction of Washington, D.C., (b) the fact that Congress of recent years has been in session during most of the students' summer vacation period (while other political agencies tend to be less active in midsummer), and (c) congressional staff allowances that make matching payments somewhat easier than they may be for party officers and candidates.

THE SELECTION PROCESS FOR UNDERGRADUATE INTERNS

Because of the educational nature of internships, those who apply for and receive internships must work through their professor of political science or the political scientists who are the program directors. The program leaders decide how many and what types of internships to award in any year. Announcements of the awards are made throughout the program area and applications are accepted by the director and the faculty members cooperating with him. Before a certain deadline, these applications are

screened by the director and a committee of political scientists. The number of awards will depend on the quality of the applicants, the number of participating political officials, and the amount of money budgeted for undergraduate internships. Interns are selected on the basis of intellectual excellence and promise, leadership ability, and demonstrated interest in politics. Experience has shown that undergraduates who are selected as political interns are better than average students, on the whole, but not the very top academic scholars. They tend to be B or B+ students, as is indicated in our Oregon sample (see chapter 6), but many go on to law school and graduate work (see chapter 4).

Students who receive internships may be asked for suggestions of political offices in which they would like to serve. Typically, however, the director and his colleagues make the initial contacts with various office holders at the local, state, and congressional levels to determine how many interns can be placed, in what offices, and the nature of the possible assignments. Taking all these matters in consideration, the tentative assignment is discussed with both the intern and the political official. If the arrangement appears to be mutually agreeable, the prospective intern is interviewed by the official and his staff. Once that is completed satisfactorily the assignment is confirmed by the director, the political officer, and the student.

If, for some reason, the assignment to an office does not seem to be feasible, the entire process is begun again for that student intern. Eventually placements are arranged for all interns, and at the appointed time the student joins the office staff of the politician.

The foregoing general description of the selection and placement of undergraduate interns is, of course, a composite of real procedures that vary quite widely from time to time and from place to place. Professor Wise's description of what he calls "the mechanics" of the Pennsylvania internships, one of the earliest and the largest NCEP congressional programs, provides some details and specificity to the tasks of choosing and assigning interns.

> In late November of each year, flyers and application blanks are distributed in quantity to campus advisers. Press releases are sent to campus newspapers as insurance.
>
> Each spring the Director visits the offices of those Pennsylvania congressmen who have participated in the program or who are likely to participate. Informal discussions take place with administrative assistants (occasionally the Member) and an attempt is made to dis-

cuss their most recent intern or the program in general. These visits are most helpful in that they increase the likelihood of getting attention from future letters.

They are also important because they keep the program visible. Every congressman is receiving a great deal of mail from college students anxious to spend a summer in Washington. I have advised congressmen to devise a form letter describing PCEP and urging the student to write to PCEP. This procedure is welcomed by many Members in that it prevents them from having to say no to constituents. It also assists PCEP by keeping its role before the Member, reminding him that should he accept an intern much of the screening will have been done and the notes of rejection will go out on an alien letterhead.

As completed applications arrive they are separated by party and congressional district. Where there are several from the same district they are ranked. (There are about 20 students each year whose first choice is the U.S. senator of their party.)

The late spring visit to Washington casts the Director in the role of a peddler. The A.A.'s are given two or three applications to look over and advised that an intern can triple the output of the office and guarantee perpetual reelection. If these blandishments succeed, they are followed by a request for a 50 per cent contribution to the stipend. While some flexibility is maintained, the match takes place in most instances.

It is important to note that the Director does *not* have X internships merely waiting for the best applicant. Of the entire Pennsylvania congressional delegation of 29 only two House members and the United States Senators are completely committed to the program. The remainder must be dealt with in great detail every year.

The procedure for non-Pennsylvania students differs considerably. If the student's application is worthy, he is urged to contact his congressman with the details of the program and some assurance that PCEP will cooperate. Where the student receives encouragement, a follow-up is made by the Director, either by mail or, if possible, in person.

Shifting much of the responsibility to the student is not without attendant complications, yet if the right student is urged to undertake this chore it may well demonstrate the extent of his interest, and perhaps, abilities. As a practical matter, it is simply not feasible for the

Director to deal with the problem of out-of-state students more efficiently.

Through correspondence and occasional visits, the Director also has established an informal understanding with the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican state committees. If there are good applicants, the likelihood of an appointment with a matching arrangement is excellent.

"Local internships" is a rubric for a wide range of *ad hoc* situations. Here are the internships with county chairmen, local officeholders, individual candidates for office, and citizens groups. These internships are usually very valuable political experiences, but the initiative must come primarily from campus advisers and students.

Once the internship arrangements have been completed, press releases are sent to newspapers in the interns' homes and college communities.

SUPERVISION OF INTERNS

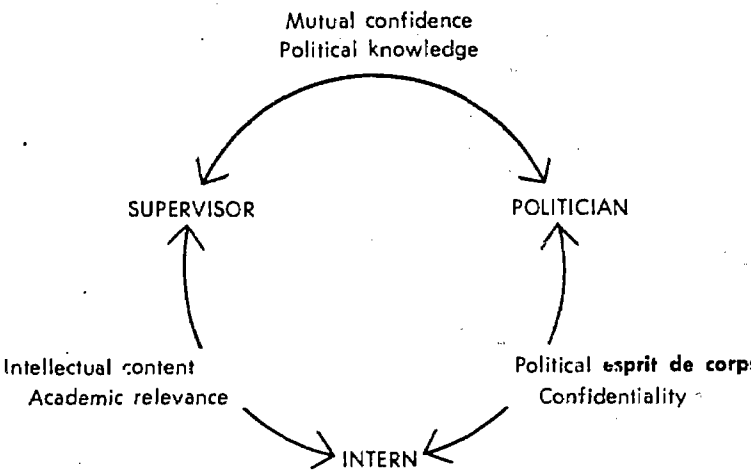
The ideal arrangement between the intern and his academic supervisor is one in which the supervisor is close enough to be both personally and intellectually helpful on short notice, but distant enough not to intrude on the relationships that grow up between the intern and his principal and/or office colleagues.

The academic management of political interns should be seen in the context of a set of mutually interdependent objectives and roles that are held and played by the intern, the politician,[2] and the supervisor. A schematic representation of these objectives and roles is attempted in Figure 3-1.

It is the faculty supervisor's special responsibility to help the intern see how his experience may contribute to his intellectual development as a person, as a citizen, and as a social scientist: as a person, to his general maturity, his capacity to observe accurately, and his capacity to make judgments; as a citizen, to his further appreciation of the possibilities and limitations of individual involvement in the democratic polity; and as a social scientist, to his ability to record (in his mind or on paper) events and information, to categorize and distinguish such data, and to make generalizations based on that evidence.

It is the further responsibility of the supervisor, for and with the intern, to relate the internship experience to the more traditional courses and curriculum that the student has had or will have on campus. This requires that the supervisor think of the internship as an experience within the context of, and complementary to, the developmental sequence of courses in American

Figure 3-1: Relationships Among Supervisor, Politician, and Intern



politics and political theory. The internship ought not to be, as it often is, a more-or-less haphazard interlude during the college years—although it is admittedly far from clear, as yet, what courses or related field research ought to be taken before, or after, or concurrently with, an internship. These matters—what I have called the "educational structuring" of the internship—must depend somewhat on the timing, locale, and personal relationships of the internship, but the academic relevance of the whole enterprise must be a constant concern to the supervisor.

The nature and amount of supervision will depend in part on how well prepared the interns are for their experience. If all come from the same college, and have had formal courses and/or internship orientation sessions with the supervising faculty member (which the Holyoke, Wellesley, and Williams' programs provide), they may have considerable knowledge and confidence about their prospective experience. In the NCEP programs, where the interns were drawn from many colleges and almost always were strangers to each other, the opportunity for joint preparation does not exist. Some program directors have been able to bring their interns together for a meeting at the beginning of the internship period. But little beyond the simplest

ground rules and management procedures can be dealt with at such meetings, and they cannot be called "preparation" in any larger sense.

Mimeographed memoranda or interns' guides are used by some academic managers. These will typically state the objectives of the program in general terms, give notice of the meetings and communications the interns are to attend, offer some elementary advice on how to get along in the office, and give the students some idea of the reports that will be demanded of them at the end of their internships.

The political principal, too, has an obligation to think of himself as a supervisor of the intern. His responsibilities are not, of course, those that directly relate the internship experience to the wider framework of the interns' education in politics—although many politicians are capable of systematic reflection and reference of their activities to the more general consideration of representation in the democratic polity, and some of them, it must be conceded, are of greater help than college professors in this respect. For the most part, however, the politician's supervision requires that he know in a general way what the intern is doing from day to day, that he set and maintain a tone of acceptance of the intern as a regular member of the office staff, and that he be alert to possibilities for giving the intern varied representative staff tasks during the internship period. This means that the politician must make an effort to assess the skill and learning capacities of the intern early during the period of assignment; that assessment, qualified as more evidence of the intern's abilities may make necessary, should form the basis for the tasks given the intern. In a sense, what we expect from the politician is the same sensitivity any good employer would give his workman, *plus the extra realization that the intern is a learner with only a limited time to maximize his learning.* Therefore, the politician should be self-conscious about his role as *de facto* teacher, by pointing out relevances of his political activity to other political activity in the environment. We find, perhaps not surprisingly, that politicians like to be teachers in this way, and much informal (and important) learning takes place in the interstices of the political day.

The intern, for his part, owes the politician his loyalties, his energies, and a good share (but not all) of his sacred honor. The intern owes his principal respect as a man and as a public figure—and where that respect is lost the internship should be terminated. The danger in practice, however, has turned out not

to be the intern's loss of respect for his principal so much as the intern's uncritical acceptance of his principal's political "image" and behavior.

The anthropologists talk about the dangers of "going native" in the field. The political interns—especially those who have most enthusiasm and least experience in politics (i.e., precisely those young men and women who, on the other counts, are ideal interns)—are probably in more danger of going native than is the anthropologist in the primitive community. I will later have more to say on the dangers of overcommitment, but here note only that effective antidotes to going native cannot be expected to come from the politician and his supporters; they must be provided by the other group associations of the intern, and especially by the regular contact of intern and academic supervisor under conditions that have at least some of the clinical detachment of the seminar, the laboratory, or the academic classroom.

Though some moderation and balance must be kept by way of maintaining the critical faculties of the intern toward his principal, there can *never* be any circumstances under which the intern is *expected or allowed to divulge political confidences* given him in his capacity as intern and staff member. I do not wish to give the impression that this is a serious problem in practice. There have been very few instances in which this elementary concept of political trust has been violated by interns.

But the confidentiality question is a vital one for the relations between the political and academic worlds. As participant-observation becomes increasingly a device to be used by political research, as well as for the education of the intern alone, the problem becomes more salient. As scholars we wish not only to understand political phenomena, including personal political behavior, but also to contribute to a general understanding of politics. Some aspects of politics, such as campaign finance, patronage, and coalition-building for legislative votes, are often as personal and confidential in their essence as the understanding of them is important for the more general understanding of the political process or of policy outcomes. For the scholar, the confidentiality question has real meaning. He may "know for sure" only if he assumes the participant's role, but that role and that certain knowledge may prevent his telling anyone—ever, or at least for some time. Information given in trust should never be divulged for the sake of scholarship alone—and I should say, generally, never for any purpose unless grave public damage

might be done by withholding it. That interns, especially, should be taught the importance of confidentiality is clear both because of the ethical considerations, and because a confidence betrayed by one intern is likely to close the doors to future interns with the politicians involved. Where the love, initially, is by no means total, it is an *especially* serious matter to kiss and tell.

REPORTS

Interns should be required to give an accounting of their internships, both descriptive and analytic. The ideal reporting system is one in which oral and written accounts, short and timely, can be made part of regular conversations (seminars, discussions) between intern(s) and academic supervisor, with a longer summary analysis at the end. Some of the state graduate legislative internship programs and a few undergraduate programs (e.g., North Carolina CEP's legislative internships in 1965) have approximated the ideal. Other programs, such as the University of Maine and the Ball State spring congressional internships, have required several short reports, weekly or bi-weekly, that can be criticized by the academic managers while there is still time to be helpful before the internship is over.

The interns should be encouraged, even required, to keep a daily record—a diary, if you like—of the events related to their internships. Nothing is easier said or harder to do. For six years, through eight classes of NCEP Graduate Fellows, with 107 persons, we recommended, cajoled, threatened, and pleaded for them to keep a daily diary. Perhaps a half dozen did so, and maybe 20 more kept sporadic but fairly frequent diary notes to themselves. With two classes, totalling perhaps 35 Fellows, we sought to establish a regular system of reviewing their diaries (with the understanding that they were not to submit confidential material to us). It was all very discouraging, and makes me believe that even under the best of circumstances interns are not likely to keep good daily records. Paradoxically and unfortunately, those who are most heavily and responsibly involved in the work of their office are those who, because of the pressure of time and fatigue, find it most difficult to keep a daily record.

Yet the recommendation to keep a diary should be pressed upon the intern. In the end any day-by-day records are bound to be helpful in reviewing and assessing the experience, and in preparing a final report.

The final report should be more than a dreary description of

the office routine, and more than an enthusiastic account of the day when the President or the presidential candidate came to town for a testimonial dinner. It is common, but by no means a majority practice, for program directors to withhold part of the interns' stipends until the final reports are in. The practice, as Professor Wise points out, is only partially effective.

> Few students have failed to submit reports, but fewer still are worth reading. It is quite depressing to read a tedious essay while recalling the author as a bright young man who perceived a great deal in a thoroughly enjoyable internship. I recall one of my own students whose report gave me a half hour of ennui but who wrote a paper in a parties course that was first rate, one he could never have written without his Washington experience. . . . I would not want to have the program evaluated by the internship reports.

I have said before that good academic supervision of political internships takes knowledge, sensitivity, and time. All these qualities must be in evidence before, during, and after the internship. Report writing requires supervision, and the good administrator suggests to his interns ways to improve their own stock-taking of their experiences. The academic intern manager has to know what to ask his interns to think about, from the concrete experiences of their internships, and how to help his interns place their experiences in a larger framework of process and conception.

Among our files is a copy of a letter written by Professor Edward Janosik to one of his interns in December 1960, when he returned a report to the intern for revisions. Janosik's knowledge, patience, and teaching standards (and skills) are apparent:

> . . . I am returning it [the report] to you to see if you can submit something of greater substance and with a more specific nature.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . you note the great interest Senator ..... took in you as indicated by his willingness to counsel and advise you in your work. Would it be possible for you to be more specific here? . . . . The growth of power in ..... County for example occurs to me as a topic that he might have discussed with you. Perhaps you felt it inadvisable to record all of his comments because some of them might have been of a very private nature, but this would not preclude your giving me a

better idea of the intimate views he gave you of .... County politics.

Who else did you work with? What kind of people were they? How did you evaluate them? Were they primarily idealistically motivated? Did the Kennedy candidacy attract a new or different group of workers to the Democratic Party? Was his ability to attract new workers as great as that of Alfred Smith or Franklin D. Roosevelt? What role did volunteers as distinct from more professional party workers play in the campaign?

4 WHERE ARE THEY NOW AND WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

All educational programs are designed to make a difference, to have consequences that are observable, and to improve the human condition according to some values and some criteria. That being so, the toughest question that can be asked about any educational program is: What difference *does* it make?

This question—the so-what question—was asked us directly and indirectly many times during the life of CCH-NCEP. For years we evaded answering the question by saying, logically enough, it is too early to tell. Eventually, however, the "too early" response loses some of its effectiveness—like the infant-industry arguments on tariffs applied to corporate giants. There comes a time when it is not too early.

In the case of political internships the so-what question takes the form of: Where Are They Now And What Are They Doing? When it becomes clear that they must be *someplace* and must be doing *something* it is not too early to tell. Then it is time to tell.

But first we have to find out.

SURVEY DESIGN

In the late summer and the fall of 1965 we collected as many of the names and current addresses of former CCH-NCEP interns as was possible. We decided not to seek information about

the 1964-65 interns (for them it was *still* too early to tell), and our universe became all those persons who had received internships from 1956 to 1964. Data were also gathered on another group of undergraduate interns, to be described later, but the major effort of the survey was on interns who had been directly associated with the CCH-NCEP network.

There had been a total of 1,523 CCH-NCEP interns between June 1, 1958 and August 31, 1964. We do not have accurate totals for internships sponsored by affiliates before the summer of 1958, but we were able to obtain a few names and current addresses of interns who served between June, 1956 and June, 1958; returns from some of these persons are included in the data that follow.

The Pennsylvania interns of 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1964 were separated from the larger group and matched with an equal number of Pennsylvania students who had unsuccessfully applied for internships in those years. This subsample of Pennsylvanians, and the information about them, is described in Chapter 5.

Questionnaires were also sent to all former Williams College students who were associated with the Mead Political Internship program of that institution from 1957 to 1964. The Williams internships are separately financed and administered by that College; in some ways they are like NCEP internships, but they are all summer internships in Washington, about a quarter in federal agencies. Names and current addresses of the Williams interns were obtained from Professor MacAlister Brown, director of that program. Data from this subgroup are separately analyzed in this chapter, and comparisons are made where possible.

Excluding the Williams-Mead interns and the Pennsylvania CEP interns of 1961-64, a total of 549 questionnaires were mailed, with stamped return addresses, in early fall of 1965.

Of the 549 questionnaires mailed 37 were returned by the Post Office as undeliverable. Second notices, each with another copy of the questionnaire, were mailed to those who had not responded to the first after two months; in some cases third notices were sent. As of May 1, 1966, a total of 269 usable returns had been received. These are the general former interns to whom the following aggregated data applies. The return rate, as can be seen, is 52.3 per cent of those addressees who presumably received at least one copy of the questionnaire.

RETURNS

Those who returned our questionnaire were not a representative sample of all who had been CCH-NCEP interns. As Table 4-1 shows, a disproportionate number of our respondents were former congressional interns. The political party internships and internships with local officials (mayors, councilmen, county officers, etc.) were seriously under-represented among our respondents.

Table 4-1: Offices in which CCH-NCEP Interns Served from 1958 to 1964, and Distribution of Former Interns in 1966 Sample

	Internships Served		Questionnaires Returned	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Candidates	223	14.6	35	13.0
Congressmen	333	21.9	102	37.9
Conventions*	66	4.3	—	—
Interest Groups	87	5.7	14	5.2
Local Officials	166	10.9	10	3.7
Party Committees	415	27.2	47	17.5
State Executives	66	4.3	6	2.2
State Legislators	167	10.9	33	12.3
Federal Agencies**	—	—	22	8.1
Totals	1,523	99.8	269	99.8

*The conventions internship was a special program of the Minnesota affiliate; no current addresses of these interns were available and they were excluded from the mailings.

**Seventeen of these interns were Wellesley students who had been given small awards ($100 or $150) to allow them to participate in the Wellesley program. The other five were placed by our affiliates in such places as the White House and AID and USIA Congressional relations offices.

Note should be taken of the bias that may have been introduced into these data by the over-representation of former congressional interns in our sample. The congressional internship seems to have been the most desirable of the various assignment possibilities (although, as Table 4-1 shows, more interns served with party committees, as was consistent with early policy on internship placement). The congressional internships were clearly more dramatic experiences for the interns generally, and the former congressional interns may have been more strongly motivated by their recollections and sense of gratitude to return our

questionnaire than were those who served in less lofty or less visible political units.

There is some evidence of a pro-internship bias in these data because of the over-representation of former congressional interns. As we shall see later, the former interns were asked if their internships met their expectation. Forty-five of the 264 respondents who answered that question said that their internships had *not* met their expectations. If dissatisfactions had been equally distributed among all interns regardless of their assignments, we would expect 17 of the dissatisfied persons to have been former congressional interns. In fact only eleven of the dissatisfied respondents had been on Capitol Hill. The over-representation of former congressional interns may have introduced some distortion, then, of the true attitudes of all former interns. The distortion is probably slight, but the reader is warned.

The over-representation of congressional interns is reflected also in the number of summer, as distinguished from academic-year, interns in our sample. Here again the summer interns (35 per cent of whom were congressional interns, almost all full-time) had a disproportionately higher return rate. The data are shown in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2: Summer and Academic-Year Interns, All NCEP-Sponsored 1958-1964, And Respondents to 1966 Survey

	All NCEP Interns 1958-64		1966 Survey Respondents	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Summer				
Full-time	—*	—	176	65.4
Part-time	—	—	8	2.9
Total	748	49.1	183	68.0
Academic-Year				
Full-time	—	—	14	5.2
Part-time	—	—	71	26.4
Total	775	50.9	86	32.0

*Data not available, but the percentages are probably about 90-10 full-time in the summer and 85-15 part-time during the academic year.

