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ABSTRACT

This monograph is primarily for faculty members and administrators in colleges and universities, as well as intern directors in noneducational institutions to assist them in formulating judgments about the design and implementation of internship programs. The paper focuses on the objectives of internship programs, role allocation, and issues and problems associated with this form of experimental education. Goals and objectives of internship training are reviewed in relation to the student as primary beneficiary, the university interest in internship programs, and benefits to the host agency. Role allocation concerns, the system of university values and incentives, faculty role, student role, and the host agency. Additional issues discussed included who should participate, where should students intern, compensation practices, and evaluating intern performance. A 40-item bibliography is included. (MJM)

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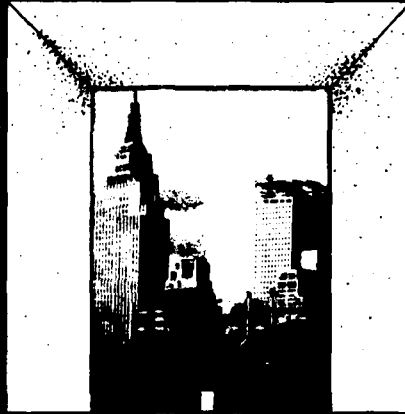
**Urban Internships
in Higher Education**

Donald G. Zauderer

1973

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**Urban Internships
in Higher Education**

Donald G. Zauderer

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Research Report No. 9
1973

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Foreword

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education at the George Washington University publishes an ongoing series of monographs on selective issues in higher education. The present monograph by Donald G. Zauderer, College of Public Affairs, The American University, is the second in the series concerned with aspects of the urban involvement of colleges and universities, the first being *University-City Relations: From Coexistence to Cooperation* by Bernard H. Ross. This present monograph is primarily for faculty members and administrators in colleges and universities, as well as intern directors in noneducational institutions, to assist them in formulating judgments about the design and implementation of internship programs. The paper focuses on the objectives of internship programs and provides discussion on a variety of issues and problems associated with this form of experiential education. As in other ERIC essays, the primary data are derived chiefly from a search of the literature, which is supplemented, in this instance, by interviews with specialists in the field.

This monograph is especially significant, since institutions of higher education everywhere are exploring new ways to meet contemporary needs. Urban internships are an aspect of "nontraditional" education, a facet of urban-related education, and an example of how to add the ingredient of relevance that many students are seeking in their educational experiences. It may be predicted with considerable confidence that the rapidly expanding urban internship programs will become an integral part of the educational programs at most colleges and universities. Consequently, the ideas expressed in this monograph should be of considerable value to institutions that wish to structure programs in a way that will best serve urban agencies and be of maximum educational value to the participating students.

Martin D. Jenkins
Director, Office of Urban Affairs
American Council on Education

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Overview

Institutions of higher learning are being called upon to reexamine their roles and to develop programs that prepare students to make significant contributions in an increasingly complex world. It is incumbent upon universities to provide learning experiences that result in the development of problemsolving skills. Many institutions have approached this challenge by designing new programs based upon a more explicit application of theory to real-world problems. Given the changing nature of university training, educators have been searching for new mechanisms to give students direct exposure to social problems. One approach is to involve students in internship learning.

Internships long have been an integral part of medical training, as they provide young doctors with an opportunity to apply their theoretical knowledge to real-world situations. There is perhaps no better way to learn than to apply theory to a problem and subsequently examine consequences. The accumulation of these experiences is a requisite condition for professional growth. Educators in the social and natural sciences and in the arts also have begun to see the value of internships in the training of students. The living environment constitutes a rich data source, and internships provide one means of extracting knowledge from first-hand experience.

There has been a major growth in internships, and it is now commonplace to find students in city, county, state and federal bureaucracies, community and volunteer organizations, city councils, and in a variety of organizations in the private sector. Universities located in or near urban areas are in a particularly favorable position to structure internship programs into the curriculum. Location, however, is not a major impediment as academic institutions in smaller communities increasingly provide opportunities for off-campus experiential education. Many schools are encouraging students to spend periods of time away from campus to pursue different forms of learning, such as internships, independent study, and community service. These programs serve to supplement regular course offerings and enrich the overall academic program by expanding the learning resources available to faculty and students.

A university-based internship is defined as a temporary period of supervised work that provides opportunities to develop skills, to test

abilities and career interests, and to systematically examine institutional cultures in light of the central theoretical notions in a chosen academic field of study. The process of relating theory to experience is a powerful pedagogical event, and it is incumbent upon universities to structure an academic program that facilitates a systematic integration of the central ideas in a discipline with the events that one observes and experiences during the internship period.