Of our respondents 135 were women and 134 were men. The almost equal division is not an accurate reflection of the sex division among all 1,523 CCH-NCEP interns between June,

1958 and August, 1964. The extraordinarily heavy rate of return from former Wellesley interns contributed to the unrepresentative number of female respondents. It may be, also, that women are more likely to return mail questionnaires—although there is no clear-cut evidence for this in the literature of survey research.

At any rate, if we exclude the Wellesley interns for a moment, the percentage of males to females is 57 to 43—and my impression is that that ratio may be fairly close to the historical division of men and women among all 1,523 CCH-NCEP interns from 1958 to 1964. I would have said, in round figures, that the division was about 60-40.

Most of the respondents served their internship when they were college seniors—that is, either during the summer before their senior year or during their senior year. There were 166 (61.8 per cent) in that group, Juniors (either the summer before or during their junior year) comprised 65 (24.1 per cent) of the respondents. Fourteen (5.1 per cent) were sophomores, and four students (1.5 per cent) served their internships during their freshman year. Eleven (4.1 per cent) were enrolled as graduate students at the time of their internships, and nine persons (3.3 per cent) interned in the summer after their senior year but without being enrolled at the time for graduate school. The summary finding here is that about 86 per cent of our affiliate-sponsored political internships were awarded to juniors and seniors.

The data also indicate that a decided majority (157 or 58.3 per cent) of our former interns were political science majors. Another 69 interns (25.7 per cent) majored in one of the other social sciences (history being included here), and 42 former interns had majors outside of the social sciences. That only 15.2 per cent of the former interns had non-social science majors is an indication of a sharp—and perhaps unfortunate—selectivity in the recruitment processes. No doubt many more political science majors than other majors have an interest in political activity, but it is probably also true that many students who might have been interns were not reached because their college studies did not bring them into contact with our campus directors or other interns. So, from the point of view of recruiting and encouraging citizen-politicians, we may regret not having had more interns from outside the political and social sciences. From another point of view, however, that of bringing the learning and teaching of politics closer to the practice of politics, it may be fortunate that our interns were political scientists. Many of our former interns, being political scientists, will someday teach

political science (a few already do), and their internships will have, we believe, a specially important multiplier effect on political education in the colleges.

PARTISANSHIP: THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately, we do not have cumulative data on the partisanship of all the political leaders with whom our interns served, or on the party preferences of all former interns. From the information we have collected, both statistical and impressionistic, it is fair to say that slightly more than half of the interns who expressed partisan preferences were Democrats—although there have been periods, of course, when more Republicans than Democrats were chosen (as in the summer of 1963, when, of the 106 partisanly-elected offices in which interns served, 49 were Democratic and 57 were Republican). The respondents to our 1966 survey, as Table 4-3 shows, were 55 per cent Democratic and 45 per cent Republican (of those who reported their party affiliation at the time of the internship). That division is probably very close to the actual division of partisans among all 2,153 interns from 1958 to 1966.[1]

Table 4-3: Party Preference of Interns, at Time of Internships and 1965-66

	At Time of Internships		1965-66		Net Changes	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Democratic	137	50.9	146	54.3	+9	+ 6.6
Republican	114	42.4	95	35.3	−19	−16.7
Independent, Other, or No Response	18	6.7	28	10.4	+10	+55.6
Totals	269	100.0	269	100.0	—	—

While we have no intention of commenting generally on American party politics in this evaluation, the probable meaning of Table 4-3 cannot be overlooked. The candidacy of Senator Goldwater in 1964 appears to have taken its toll among young college-educated Republican activitists. Out of 114 Republican college interns in the period 1956-65, 19 do not now regard themselves as Republicans. Apparently, most of these young people now think of themselves as independents (or de-

cline to state a preference) rather than as Democratic converts —an outcome that is consistent with social science research on attitude change under conditions of cross-pressure.

There are, of course, no uniform patterns of change among the former interns who switched from Republican to Democratic or independent preferences. There were some, like the Iowa intern in the summer of 1961 who had been a nominal but not active Republican, who found the Democratic party generally more comfortable and thereafter became a nominal but not active Democrat. But, among the switchers, there were more like another Republican intern of 1961 who, as a law student in 1964, debated against his former party friends. The most common type of Republican-to-Democratic switcher seems to have shared the experience of the intern who wrote on his questionnaire: "At the time of my internship I was a liberal Republican. Between 1961 and 1964 the right wing conservative element gained control of the ..... organization. This, and a shift to a more liberal orientation personally, resulted in my becoming a Democrat."

In one case a Republican, placed with a Democratic U.S. senator in the Wellesley program (we usually *match* intern and politician), reported that her internship resulted in her "becom-[ing] an active Democrat instead of an active Republican."

Conversely, there were only three former interns who switched from Democratic to Republican affiliation. All three were Wellesley interns—two of whom, interesting enough, had worked for Democratic party committees on their internship. Two of the three had married since their internship, though it is not clear whether they married Republicans; and not one of them had become an active Republican as of the time when they answered the questionnaire.

PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF FORMER INTERNS

As Table 4-4 shows, in 1965-66 many former interns were still students in graduate schools and law schools. Over 30 per cent of our respondents in 1965-66 listed their occupation as graduate student. Among the 86 respondents who so described themselves there was one medical student; the remaining 85 were divided approximately five to four—graduate students and law students. Even though these respondents are still students we had no thought of excluding them from our sample, because many had married and more-or-less settled down to a community life (in-

cluding politics), though still studying for advanced degrees. We might, perhaps, have excluded the 12 undergraduate former interns, but their numbers are so few they could not have appreciably distorted the results.

Several major observations might be made about the information in Table 4-4, but, first, a minor point that is probably an artifact of the research design. The six former interns in military service (out of 269) probably does not reflect an accurate percentage of all former interns in service as of the fall of 1965. Mail questionnaires, we presume, are not likely to reach men in the armed forces—we suppose their families try to spare them that, at least—and those that are received may be less likely to be returned. (The last part of the presumption may be very wrong, but no reliable evidence seems to exist either way.)

Table 4-4: 1965-66 Occupations of 1958-64 Interns

Occupation	Number	Per Cent
Graduate or Law Student	86	32.0
Graduate	49	18.2
Law	37	13.8
Employed Private Enterprise	71	26.4
Business	31	11.5
Law	22	8.1
Other	18	6.7
Employed Public Service	67	24.9
Teaching	28	10.4
Other	39	14.5
Housewife	27	10.0
Undergraduate Student	12	4.5
Military Service	6	2.2
Totals	269	100.0

The close association between politics and the law is seen again in these data. More than one in five (21.9 per cent) of our former interns were lawyers or studying to become lawyers.

The numbers of former interns employed in business in 1965-66 was surprisingly low—only one in nine. "The business of America is business," President Coolidge said, and it may be so, but it is not the business of our ex-interns. Nor were there many housewives in our sample, although, as we saw, more than one-half of our former interns are women. For young women, political activism and housewifery probably do not go together,

although many middle-aged housewives may be found among the amateur political activists.

Our former interns are, on the whole, a scholarly and intellectual group. Twenty-eight were teaching—eight at the college level—and another 49 were in graduate work other than law (one of the 49 was in medical school). Thirty-nine were in public service other than teaching—a category that included several staff assistants to elected political officials, a number in federal or state bureaucracies, and six former interns who in 1965-66 were in the Peace Corps.

There were no *typical* examples of what former interns are now doing in the public service. Some illustrative examples may be given. A 1960 intern was on the staff of his state's lieutenant governor after he (the intern) had run unsuccessfully for the state legislature in 1964. A 1961 intern with the Port of New York Authority was in 1966 a project coordinator with the Authority. A 1957 intern in the Indiana Legislature was a budget officer with the U.S. Civil Service Commission in Washington. A 1959 intern in the U.S. Senate has been an assistant to a senator since 1961 (not the one she interned with). A former Arizona intern became supervisor of a county juvenile detention home—a political appointment that was not related to his internship, he said.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AFTER INTERNSHIPS

An important question—but by no means the only important question to be answered by any review of internship programs—is the one that asks whether the former interns continued in their political activity after college. The data in Table 4-5 answers that question with a decided affirmative.

More than seven out of ten of our former interns reported some political activity after their internships. Nearly half reported working for their party (canvassing, collecting signatures, telephoning, manning booths, organizing meetings, etc.), and nearly half (with much overlap, of course) declared that they had worked in partisan campaigns for their favorite candidates. Equally encouraging for what it indicates about the interns' long-term commitment to political activity is the fact that one of every seven former interns had held local or state party office since his internship period. And bear in mind that at the time of our survey no intern could have been out of college longer than eight years, the average being only three or four years. Under

Table 4-5: Political Activity of CCH-NCEP Interns after Internships

Type of Activity	Number	Per Cent*
Work for party	133	49.4
Work in campaigns	133	49.4
Work in non-party political groups	45	16.7
Held local or state party office	41	15.3
Worked on regular political staff	32	11.9
Appointed to local public office	7	2.6
Candidate (past or present) for public office	5	1.9
Elected to state public office	3	1.2
Elected to local public office	2	.8
Appointed to state public office	1	.4
No activity reported	73	27.1

*Because of multiple responses percentages do not add to 100.

these circumstances we are encouraged to note that seven had been appointed to local office (city and county welfare officers, planning and school board members, one county attorney), and a total of five former interns had been elected to state or local public office (two state legislators, one state board of regents, two local school board, one district attorney).

It may be revealing to compare these figures, where we can, with national or selected samples of college graduates, and with findings from other surveys of former political interns. A 1947 survey of 9,000-plus college graduates found that "very few of them, even the staunch Democrats and the staunch Republicans, do much actual work for their parties." About 80 per cent of the 1947 sample voted regularly, but "only 17% had contributed money within the past year to a political cause or organization, and only 3% had done any fund-raising work for such a purpose. Moreover only 6% had held an elective office, or even unsuccessfully tried for one, within the past four years."[2] Unfortunately these figures are not closely comparable with ours—their 6 per cent who held or ran for elective office probably includes some of the party posts that are separated from public office in our data—but it appears that our former interns, even in the short time they had had, were much more active politically than the cross-section of college graduates of all ages.

In 1952 the University of Notre Dame Class of 1928 was asked about their careers and public interests. Of the 225 respondents "[illegible] percent . . . did not report any participation in political

activities, [but] over 12 percent of the class indicated they had run for or held a political elective office."[3] Here again, if "political elective office" means both public and party office, our ex-interns have a much better record.

Eli Ginsberg published some findings on the "life styles" of a sample of former Columbia University graduate fellowship holders. Of this educational elite "approximately 2 out of every 5 . . . did not report any participation in community activities." It appears that 36 persons (or 13.9 per cent of Ginsberg's total sample) reported *political* activities: "Those who were active in politics," he says, "usually worked during election campaigns; a very few were committee members in a local political party."[4]

Data on the political experiences of our former interns may be compared with those of former interns of two other programs. In the fall of 1965, at the same time our first wave of questionnaires was out, Philip Phibbs, director of the Wellesley-Vassar program, sent a similar questionnaire to all former Wellesley interns (and to a random sample of their classmates to provide a companion group).[5] As mentioned earlier, we sent our questionnaire to a separate sample of 65 former Williams College students who had been given political internships under the Mead Fund at that institution. We obtained data from 45 of the Williams-Mead group, and they are shown in the table below, along

Table 4-6: Post-Internship Political Activity of CCH-NCEP, Wellesley, and Williams College Interns

Type of Activity	NCEP (N-269)	Wellesley College Interns (N-142)	Wellesley College Non-Interns (N-136)	Williams-Mead (N-45)
Work for party	49.4	*	*	15.6
Work in campaigns	49.4	69.7	49.3	33.3
Work in non-party political group	16.7	25.0	14.3	11.1
Held local or state party office	15.3	11.3	5.1	0
Worked on regular political staff	11.9	*	*	2.2
Candidates for public office	3.7	2.7	2.2	0
None	27.1	*	*	51.1

*Information not available.

with information about our interns, Wellesley interns and matched non-interns.

Comparatively, the Wellesley interns score highly on the indexes for which we have information. Participation in the League of Women Voters seems to account for much of the strong showing for Wellesley interns and non-interns in non-party political groups. Table 4-6 would indicate that a very high proportion of Wellesley interns and non-interns worked in political campaigns; but the contrast with NCEP and Williams-Mead is, to a considerable extent, a result of questionnaire design. Since the NCEP questionnaire separated party work and candidate work and the relevant Wellesley question combined them ("Have you ever taken part in the campaign of a political party or an individual candidate?"), the NCEP figure comparable to the 64 per cent Wellesley response is actually 67.6 per cent (of the 269 respondents 84 had worked for party *and* candidates, 49 had worked for party only, and 49 for candidates only). The comparable Williams-Mead percentage is 40—indicating that the Wellesley graduates, both interns and non-interns, had outdone Williams interns in the matter of continued party and campaign involvement. Surprisingly, the Wellesley non-interns are as politically active as the Williams-Mead interns. In speculating on these findings it should be remembered that the Wellesley interns and non-interns have had, on the average, considerably longer time to become politically active than have either the NCEP or Williams interns. (The Wellesley program started in 1944, the Williams program in 1957, and NCEP's in 1956.) Their being women is a mixed blessing for political activity; the ambivalence is shown in the campaigning figures where, because women can do campaign leg-work and are sought for it, both interns and non-interns score highly. When it comes to party office, however, there is a much greater supply of women than demand for them, and I think it is not just by chance that the more highly motivated ex-interns have a much better record here than the non-interns.

The Williams-Mead group compares unfavorably. Perhaps this is because that program is a summer, Washington, D.C. program, with only congressional (75 per cent) and federal agency (25 per cent) internships. Less than half of the NCEP sample consisted of Washington interns (46 per cent), and though it was unrepresentative of all NCEP interns in its congressional numbers, nevertheless a majority of our respondents were state and local interns representative of our organizational emphasis

on political parties and candidates. Because many of our interns were working with the parties or with local political leaders, it is not surprising that they have continued in their political paths more consistently than those who spent their summers in the perhaps more exciting, but more out-of-touch, atmosphere of the nation's capital.

It should not be inferred that this explanation is an argument for party, or state and local, internships exclusively. Far from it. Political internships have several objectives, and the learning experience of a congressional internship, for the intern, may be greater than that for a state or county party intern. I point out here, as my general knowledge of internships and these data suggest, that for developing and fixing long-term interest in political involvement, state and local party or campaign internships are best.

POST HOC, PROPTER HOC? DO INTERNSHIPS "CAUSE" POLITICAL ACTIVITY?

We have seen that a very high percentage of our former interns were politically active after their internships. We also know, though we did not ask for the information on the questionnaire, that many of the interns had had political experience before the internships.[6] The political internship is justified in these pages and elsewhere as a way of giving motivated young people opportunities to show their political aptitudes—opportunities that would otherwise only come to them later, or by chance, or not at all.

The direct question seemed most likely to elicit the information we sought. We asked our respondents: "Is your [post-internship] political activity in any way a result of your internship? If so, please give details below." Sixty-five of the interns made no response, and all but a very few of the non-responders were those who had reported no political activity since their internships. As Table 4-7 indicates, the yes and no answers split almost evenly. Among those who answered, 52 per cent said their subsequent political activity had been a result, in part, of their internships, and 48 per cent said it had not.

We also asked our ex-interns whether they were still politically or socially in touch with people met during their internships, and we asked them to "explain as necessary, giving examples if helpful."

There was a wide range of responses about possible cause and

Table 4-7: Political Activity After Internship "In Any Way A Result Of" the Internship?

	NCEP Interns		Williams Interns	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	106	39.4	14	31.1
No	98	36.4	16	35.6
No Response	65	24.2	15	33.3

effect relationships between internships and subsequent political experiences. At one extreme were the following remarks: "My current position is the direct result of interest stimulated by the internship program." "Because of my internship I chose political science as my college major and decided to make politics my career." "Yes! Senator ..... helped secure me a position with the *(party group)* when my internship expired in his office."

The other extreme was the idea that the internships were more a result of prior political experience than a cause of *subsequent* activity. "I would say that the internship did not cause further activity, but was a result of an inherent interest." "No. The internship was a *reflection* of my activity." "No. I have been continually interested in politics since age 10."

There were no instances of the internships actively *discouraging* further political activity.[7] Between those responses that indicated most causal influence for the internships and those that suggested least, were more-or-less typical statements such as the following: "Indirectly, in the sense that I first became acquainted with the political leaders I am presently working with." "Not directly, but created interest in *local* politics." "My current activities are partly because of interest stimulated by my internships." "My law clerkship came from an initial contact through the candidate I interned with."

We were pleased to find that many acquaintanceships and friendships made during the internships have been maintained over the years. Table 4-8 gives the data.

Both the NCEP and Williams interns were more likely to maintain social than political ties with the people they met on the internship. This meant, for the most part, that former interns kept in touch by letter or occasional visits with persons met during the internship. Congressional interns who served with their own congressmen were likely to have worked later, at home, for their principal, but other congressional interns may have kept in touch only through annual Christmas cards. Among the state

Table 4-8: Still in Touch with People You Met during Your Internship?

		NCEP Interns		Williams Interns	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Politically:	Yes	110	41.4	9	20.0
	No	151	56.1	35	77.8
	No Response	8	3.0	1	2.2
Socially:	Yes	154	57.2	20	44.4
	No	107	39.8	24	53.3
	No Response	8	3.0	1	2.2

and local interns, however, there was a very high rate of continued political and social interaction with people first met on the internship.

At the one extreme of "keeping in touch" are two interns who married persons they first met on the internship. "My husband and I met during my internship on ..... 's campaign when he was the ..... County chairman for the campaign." "We are in touch politically through the Young Republicans and the 26th District Republican Club with people we met while working on campaign. We also socialize much with these same people."

Whether or not the former interns are still in touch with people they met through their internships seems to be related to the kinds of offices in which they served. The percentage of ex-congressional interns who are still in communication is considerably less than the percentage of campaign and party committee interns who are still in touch: 39.2 per cent for congressional interns, 45.7 per cent for campaign interns, and 53.2 per cent for party committee interns. Since those who are still in touch politically tend also to be, as we would expect, those who have continued their political activity—87.3 per cent of those still in touch, as compared with 63.5 per cent of those not in touch, had continued their activity—this is another argument for local party and campaign internships.

Whether former interns are still politically in contact is also related to their present occupations. Ex-interns whose careers have kept them in the same geographical area where they served their internship, or who hope to go back to that area, are more apt to still be in touch politically. Those who were still undergraduates at the time of the survey were most likely (66.7 per cent) and those who are now housewives were least likely (25.9

per cent) to be in touch with people met on their internships. Graduate students do rather well (46.5 per cent), but those who are in private law practice (31.8 per cent) have not kept in touch as well as former interns who are now in business (41.9 per cent).

Whether or not former interns keep social contact with people met on the internships is a matter that must be subject to even more and complex influences. It does not appear, however, that there is a sex-based difference here, because the women are only slightly more likely to keep in touch socially than are the men (58.3 per cent of the men). Without attempting to make too much of it, we may regard the figures on the maintenance of political and social acquaintanceship another index of the lasting importance of the internships. If we bear in mind that the internships had been served, on the average, four to five years before the data of the survey we are impressed by the fact that two out of five are still politically in touch, and nearly three out of five are still socially in touch with people they worked with during the internship experience.

OVERALL SATISFACTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

We asked our former interns to give us their summary judgments on their own internship experiences—the highs and the lows—and also, in a more general way, to tell us what we might have done, or might yet do, to improve the program. Their overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction is registered in Table 4-9.

Table 4-9: "In General, Did The Internship Live Up To Your Expectations?"

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	220	81.8
No	44	16.4
No Response	5	1.8

There appear to be few identifiable correlates of dissatisfaction with the internship. Were the women more dissatisfied with their internships than the men? It is said that the women tend to get the clerical and more routine jobs in political offices. No, they were not more dissatisfied. There is some statistical ten-

dency for congressional interns to recall their internships as having "lived up to their expectations." Many of the interns were like the Republican state committee intern whose internship did not live up to expectations, although, as he put it, "I enjoyed it" and it "stimulated my interest and created in me a desire to become deeply involved in politics" (which he did).

For that intern and others, the expectations may have been very high, and the experience, although valuable, did not, in fact, live up to expectations. Conversely, there is evidence in the questionnaire responses that some of the interns may have had quite low expectation, and they answered honestly that their experiences did live up to expectations—when we, looking over the range of experiences, might regard them as having been among the more pale and unrewarding. The data captured in Table 4-9 are therefore quite obviously subjective judgments, but they have the considerable value of being the interns' *own* judgments.

The interns' recollections of the strong and weak points of the program and of their personal experiences tended to become merged, as we would expect. Those elements of the programs they enjoyed, they would like made available to all. The duties found dull, repetitious, or inconvenient they thought should be avoided by future interns. Therefore, we are able to combine the "what did you like most (or least)?" and the "what suggestions do you have?" answers.

Involvement was most desired. No intern complained about working too hard—as long as the work was seen as necessary to the political objectives of the office. Most of all, the interns wanted to be regarded by their political principal and the regular staff as being a part of what was going on. "I felt my experience was outstanding," said one state legislative intern, "[and] the success of it was due to the close working relationship and confidence my representative gave me in such a short time."

Second, the interns wanted to be a *useful* part of what was going on. Second only to involvement itself was the delicate and self-evaluative theme, as it comes through the questionnaires, that the students wanted their talents to be used as efficiently as possible. In a negative sense, the most common complaint, next to not being involved at all, was the feeling of many (perhaps 15 per cent of the total) of the interns that though they were being worked hard enough their work was too menial, too intellectually impoverished, or too lacking in policy content for their talents.

"I enjoyed everything I did," said one intern. "I only would have liked to have been allowed more." The double sense of being involved *and* having one's talents used came through positively on occasion, as in the following comments: "I was especially pleased at the degree of involvement in the inner workings of the campaign that was available to me. They were very good about including me in all meetings and I was able to travel a bit and just assume more responsibility than I had anticipated."

Perhaps the third most important aspect of their internships, as the former interns now ponder it, was more a psychological than a sociological variable—what might be called "reality appreciation." This, I take it, is what we educators mean by "getting a feel" for politics, and though hard to define (and totally defying quantification), it nevertheless comes through in the questionnaires. One intern was brutally direct: "The internship," he said, "was a breath of reality not obtainable in academia—because among so many political scientists objectivity is thought to be isolation from political activity."

Many former interns used the expression "understanding of politics that I never could have got from text books." It is admittedly hard to tell whether this "feel for politics" is some special analytical or craftsman's talent that grows with experience, or whether it is the heightened salience from emotional arousal alone. Perhaps it was merely the latter that moved one former intern to complain mildly about the heavy load of routine work and strict office management she found in Washington and then to say "it was exciting—not likely to get another summer like the 'Great Society' summer for legislation." Perhaps we should not say "merely" heightened salience from emotional arousal; for understanding is obviously related positively to salience (and often to some degree of emotional arousal). The point is only that a report that the internship was exciting is a welcome report, but one might hope for even more.

The more that we hope for, as educators, is the ability to generalize learning and to see how information and understanding may fit together to make larger patterns of information and more complete understanding. This more sophisticated sense of "reality appreciation" is evident in the comments of another intern. ". . . provided valuable insight into what I observed going on around me every day. Being close enough to see in operation made the government more real to me and has enabled me to make government more real to others I have discussed current events with since I returned."

Fourth, the internships were favorably regarded by all interns to the extent that they provided opportunities for getting to know people who were famous or important (or likely to be famous or important). The personal nature of American politics, with its star system and candidacy orientation, comes through in the questionnaires. Interns remember shaking the President's hand when he came for the party fund-raising talk, or being at a party with the Senate Majority Leader, or being on the floor of the state convention with the State Chairman.

This intensely self-centered excitement that one finds in these recollections, that the interns cherish and wish for other interns, may have both a basic psychological value and a social, career value. A television program strikes the psychological note of the ego satisfaction felt by the interns: ". . . and history was made, AND YOU WERE THERE!" Beyond this which is common to all, there is the career aspect, openly admitted by more than a few of the former interns. Knowing the right people has great career advantages in politics. Not all former interns want a political career for themselves, but there is evidence in the questionnaires that even those who do not can appreciate the value of the internships for their fellow interns with such goals. This, then, must be regarded as a major palpable strength of the internship experience. Personal contacts. For what they are worth for self and for political careers. And they are worth a great deal.

These, in summary, are the major characteristics valued by the former interns; and almost all their suggestions for what might be done to improve future internships are subsumed under these four: (1) involvement itself, (2) an opportunity to maximize one's own contribution, (3) development of a sense of reality appreciation, and (4) getting to know people for ego satisfaction and career purposes.

5 INTERNS AND NON-INTERNS: A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, PENNSYLVANIA 1961-1966

Over the years the Pennsylvania Center for Education in Politics had more undergraduate summer interns than any of the other NCEP affiliates. Beginning in 1956 the Western and Eastern Pennsylvania affiliates assigned students to congressional offices in Washington and to state and local political leaders. From that year to 1960 the two affiliates each placed six to fifteen undergraduates annually, with an average of three congressional interns for every two state or local interns. In the spring of 1961 the two Pennsylvania affiliates were merged into one statewide Center. The internship program was expanded at about the same time, and for the next five years, 1961 to 1965 inclusive, thirty or more interns were placed each year by PCEP. The earlier division between national and state and local placement was maintained—approximately three students in Washington for every two in the Commonwealth.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The recruitment and selection process for Pennsylvania interns was sufficiently standardized and of large enough scale to allow us, in the fall of 1965, to review the application forms for the period from 1961 to 1964. Over the years there had been an increasing number of applicants, and the files contained from 100

to 300 applications for each year. We were thus able to construct a matched sample of non-interns for each of the four years from 1961 to 1964 inclusive.

The selection process for PCEP interns was ideally designed for the *post facto* construction of a matched-sample survey. In January or February of each year the affiliate Director and a small group of campus directors reviewed all the application forms. From the applicants, of whom there were always from three to ten times the number of interns to be selected, the selection committee established three lists: outright rejectees, possible interns (in effect, an alternate list), and preferred interns. The list of preferred interns was invariably larger than the number of places to be filled.

As assignment possibilities were negotiated in February, March, and April of each year, the Director recommended to the political leader two or three students from his list of preferred interns, matching their residence (often important for congressmen and for county party chairmen), their prior political experience, and their special skills with the needs of their prospective political principals. The political leader would then choose one of the two or three applicants in consultation with the PCEP Director.

In this way most of the preferred interns (those rated highest by the academic managers of the program) were placed in offices well suited for them. But, inevitably, some of those who were judged to be equally qualified were not placed. In late 1965, reviewing the files, we were therefore able to identify a group of applicants who had been thought the equal (on academic, political, and social grounds) of the interns, but who had not been interns. We had their home addresses (as of the date of their applications) and all other necessary data.

As it turned out, for each class we did not have enough non-interns from the first-rated group to achieve an equal match for all interns. We therefore chose from the alternate list for the year in question enough additional persons to equal the number of interns for that year. But with this one qualification we had groups of non-interns who were very similar to the groups of interns for each of four consecutive years.

Moreover, the matching of interns and non-interns was done individual by individual, as well as group by group. Each intern was matched as nearly as possible with a non-intern by sex, class year, party, size of college or university, and amount of prior political experience. While the matching on these criteria could

not be perfect, of course, it was thorough and surprisingly accurate on the whole.

THE SAMPLE

In late 1965 a total of 234 questionnaires were mailed to Pennsylvania interns and non-interns—there being 117 in each group. The yearly breakdown was as follows:

1961	17 in each group
1962	35 in each group
1963	35 in each group
1964	30 in each group

The questionnaires sent to the 117 Pennsylvania interns were identical to those sent to all other former NCEP interns. The 117 matched non-interns were sent a questionnaire that omitted all questions pertaining to the internship, but included all other questions. Thus both groups were queried on their careers, political interests, and political activities after the summer when they had served or unsuccessfully applied for the internship.

By June of 1966, after second requests had been sent to many, a total of 102 completed questionnaires had been returned. The return rate is shown in Table 5-1 below.

Over half of all interns returned questionnaires. But only slightly more than one-third of the non-interns responded. This is perhaps not surprising, for the interns would have some sense of gratitude and responsibility to the organization that made their internships possible. No such special motivation could be expected from non-interns, and it is even possible that some non-interns might be disposed not to respond since they had been denied internships a few years earlier. The return rate for interns is about the same as that obtained from the larger sample of former interns described in chapter 4. And the return rate of non-interns is certainly as good as that obtained from selected samples of college-educated American adults.

FINDINGS

The Pennsylvania interns, as Table 5-2 indicates, were mainly full-time summer congressional interns. As was the case with the large sample of NCEP interns from other affiliates, the Pennsyl-

Table 5-1: Returns From Questionnaires Sent to 234 Pennsylvania Interns and Matched Non-Interns

Year	Interns			Non-Interns			Totals		
	Sent	Returned	Per Cent Return	Sent	Returned	Per Cent Return	Sent	Returned	Per Cent Return
1961	17	12	71	17	7	41	34	19	56
1962	35	25	71	35	17	49	70	42	60
1963	35	18	51	35	14	40	70	32	46
1964	30	8	27	30	5	17	60	13	22
Totals	117	63	54	117	43	37	234	106	45

vania CEP interns who served in congressional offices responded to our questionnaire in disproportionately large numbers. The record of assignments indicates that about 60 per cent of all PCEP interns from 1961 to 1964 were placed in Congress—yet 71.4 per cent of those who responded were congressional interns. Those who served with state and local political leaders had a reciprocally lower response rate.

Table 5-2: Offices in which Pennsylvania Intern Respondents Served, 1961-1964*

Office	Number	Per Cent
Candidates	2	3
Congressmen	45	71
Local Officials	2	3
Party Committees	14	22
Totals	63	99

*See chapter 4 (Table 4-1) above for comparable data from the larger national sample of 269 former interns.

Ninety per cent of the PCEP interns (57 of 63) had served full-time in their offices during the summer; about 10 per cent were part-time interns, either during the summer or during the fall semester.

We found, among the Pennsylvania interns, the same partisan-change pattern that we found among the larger national sample of former interns: namely, an increase in the number of self-

Table 5-3: Party Preference of Pennsylvania Interns and Non-Interns, at Time of Internship (or Application) and Winter 1965-66

		Interns		Non-Interns	
Party Preference		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Democratic:	Then	33	52	27	63
	Now	36	57	23	54
Republican:	Then	26	41	15	35
	Now	20	31	16	37
Other or No Response:	Then	4	6	1	2
	Now	7	11	4	9

identified Democrats and decrease in the number of Republicans. But, curiously, among the Pennsylvania non-interns the number of Democrats decreased and the number of Republicans increased slightly. Table 5-3 gives the information.

The number of Democratic partisans increased by 5 per cent, and the number of Republican partisans fell by 9 per cent. These changes may be compared with the partisan changes we observed in our national sample, reported in chapter 4. There it was seen that among the former interns there were nine more Democrats in 1966 than there were at the time of the internships; there were 19 fewer Republicans in 1966 than there were when the internships had been served. The percentage changes are similar for the national sample and the sample of 63 Pennsylvania interns: the Democrats increased 3 per cent nationally and 5 per cent in Pennsylvania, the Republicans decreased 7 per cent nationally and 9 per cent in Pennsylvania.[1]

As with the national sample, the defection of Pennsylvania Republicans seems to have been caused mainly by the conservative policies and public image associated with the Goldwater candidacy in 1964. A Penn State sophomore worked for a conservative congressman in 1961, but three years later, as a graduate student in the midwest, he was active in Republicans for Johnson, and now identifies himself as a Democrat. A Bryn Mawr senior served in 1962 with a liberal Republican senator; in 1966, a Columbia Ph.D. candidate, she was an active Democrat in New York City. Another 1962 Pennsylvania intern served with a liberal Republican congressman; three years later, in the summer of 1965, he was back in Washington as an assistant to a liberal Democratic congressman.

There were, of course, other reasons for party switching. Two of the women interns who served with the Republican State Committee during the period 1961-64 reported dissatisfaction with the internship: dull, completely clerical, routine, little or no supervision, uninvolved in political excitement outside the office. One of these young women is now an active Democratic party worker in the midwest; the other is inactive and reports that her internship taught her that she was "not cut out for politics."

The single case of a Democrat (in 1962) switching to the Republican party (in 1966) was of a young man whose internship with a county Democratic chairman had been unsatisfactory—although that fact does not appear to be related to his change of party, which came several years later as a reflection of his opposition to what he called "Johnsonian democracy." He is a

school teacher, apparently a moderate-to-liberal in political views, and is not yet active as a new Republican.

Two Democrats gave up their Democratic allegiance and now regard themselves as independent: a schoolteacher in a middle-sized Pennsylvania city, who feels the social pressure of friends in each party, and an expatriate philosophy student in Paris, who says that "American political parties which operate on a basis of compromise overlook vital questions concerning the nature of their ends." The single case of the former intern who was Republican and is now independent is also an expatriate of a sort—she is a school teacher in the Caribbean, not politically active, who would, if she had more time (we asked them), learn native dances.

The Pennsylvania interns show a pattern of party stability and switching similar to that of the national sample of interns, to be accounted for largely by the disaffection of liberal Republicans from their party's 1964 presidential candidate and policy positions. Curiously among the non-interns there were net changes. Of the 27 non-intern respondents who said they were Democrats in 1960,[2] five had changed their party preference by 1966: three became Republicans and two became independents. These changes were partially offset by the fact that two Republicans switched (but only two!)—one to the Democratic Party and one to independence.

The Pennsylvania non-intern Republicans, as a whole, were less politically active in 1960 than were the Democrats. Therefore it might be noted that there were fewer GOP activists, pre-Goldwater, in a position to be disaffected by his candidacy. Such an argument would be trivial, however, in light of the evidence that the non-intern Republicans were more active in 1966 than they had been in 1960, and the increased GOP party and campaign work seems to be a consequence of party-changing that, on balance, benefited the Republicans. Only two Republicans left the party, as we have noted, and they were both active. But two of the three Democrats who switched to the GOP had been Democratic party workers (though in January 1966 they were not yet working for the Republicans), and the other, who had been an inactive Democrat is currently an active Republican. There is, in short, just no evidence in our data that the Goldwater candidacy and its associated conservatism resulted in disaffection among the Republican non-interns. We should bear in mind that there are only 15 persons in this group of pre-Goldwater Pennsylvania Republican non-interns—and the 114 pre-Gold-

water national Republican interns and the 26 pre-Goldwater Pennsylvania Republican interns have supplied in their responses considerable evidence of disaffection from the Party in 1964. The lack of consistent responses from the Pennsylvania non-interns, even though they are few in number, somewhat reduce our con-

Table 54: Present Occupations of Former Pennsylvania CEP Interns and Matched Non-Interns, And National Sample of Interns, 1966

Occupation	Interns		Non-Interns		National Sample	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cant	Number	Per Cent
Graduate or Law Student	28	44	24	56	86	32
Graduate	11	18	11	26	49	18
Law	17	27	13	30	37	14
Employed Private Enterprise	10	16	5	11	71	26
Business	7	11	4	9	31	12
Law	0	0	0	0	22	8
Other	3	5	1	2	18	7
Employed Public Service	20	32	12	28	67	25
Teaching	10	16	9	21	28	10
Other	10	16	3	7	39	15
Housewife	2	3	0	0	27	10
Undergraduate Student	2	3	1	2	12	5
Military Service	1	2	1	2	6	2
Totals	63	100	43	100	269	100

fidence in the disaffection explanation for partisan changes among our respondents.

Table 5-4 shows the January, 1966 occupations of the Pennsylvania interns and non-interns. Comparable data from our national sample are given as well.

The data in Table 5-4 contain no surprises for those who have reflected on the present occupations of our national sample of former interns (Table 4-4). The distributions are similar: a heavy concentration in law and graduate work, many in teaching and in the public service, relatively few in private business, very few housewives, and very few in the military service.

I suggested in chapter 4 that the low return rate from servicemen may be a result of their being harder to reach or, once reached with a questionnaire, they may think it would be irrelevant to return it. I believe that to be quite likely, but it has been suggested that former interns may be especially skilled in avoiding military service; I think the suggestion has merit. The high percentage of graduate and law students—from one-third to one-half of our samples—alone provided sufficient 2-S classifications for perhaps two-thirds of the draft-eligible males in our samples. There may even be a parallel phenomenon with regard to the low numbers of housewives in our sample: is it unreasonable to think that politically-active young women avoid housewifery as successfully as politically-active young men avoid the draft?

The differences between the national and Pennsylvania samples with regard to the lawyers and law students is easily explained. The Pennsylvania sample came from students who did their undergraduate work from 1961 to 1964 and had not begun private practice as of January of 1966, although approximately 27 and 30 per cent of the two Pennsylvania groups were in law school. Therefore those percentages may be most fairly compared with the 22 per cent of our national sample who are either practicing law or studying law.

The Pennsylvania groups seem to have more teachers than the national sample, and the former interns are somewhat more numerous in public service jobs (including political staff positions) than the Pennsylvania non-intern control group. But these are mere suggestions in the data, for the number of respondents and the differences are too small to have any statistical merit.

We saw in chapter 4 that more than seven in ten of our former interns reported political activity after their internships. The data

for Pennsylvania interns and non-interns, with national percentages given for comparison, are shown in Table 5-5.

One major implication from these figures is that our Pennsylvania ex-interns have not generally been more active politically than the matched non-interns since the time of their internships. Rather the reverse is true for two of the principal dimensions of

Table 5-5: Political Activity of Pennsylvania Interns and Matched Non-Interns After Internships, with National Sample Percentages for Comparison

Type of Activity	Interns (N 63)		Non-Interns (N 43)		National Samples
	Number	Per Cent*	Number	Per Cent	Percentages (N 269)
1. Work for party	20	32	18	42	49
2. Work in campaigns	22	35	18	42	49
3. Work in non-party political groups	6	10	2	5	17
4. Held local or state party office	5	8	3	7	15
5. Worked on regular political staff	4	6	1	2	12
6. Appointed to local public office	1	2	0	0	3
7. Candidate for public office (lost)	0	0	0	0	2
8. Elected to state public office	0	0	0	0	1
9. Elected to local public office	2	3	0	0	1
10. Appointed to state public office	0	0	0	0	—
11. No activity reported	22	35	16	37	27

*Because of multiple responses, percentages do not add to 100.

political activism; namely, work for the parties and work in campaigns. For each of these activities the non-interns rate more highly than the interns; the non-interns as a group have a 10 per cent participation advantage over the interns in party work, and a 7 per cent edge in campaign work. When we control for multiple responses, the non-interns' advantage is maintained; 26 of the 43 non-interns (61 per cent) reported activity under one or both of those headings, compared with 34 of the 63 interns (54 per cent).

The interns' record of political participation beyond campaign and party work—holding of party office, election or appointment to public office—is somewhat better than that of the non-interns. Thus items 4, 5, 6, and 9 of Table 5-5 show a total of twelve intern cases of these political activities compared with a total of four non-intern cases. (Controlling for multiple responses, eleven of 63 interns [17 per cent] indicated activity under items 4, 5, 6, and 9, compared with four of 43 non-interns [9 per cent].) The greater number of interns in party offices, on regular professional staffs, and in public office may be a reflection of the greater contacts afforded by the internships. We saw in chapter 4 that interns report widely expanded political contacts as a very beneficial aspect of their internships. Several cases of direct relationship between their internships and subsequent political jobs were reported by members of our national sample. Our Pennsylvania interns may have benefited in the same way from these expanded contacts, but only two former PCEP interns specifically linked their subsequent party or public positions with their internships.

With a single unimportant exception, neither Pennsylvania group scores as highly on any of the listed political activities as does the national sample of former interns. The differences may be no more than a reflection of the fact that for the national sample, on the average, more time had elapsed between their internships and the survey in winter 1965-66. Many of the Pennsylvania interns and non-interns had been asked to describe their post-college political activity the first or second year after graduation. That their total activity is not as great as that of those who had been out of college four to seven years is not surprising. One can expect that their aggregate political activities record will grow until it more nearly resembles what we believe to be the norm for ex-interns shown, in percentages, in the right-hand column of Table 5-5.

Table 5-6 compares the post-college political activity of Penn-

sylvania CEP interns and non-interns with data from two college-sponsored internship programs in New England. The program and the study from which the Wellesley data come, and the Williams College program, are described in chapter 4.

Table 5-6: Comparison of Pennsylvania CEP Interns and Non-Interns, Wellesley College Interns and Non-Interns, and Williams College Interns on Selected Measures of Post-College Political Activities

Type of Activity	PCEP Interns N 63	PCEP Non-Interns N 43	Wellesley College Interns N 146	Wellesley College Non-Interns N 137	Williams College Interns N 45
1. Work for party	32%	42%	*	*	16%
2. Work in campaigns	35	42	64%	45%	33
3. Work in non-party political groups	10	5	29	15	11
4. Held local or state party office	8	7	13	2	0
5. Worked on regular political staff	6	2	*	*	2
6. Candidates for public office	3	0	3	2	0
7. None	35	37	*	*	51

*Information not available.

The PCEP interns and non-interns compare unfavorably with the Wellesley graduates, both interns and non-interns, in the presentation of data in Table 5-6. But two adjustments should be applied. First the Wellesley alumnae, as we noted in chapter

4, had been out of college several more years, on the average, than either the PCEP or the Williams graduates. Since the questionnaires were all phrased in terms of any political activity since college the Wellesley graduates had had the advantage of more time to engage in politics. Second, the Wellesley questionnaire combined items 1 and 2, in effect, by asking whether the respondents had "taken part in the campaign of a political party or an individual candidate." The more nearly comparable figures for PCEP respondents is, therefore, 54 per cent for PCEP interns and 61 per cent for PCEP non-interns, compared with 64 per cent for Wellesley interns and 45 per cent for Wellesley non-interns, and the comparable figure is 40 per cent for Williams College interns.