While the number of internship programs has grown steadily in the last decade, until recently there has not been a mechanism for intern directors to collectively identify problems and share perspectives on alternative approaches to internship training. Alexis de Tocqueville has commented on the propensity of Americans to cluster around common purposes and to develop mechanisms to advance common ends (de Tocqueville 1840 (Book II), p. 114). Such organizations have now been established to advance the art of internship training. In November 1972, the Society for Field Experience Education was founded at Hofstra University. This group meets yearly to explore problems in internship training and other forms of field experience education. At about the same time, the National Center for Public Service Internships was established to assist the universities and public organizations in the advancement of internship programs. The function of the Center is to promote the establishment and acceptance of internships, to disseminate information in the *Public Service Internship News*; to carry out research and offer technical assistance, to represent interests in Washington, and to promote new revenues for the support of internship programs (National Center for Public Service Internship Programs 1972).

Another manifestation of the developing interest in field experience education is the recent appearance of two books, one edited by Thomas P. Murphy entitled *Government Management Internships and Executive Development* (1973), and another edited by Philip C. Ritterbush entitled *Let the Entire Community Become Our University* (1973). These books are important source documents on internships and field experience education generally.

While internships have provided a new dimension to the college curriculum, they have also generated a new set of problems and issues. The central purpose of this monograph is to discuss a variety of problems in university-based urban internships and to delineate some alternative approaches in the structure and design of programs. While the central focus of application is urban bureaucracy, the basic issues and principles can be applied to internships at any level of government and in the private sector. By focusing on problematic

conditions, it is hoped that this monograph will serve as a useful point of departure for those who are involved in developing such programs.

The second chapter of this monograph focuses on the goals and objectives of internship programs by delineating the potential benefits that can accrue to students, the university, and host agencies. This discussion constitutes an academic rationale for maintaining internship programs in the college curriculum. A description of objectives is important because it provides guidelines for the design of programs. If internships are to be effective pedagogical instruments, they must be constructed so as to achieve specific objectives.

Chapter three examines the optimal allocation of responsibility among the various actors involved in internship training. Internships can be conceptualized as an educational delivery system. The quality of delivery greatly depends on the extent to which various actors effectively carry out responsibilities. The question is, What should be the role of university administrators, faculty supervisors, students, host agency administration and host agency supervisors? An abdication of responsibility among any of these actors can have detrimental effects on the quality of education.

Chapter four considers a variety of issues that need exploration when internship programs are developed. For example, what criteria should be utilized in the selection of interns? Should only a select few participate in this form of experiential learning, or should the criteria be such that a broader range of students can participate? Another issue of considerable importance bears upon the type of placement that offers the prospect of generating the highest educational dividends. Will the quality of the learning be higher in a large and specialized agency; or, conversely, will smaller, less professionalized agencies provide better opportunities to gain valuable experience? What are the tradeoffs involved in these choices?

Another important issue in the design of internship programs is whether students should be compensated for their work. This question is often hotly debated in university communities, and there are some important implications attached to these alternatives. For example, policy on compensation can have exclusionary consequences; that is, some students may not be able to participate without payment. Similarly, some agencies might be excluded if payment were a mandatory feature of the program. A discussion of the broader implications of the alternatives should assist intern directors in thinking through the problem. Another somewhat perplexing issue deals with the form of grading. Should letter grades be given for internship credit,

or is pass-fail more appropriate? The grading mode can influence student motivation, but there are also many other important factors which should be considered in structuring grading practices.

While there is no one best way to run an internship, it is the purpose of this monograph to assist individuals in formulating judgments about the construction of internship programs and to provide an initial base of ideas in the development of an educational strategy for internship study.

Goals and Objectives of Internship Training

Who gains what benefits from internships? A delineation of potential benefits to the central actors (students, university faculty and administrators, and host agencies) can serve to increase the level and quality of participation. Learning goals can be more easily achieved when individuals are aware of the benefits that can accrue as a result of vigorous participation by all actors in this systemic network.

The Student as Primary Beneficiary

Academic Benefits—An individual's ultimate utility to society is based on the capacity to collect data from a variety of sources (including personal experience), order the data around concepts and ideas, and develop the requisite understanding for problemsolving. The authoritarian system associated with traditional university courses places the student in a tight dependency relationship with the professor. Authoritarian-dependency relationships may not foster independent thinking or the capacity to examine experience and interpret learning. This is not to suggest that traditional learning is unproductive, since it is important that students grasp the central theoretical and substantive components in a body of knowledge. However, internships provide an opportunity for the discriminative use of this information within a real-world context. When the individual is cut away from dependency on the professor, he becomes responsible for organizing his own activity and for developing a personal learning strategy. The student is induced to construct learning goals as well as the instrumental strategies for the achievement of these objectives. Suddenly the highly structured arrangement for learning (books, teachers, library reserve, syllabi) is absent, and the student needs to construct learning strategies around the resources of the new working environment. The intern is thrust into a new game, in which personal and intellectual attributes must be combined in the successful execution of work tasks.