We asked our Pennsylvania interns, as we had asked our national sample, whether their subsequent political activities were "in any way a result of" their internships. Table 5-7 indicates that the responses of the Pennsylvania interns were very similar to those obtained from the national sample of interns.

Table 5-7: Political Activity after Internship "In Any Way A Result Of" the Internship?

	PCEP Interns N-63		National Sample N-269	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	22	35	106	39
No	20	32	98	36
No Response	21	33	65	24

Also similar to the national sample was the tenor of responses from PCEP interns about the connection between internships and subsequent political experiences. We have noted that two of the 63 Pennsylvania interns reported that their internship experiences led directly to regular staff positions. Another eight or ten indicated that at least some of their latest political activity was a consequence of their internships—as was the case with two interns who campaigned for their congressmen in later years. But perhaps the most commonly reported relationship between internship and later political work was that the former reinforced conviction and motivations for the latter. Political activity and a tendency toward political involvement become part of the life style of some persons, and it is clear from our interns' reports that

many of them were already confirmed political habituées. For them the internship was another link—and often, by their own accounts, a very important link—in the chain of their politicization. "While I undoubtedly would have had an interest in political affairs anyway," wrote one intern, "I would not have had the opportunity to become so meaningfully involved without my internship experience."

We asked our Pennsylvania interns, as we had asked our national sample, whether they were still in touch, politically or socially, with the people they had met on the internship. We assumed that continued association, by mail or occasional visit, or face to face if they remained in their internship locale, might be a useful measure of the significance and lasting impact of the internship. Table 5-8, gives the results of that question, with comparable responses from the national sample.

Table 5-8: Still in Touch with People You Met During Internship? Pennsylvania Interns and National Sample

		Pennsylvania (N 63)		National (N 269)	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Politically:	Yes	20	32	110	42
	No	42	67	151	56
Socially:	Yes	40	64	154	57
	No	22	35	107	40
No Response		1	2	8	3

Fewer of the Pennsylvania interns than of the national sample are still in touch politically with people they met on their internships. The difference is not large, considering the small number of PCEP interns in that sample; it may be a reflection of the combined effects of greater mobility on the part of the PCEP interns (more are in graduate and law school) and of the fact that a larger per cent of PCEP interns served in Washington and, for purely geographical reasons, could not stay in touch politically after they returned home or to school. The former Pennsylvania interns seem to have kept in touch socially; 64 per cent say they have done so, compared with 57 per cent of the national sample—a small difference, possibly attributable to the recency of the PCEP respondents' internships. Overall, the pat-

terns of maintaining contact are very similar and attest to the suggestion that the internships are significant social and personal, as well as political, experiences.

Finally, on the overall satisfactions and dissatisfactions of their internships, the Pennsylvania interns displayed very much the same emphases and ranges of reactions as did the respondents to the larger national sample. Table 5-9 gives the summary comparisons.

Table 5-9: "In General, Did the Internship Live Up to Your Expectations?" PCEP and National Interns

	PCEP		National	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	54	86	220	82
No	9	14	44	16
No Response	0	0	5	2

It is not necessary here to repeat all the caveats and interpretive speculations of chapter 4 about what the interns' expectations may have been, and what an *ex post facto* judgment on their part may now mean. Several of the interns volunteered the observation that they do not now remember having had any clear-cut expectations at the outset of their internships. Taking such a statement at face value—that is, as not being merely the product of bad memory—it follows that many different kinds of experiences on the job might result in an internship that could later be described as "living up to expectations." In other words, ill-defined expectations might be shaped and crystallized in the context of the work experience itself, and thus, in the end, the expectations and the reality become very similar, in some ways even identical. A self-fulfilling non-prophecy, in a sense.

What complaints and dissatisfactions were registered tended to be centered on the problems of lack of involvement, dullness of routine, and the disinterest of the political leader in the intern's special status and role in the office. A minor theme, appearing in a few questionnaires, was the view that more pre-internship "structuring" of the situation by the academic manager would have helped both intern and politician to make better use of the intern's interests and skills. And this is related, of course, to expectations and whether or not they are sufficiently defined and agreed upon by the three chief actors involved. No doubt a case can be made, in many instances, for more pre-internship "struc-

turing"—and we know of many assignments that have suffered from too little advanced planning and/or understanding. But too much pre-internship "structuring" may be as dysfunctional. It is important to maintain flexibility in the first week or two of an internship, and to have the chance to modify relationships for mutual advantage. Better than pre-internship blueprints are pre-internship agreements on principles, with reasonably close academic monitoring in the early stages of the field experience. Candor, sensitivity, and flexibility among intern, politician, and academic manager are more desirable than detailed preplanning. Let various expectations bud, for experience has various blooms, and not all internships need to have the same contents or the same values for the same kinds of people.

SUMMARY, AND COMMENTS ON THE PENNSYLVANIA STUDY

Our comparison of former interns with matched non-interns was undertaken to test the proposition, long maintained by internship managers, that internship programs provide opportunities more than they create interest, motivations, or skills in politics. The argument is that internships are principally a special form of intensive political involvement that gains its specialness from its close links with the academic and formal study of politics. The good internship relates thought to action, learning to doing, and most important of all, specific events to generalizations about politics and society.

It is easy enough to show that college men and women who participate in political education programs later participate in politics more than do Americans generally, or other college students, or other college-educated adults. There are data in this volume, and references here to other studies, that demonstrate the superior performance as citizen-politicians of those who have special interests and experiences in politics.

But such studies, when looked at coldly and critically, do not prove much. To characterize them in an oversimplified way, and somewhat unfairly, they tell us that people who like politics and know something about it are more apt to participate in politics than people who don't like it and don't know much about it. From such studies one may learn some things, of course—even, now and then, learn something of considerable worth. But they are often advanced as proof of the soundness, or success, of certain educational programs or projects, when nothing of the sort

has been proven. When two groups of unlike people are being compared in their attitudes and behaviors it is almost the simplest thing in the world to apply criteria that are favorable to one of the groups, and then when the favored group turns out to have been, in fact, favored, to claim the "proof" of something or other has been demonstrated. Granted it is not so boldly done. Favorable outcomes produced by favorable criteria applied to favored groups are nowadays described as "evidence for," or "support for," rather than "proofs of," the outcomes sought.

This chapter reports data from a small study in which unusual efforts were made not to stack the cards for our good guys, the interns, and against the bad guys (those who had not been interns). We identified a group of former college students who were very much like a group of our interns—except that they had not had internships. The non-interns had, on the whole, interests, experiences, and social characteristics very similar to those of our interns. We asked both groups what they had done politically since the time when the interns were granted internships and the non-interns had been denied internships.

Those who had not had internships, it turned out, reported as much political activity as those who had had internships. In fact, the non-interns had been *more* active in campaigning and party work, but because of the small number of respondents it is unclear whether the differences are important. The interns had assumed more political leadership responsibilities (defined as party or public office holding, or professional political staff work), but these differences may be chance occurrences, also. It might be expected, were the "samples" large enough and well drawn, that interns would demonstrate more political activity and assume more leadership positions than would matched non-interns, although both would be politically active far beyond the modal American adult. If the internships are, on the whole, as rewarding and educationally significant as we think they are (and as the former interns generally described them) then they should have a measurable reinforcing influence on political behavior. Internships should reinforce political drives and behavior in two ways—in two ways that are not available to comparably motivated and experienced non-interns.

First, the internship is another—not the first, nor the last, nor the only—significant involvement with other political actors in political environments. It is, in elementary learning-theory terms, an additional, relatively long and complex exposure to significant stimuli, most of which reinforce existing motivational and at-

titude patterns. Non-interns do not experience these additional stimuli associated with the internships.

Second, the internship provides contacts for further specific opportunities for political activity. We have considered before this matter of the contacts made during the internship—contacts that are, again, denied to the non-intern. To be sure the politically active non-intern (and he is the critically comparable person for internship evaluations that are more than histories or debaters' briefs) will have to find other routes to fruitful contacts that will open to them opportunities for further political action. But the intern's special advantage is that he has the prestige of being associated with an educational enterprise and has the status of participant-observer, or learner-doer, that the non-intern cannot duplicate. Moreover, the intern has a stipend to make it financially possible to gain the political experience and the attending contacts for the future; in this sense we, or any sponsoring organization, buy for the intern the special learning opportunities and special status that give him an advantage over the non-intern.

The case, in theory, is therefore strong that interns should display greater post-internship political activity than comparable young men and women who were not afforded internships. Our Pennsylvania study, reported here, provides no evidence that interns are, in fact, more active politically. Nor does it support the contrary view. The proposition seems valid, but it must be honestly said that it is not substantially strengthened or weakened by the findings of this investigation.

6 INTERNS AND NON-INTERNS: A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, OREGON, 1965

In earlier chapters we have reviewed college political internship programs, the beliefs and principles on which they have been established, their management, and their consequences for the interns themselves, and for the academic and political communities of which the interns were and are a part. We have been especially concerned with the experiences of the interns, their post-internship political activities, and their suggestions for improvement of future internship programs.

Important as these matters are for our understanding of political internship programs, and as potentially useful as they may be for future programs, they are not wholly satisfactory. Dissatisfaction with purely *post-hoc* evaluations, such as those reported in earlier chapters, stems from the fact that the data and interpretations are personal, unsystematic, unverifiable, and subject to all biases and limitations of self-representing. The testimony is, in legal terms, *prejudiced* testimony. In psychological terms it suffers from ego-involvement. And there is a great deal of evidence, common-sense as well as clinical and experimental, that ego-involved witnesses are not good witnesses.

Later it is argued that personal judgment (which is, inevitably, ego-involved judgment) is the ultimate judgment upon which we place our individual belief-systems, and upon which we rely in social and intellectual situations. But before the ultimate personal judgment is made, both the man of common

sense and the scientist (who may be merely the common-sense man in a lab coat) want to gather as much relevant data as possible, organize it as systematically as possible, and give it as many tests of validity and reliability as possible. In short, we want it both ways. We want as much hard, clean, impersonal evidence as we can get, and we also want to apply the soft, fuzzy, personal "feel" to what we believe and what we do.

Hard, clean, impersonal data are very difficult to find (or manufacture) in the social sciences. In field programs (as distinguished from the laboratory situation) they are even more difficult to come by. In evaluation activities, after-the-fact, hard, non-subjective data of attitude or behavior change are nearly nonexistent—as we have seen in the earlier chapters. The dilemmas of assessing field programs are summarily described by Hyman, Wright, and Hopkins: "The prime problem in evaluation [is] to provide objective, systematic, and comprehensive evidence on the degree to which the program achieves its intended objectives plus the degree to which it produces other unanticipated consequences, which when recognized would also be regarded as relevant to the agency. It is easy to state the problem of evaluation, but it is difficult to develop the method for its solution."[1]

Are there ways of getting more objective, even quantitative, information? The classic experimentalist method of assessing directed change is through the use of control groups. A control group is a collection of individuals who are, or can be assumed to be, like the experimental subjects except that they have not been given the experiences (treatment, stimuli) to be evaluated. Social science experiments involving short-term treatments with college students have an almost unlimited supply of control groups. Field experiments are less apt to have readily available control groups. For the evaluation of longer-term experience involving participation in natural settings, control groups are very, very rare.

In our assessment of political internships we asked ourselves whether we might identify groups of students who were like our interns in every important way except that they had not had the internship experience. Our Pennsylvania non-interns, described in the preceding chapter, were one such group. Had we been more attentive to the evaluation requirements we might have selected control groups in various states and years, and at various political levels when we selected the parallel groups of interns. But, except for the experiment described in this chapter,

we did not do so. Limited time and administrative money—and, frankly, limited imagination—did not provide such planning for evaluation.

At the present time nothing is more important for the future of political education, in my view, than the careful attention to assessment of the various programs. We need evaluation research not only because we should maximize the practical and educational carry-over from these programs on the individual student participants, but also because we should link these programs in some systematic and empirical way with the growing interest and knowledge in pedagogy and in the learning processes.

THE OREGON EXPERIMENT

In the spring of 1965 twenty-three students were selected from Oregon colleges and universities for internships granted by the Oregon Council for Education in Politics.[2] These were part-time, academic-year internships in which the students were assigned as assistants to state legislators (mainly) or to local and state public or party officers. Some of the interns had weekly contact with their political principal, some spent as many as 100 or more hours in their political internship work during the semester, but others may have spent as little as four full days with their legislator in Salem. The average time spent in work related to the internship may have been 50 to 60 hours. This, by the ordinary standards we try to set for internships, is only marginally adequate. Some of the interns had no more than what could honestly be called a period of supervised observation in politics. This research suffers, therefore, from the fact that the internships studied were shorter and less intensive political experiences than most internships. They were simply not representative of the internship as a political educational device; other internships should not be assessed by reference to the 1965 Oregon experiment.

Matched with the 23 interns were 22 non-interns.[3] The non-interns were selected from each of the 12 schools—two interns and two matched non-interns from each college or university, except one college that had one each and one college that selected two interns but only one non-intern. Each participating political science faculty member selected all his students and matched the non-interns, individually for each of the interns, by class, sex, level of interest in politics, and level of academic work in political science. On these criteria the non-interns, singly and as a whole, were very similar to the interns.[4]

Interns and non-interns were interviewed during the three days February 8-10, 1965 on their own campuses. All interviewing was done by me. The average completion time for all oral and written interview and measurement instruments was about one hour and fifteen minutes.

Interns and non-interns were given the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, a standard interest and quasi-personality measurement of the subjects' preferred values and life styles. They were given two scales developed by Ohio Wesleyan University, obtaining 5-position agree-disagree responses on political opinions and political participation. They were given two miscellaneous measurements (not true scales) that I had earlier used in a matched-sample study of politicals and apoliticals: power and willingness to compromise. Finally they were given the Survey Research Center's political activity and political efficacy measurements. Biographical data about the students and their family political backgrounds were obtained. In addition to these oral and written interview instruments, the participating faculty members gave us SAT scores and cumulative grade points for all interns and non-interns, plus their (the teachers') subjective judgments about the students' personalities, and the objective facts of the internship arrangements for the 22 interns.

Following the internship period, in June and July of 1965, all the instruments were completed again (except the orally-obtained biographical data and the SRC political activity index) by most of the interns and non-interns. Unfortunately, lack of time and money prevented the personal administration of the post-internship schedules. The interns and control group students were asked to complete the questionnaires at home and return them to New York City.

EXPECTATIONS AND FINDINGS

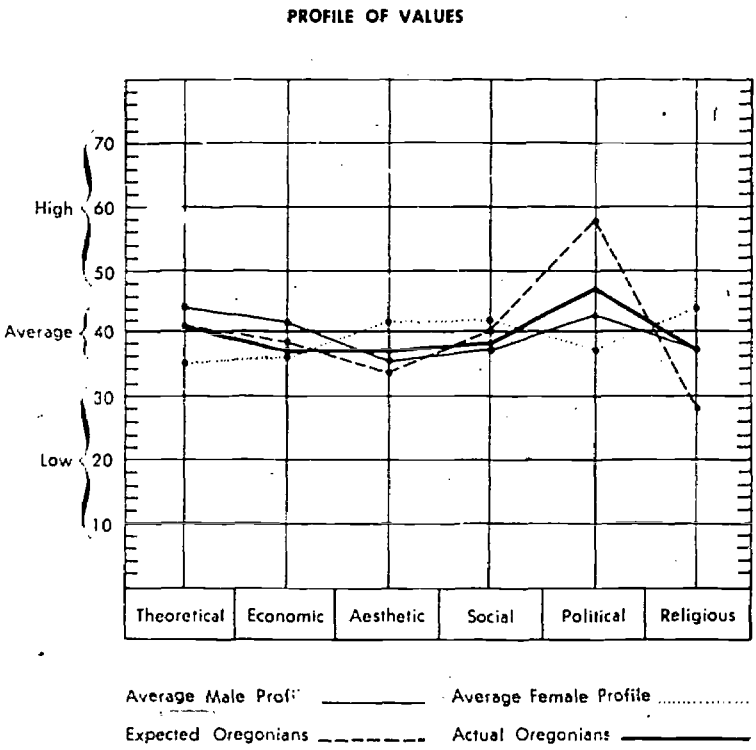
On the basis of earlier experiences in administering the same or similar interest scales and personality tests to political activists, we expected to find an identifiable pattern of responses in our interns and non-interns. What we expected and what we found are summarized in this section.

ALLPORT-VERNON-LINDZEY

We expected that our Oregon subjects would have average scores on the theoretical and social dimensions of the A-V-L profile,

low on the economic and aesthetic dimensions, very low on the religious dimension, and very high on the political. Such had been the average profile among scattered undergraduates, graduates students, and non-student adult, political activists to whom the A-V-L had been given earlier. Figure 6-1 indicates our expectations and our findings.

Figure 6-1: Hypothesized and Actual A-V-L Profile for 45 Oregon Undergraduate Political Interns and Matched Non-Interns 1965



In predicting what the A-V-L scores would be for our Oregon political activist students we made some errors. The political scores were lower than we expected, and the religious scores were higher. The political scores were indeed high, but the religious scores were not lower than the aesthetic for our whole sample of 45, and only slightly lower than the economic and social.

The difference between our expectations and our findings is not explained by the fact that about half of our respondents were students at church-related schools. Because of the forced-choice nature of the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey scales, if one dimension has a high score there must be an offsetting low score (or low scores). The 22 respondents attending church-related schools did indeed have a higher mean score on the religious dimension than the 23 subjects at independent or public institutions (40.4 for the church-related schools, and 34.4 for the non-church-related schools), but on the political dimension there was no important difference (the mean score of the church-related colleges are slightly higher, in fact, than the mean score of students from independent and public schools: 48.1 to 47.5). The point is that our very large errors in prediction of the political and religious scores cannot be attributed alone to the fact that about half the Oregon respondents were students at church-related colleges and universities.

In retrospect it appears that the predicted political group score for the Oregon students (58) was unreasonably high. The prediction was made on the basis of perhaps 50 cases of highly political students and politically-active liberals from several states. It illustrates the danger of judging phenomena intuitively from samples wholly unrepresentative—and, while illustrations of this danger lie all about us, it may bear repeating. The 1960 edition of the A-V-L Manual gives occupational differences based on scores of samples of occupational groups. Except for the religious scores of clergymen and theological students, no groups achieved scores on any dimension as high as the political scores we had predicted for our Oregon students. That, in itself, might have cautioned us.

Table 6-1: Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Oregon Politically-Interested Students and Large College Sample, A-V-L "Study of Values"

	Oregon Students N-45		National Group N-3,778			
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Difference	Significance
Theoretical	41.08	6.77	39.75	7.27	+1.33	N.S.
Economic	37.92	6.91	40.33	7.61	−2.41	.05
Aesthetic	37.48	8.43	38.88	8.42	−1.40	N.S.
Social	38.40	7.57	39.56	7.03	−1.16	N.S.
Political	47.80	6.00	40.39	6.44	+7.41	.01
Religious	37.28	9.20	41.01	9.31	−3.73	.01

Since the A-V-L has consistently shown strong differences by sex, it was thought important to compare our Oregon respondents with the national scores by sex. To separate the sex differences, and to control for that variable, the Oregon males are compared with the national standardization group males, and the Oregon females (even though there were very few) are compared with the national college girls. Table 6-2 presents these data.

Table 6-2: Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Oregon Politically-Interested Male and Female Students, Compared with Large College Samples, A-V-L "Study of Values"

		Oregon Students (N-37 Males, 8 Females)		National Group (N-2,489 Males, 1,289 Females)			
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Difference	Significance
Theoretical:	M.	41.97	5.95	43.75	7.34	−1.78	N.S.
	F.	37.00	8.59	35.75	7.19	+1.25	N.S.
Economic:	M.	37.16	6.74	42.78	7.92	−5.62	.01
	F.	41.50	5.70	37.87	7.30	+3.63	N.S.
Aesthetic:	M.	37.84	8.68	35.09	8.49	+2.75	N.S.
	F.	35.88	6.88	42.67	8.34	−6.79	.05
Social:	M.	37.78	7.84	37.09	7.03	+ .69	N.S.
	F.	41.25	5.52	42.03	7.02	− .78	N.S.
Political:	M.	48.00	6.33	42.94	6.64	+5.06	.01
	F.	46.88	4.37	37.84	6.23	+9.04	.01
Religious:	M.	37.46	9.16	38.20	9.32	− .74	N.S.
	F.	36.63	10.22	43.81	9.40	−7.18	.05

As we have noted, the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey "Study of Values" is criticized for its forced-choice element that builds into its scales compensatory lows for every high, thus appearing to distort the profiles of individuals who, in fact, have high (or low) interest in many or all of the dimensions. This is a valid criticism for analysis that purports to assess one individual by comparison with another individual. But the forced-choice aspect has the advantage of requiring priorities from the subject. The economic and the aesthetic dimensions may both be important to a subject, but which is *more* important? If a person, or a group of people, scores highly in one dimension, what dimension or dimensions will be less favored?

In the case of our Oregon students, it was not surprising that they were, as a group, highly differentiated from the national

test-standardization sample on the political dimension. The high political scores are obtained at the cost of low scores on the economic and religious dimensions. In their theoretical and social interests our Oregon political activists are not distinguishable from the national college sample. The high political scores of our men are paid for by low economic scores: Do political competitiveness and power-aspiration substitute, in part, for economic drive and financial gain? Low aesthetic and religious scores seem to compensate for the high political scores among our women: to be successful—or even to aspire—in the man's world of politics do women tend to adopt male attitudes toward the less "practical" or more "cultural" pursuits? Note, too, that our female respondents averaged a high score on the economic scale—another dimension that, like the political, shows characteristically higher scores for males.

When we compare the A-V-L scores of our interns with those of our non-interns we find no significant differences. By this measurement the two groups appear to have been fairly well matched. Table 6-3 gives the pre-internship scores of the 23 interns and 22 non-interns on the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey "Study of Values."

Table 6-3: Matching of Oregon Interns and Non-Interns: Comparison of Their A-V-L Scores

	Interns (N-23)	Non-Interns (N-22)	Difference	Significance
Theoretical	39.43	42.73	3.30*	N.S.
Economic	38.69	37.14	1.55	N.S.
Aesthetic	36.54	38.91	2.37	N.S.
Social	39.61	37.14	2.47	N.S.
Political	49.17	46.36	2.81*	N.S.
Religious	36.83	37.82	.99	N.S.

*The differences on the theoretical and political dimensions approach .05 confidence level.

We expected no significant changes in the A-V-L scores, pre-internship and post-internship. The internship experience was too slight, transient, and ephemeral, we believed, to influence the A-V-L typology.[5] As Table 6-4 indicates, our expectations were borne out.

Table 6-4: Changes in Mean Group Scores, Allport-Vernon-Lindzey "Study of Values" Dimensions, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

		Pre-Internship	Post-Internship	Differences	Significance
Interns (N-18)	Theoretical	40.0	39.6	− .4	N.S.
	Economic	38.0	37.8	− .2	N.S.
	Aesthetic	35.0	37.1	+2.1	N.S.
	Social	40.2	38.8	−1.4	N.S.
	Political	49.3	50.7	+1.4	N.S.
	Religious	37.2	35.0	−2.2	N.S.
Non-Interns (N-17)	Theoretical	41.1	41.5	+ .4	N.S.
	Economic	40.2	38.0	−2.2	N.S.
	Aesthetic	36.5	37.6	+1.1	N.S.
	Social	37.0	34.9	−2.1	N.S.
	Political	47.3	49.4	+2.1	N.S.
	Religious	37.5	37.7	+ .2	N.S.

OHIO WESLEYAN SCALES: OPINIONS AND PARTICIPATION

The Ohio Wesleyan scales, "opinions about politics" and "participation in politics," are designed to measure the subjects' attitudes towards politics (primarily in terms of feelings, or emotional valence, about the goodness and badness of political life), and the subjects' willingness to participate in political activity. The scales were developed in the early 1950s as part of an attempt to evaluate the practical politics program sponsored by the Falk Foundation at Ohio Wesleyan. For a description of the scales, along with item selection criteria, see *The Development of Attitude Scales in Practical Politics* (1955), a mimeographed report of The Evaluation Service, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

We did not expect that the internship experience of the Oregon students would influence them necessarily to higher scores on the "Opinions" and "Participation" scales. If there were any differences in the changes before and after the internship period we would expect these changes to be more pronounced among the interns than among the non-interns. We certainly did not predict the *non*-interns to be more favorably disposed toward politics than the interns after the internship period. In other words, we thought that any overall discernible tendencies (whether or not statistically significant) would be in the direc-

tion of making interns more favorable to political life and more willing to participate—but, note well, we did not necessarily *expect* this to happen.

Table 6-5: Mean Scores, Political Opinions Test, Oregon Political Activist Students and Ohio Wesleyan Sophomores

	Oregon		Ohio Wesleyan		Differences	
	N	Score	N	Score	Between Scores	Significance
Men	37	96.6	329	93.9	2.7	N.S.
Women	8	104.2	419	97.2	7.0	.05

N.S. = Not significant.

Interestingly enough, the Oregon students, selected in part because of their bent toward political activism, did not score much higher than the ordinary Ohio Wesleyan sophomore on the political *opinions* test. While the Oregon women students seem to have a significantly higher score, the small number of cases suggests caution in generalization. The likely explanation lies in the nature of the test itself. The Ohio Wesleyan "Political Opinions" test measures what might be called sophistication about the importance of partisan politics as an element of the democratic society. The questions have to do with whether one knows about, and approves of, the political processes and party politics, and whether there is a *general* obligation for citizen participation in politics. In the "opinions" test there is no pointed investigation of the respondent's *personal* desire to be active in party politics. We shall see below that the "Political Participation" test taps this more personal element—with very different results.

Table 6-6 indicates that the interns' scores on the political opinions test were substantially the same after the internship as before, but the non-interns' scores were unaccountably lower in the summer of 1965 than they had been in February of that year. This decrease of 5.5 points may be simply a matter of chance—although by the t-test there is only a one in twenty probability of its being a chance occurrence.

On the Ohio Wesleyan "Political Participation" test, as Table 6-7 clearly shows, the Oregon students had markedly higher scores than did Ohio Wesleyan sophomores. This is a reflection, we believe, of a very real difference between the two groups:

Table 6-6: Changes in Mean Scores, Political Opinions Test, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

	Pre-Internship N	Pre-Internship Scores	Post-Internship Scores	Difference	Significance
Interns	18	100.2	100.8	+ .6	N.S.
Non-Interns	17	101.2	95.7	−5.5	.05

while both groups were supportive of the general notion that citizens should participate in the politics of a democracy, the Oregon students were much more willing—even eager—to participate themselves.

Table 6-7: Mean Scores, Political Participation Test, Oregon Political Activist Students and Ohio Wesleyan Sophomores

	Oregon N	Oregon Score	Ohio Wesleyan N	Ohio Wesleyan Score	Differences	Significance
Men	36	100.8	329	80.9	19.9	.01
Women	8	103.6	419	82.2	21.4	.01

That the Political Opinions and the Political Participation tests should so nicely discriminate, in the case of our Oregon students, between those attitudes that have to do with understanding and approving partisan politics in a democracy, on the one hand, and, on the other, those attitudes and motivations that have to do with participating oneself in politics, is also an independent confirmation of the validity of the Ohio Wesleyan scales. The point, while hardly earthshaking, is not to be overlooked in the present elementary and still very unsystematic methodology of attitude measurement.

Not only is there a large difference on the participation test between the Oregon and Ohio Wesleyan students, but among the Oregon subjects, the interns score significantly higher than the non-interns, as Table 6-8 shows. One explanation for these differences is the possibility that the interns and non-interns were not matched on the matter of their desire to participate in politics. Interns may have been more insistent than non-interns in seeking the internships, and the professors who selected them may have chosen those with demonstrably higher motivation. Also, since some of the interns knew at the time of the first inter-

view that they were to serve as interns, they may have given the more acceptable (in that context) answers to the questions in the participation scales.

Table 6-8: Changes in Mean Scores, Political Participation Test, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

	Pre-Internship		Post-Internship		
	N	Scores	Scores	Difference	Significance
Interns	18	104.1	107.2	+3.1	.05
Non-Interns	16	93.3	92.8	— .5	N.S.
Difference	—	10.8	14.4	—	—
Significance	—	.01	.01	—	—

The significant increase in participation scores shown by the interns following their internships may be a demonstration that these young men and women tried some personal political involvement, liked it, and desired more. The evidence will support such a conclusion, and we so conclude, but with the warning that these differences, too, could be the result of socially acceptable answers given by the former interns out of gratitude (or just to be "nice") knowing that we would like such a result. Both the so-called Hawthorne effect (changed behavior as a response to the mere fact of being investigated) and an acquiescent response set may be at play here.

POWER AND COMPROMISE

The power and compromise scales were revised from those used in an earlier study of adult political activists, with a matched sample of non-political adults, in Arizona.[6] Again, our expectation was that if any changes at all were noted, they would show the internship experience to increase both the power orientation and the willingness to compromise in the interns, but not in the non-interns. (Orientation to power we defined as the desire for direct influence over persons and policies.) But our expectation was that there would be no statistically significant differences between interns and non-interns.

Table 6-9: Changes in Mean Group Scores, Political Power Index, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

	N	Pre-Internship	Post-Internship	Difference	Significance
Interns	18	9.6	10.0	+ .4	N.S.
Non-Interns	17	9.6	10.0	+ .4	N.S.

Table 6-10: Changes in Mean Group Scores, Political Compromise Index, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

	N	Pre-Internship	Post-Internship	Difference	Significance
Interns	18	5.67	5.11	— .56	N.S.
Non-Interns	17	6.77	5.53	—1.24	N.S.

Tables 6-9 and 6-10 indicate that our expectations were completely borne out by the measurements of power-orientation and willingness to compromise. The differences, where they exist, are slight and statistically insignificant.

Unfortunately, because of revisions in the scales, we are not able to make any comparisons of our Oregon subjects with the earlier Arizona subjects.

SRC EFFICACY AND PARTICIPATION SCALES

The "sense of political efficacy" scale given to Oregon interns and non-interns is the one developed by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. The SRC researchers say: "Sense of political efficacy may be defined as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worth while to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."[7]

As in the case of the Ohio Wesleyan scales, we expected that any differences between interns and non-interns, if they existed, would be in the direction of interns having a greater sense of efficacy after their internships. Exposure to, and participation in, politics has been shown in many studies to be positively related to political efficacy, as is also level of education. We expected

all our subjects, interns and control group, to score highly—which they did, ranging from 16 to 6 out of a possible range of 16 to 0 on our scoring method.

Table 6-11: Changes in Mean Group Scores, Political Efficacy, Oregon Interns and Matched Non-Interns, Before and After Internships

	N	Pre-Internship	Post-Internship	Difference	Significance
Interns	18	11.6	11.7	+ .1	N.S.
Non-Interns	17	12.0	11.4	− .6	N.S.

Table 6-11 indicates that, as we predicted, there were no significant changes in the efficacy scores.

We gave our Oregon interns and non-interns the SRC index of political participation. We should have known that these students, having been selected (by themselves and their professors) on the basis of their extraordinary interest in politics, would have been so much more politically active than the average American that they all would have clustered at the very top of the SRC index. And it was so. The information elicited by the SRC's political participation questions, obtained during the oral part of the interview, was quite detailed and is useful for specifying just *how* politically active these students had been before the interviews in February of 1965. But a comparison of these students with the SRC findings on national U.S. samples is of no value and will be therefore omitted.

OTHER MEASUREMENTS

Finally, to get a purely subjective judgment of each intern and non-intern we asked the faculty members who had recommended the students on each campus to give us a rating for each person on four characteristics: intelligence, open-mindedness, joy of life, and capacity for constructive self-criticism. The last quality we thought needed no interpretation in the interest of standardization. The others we defined for the raters: intelligence as "ability to handle abstractions and concept formation, ability to see relationships"; open-mindedness as "openness to new experience"; and joy of life as "spirit, alertness, vigor, sense of humor." We also asked for the college entrance board scores and the cumulative grade point for all interns and non-interns.

By these measures, too, our interns as a group were well matched with our non-interns. The intern group averages on the college entrance board scores were 554 verbal (N-13) and 517 math (N-13), compared with the non-intern group scores of 514 (N-11) and 544 (N-10); scores for the other subjects were not available. The intern group grade-point average was 2.96 (N-18) and the non-intern group average was 2.90 (N-17). Those who applied and were chosen for political internships were not, on the whole, the brightest students of their colleges; they were B students generally. Our impression is that students who are attracted to political education programs, and who have an activist bent, tend to be just such students—those who do better than the average student academically but not as well as their very top classmates.

Our elicitation of judgments about the students from their professors had only limited payoff. Both the interns and non-interns were rated very highly—so highly, in fact, that they do not allow much inter- or intra-group discrimination. Each subject was rated by his own professor from one to five on each of the four dimensions: intelligence, open-mindedness, joy of life, and capacity for self-criticism. Possible range of composite scores was 5 to 20. The actual range was 14 to 20 for the interns, and 13 to 20 for the non-interns; the mode was 19 for the combined two groups; the intern average score was 17.3 and the non-intern average 17.2. There is a fairly strong positive correlation between the ratings given the students and their cumulative grade-point averages ($r=.48$), but only a slight positive correlation between the college entrance board scores (verbal) and the students' cumulative grade point ($r=.12$), and there is, in fact, a negative correlation (-.32) between the college entrance board scores (verbal) and the subjective ratings by the professors.

CONCLUSIONS

The data developed in this comparative study show that the students who selected themselves, and were selected by their teachers, to be political interns (or possible interns) are, as a group, unlike the average college student in their interest in politics. The data also show that the internship experience itself seems to have had no influence on the students' patterns of interest and values—at least according to the rough measuring techniques employed. Bear in mind, however, that the Oregon part-time internships were the most minimal of internships. There

is other evidence, some of it in this volume, that the full-time internship is a much more memorable experience and a more permanent influence on later attitudes and behavior.

So, on the whole, we are not surprised that this Oregon experiment came out the way we thought it would. We would be much more surprised if it had come out differently; for then our confidence in our own judgments as teachers and internship managers would be in doubt. We have here some better evidence—at least less subjective, if by no means "scientific"—that our everyday teaching and administrative sense is not too unrealistic.

Whatever differences in test scores existed—and they were not great—tended to favor the interns over the non-interns. Thus the interns scored higher than the non-interns, both before and after their internships, on the political measurement of the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. The interns' scores on the Ohio Wesleyan "Political Opinions" test are slightly higher than those of the non-interns when the two sets are averaged for each group. On the efficacy and power scales there is no suggestion of difference. The compromise scale indicates that the non-interns may be slightly more willing to compromise. But all these differences are likely to be matters of chance.

The one striking difference is that shown by the Ohio Wesleyan "Political Participation" scale. Before the internship period the interns as a group scored markedly higher than the non-interns on the participation scale; after the internship the interns' scores increased (significantly over their own pre-internship scores) while those of the non-interns decreased slightly (probably a chance difference). We suppose these differences to have had two causes; one, the teachers chose as interns those who had the very highest desire for political activity; and two, some (but not all) of the interns knew at the time of interviewing that they were to be interns and, accordingly, gave acquiescing answers to those questions about political participation. The highly significant differences found on the participation scale, and the non-significant tendencies shown by some of the other measurements, may be ascribed, then, to these two characteristics that distinguished interns from non-interns: an initial difference that was recognized by the teachers who chose the two groups, with that initial difference being reinforced by the acquiescent response set of the interns after they were chosen.

These data and speculations lead to further thoughts about the selection of interns. Beyond some minimum level, such factors

as intelligence, or grade-point averages, or the selecting committees' judgments about character or personality do not seem to determine who gets chosen. Given a pool of talent in which the academic criteria are met by many more students than there are intern places, two factors seem to be at play in the final choices. One is, more properly, a set of factors, namely, the political criteria that relate to the *placement*—for placement, although logically separable from selection, merges with selection in practice—as Professor Wise's description of Pennsylvania procedures (see chapter 3) so well illustrates. But it seems that the political criteria, while they may determine the selection of individual interns who happen to fit nicely the needs of the office, will randomize over the range of interns and years. Do we then ultimately pick as interns those students who most want to be interns?

Why not? The more one thinks about it, the more logical and appropriate it would seem that, other things being more-or-less equal, the students who most want to take part in politics do, in fact, get chosen as political interns. One may see this as evidence that our teachers make good choices for sound reasons, or that student determination pays off. Either interpretation is acceptable.

7 GRADUATE AND FACULTY INTERNSH' S

Since 1953 there have been an estimated 900 graduate and faculty political internships in the United States. NCEP, The American Political Science Association, and the Ford Foundation have administered national programs for social science graduate students and college faculty. In addition to these three national programs, several—perhaps as many as 20—universities have sponsored internships for their own graduate students.

Because there is almost no available information on the graduate interns placed by universities with their own separate programs, that category may be quickly dealt with. Several of the universities that had their own programs from 1954 to 1966 were recipients of Falk Foundation grants—for example, Yale, Michigan State, and UCLA—and there may have been an average total of twelve graduate fellows at these institutions for as many as seven years, for an estimated total over the whole period of 85. Elsewhere, political internships for graduate students were spontaneously (i.e., without the aid of outside grants) established—perhaps, in the twelve years, as many as 50 students were so assigned.

In addition to the estimated 135 graduate internships either supported by Falk Foundation grants or spontaneously established, there have been perhaps 100 to 200 graduate students among the more than 2,000 interns in the NCEP affiliates' programs that were designed primarily for *under*graduates and have

been described earlier in this report. Because of insufficient information, and just plain sloppy bookkeeping, we have had no way of separating the graduate students from undergraduates. It may not be important, since the experiences of the graduate students were identical to those of the undergraduates, and they could not have been generally much older or much different from the seniors who constituted the largest bulk of NCEP affiliates' interns. The fact that a handful of the NCEP affiliates' interns were graduate students is probably of no general interest and of no importance to our evaluation.

FORD FOUNDATION AND APSA GRADUATE AND FACULTY INTERNS

The California state legislative leaders in 1957 agreed to take as staff assistants a number of graduate and law students from California universities. The Ford Foundation agreed to pay half the students' stipends, plus all the administrative costs of the program, if the state legislature would pay the other half of the interns' stipends. In the seven years from 1957 to 1964, the California Legislative Internship Program placed a total of 78 graduate students and two professors of political science as staff assistants to leaders in the State Assembly (the State Senate did not participate in the program). The interns served full-time for ten months each, received a stipend of $500 a month, and were responsible jointly to the University of California (and their own university) for the general administration and the academic content of the internship, and to the Assembly for their staff activities and political loyalties. Five universities cooperated: University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Los Angeles, Claremont Graduate School, Stanford University, and the University of Southern California. Beginning with the academic year 1965-66 the program has been wholly financed by the State Assembly. The California Legislative Internship Program must be regarded as one of the most successful of all graduate political internship ventures. Its success seems to have been due to two characteristics: strong and understanding support from the Assembly leaders (especially from Speaker Jesse Unruh), and close academic supervision.

Beginning in 1960 the Ford Foundation began to finance in other states graduate legislative internship programs based on the California model. By 1965 there were twelve such state programs, all providing 50-50 stipend matching with the legislatures,

and drawing the same kinds of graduate students as interns (from the social sciences and law). Outside of California the administrative arrangements varied somewhat; a few of the states' programs were run by state agencies, usually the state legislative council, with faculty advice and cooperation. The states participating in the Ford Foundation's legislative internship program were: California, Hawaii, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Puerto Rico, Texas, and Washington.

Data on numbers of interns, kinds of assignments, costs by year and by states, and administrative histories could be assembled for the Ford Foundation's State Legislative Internship Program, but to my knowledge this has not been done. Presumably all of the states have reported on these matters annually or at other fixed times, to the Foundation and interested persons in the states. I have seen the California reports, and occasionally reports from Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, New York and Texas. Whether these are representative or not, they support the following impressionistic generalizations:

1. The most scholarly, or academically-inclined, students are not drawn to the programs. On the contrary, and as one would expect, the activists apply, are chosen, and do well. Fewer than half of the political scientists (and, of course, almost none of the lawyers) go on to the Ph.D.[1] Many of the interns remain in political staff positions. The program performs well the objective of recruiting trained staff assistants for the legislatures and other state political agencies.
2. The problems of adequate academic supervision are many and great, even when there is close administration in the hands of the universities involved. When the programs are run by governmental agencies such as legislative councils, the academic content of the interns' experience is likely to be grossly inadequate.
3. The success of these programs appears to be determined quite largely by the political knowledge and sensitivity of the academic managers, *and* the understanding of academic objectives by the political leaders.

Chapter 2 contains a brief description of the American Political Science Association's Congressional Fellowship Program. Its basic *raison d'être* and history may be briefly stated: since 1953 this program has supported close to 300 young social scientists, journalists, and lawyers for nine to twelve months as full-time staff assistants to U.S. members of Congress. Cataldo's evaluation of

the APSA Fellowship Program provides some data, as of 1965, that will be compared below with information elicited in 1965 and 1966 from NCEP Faculty and Graduate Fellows. In order to obtain comparable data, some of the questions in the NCEP questionnaire were taken from Cataldo's study of APSA Congressional Fellows.