The faculty advisor can assist the student in constructing a paradigm for examining his experience. Student interns are bombarded with data, and the ordered and systematic examination of experience will lead to the internalization of knowledge. The student will then have learned from experience, and be able to utilize the knowledge in subsequent years. Internships provide students with the opportunity to

think systematically about personal experience. The absence of this capability may lead to a life characterized by confusion and error.

Internships also provide opportunities to apply theoretical notions to real-world concerns. A university-based internship program is based on the belief that there are certain forms of knowledge that can best be acquired away from campus. According to Robert Sigmon:

Risks are involved for universities that sponsor and sanction intern-type programs. We risk an awareness that universities do not, after all, have a monopoly on all knowledge and learning opportunities. We risk redefining teaching as the providing of learning environments rather than dispensing of knowledge about the past [emphasis mine] (Sigmon 1972b).

Meyer and Petry have also emphasized the importance of providing new learning environments. They assert that "without the meat of experience to interact with and fill out the skeleton of theory, there is no body of understanding" (Meyer and Petry 1972, p. 21). Hennessy states that:

Internships work because they personalize data. They work because they give to political life and events a reality that makes them part of the intern's own being. They give to facts some of the warmth and color of the human condition . . . (Hennessy 1970, p. 103).

Thus, an internship can "bring theory to life" by engaging students in experiences that have been the subject of scholarly inquiry. An intern studying under me, who is majoring in Organization Theory, commented:

Before this experience I was unclear as to the potential utility of ideas learned in the classroom. Working has provided an opportunity to test some of these ideas, and I now have a much clearer perspective on what is really important in keeping an organization healthy and alive.

Internships also expose students to knowledge available only in nonacademic settings. Many important research questions have escaped the professional literature, yet are basic to the research interests of practitioners. Thus, interns often acquire important information that is not available in traditional academic sources (Sigmon 1972a, p. 11).

An important goal of education is to expose students to the multidisciplinary aspects of social problems. A student intern in a local housing authority will soon gain some understanding of how law,

economics, political science, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and engineering relate to housing problems. This exposure may also sensitize students to the need to build a cross-disciplinary emphasis into their academic program. An internship, then, may increase the student's capacity to make informed choices on his own university education.

Internships may also open up research opportunities, since interns frequently develop a high measure of rapport with agency staff, and utilize these contacts and information resources in subsequent research efforts. Donald H. Haider cites this as one of the most important benefits of the American Political Science Association's State and Local Government Internships at Columbia University. According to Haider, a number of dissertations developed from the internship experience (Haider 1972). In this way a student can utilize the internship as a resource base in subsequent academic work.

Personal Growth and Development—Personal growth has always been a by-product of university education. Universities have provided counseling and psychological services, and a variety of extra-curricular activities that are important elements to campus life. Internships provide an additional means by which students can grow and mature.

James S. Coleman, in an article dealing primarily with secondary education, stresses the importance of preparing students to become effective members of society. He contends that *all* students need training in basic skills. Among these are skills of some occupation, skills in making decisions in complex situations where consequences follow from decisions, physical and mechanical skills, bureaucratic and organizational skills (how to cope with a bureaucratic organization, whether as an employee or a customer or a client, or as a manager or entrepreneur), emergency skills, and written and verbal communication skills in argumentation and debate (Coleman, in Ritterbush 1973, p. 187). This partial list of skills presumes that one of the major purposes of education is to assist individuals to develop as effective participants in society. While Coleman's discussion relates specifically to secondary education, his ideas apply equally to higher education. Some individuals with a high level of training in intellectual skills may still not possess the requisite characteristics to make significant contributions in an organization. In most noneducational institutions, success depends upon the quality of cooperative effort. Performance criteria are far broader than writing a research paper, a midterm, and a final examination; and one's productivity may hinge upon an ability to communicate and work constructively with others.

The internship can provide an opportunity to test the adequacy of human relations skills and to construct an agenda for personal resource development.

John Duley has emphasized the significance of "value clarification" in one's education (Duley 1973, pp. 4-5). Many students experience years of confusion and uncertainty in forming the basic values that will guide their lives and commitments. This uncertainty often leads to apathy, confusion, random career choices, and a limited commitment to education. If one is unsure of values and goals, then it may seem unreal to exert effort in academic study (Humphrey 1973). Both the student and the university suffer under such circumstances. The internship provides an opportunity to examine the rewards and liabilities of a particular work culture and to clarify essential values and commitments. The explicit examination of these questions can increase the student's capacity for judgment relative to future training and career choices. This is not to suggest that internships are designed for confused and apathetic students. If such were the case, organizations would soon refuse to participate in these programs. Rather, it does suggest that value clarification is a preoccupation of most students, and internships provide an excellent mechanism to examine these questions. One of the most important events in one's life is to acquire and reject values and develop instrumental strategies to construct a life style based upon this learning.