NCEP FACULTY AND GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

The National Center's faculty and graduate internships were served exclusively in the offices of state and local political leaders. Under the terms of the supporting Ford Foundation grant, the NCEP Faculty Fellows spent six to twelve months in their internships; the Graduate Fellows spent five months. The Faculty and Graduate Fellows were selected in national competition, with no presumption that they would be assigned to political leaders in their home communities.

There were, in fact, no presumptions at all about placement of the Faculty and Graduate Fellows—except that of finding the best possible match between their interests and talents on the one hand, and the character and needs of the offices on the other. It was assumed, as basic to the program's objectives, that in each case the Fellow and his political principal were to be of the same political party and in general ideological agreement.

The Faculty Fellows were selected and assigned individually whenever the appropriate academic and political conditions were found. The Graduate Fellows were selected in classes—from 1960 to 1964 there was one class each year, in the fall semester (September through January). In the 1964-65 and 1965-66 academic years there were NCEP Graduate Fellows classes in each semester.

The Graduate Fellows were called together in seminars before and after their field assignments. The pre-field seminar was held the first week of the fellowship period; it included discussion of techniques and problems of participant-observation, the nature of political staff work, the collection of data while on the job, and the individual research interests of the Fellows. Many of the Graduate Fellows were given course credit, or thesis credit, by their universities for work done during the semester's internship. During the last week of the fellowship the Fellows were brought together again in a post-field seminar for evaluation of their experiences, reports on individual or group research, and criticisms of the program for the benefit of future fellowship

classes. Professor James A. Robinson of Ohio State University served as seminar director for five years, assisted by Professor Donald G. Herzberg of Rutgers University. Invited political scientists and politicians attended some of the seminars. A list of all NCEP Faculty and Graduate Fellows from 1960 to 1966 is included in Appendix D of the NCEP history, *Political Education and Political Science: The National Center for Education in Politics, 1947-1966.*

SURVEY OF FORMER NCEP FACULTY AND GRADUATE FELLOWS

As part of our general review and evaluation of political internships we designed a questionnaire to gather information on attitudes and activities of former Graduate and Faculty Fellows. Many of the questions were those also asked of our undergraduate political interns. The remaining questions were those asked by Cataldo in his questionnaire to former APSA Congressional Fellows. Comparable references to these other sets of data are made below as appropriate.

The questionnaire was sent to 23 former Faculty Fellows and 67 former Graduate Fellows—all those who had completed their fellowships by August, 1965. Of the 90 questionnaires sent out, six were undeliverable because of improper address. Of the 84 former Fellows who are presumed to have received the questionnaire, 63 returned them—a response rate of 76 per cent.

Table 7-1: NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellows 1960-65, and Those Responding to Questionnaire December, 1965

	All Fellows		Survey Respondents	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Faculty Fellows	23	26	20	32
Graduate Fellows	67	74	43	68
Democrats	66	73	48	76
Republicans	24	27	15	24
Offices Served: Governors	43	48	30	48
Other State Officials	11	12	9	14
Mayors	13	14	7	11
Other Local Officals	9	10	5	8
Party Officers	9	10	8	13
Other	5	7	4	6

Table 7-1 demonstrates that those who returned questionnaires are representative of all Faculty and Graduate Fellows. A larger percentage of the Faculty Fellows returned questionnaires—87 per cent, compared with 64 per cent of the Graduate Fellows. The Faculty Fellows have not moved so often in recent years as have the Graduate Fellows; when Fellows, they had a longer and more individualized relationship with NCEP; one assumes these to be the two main reasons why the Faculty Fellows responded to the questionnaire in greater numbers.

On the other criteria used in Table 7-1, those returning questionnaires seem very representative of the whole universe of Fellows. The Democrats show a slightly better return rate than Republicans, but the differences are unimportant, as are the differences when the return rates are tabulated by kind of office in which the internships were served.

CURRENT OCCUPATIONS OF FORMER NCEP AND APSA FELLOWS

A very large percentage of former NCEP Faculty and Graduate Fellows were teaching in colleges or universities in the winter of 1965-66. Table 7-2 indicates that 56 per cent of all former Fellows were college teachers. When the lawyers are excluded, the 51 social scientists in column two are seen to include 35 (69 per cent) college teachers—which, as it happens, is also the percentage of college teachers among former APSA Congressional Fellows (political scientists only) queried early in 1965.

Table 7-2: Present Occupations of Former NCEP Faculty and Graduate Fellows, and Former APSA Congressional Fellows

	NCEP Fellows (all)		NCEP Fellows (Social Scientists)[2]		APSA Fellows (Political Scientists)	
Occupations	**N**	**Per Cent**	**N**	**Per Cent**	**N**	**Per Cent**
College Teacher	35	56	35	69	31	69
Public Service	15	24	9	18	5	11
Graduate Students	6	10	6	12	—	—
Lawyer	4	6	—	—	—	—
Other[3]	3	5	1	2	9	20

It has been said many times by critics of political internship programs for graduate students and college faculty that scholars

with activist tendencies are likely to forsake their academic careers if given exciting staff jobs with major political leaders. The response to such criticism may take several forms: denial, a regretful admission, or an admission with defense. My own reaction has usually been the last, since there seemed to be enough cases of "scholarship drop-out" to support, in an impressionistic way, the view that political internships often led to abandonment of college teaching (and/or plans to be a college teacher). I had argued that academicians with strong activist tendencies were likely to be dissatisfied with a life of pure scholarship, and needed, therefore, precisely what political internships could give them: namely, an opportunity to try their political talents; and if they found politics rewarding they then had the opportunity to choose in which field, or with what combination of teaching and politics, they wished to make their contribution to their community. Unless one starts with a prejudice in favor of the intrinsic superiority of scholarship over politics (which is, I fear, precisely where many of my academic colleagues start), there is, if one accepts this line of argument, a case for political internships as enlarging the scope of individual choice and improving career satisfactions.

But now from the data in Table 7-2 comes support for a wholly different response to the charge that internships seduce scholars away from teaching. For it seems not to be true when we compare the careers of NCEP and APSA Fellows with other graduate students after they complete or leave graduate training. Of 342 men who had held Columbia University graduate fellowships from 1944 to 1951, "about half were engaged in teaching or in teaching and research combined" in 1961.[4] The data from the Columbia study are not precisely comparable, of course, with those of Table 7-2, mainly because the former Columbia graduate students had been out of graduate school somewhat longer on the average than had the NCEP and APSA Fellows. Otherwise the facts are quite comparable, for in both sets of information we find that teaching (or teaching and research) is the most common occupation of persons who had been given special encouragement and appointments as graduate students. But while it is the most common occupation for both groups, a considerably higher percentage of former NCEP and APSA Fellows than former Columbia graduate fellows are teaching.

The classification "public service" in Table 7-2 consists primarily of former Fellows who are staff assistants to political leaders or are employed in governmental agencies. These are, by and

large, the Fellows who chose to remain in political life. Of the nine NCEP Fellows in this group, five are in politically appointed positions and four are in civil service positions.

POST-INTERNSHIP POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF GRADUATE AND FACULTY FELLOWS

Former NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellows have maintained an interest and a high level of participation in local and state politics, as would be expected. Table 7-3 indicates that Graduate and Faculty Fellows have been involved at somewhat higher party and governmental levels than those attained by former NCEP undergraduate interns. The greater incidence of party and public office-holding among Graduate and Faculty Fellows reflects, unquestionably, their greater average age and the fact that their internships were longer, more visible, more prestigeful, and provided for them more responsibilities.

Table 7-3: Post-Internship Political Activity of NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellows, Compared with Undergraduate Interns

Type of Activity	Grad. & Faculty Fellows (N-63)		Undergrad. Interns (N-269)	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Work for party	37	59	133	49
Work in campaigns	24	38	133	49
Work in non-party political groups	18	29	45	17
Held local or state party office	19	30	41	15
Elected local or state public office	2	3	5	2
Appointed local or state public office	19	30	8	3
None or no response	17	27	73	27

The percentage of former Fellows who reported some political activity after their internships is almost exactly the same as that among former undergraduate interns. It may be that there is an irreducible minimum of about one-quarter of former interns who conclude after their internship that, in the words of one undergraduate intern, "political life is simply not for me." It is perhaps as plausible that a number of former interns, at each level from undergraduates through beginning college teachers, are inactive temporarily because of relocation, military service, or the pressures of new responsibilities, and that with the passage of a

few more years they will become politically active. A resurvey of these same respondents in five or ten years should yield evidence on these two possible explanations for the non-actives.

The figures on elected and appointed public office invite speculation. Reference has already been made to the not-surprising fact that the older and more experienced former Faculty and Graduate Fellows receive more appointments than the younger undergraduate interns.[5] The data in Table 7-3 would also support the conclusion, at least tentatively, that staff service is more likely to put a person in a position for an appointed public office than for an elected public office. Such a conclusion has a general plausibility and would probably be supported by investigations of federal and state appointments of political staffers to commissions and boards—although, so far as I know, such studies have not been made. Service as professional staff members in the U.S. Congress, or in governors' offices, for example, does not allow the day to day party and constituency contacts that provide a likely base for winning elective office, but, on the contrary, may attract exactly the right kind of notice by executives who make political appointments and by legislators who confirm political appointments.

Forty-four per cent of the NCEP Graduate and Faculty Fellows reported that their post-fellowship political activity was in some way "a result of" their internships. Twenty-seven per cent said their later political activities were not in any way caused by their internships' experiences. Twenty-nine per cent—those who reported no post-internship activity—were unresponsive to the question. These data, and comparable figures for our NCEP undergraduate sample are given in Table 7-4.

Table 7-4: Political Activity after Internship "In Any Way A Result Of" the Internship?

	Faculty & Graduate Fellows		Undergraduate Interns	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Yes	28	44	106	39
No	17	27	98	37
No Response	18	29	65	24
Totals	63	100	269	100

When the data in Table 7-4 are rearranged to include only those who reported political activity after their internships, we

find that 62 per cent of the Faculty and Graduate Fellows, compared with 52 per cent of undergraduate interns, say their later political involvement was in some way a result of their internships. This difference, while not large, is consistent with the view that the Faculty and Graduate internships were, on the average, longer, more intensive in involvement and level of responsibilities undertaken, and therefore more likely to lead directly to continued political activity in the years immediately following the internships.

We also asked our former Fellows, as we had our former undergraduate interns, whether at the time of the survey they were still politically or socially in touch with people met during their internships. The figures in Table 7-5 are further confirmation of the common-sense proposition that the longer and more intensive Graduate and Faculty Fellowships have greater influence on post-internship behavior.

Table 7-5: Still in Touch with People You Met during Your Internship?

		Faculty & Graduate Fellows		Undergraduate Interns	
		N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Politically	Yes	37	59	110	41
	No	23	37	151	56
	No Response	3	5	8	3
Socially	Yes	55	87	154	57
	No	6	10	107	40
	No Response	2	3	8	3

The maintenance of social contact with people met during the internships is, with the Faculty and Graduate Fellows as with the undergraduate interns, more common than the maintenance of political ties. This is undoubtedly a consequence of social mobility—mainly the movement of the intern from the community of his internship. We did not ask the question, but it is a fair guess, supported by many known examples, that "being in touch socially" with former co-workers means, for the ex-interns, the exchange of letters filled with political news and gossip, and occasional visits in which politics is the main item of conversation. Thus, the maintenance of social contact is very largely the extended reinforcement of political experiences and motivations. For this reason the question has evaluative meaning, and

the responses as shown in Table 7-5 provide another measurement of the continuing impact of the internships.

INTELLECTUAL AND CAREER CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTERNSHIPS

It will be recalled that the former undergraduate interns were asked to record their internship satisfactions and dissatisfactions as those emotional plusses and minuses were remembered at the time of the survey. The major findings from those questions are reported in chapter 4.

Of the Faculty and Graduate Fellows we asked whether the internships had improved their knowledge, their skills, and their career competence. We sought to investigate the possible intellectual and professional consequences of the internships, rather than their general value for citizenship education or the development of a sense of personal or political efficacy. The Faculty and Graduate Fellowships attracted, as they were designed to do, a more homogeneous group of young men and women who for the most part had already decided on careers in law, teaching, government service, or social science research—and we were able, in consequence, to ask of them more specific questions than we had asked of former undergraduate interns.

The career-oriented questions we chose also had the virtue of being those asked by Cataldo in his survey of former APSA Congressional Fellows. By combining and comparing his data with these, we expand the probable validity of the findings as well as enrich the possibility for fruitful speculation.

Both NCEP and APSA Fellows were asked to what extent their knowledge of national politics had been increased by their fellowship experiences. Then to get a more specific evaluation each Fellow was asked to what extent his experience contributed to his knowledge of the immediate political environment in which he had served his internship (for example, Congressional politics for APSA Fellows, or state politics for NCEP Fellows with governors). Tables 7-6 and 7-7 summarize the responses to these two questions.

It seems overwhelmingly clear that APSA and NCEP Fellows, as a whole, regard their internship experiences to be extraordinarily productive of new information about American politics and government. Nine of the NCEP Fellows report that they gained on their internships little or no new knowledge about *national* politics. But that is hardly surprising since the NCEP fellowships

Table 7-6: Extent to Which Knowledge of National Politics Was Increased by Internship

Extent of Increase	NCEP Fellows N	NCEP Fellows Per Cent	APSA Fellows N	APSA Fellows Per Cent
Very substantially	13	21	51	57
Considerably	23	37	27	30
Somewhat	17	27	9	10
Not very much	5	8	2	3
Not at all	4	6	—	—
No response	1	2	—	—

Table 7-7: Extent to Which Knowledge of Special Political Environment Was Increased by Internship

Extent of Increase	NCEP Fellows N	NCEP Fellows Per Cent	APSA Fellows N	APSA Fellows Per Cent
Very substantially	52	83	68	76
Considerably	7	11	17	19
Somewhat	3	5	4	6
Not very much	—	—	—	—
Not at all	—	—	—	—
No response	1	2	—	—

were all served in local or state offices. In view of that fact, it may be surprising—and it is certainly a testimony to the complexity and inter-connectedness of American federal-state relations—that so many state and local fellows found their experiences generative of new knowledge about American national politics.[6] Ninety-five per cent of all interns in both programs reported that their knowledge of their specific political environments was increased "very substantially" or "considerably" by their experiences. Quite clearly there is much more to be learned about politics than beginning college teachers or advanced political science graduate students ordinarily know. And one effective way to learn more is to serve a political internship.

What are the results of the Fellows' increased knowledge on their teaching, research, and careers generally? Is there reason to believe that the former Fellows' increased sophistication is translated into improved teaching, or into scholarly forms of use to other intellectuals? or of use to political leaders at large? or of

use to the "attentive public" more widely still? Two sets of measurements help us to answer these important questions. One set consists of the answers given by the former fellows when they are asked directly. The other measurements are behavioral: publications and research generated at least in part by the internships, and involvement in the direction of internship programs for other undergraduate and graduate students.

All respondents in both programs were asked to evaluate the effects of their internships on them professionally. Table 7-8 shows a nearly unanimous feeling that the internships were professionally valuable.

Table 7-8: Judgments of Former Fellows on Net Effect of Internships Professionally

Effect of Fellowship	NCEP		APSA	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Helped very substantially	27	43	47	53
Helped considerably	20	32	27	30
Helped somewhat	11	17	13	15
Not help very much	—	—	2	2
No help at all	1	2	—	—
Don't know (too early)	3	5	—	—
No response	1	2	—	—

Table 7-9 indicates that the former Fellows regard their internships as having contributed to the quality of their teaching. In their comments on this question, respondents tended to agree that their internships had aided teaching primarily in two ways: they had gathered appropriate illustrations to help clarify political processes, ideas, and relationships; and their internships made them wary of too-easy generalization, much more tentative and qualifying in their lectures on American government and politics.

Cataldo asked his respondents, the former APSA Congressional Fellows, to list their publications that had resulted from participation in the program or had been inspired by it. Unfortunately our questionnaire did not ask former NCEP Fellows for the same information. The data in the NCEP column of Table 7-10 are therefore very fragmentary, being only items known to me to have been written (and, except for dissertations, published) by NCEP Fellows who completed our questionnaire. It should be pointed out that the figures listed for APSA Fellows also under-represent the actual total—a fact recognized by the ex-

Table 7-9: Judgments of Former Fellows on Effects of Internships on Their Teaching

Contributed to Teaching?	NCEP (N-47) N	NCEP (N-47) Per Cent	APSA (N-46) N	APSA (N-46) Per Cent
Very substantially	22	47	27	59
Considerably	17	36	17	37
Somewhat	6	13	—	—
Not very much	1	2	—	—
Not at all	1	2	—	—
No answer	—	—	2	4

pression "more than . . ." in some of the entries. Nevertheless, Table 7-10 provides a measure for evaluating the extent to which these internship programs have contributed to published (and therefore generally available) knowledge about American politics and government.

Table 7-10: Known Publications of APSA and NCEP Fellows Directly or Indirectly Generated by Internships

Type of Publication	APSA	NCEP
Book or monograph	16	3
Article in professional journal	3	3
Chapter or essay in book	6	—
Article in opinion journal or periodical	more than 27	7
Dissertation	6	12
Occasional paper	more than 10	—

The final measurement of the influence of the NCEP and APSA Fellowships—this also a behavioral measurement—has to do with the extent to which former Fellows are now involved in the direction of other internship and participant-observation programs.

Table 7-11 provides welcome evidence that former graduate and faculty interns are passing to students their own concern for direct political involvement. It suggests also that there is an aspect of the "mulitiplier effect" that has been heretofore unnoticed. Some NCEP and other political education leaders have long argued that faculty programs should be given priority over

Table 7-11: Former Fellows' Involvement in Direction of Other Internship or Participant-Observation Programs

Type of Program	NCEP N	NCEP Per Cent	APSA N	APSA Per Cent
NCEP affiliates	12	19		
Own institution	8	13		
Ford Foundation	2	3		
Other	11	18		
Total involved	33	52	30	34
Not involved	30	48	56	66

students programs because increased teacher knowledge of political reality will be passed on to students year after year. This is the traditional view of the multiplier effect—that *knowledge* will be multiplied. But Table 7-11 indicates that *experience*, too, may be multiplied if teachers develop, through their own political involvement, the will and the contacts for their students to get direct political experience. We need to sample our respondents again, five or ten years from now, to confirm or disconfirm the intimation that faculty internships may help build into American higher education an expanding cycle of internships and other forms of participant-observation.

Meanwhile, on the basis of the evidence summarized in this chapter, we may conclude that political internships are intellectually, professionally, and personally rewarding for advanced graduate students, young lawyers and journalists, and young college teachers. Graduate and faculty interns are not lured away from teaching and research in unusual numbers by the excitement of politics. Graduate and faculty interns do maintain their interest and involvement in amateur politics after their internships. They do continue to be active researchers and to publish their findings for wider scholarly and public audiences. And they do make available to their students their increased perceptions and knowledge, and, apparently, they use their contacts and political know-how to provide for their students the same kind of internship opportunities they found so useful for their own development.

8 NOTES TOWARD A THEORY OF INTERNSHIPS

One does not need to spend much time with political interns to become convinced that internships are remarkably effective learning experiences. Some fail, of course, but only a very few can be judged to be complete failures, and the almost universal testimony of interns, teachers, and politicians is that internships work.

Internships work not so much as devices for gaining knowledge of a factual kind, as for gaining knowledge in the sense of "feel" and understanding. Internships work because they personalize data. They work because they give to political life and events a reality that make them part of the intern's own being. That is, they not only give to facts some of the warmth and color of the human condition, but they merge, to some extent, the self with the otherwise foreign and non-self stuff of the world.

Philosophers might say that internships provide occasions for *verstehen*. *Verstehen* means understanding, but the word in English use has gained some connotations that were not in the original German. Max Weber has credit, or blame, for whatever currency the concept of *verstehen* has in the social sciences. However, the currency is not great, and those who discredit *verstehen* are pleased that, as Bruyn says, "never has the principle which underlies the *Verstehen* concept been the basis for a systematic way of studying society."[1]

Verstehen, according to Murray Wax, has been given four dif-

ferent meanings. Two of these meanings may be relevant for internships: *verstehen* as a special form of socialization, and *verstehen* as pattern analysis or interpretation.[2] *Verstehen* is essentially not a technique that one applies in research—it is an understanding that one acquires. Wax says, "Verstehen does not generate knowledge about a culture any more than being fluent in a language generates knowledge about it." *Verstehen* is not an operation or instrument, but a condition or quality of research. *Verstehen* is an aspect of socialization; it is different from learning that is "culturally static"; it is socialization that implies participation in the cultural dynamic. Thus, for our purposes, *verstehen* may be regarded as a special form of socialization in the subculture of politics. "In participating as he observes, the field worker undergoes a secondary socialization (or resocialization) which allows him to perceive the major categories of objects of the culture and to *understand* the major types of relationships and interaction."

Understanding the "major types of relationships and interaction" leads to *verstehen* as pattern analysis. Wax points out that Weber's *verstehen* dealt with the delineation of pattern in historical societies, and suggests that "if the concept makes sense on that interpretive level," it may be applicable "whenever there is the search for cultural patterning and the attempt to formalize the findings."

My interpretation of Wax's position is that *verstehen*, in both the intracultural and pattern analysis senses, is applicable to political science if we assume (or can demonstrate) that there are subcultures that are specifiably political, patterned, and sufficiently different from the dominant culture of a society to require the researcher to undergo resocialization through participation.

"Socialization and participation," Wax says, "are of such great importance in studying a group because thereby the field worker is forcibly made aware of the categories of distinctions—of experience and interaction—which are basic to the culture of the group although rarely the topic of their conversation."

If the idea of political subculture has sufficient reality to be a useful analytical construct (that is, has sufficient empirical referents), then a theory of political internships may be based on the Weber-Wax concept of *verstehen*. This may be what we mean when we say internships provide a "feel for" political reality.

It is not necessary, however, to take the total baptismal im-

mersion into historiography, semantics, linguistics, and anthropology to approach a theory of political internships. A sprinkling of pedagogical and developmental psychology provides another approach.

The general notion of learning from experience as being different from, and in some ways superior to, "book learning" is an old one in American education. It provides, on the one hand, a ready source of anti-intellectual and anti-scholarly arguments, and on the other hand, the common sense basis for all practice such as student teaching, on-the-job training, trade apprenticeships, and professional residencies. In America, "practical experience" has a special value in the culture and folk-wisdom, stemming, no doubt, from colonial and early national self-effacement (when contrasted with European society) and a rough frontier do-it-yourselfism. American pragmatism, with its heavy reliance on doing and trial-and-error, was given a special pedagogical twist around the turn of the century in the writings of William James and John Dewey. Learning by doing has, therefore, an important and strong, if diffused, meaning for American education.[3]

But, if you ask American educators *why*—or *how*—learning by doing is better than, say, learning by not doing, they cannot tell you. Why is teaching a third grade class a better learning experience than hearing about teaching a third grade class or seeing a movie of teaching a third grade class? I have spent several hundred hours of the last four years reading the works of and talking with American educators, teachers of teachers, child psychologists, developmental psychologists, linguists, philosophers, and others in and around the learning business. I do not know—nor, so far as I can tell, do they know—the answer to the question why learning by doing is better than learning by not-doing.[4]

There is an abundance of suggestions and hints. But the suggestions and hints are scattered and fragmentary rather than systematic, and immanent rather than explicit, in the literature of education and psychology. I find only two general works of value for an investigation of the theory and dynamics of learning by doing.

The first of these is *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy,* by Michael Polanyi.[5] Polanyi's book is discursive, repetitious, detailed, and in places very hard going indeed. But his principal lines of argument are of much help in a general examination of the logic and psychology of learning by

doing. Polanyi's contribution to an understanding of internships is indirect but important as a correction to the simplistic psychodynamics implied in the Skinner-Hull learning theory. Polanyi's argument, greatly oversimplified, is that all knowledge is ultimately personal knowledge in two senses: (1) that logic and science are incapable of determining truth in any absolute sense ("the ideal," he says, "of strict objectivism is absurd"), and (2) knowledge is both tacit and explicit, and the understanding accompanying tacit knowledge, achieved by what he calls "indwelling," is more fundamental and complete than the understanding achieved by explicit knowledge alone. One does not have to agree with Polanyi's "post-chemical" interpretation of life, and his evolutionary theories that are perhaps best described as being a kind of collective existentialism and social-being-in-the-world, to appreciate his help in understanding learning by doing. What he calls "ineffable knowledge" is, in large measure, developed by the absorption of an unspecifiably great number of cues through *subsidiary*, rather than *focal*, awareness. Such awareness, and such knowledge, come about, in part, through trial and error, and the almost instantaneous corrections that man's perceptive and cognitive apparatus enables him to make. To understand, the human animal needs practice in the integration of cues and the projection of meaning. Ineffable knowledge comes about also in the apprenticeship situation where some of the integrative operations of the master can be seen, experienced, and imitated by the learner.

Polanyi refers, by way of example, to the development of ability and understanding through practical experience. Skill, he seems to say, is *applied* personal knowledge, and the scientist as well as the cabinetmaker needs to develop skill-knowledge as part of his training. He says: "The large amount of time spent by students of chemistry, biology and medicine in their practical courses shows how greatly these sciences rely on the transmission of skills and connoisseurship from master to apprentice, and offers an impressive demonstration of the extent to which the art of knowing has remained unspecifiable at the very heart of science."[6]

If knowing is, as Polanyi says, an art even in the sciences, why should we be so loath to accept the view that knowing politics is also an art?

The second systematic contribution to a theory of internships is Severyn T. Bruyn's *The Human Perspective in Sociology* (see fn. 1). Bruyn's subtitle is more informative of what is in his book:

"The Methodology of Participant Observation." Unlike Polanyi's work, the Bruyn book is *directly* relevant to political internships; the opportunities (and dangers) created by participant-observation, the epistemological (and even ontological) implications of knowing through involvement, and the research methodology suggested (or required) by participant-observation are all dealt with in some detail.

Bruyn suggests that there are six dimensions, or "polar orientations" in sociological research, in which the contrasts are strong between participant-observation and traditional empirical research. These are:

(1) the perspective of the observer: inner and outer
(2) the mode of interpretation: concrete and operational
(3) the mode of conception: sensitizing and formalizing
(4) the mode of description: synthesis and analysis
(5) the mode of explanation: telic and causal
(6) models: voluntarism and determinism

Perspective. "The participant-observer is concerned with the inner character of culture and its meaning in man's life, but he does not ignore the external manifestations. He assumes that knowledge can be derived beyond the outer manifestations of culture, from active, albeit controlled, participation in the life of the observed, and that by means of direct communication and empathic relationships with those he is studying he can gain important insight into the nature of the culture he studies. The aim of the participant observer is to understand people from their own frame of reference. He cannot accept the Comptean assumption that one perspective (the inner) is to be explained solely in terms of another (the outer)." (pp. 27-28)

Interpretation. "The participant-observer has more frequently followed procedures which may be termed concretizing—i.e., illustrating and identifying particular symbolic meanings which are significant to the culture being studied." (29) Bruyn implies that participant-observation is essential to understanding what he calls "concrete universals"—phenomena shared by everyone in the culture under investigation but held at a symbolic level not inferable from observed external behavior. The participant observer is uniquely placed to understand social experience that is universal in the sense that it is shared by all members of the culture and concrete in that it is felt personally by each individual.

Conception. Bruyn adapts Herbert Blumer's notion of the "sensitizing concept"—terms that give general reference rather than precise definition to a phenomenon—and suggests that participant-observation makes more use of sensitizing concepts than does traditional empirical research. Participant-observation does not neglect formalizing concepts, but rejects the idea that sensitizing concepts have no status in social science research.

Description. "Since the participant-observer is interested in knowing intimately the essence of that way of life which he is studying he normally tends to interpret his data synthetically rather than analytically." (35-36) Again, the participant-observer does not reject the analytic mode, but resists too-early analysis and accepts as being appropriate to social science research a synthetic description that is, in part, intuitive and seeks the essence of personal meanings.

Explanation. The participant-observer accepts both telic (i.e., teleological) and causal explanation of social phenomena. The participant-observer is willing to "treat purposes as data, . . . [and to] act within the purposes he holds as data." (41) Although causal explanation has been favored by modern science, the participant-observer may even "intentionally allow the purposive values of the people he studies to invade and infuse his descriptions . . . [or] his own conduct . . . [and] become not only part of his data but also part of his methodology."(41)

Models. Telic and causal explanation are characteristically associated with different models of the nature of man: telic with voluntaristic and causal with deterministic models. "The participant-observer," Bruyn says, "can accept the voluntaristic model as a methodological guide for his study more readily than he can the deterministic model, for the former expresses more accurately what he observes in the daily lives of people who make decisions." The participant-observer knows that order and rationality, required by causal and deterministic models, are all too often lacking in human life.

Bruyn's views of the characteristic orientations and modes of participant-observation, and the contrasting orientations and modes of traditional empiricism, are summarized in the Table 8-1.

We are now able to summarize the ways the general theories of *verstehen*, personal knowledge, and participant-observation can be related to political internships.

1. Political internships provide a special kind of understand-

Table 8-1: The Human Perspective: Methodological Dimensions (Basic Research Orientations)[7]

	Inner Perspective (Participant-Observer)	Outer Perspective (Traditional Empiricist)
Philosophical foundation	Idealism	Naturalism
Mode of:		
Interpretation	Concrete procedures	Operational procedures
Conceptualization	Sensitizing Concepts	Formal concepts
Description	Synthesis	Analysis
Explanation		
Principles	Telic	Causal
Models	Voluntarism	Determinism
Aims	Sensitively accurate interpretation and explanation of man's social and cultural life	Accurate measurement and prediction of man's behavior

ing not ordinarily attainable through academic study.

2. The special quality of this understanding may be described as a form of socialization [Wax]. Like all socialization this understanding means coming to grips with cultural phenomena that are pervasive [Wax], unconscious [Wax and Polanyi], and patterned [Wax, Polanyi, and Bruyn]. This socialization also means developing a perspective or way of looking at things [Bruyn], and a form of tacit (ineffable) knowledge [Polanyi].

3. The special understanding accompanying a successful internship is achieved generally through self-conscious participation, plus reflective and systematic observation.

4. Ordinarily, participation (that is, field experience or learning by doing) is expected as a necessary part of acquiring this special understanding. (But there is a respectable contrary view that might be called historical or non-participatory *verstehen* exemplified by Weber's treatment of the Protestant ethic, or by Carlyle's treatment of the Middle Ages[8] and the French Revolution.)

5. This special understanding is more likely to be achieved through emphasis on:

a) inner, rather than outer, perspective;
b) concrete, rather than operational, interpretation (at first);
c) sensitizing, rather than formalizing, conception (at first);
d) synthetic, rather than analytical, description; and
e) telic-voluntaristic, rather than causal-deterministic, explanation.

PRACTICE IN THE LIGHT OF THE META-THEORY SKETCHED ABOVE

Within the context of the theory suggested above, what can we say of our experiences to date with political internships in America? Can we make some analysis that will increase our knowledge and provide guides to future action? I think so. Bearing in mind that both the theory and the practice are rudimentary, uncertain, and speculative, I think we can nevertheless tease out some generalizations that will serve as tentative conclusions and as hypotheses for future testing.

My analysis and generalizations will deal with three dimensions of internships. These are: (A) The Qualities of the Office, (B) The Qualities of the Intern, and (C) Educational Structure.

Qualities of the office have to do with the formal properties of the office in which the intern is placed; that is, whether it is governmental or non-governmental (party or interest group), at what governmental level it is located (local, state, or national), whether it is elective or appointive, and whether it is primarily legislative or administrative. "Qualities of the office" may also refer to complexity, personal or institutional style of incumbents or roles-in-the-office, or to degrees of power (or influence) delegated (or ascribed) to the office (or its incumbents).

Qualities of the intern refers mainly to three variables: (1) educational and intellectual sophistication of the intern as measured by formal schooling, intelligence and aptitude tests, recommendations, and other standard judgmental indices; (2) a motivational cluster, including, among other things, interest and flair for politics and energy levels; and (3) degree of psychological involvement of the intern with the ideology and programs of the office, or personally to his principal. These may be shorthanded to *intelligence, motivation, commitment.*

Educational Structure, most broadly, has to do with the way the internship is linked to the formal educational program of the intern and his college. It refers to the procedures and network of expectation that relate the political experience to educational goals and processes, both generally in the internship program and in the individual assignments. It is, in part, what we sometimes call "course-relatedness," but it is more: it is how it is related to curriculum, how it is related to learning, and how it is related to pedagogical theory.

Based on our experience so far with political internships, I suggest the following generalizations with regard to the three dimensions indicated above.

Qualities of the Office

1. The larger the office of assignment (in number of personnel), the less likely the intern is to get comprehensive experience and the more likely his work is to be research.
2. The higher the office (from, say, small city mayor to President), the less likely the intern is to get comprehensive experience and the more likely his work is to be research.
3. The more internally complex the office (either in subject jurisdiction or in the use of specialized labor[9]), the less likely the intern is to get comprehensive experience and the more likely his work is to be research.

These generalizations (deliberately framed as hypotheses to suggest their testability) I believe to be independent of the qualities of the intern and of the educational structure of the internship. The fate of the NCEP Faculty Fellows with Governor Rockefeller was similar to that of our undergraduate intern in President Kennedy's White House—concentration on narrow tasks, research, and clerical in nature. Many congressional interns and Fellows get locked into writing newsletters or researching pet interests of their principals.[10]

Generalizations having to do with the size and degree of specialization of the office of assignment may be linked with the essential nature of learning by participant-observation. For the intern to experience a comprehensive political resocialization he should ideally be in a not-too-specialized office (and that means a not-too-large office, a not-too-highly-placed office, and an office that handles across-the-board political matters). What American political offices meet these criteria? Campaign offices that have some formal organization beyond the candidate and his friends; state party offices in the larger states; legislative *leaders* in the large states; governors in the smaller and middle-sized states; most members of the U.S. House of Representatives; and some U.S. senators, but not the most active, visible senators or the Senate leadership. It is not surprising, and it squares very well with the theoretical propositions about internships, that the most successful internships have been in precisely these kinds of offices. Offices that are too small or offices that are too large are equally disadvantageous for the interns.

4. Internships in large offices, and high offices, and specialized offices require the interns to learn more by listening and reading.

5. Conversely, smaller, lower, and less specialized offices provide more comprehensive experiences in which the interns are often expected to deal with the whole range of the business of the officers with whom they serve.

In large, high, and specialized offices interns learn more through conversations with other staffers and the reading of memoranda, and such activities take proportionately more of their time. These are, of course, important learning activities. But note that they are learning activities similar to those of academia; they help to bridge the gap between classroom and political office. In the smaller, lower, and less specialized offices, learning is more thoroughly by doing, and less like academic learning activity. Thus we may link up the office components with the intern components.

Qualities of the Intern

6. The more trained, skilled, and autonomous the intern, the better he is able to operate in an office that requires generalized political competence, and in which he acts more and reads or listens less.

The mature faculty intern may get more from a middle-sized, middle-level, less specialized office, where he is expected to do everything. Sometimes, however, the undergraduate may have his best experience where he can perform more specialized, academic-like tasks (e.g., research) but can talk with, and read the memoranda of, other staff specialists and more experienced generalists. Also, if the mature research scholar seeks participant-observation primarily to gather data for research and publication rather than to achieve political feel or general political judgment, he may want a large office at the cost of being a narrower specialist.

For the most challenging and multi-faceted internships, a campaign experience is often ideal. Campaigns tend to be nonspecialized, non-routine, and occur in periods when the political forces in the environment are more "surfaced" than otherwise. The intern who is perceptive and deft and has high energy levels has an opportunity during campaigns to get very comprehensive experience. However . . .

7. Assignments in campaigns are most apt to occasion loss of perspective. Campaigns tend to make interns true believers.[11]

Commitment, I have suggested, is an important variable: it is, in general, the degree of involvement the intern achieves in the decisions of the office and the psychological attachment he develops to his chief or to the official policy ("party line") of his office.

The accepted social science position on commitment is that the intern should be involved in important decisions and should share the elan of the office, but he should not become psychologically over-committed to the party line or to his principal. There *is* danger of "going native," and we all know interns who lose their judgment to partisanship. Experience indicates that this happens less in mature scholars and suggests the following common-sense proposition:

8. Younger persons and those with less social science training are most apt to fall prey to over-commitment.

I believe, for reasons spelled out below, that with regard to type of office:

9. Congressional internships have the least inherent potential for over-commitment.

The danger of over-commitment is heightened wherever the stakes are high, the emotional content is great, and the contending forces can be polarized in some simple-minded way as good guys and bad guys. In campaigns almost everything hinges on winning; the intern quickly learns to share an *esprit de corps* that is highly emotional; the simplifying devices of partisan labels, sloganized thinking, and personal attachment to the candidate facilitate blind loyalty and discourage reflection; issues in a campaign tend to be oversimplified, rhetorical, and almost wholly instrumental. By contrast the congressional office in a more-or-less routine situation is not heavily affect-laden, or crisis-ridden; the business of the office is mainly that of complex legislative matters and constituent relations; the field of forces is not so polarized, and it is not always clear who the good guys and bad guys are; issues cut across labels and personalities, making extreme partisanship and intense personal loyalty less likely. Internships with party committees would seem to be, in these terms, more like the campaign experience; internships with governors and mayors more like the congressional experience, with state legislative internships being typically in the indeterminate middle.

Let me summarize what I suppose the relationships may be

between office and intern qualities and the danger of over-commitment. The danger of over-commitment varies: *indirectly* with the personal scholarly maturity of the intern; *directly* with the offices and activities in which the stakes are high, the emotional content is great, friends and enemies are easily polarized, and simplified interpretations of behavior are characteristic.

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURING

Educational structuring refers to the ways the internship is related to the other formal aspects of the intern's plan of study. The generalization with which conventional wisdom starts, in this regard, is that the internship should be wholly integrated into the intellectual, emotional, and social development of the intern. In the ideal case the intern should be ready for the field experience, should maximally relate his experience when in the field to all his other past and contemporary learning, and should incorporate the experience in his memory apparatus in such a way that nothing of its uniqueness is lost to later learning. There are, of course, no ideal cases.

One of the platitudes of internsmanship is that the interns should be carefully prepared for their field assignments. Academic managers of internships are ordinarily not in a position to plan far in advance. They cannot—or could not in even the recent past—anticipate, for example, having the right internship assignment for a student in the third or fourth year of his undergraduate work or the second or third year of a graduate program. The whole educational structuring of internships would be much improved if a student-adviser team could anticipate the internship as part of an orderly sequence of courses and activities.

10. Internships should be built into the advance planning and allocation of resources for certain students, depending upon interest and potential.

Whether the internship can be planned in advance or comes suddenly into the student's range of possibilities, certain prior experiences are indicated—and the presence or absence of these prior experiences should be a factor in selection under competitive conditions.

Most obviously, the prospective intern should be familiar with some of the existing knowledge in the area of his field experience to come. The more he knows about the literature the better—

though knowledge of the literature in the uncritical mind may carry with it some conceptual and perceptual blinders (interns, like non-interns, often find in the field what their reading has told them they would find in the field).

It is not to be thought that relevant course work and reading should necessarily *precede* the internship. The internship might be more valuable, in fact, if it were experienced *concurrently* with relevant course work and reading. We have never investigated comparative educational structuring for internships, and therefore we are ill-prepared to make generalizations. But if I were asked to speculate, I would suggest that:

11. General courses and readings in American politics should precede internships, and relevant specialized courses should be taken concurrently with the internships.

Thus, the basic American government, American politics, and American history courses should come before the internship; but a course on Congress or the legislative process should be taken together with a congressional internship, a party internship should be accompanied by a parties course, a state government course should be given concurrently with a state-level internship.

It will be said that these are everyday truisms, just common sense. Two responses. The first is that we don't honestly know if simultaneous internship and course work or reading provide a more effective learning experience than either alone. We do not have uncontroverted evidence of that—or really much evidence at all. The testimony of internship managers, however, supports the suggestion that formal course work ought to precede, run concurrently with, and follow political internships, becoming narrow in focus as, during the internship, the student's own involvement is narrowed in time and place and is rich in the detail of action. Paul Smith's comments would be echoed by other knowledgeable internship directors: "Student analysis should begin *before* the internship with explicit analytic efforts—guided by the supervisor—to formulate what the student expects to find out, and be followed by intensive and formally academic efforts to relate the student's observations to bodies of theory. At Grinnell and Harpur we have found that both were promoted by student-faculty seminars in which the interns were called upon to explain and compare their experiences with others and with political theory and design."

Second, if it is true that formal academic work and internships should be consciously related to provide the best overall learning experience, then we should make greater effort to arrange

internships and course work together. Most internships are not packaged into concurrent or sequential course work. If common sense points to such a combination why do we not do it?

Whether he gets his book learning before or during the internship, before he goes on the job the intern-to-be should have had some human experience with politicians and political processes. This does not necessarily mean political experience, although that would be helpful. Human experience means some pre-internship social intercourse with politicians. Before his first day on the assignment the intern should know that politicians are human beings, flesh and blood people, liable to evil and also susceptible to good. I think that professors who have not actually managed internship programs would find it hard to believe that the most salient aspect of an undergraduate intern's report is often just the surprise of finding politicians human. I submit that that ought not to happen. In almost every imaginable case the prospective intern could have been provided with simple social experience that would have demonstrated the humanity of politics, and would thereby have saved considerable time in the early period of the internship.

Those who have been able to supervise internships closely tell us that:

12. It is important to see the intern at least once a week during the time he is in the field.

The interns themselves want regular and planned contact with their academic supervisors during their internships. As our post-internship questionnaires have revealed—reported in chapters 4 and 7—interns who had regular contact with academicians were grateful and those who had no such contact felt the lack of it.

Individual conferences and small group meetings are ordinarily equally effective in the academic structuring of internships. The teacher's job here is to help the intern with any problems of access and personal relations on the assignment, to help him in the interpretation of events relevant to his experience, and to help him identify other possible relevances, either to events in his own milieu or to cases and generalizations in the literature.

Finally:

13. The intern should be encouraged (*required* is not too strong a word) to be systematic about keeping a record of his experiences and later in *post hoc* reflections on his internship.

Diaries and daily note-taking are essential but are almost certain to be slighted or abandoned in the excitement and evening-weariness of those who get most involved, unless the academic supervisors insist and check up on the interns. Some intern managers have devised note-taking forms for interns to fill in daily or weekly. The precise form of diaries or notes must be worked out by the intern himself in consultation with his mentor.

The diaries and daily records of the interns must be treated as confidential, of course—and on occasion even denied to the academic supervisor when in the intern's judgment they might compromise the political loyalty of the intern-principal relationship. Respect for confidentiality is a paramount concern, more important even than the educational values involved; but our experience shows that there are very few instances in which the ethics of the internship situation need limit accurate and complete record-keeping by interns.

After the internship, written reports under careful supervision are almost always indicated. Individual conferences with the academic supervisor, as well as class opportunities for interns' comments, are to be provided. The interns should be encouraged to maintain their political contacts for continuing research (a point too often ignored even by faculty interns) as well as for whatever personal satisfactions are afforded by political participation.

Political internships ought to provide clues by which the students are led to understanding and to further questions. Our most perceptive interns, when pressed on this point, tell us that their experiences help them better to judge the literature, to know better how to "read between the lines" of political events; they say they can more easily spot *who* is important in decision-making, and that they have a feel for what kinds of inferences can be made from manifest behavior. This appears to be what James Robinson has described as being more comfortable about interpolating and extrapolating from events, because participation gives more information than oral or written reports of events.

It seems quite apparent that the best preparation, assignment, and supervision of interns can only be done by teachers who have themselves had extensive experience as participant-observers. Here indeed may be the major contemporary bottleneck to greater use of political internships—that the academic world has, as yet, neither the personnel nor the will to provide optimum supervision of participant-observation.

THEORY NOTES AND PRACTICE NOTES: A TENTATIVE DRAWING TOGETHER

I suggest now a set of summary relationships for political internships insofar as they constitute an example of learning through participant-observation.

To recapitulate the theory of participant-observation: from the writings of Weber (Wax), Polanyi, and Bruyn, earlier referred to, we may say that political internships constitute a special form of socialization in which inner (or personal) knowledge is obtained through *concrete* rather than general experiences that are *sensitizing* rather than explicit, and that provide synthesizing opportunities in the context of teleological and voluntaristic modes of explanation. Such socialization is sought in addition to, *and in no respect as substitutes for,* the more usual academic exercises that stress general, explicit, analytical, and causal modes of learning. For maximum learning, both ends of what Bruyn calls these "intellectual polarities" should be employed. Participant-observation or learning by doing, and specifically in our case the political internships, supplements and enriches the more traditional academic endeavor.

With regard to these special qualities of participant-observation, I suggest that a table of propositions can be constructed in examining the dimensions of internships that I have grouped under qualities of the office, qualities of the intern, and educational structuring. The following are meant to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

I. SOME PRESUMPTIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LEARNING-BY-INTERNSHIPS AND OFFICES IN WHICH INTERNS ARE PLACED

Elements of Participant-Observation[1,2] Modes and Orientations	Political Internships Qualities of the Office
Concretizing Interpretation	Campaign and local executive offices provide most concrete experiences. National Party Committees and U.S. senators' offices least concrete experiences.
Sensitizing Conceptualization	Offices having to do with the influence-dynamics of politics (e.g., parties, legislatures, pressure groups) are likely to provide more sensitizing and less formal experiences than are executive-managerial offices.
Synthesizing Description	Offices of general scope (e.g., legislatures and parties) offer to the intern greater synthesizing opportunities than do interest groups or executive-managerial offices.
Telic Explanation	Campaign and executive-managerial offices provide more ends-oriented perspectives; legislative and party offices are less amenable to telic explanation.
Voluntaristic Models	"Style of office" is important here: older machine-type political organization lends itself more easily to a deterministic model (e.g., that patronage or graft controls process and/or output), while amateur political groups provide a more "free-will" model.
	Also, type of office may be relevant. Legislatures (at least from the individual member's perspective) may be more voluntaristic than, say, executive-managerial offices.

A similar list of presumed relationships, growing out of experience with internships, could be hypothesized for the interns themselves.

II. SOME PRESUMPTIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LEARNING-BY-INTERNSHIPS AND THE QUALITIES OF THE INTERNS THEMSELVES

Elements of Participant-Observation Modes and Orientations	Political Internships Qualities of the Intern
Concretizing Interpretation	To the extent the intern becomes involved in the day-to-day work and spirit of the office, he will concretize his experience (i.e., sense that it is happening to **him**), and it will have immediate and personal meaning for him.
Sensitizing Conceptualization	To the extent that the intern is empathic in his social relations, catholic in his interests, and widely read, he will be able to profit from the sensitizing quality of participant-observation.
Synthesizing Description	To the extent the intern becomes over-involved, he will not be able to sense what is happening in his milieu as a whole; patterns will escape him. [Thus the concretizing and synthesizing modes may be mutually incompatible at some level of intensity.]
	To the extent the intern tries to adopt a synoptic rather than incrementalist view,[13] he may be more successful in dealing with the synthesizing opportunities of his internship.
Telic Explanation	To the extent the intern has a high sense of political efficacy, he will feel more comfortable with telic than with causal explanation.[14]
	To the extent the intern sees his principal as having influence in the political environment, he will be more likely to accept telic than causal explanations.
Voluntaristic Models	To the extent the intern generalizes efficacy and the influence of his principal and/or political colleagues, he will tend to adopt voluntaristic rather than deterministic models. This proposition is, for the most part, the social projection of the two propositions under telic explanation above.

In the same way propositions might be advanced to link the elements of a theory of participant-observation with what I am calling here the educational structuring of political internships, viz:

III. SOME PRESUMPTIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LEARNING-BY-INTERNSHIPS AND THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL MILIEU OF THE INTERN

Elements of Participant-Observation Modes and Orientation	Political Internships Educational Structuring
Concretizing Interpretation	To the extent the intern is expected (required) to make detailed, personal, diary-like records of his experiences the "personally real" aspect of the internship is recognized and kept for later academic and scholarly relevancies.
	To the extent that the intern is expected (required) to report, in case study form, his internship experiences, the same end is facilitated.
Sensitizing Conceptualization	The length of internship is related to the sensitivity or "feel" the intern is able to achieve. Practice seems to indicate that three months is a very minimum for development of comfortable empathic relationships. After one year there may be a loss of sensitivity as new learning is proportionately reduced and habits harden.
	To the extent the preparations for the internship and concurrent academic linkages are interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary, the interns' ability to handle sensitizing rather than formal conceptualization should be increased.
Synthesizing Description	Length of internship, here too, and for the same reasons as indicated above, should be related to the intern's ability to handle synthesizing rather than analytical description.
	Other things being equal, the more advanced interns—advanced academically and in personal maturity—should be better able to handle synthesizing modes of description.

Telic Explanation and Voluntaristic Models	To the extent the intern's preparation has been humanistic, and not exclusively modern empiricist, he will be better able to handle explanation in terms of goals and end-values. To the extent the intern's preparation has been of an existentialist rather than behavioralist nature, he will be better able to handle explanations and models of a voluntaristic rather than deterministic sort.[15]

POSTSCRIPT

As of this after-writing, in the spring of 1969, the excitement about political internships has waned, and the increase in numbers of internships has slowed. I believe this to be a temporary cooling toward the use of political participant-observation.

I think there are two main reasons for this temporary (if it is) cooling toward political internships. One, we oversold the product—especially in Washington. From the early fifties until the mid-sixties, every year more and more interns came to Congressional offices. In 1965 the House provided extra money for each member to take in at least one college-student intern. By 1967 there were an estimated 1,300 interns on Capitol Hill. Enthusiasm for policy moved a sizeable number of them to oppose the Johnson Administration's Viet Nam efforts, and in the fall of that year the House cut out the extra intern money. The move was ostensibly for economy, but the real message came through: interns should be seen but not heard. (The principle is a sound one, but the lesson of staff anonymity was not easily learned.) Also, by the mid-sixties "agency interns" (college students with summer jobs in the bureaucracy) were numbering eight to ten thousand, and the "internship movement" was out of control in Washington.

The second reason for the temporary eclipse of political internships is, I think, the surge of youth-in-Democratic-Party-reform. Eugene McCarthyism, in a presidential year of challenge and turbulence, absorbed much of the student (and faculty) energy that might otherwise have gone into the more orderly and academic kinds of political involvement. I do not say this with any regret, or from any scholarly preference for structured internships over the mass spontaneity of "the new politics." On the contrary, citizen participation, and especially young citizen participation, is to be welcomed, turbulence and all.

Whatever the level of political involvement by American youth, and despite the ebb and flow of presidential year excitement, the political internship as an educational device has value to students and teachers, to citizenship training, and to the advancement of knowledge. This book is submitted as a mere primer, as a working report, and as a beginning evaluation of that device and the ends it serves.

NOTES

1. Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities* (New York: Citizenship Clearing House, 1950).
2. For an account of the Citizenship Clearing House (name changed in 1962 to National Center for Education in Politics) see Bernard C. Hennessy, *Political Education and Political Science: The National Center for Education in Politics, 1947-1966*, Mimeographed, September 1966, 161 pp.

1 | POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: WHAT?

1. Jane Dahlberg reports that the internship for training in public administration began in The New York Bureau of Municipal Research in 1911, and public administration internships began in universities as early as 1914. Letter to the author, March 14, 1968.
2. Philip N. Phibbs, "The First Twenty Years: A Study of Political Participation by Former Student Interns," Mimeographed, January 1966.
3. For a full discussion of these tendencies and conflicts see Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967).
4. John Swarthout, "Summary of Internship Report to [NCEP] Executive Committee," NCEP, Mimeographed, December 16, 1957.

5. It seems probable that personal and political maturity is positively associated with age and with advanced undergraduate or graduate standing. Our impressionistic judgment is that older interns who have had upper division courses in the political and social sciences, and in the humanities, fare better than students with other backgrounds—but it is, at this point, only a statement of what we think we would find if we looked systematically at the data.
6. Earl Latham, with Joseph P. Harris and Austin Ramney, *College Standards for Political Education* (New York: Citizenship Clearing House, 1959), p. 4.
7. Kalman H. Silvert, "American Academic Ethics and Social Science Research Abroad: The Lesson of Project Camelot," *Background*, IX (November 1965), p. 216.

2 | POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: WHEN AND WHERE?

1. Another college gave a course titled "Field Work in Government" designed "to help the student break into the main stream of political activity," and may have involved some internships. See Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities* (New York: Citizenship Clearing House, 1950), pp. 45-48.
2. Phibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Reed Report*, 1950, p. 50.
5. The NCEP year was September 1 to August 31: 1958 here refers to the period September 1, 1957, to August 31, 1958.
6. Sponsorship and financing of political internships are varied, of course, but apparently all programs involving more than a single campus have been fathered or grandfathered by one or more of these agencies.
7. NCEP national programs, graduate and faculty only, and the APSA program, call the internships fellowships, but the distinction is merely prestigious—even when used in this report.
8. Between 1952 and 1964 the Falk Foundation gave 28 colleges and universities a total of $1,923,822.50 for political education programs for students and faculty of the individual recipient institutions.
9. Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas, and Washington.
10. In that period 161 Fellows had participated in the program: 84 political scientists, 69 journalists, six lawyers, and two social psychologists. Everett Cataldo, "Evaluation of the Congressional Fellowship Program," mimeographed, 1965, 37 pp.
11. Cataldo, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

3 | POLITICAL INTERNSHIPS: HOW?

1. Other useful essays are Blanche D. Blank, "The University and the Polity: A Profitable Relationship," undated (probably about 1963), mimeographed, described as "a handbook for further government college internship programs" (an overstatement); Dean E. Mann, "Report on Washington Intern Coordination, Summer 1962," mimeographed, November 6, 1962; Royce Hanson, "The Washington Intern Coordination Office, Report, Summer 1963," mimeographed, October 10, 1963;

and William R. Ramsay, "Service-Learning: An Interpretive Discussion of the Internship Programs in Resource Development," April 1968, Southern Regional Education Board, mimeographed.

2. It should be understood of course that here, as elsewhere in this report, the shorthand expression "politician," or "political leader," may refer either to the politician himself or, in the larger offices, to a chief, permanent, close assistant to the political who functions as the alter ego of the politician in relation to the intern.

4 | WHERE ARE THEY NOW AND WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

1. Some of the Affiliates—e.g., Iowa and Michigan—were scrupulously careful to have an equal number of Democratic and Republican interns each year. Others let the division be determined by supply and demand of applicants and assignment possibilities.
2. Ernest Haveman and Patricia Salter West, *They Went To College* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952), p. 125.
3. Louis F. Buckley, "Profile of a Class: Notre Dame, 1928," *America*, September 5, 1953, pp. 537-39.
4. Eli Ginzberg and John L. Herman, *et al., Talent and Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 191. Ginzberg's data are given as percentage of total *responses*, rather than by respondents, and the interpretation here is inferred from his table.
5. In fact, some of the former Wellesley students—perhaps as many as 20 of Phibbs' 142 and our 269 respondents—answered *both* questionnaires. The comparisons here are biased to that extent (i.e., there is a built-in similarity bias).
6. From our Oregon and Pennsylvania samples, described later, we obtained information on previous political activity. On the whole, about half had political experience of a limited sort, but only a very few (10 per cent perhaps) had had extensive party or campaign experience.
7. A point underscored by one respondent who revised the question to read "Is your political *in*activity in any way a result of your internship?" and answered no.

5 | INTERNS AND NON-INTERNS: A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, PENNSYLVANIA 1961-1966

1. The percentage differences are consistent, and square with statistical expectations based on sample size and with the explanation advanced here (i.e., the effect of the Goldwater candidacy on liberal Republicans).
2. The non-interns were asked for their "party preference in 1960"; the interns were asked for "party preference at time of internship."

6 | INTERNS AND NON-INTERNS: A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, OREGON, 1965

1. Herbert H. Hyman, Charles R. Wright, and Terence K. Hopkins, *Applications of Methods of Evaluation: Four Studies of the Encampment for Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 5-6.
2. The Oregon affiliate of NCEP uses the word "Council" in its title. Its status and powers are no different from those affiliates that use the more common "Center" in their titles.

3. Because data were not obtained on all items for all members of the two groups the Ns vary (and are given in the tables) throughout this chapter.
4. However, analysis of the background data of all 45 Oregon students shows that interns more often than non-interns: (1) had parents (one or both) who were active in politics, (2) attended political meetings and rallies, and (3) belonged to a political club.
5. Our conception of the A-V-L Study of Values is that it taps either a basic and fairly deep-lying level of attitudes, or a superficial and shallow level of personality structure. In any case, it is more basic than the opinions-attitude level, and more superficial than the personality-beliefs level, and our view is that the internship experiences dealt with here could not generally be expected to have any except minor influence even at the opinions-attitude level.
6. Bernard Hennessy, "Politicals and Apoliticals: Some Measurements of Personality Traits," *Midwest Journal of Political Science,* III (November 1959), pp. 336-55.
7. Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954), p. 187.

7 | GRADUATE AND FACULTY INTERNSHIPS

1. Two elaborations of this statement: in the first place, some, perhaps many, may go on to the Ph.D. after a period of political or bureaucratic service; second, "going on" to the Ph.D. is not regarded here as intrinsically more desirable than government service.
2. Two economists, two historians, one sociologist, 46 political scientists.
3. Includes college administrators, military service, business, non-profit organizations.
4. Eli Ginzberg, John L. Herman, *et al., Talent and Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 27.
5. It should be clear that "appointment to local or state public office" means *political* appointment, not civil service employment.
6. A review of the questionnaires indicates that of the nine NCEP Fellows who said their experiences did not increase their knowledge of national politics "very much" or "at all," seven were assigned to local offices and two to state offices.

8 | NOTES TOWARD A THEORY OF INTERNSHIPS

1. Severyn T. Bruyn, *The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Method of Participant Observation* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 61.
2. Murray L. Wax, "On Misunderstanding *Verstehen:* A Reply to Abel," paper given at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association 1966, quotations from pp. 6, 7, and 10.
3. The universal testimony of the value of practice teaching in the education curriculum of American colleges is evidence enough that learning by doing has an unrivaled attraction for American teachers and teachers of teachers. Practice teaching is the only part of teacher-training that Conant unqualifiedly supports.

4. You might expect that the literature on simulation would supply hints to the answer, but it does not. Perhaps because, despite all the efforts for verisimilitude in simulation, play-acting is not the same as reality. You might expect that medical and legal educators would long since have plumbed the pedagogical depths of their internships and clerkships, but there is not so much as the suggestion that they ever asked why medicine and law, by *doing*, make better doctors and lawyers than equally long training without the practical experience. It has been suggested to me that I may not have a question when I ask why learning by doing is better than learning by not doing—that what I ask is for the specification of the nature of experience generally, and that I am really asking a global question like: Why is experience better than no experience? That is indeed an interesting and cosmic question, but it misses the point. I do not set my sights so high: for all education is experience—reading a book, hearing a lecture—and if it will help, I can rephrase the question to ask why are certain kinds of experience called "practical" or "real" more productive of learning-knowledge-understanding than other kinds of experience called academic.
5. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964 (first publication 1958).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
7. From Severyn T. Bruyn, *The Human Perspective in Sociology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966). p. 49.
8. In, for instance, his *Past and Present.*
9. For example, legislatures are more specialized (in this sense) than executives; legislatures with well established rules and committees are more specialized than those without well established rules and committees; regulatory agencies are more specialized than legislatures; regular departments are more specialized than regulatory agencies, and so on.
10. Paul Smith observes that the qualities of the interns do make a difference; that the greater maturity and status of faculty and advanced graduate interns allow them to resist narrow and trivial assignments, and that we should try to select as interns at any level only those who are capable of being generalists.
11. Interest-group internships may have even more damaging potential to objectivity and judgment. I do not have knowledge of enough cases to make even an impressionistic and tentative generalization. But a few scattered cases make me suspect that over-commitment is high among interest group interns.
12. "Elements in a *theory* of participant-observation" is what I would like to label these, but even Bruyn goes no farther than to suggest that they are elements in a *methodology* of participant-observation.
13. For these concepts see David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindbloom, *A Strategy of Decision* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).
14. The concept of political efficacy (see Angus Campbell *et al.*, *The Voter Decides, op. cit.*, pp. 187-94, for its meaning and use) is one of the very few psychological constructs that have general utility in the analysis of political behavior. I suggest by the hypotheses above that it might also be an important link in discovering (or fashioning) a relationship between participant-observation and empirical research.

15. Bruyn says: "The causal framework generally has led to a conception of determinism in which man is seen solely as a product of outside forces, the telic framework, to a conception of freedom in which man's individual choice is not determined by the forces of the past. The former conception (absolute determinism) is evidenced in the writings of many social scientists and the latter (absolute freedom) in the writings of many existentialists." (p. 43) In a remarkably insightful article Henry Kariel has elaborated on the distinction drawn by Bruyn. Behavioral psychology, Kariel says, quoting B. F. Skinner, "postulates that human action . . . 'is a lawful datum, that it is completely determined,'" while existential psychology "assumes that human conduct is ineradicably colored by freedom, [and] no explanations of human action . . . can be telling unless we understand it as the result of free choices." (Henry S. Kariel, "The Political Relevance of Behavioral and Existential Psychology," *American Political Science Review*, LXI, June, 1967, pp. 337-38.)

The point, for political internships, is that academic departments will be more favorable to the intern's learning experience if they are at least tolerant of existentialist and non-determinist ways of thinking. It is, I think, a central tendency of political behavioralism, as it is now conceived by its most outspoken champions, to adopt a Skinnerian determinism—and such behavioralists have good theoretical grounds, from their point of view, for denigrating internships and personal political involvement generally.

(continued from inside front cover)

No. 9 Neuberger, Hans. Studies in atmospheric turbidity in Central Pennsylvania. 1940.

No. 10 Alderfer, H. F., and Sigmond, Robert M. Presidential elections by Pennsylvania counties, 1920-1940. 1941.

No. 11 Hasek, C. W.; Leffler, G. L.; and Waters, R. H. Industrial trends in Pennsylvania since 1914. 1942.

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No. 25 Reed, Robert Rentoul, Jr. Richard II: From Mask to Prophet. 1969.

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