Students are often insecure about their ability to make productive societal contributions. The isolation of educational institutions often leaves students with an uncertain feeling about their capacity to function effectively in the larger community (Newman 1971, p. 4). As a result, they often lack self-esteem, pride, and confidence in their adequacy as human beings (Davis 1971, p. 141). Interns, however, frequently emerge from their experience with a renewed sense of importance and develop confidence in their ability to participate effectively in the larger community.

Internships and Career Development—Another result of campus isolation is that students frequently make unsound career choices. The Newman Commission reported that "in many areas, students undertake years of graduate training in a particular field only to find that they aren't sure why they've done it, or if it really is what they want for a career" (Newman 1971, p. 5). This may result in dropping out, completing the degree but seeking work in another field, or working with only a marginal commitment to the field. This outcome is terribly inefficient from an individual and societal point of view.

Internships provide an opportunity to examine the degree to which interests and skills are compatible with particular occupations. According to James R. Davis, they "provide the opportunity to explore experimental life styles without making a lasting commitment" (Davis 1971, p. 145). The process of testing career decisions becomes far more costly in the post-college years, especially if the market is in disequilibrium and the labor supply far exceeds the pool of available jobs. Thus, internships provide a convenient vehicle for students to develop occupational preferences.

In addition to helping students formulate judgments about career choices, internships often serve to launch careers. Academic directors are proud of the fact that some students receive job offers as a *direct* result of the internship experience. Host agencies regularly hire some of their interns or recommend them to other agencies. If neither of these events occur, the intern might still be able to secure a good recommendation for his own employment search. In essence, internships can give students a competitive edge in a marketplace that values experience. Also, internships provide a personnel director with a broader data base in assessing qualifications. In this regard, personnel directors are relying far less on the mere possession of credentials and are attempting to structure a proper "fit" between job characteristics and individual ability, aspirations, personality, and work habits.

The University Interest in Internship Programs

The primary function of the university is to provide quality education. To the extent that internships generate educational benefits for students, the university interest in such programs is served. However, there are also other distinct benefits that accrue to the university.

As Martin Kramer (1972, p. 9) has ably pointed out, many students are turned off by the narrow professional assumptions of traditional course offerings. This can be manifested by a "pervasive negativism" that influences the emotional tone of the campus. It may reduce student commitment to learning tasks. As a result, faculty may experience considerable frustration in teaching an unwilling and passive client.

Obviously, an internship program alone cannot change the climate of a particular campus. It can, however, be one dimension of a multiple strategy to rekindle student enthusiasm for the learning process.

Internships can assist students in constructing an agenda for learning. When career goals are clarified, one is more likely to choose

courses discriminately. Professors benefit because students know "why they are in the course." Furthermore, Thomas Murphy has reasoned that internships may assist students in developing a "more sophisticated perspective from which to evaluate the words of professors" (Murphy 1973, p. 8). Professors thrive on challenging classroom commentary, for teaching then becomes an occasion for their own learning. The rewards for teachers increase when students approach learning in a positive manner.

While learning can become more meaningful after an internship experience, it also can serve to exacerbate a student's frustration relative to the course offerings on campus. If students identify learning needs that the university cannot provide, they may communicate this to the faculty and administration. This can provide an occasion for the university to receive feedback on the relevance of its curriculum to contemporary needs. It might induce faculty to reexamine course offerings. There are forces within all institutions that act against change, so that vehicles need to be established to identify problems and evaluate performance in light of changing circumstances. Internship programs constitute one mechanism for generating feedback bearing upon the appropriateness of the curriculum for the contemporary needs of business and government (Tyler 1971, p. 23; Murphy 1973, p. 7).

Internships can also serve as a community relations vehicle. Students are engaged in community affairs and establishing relationships with broad segments of the population. Community support can be manifested in fund raising, student recruitment, research support, and technical assistance. According to Thomas Murphy, "interns frequently provide important linkages between previously isolated interests (Murphy 1973, p. 4). There is much to gain if working relationships can be established in the larger community.

The utilization of the work environment as a laboratory for study also amounts to the "expansion of learning resources and physical plant usage, often without increased costs" (Sigmon 1972a, p. 12). It enables the university to offer a broader range of programs at only a fraction of the cost associated with learning activities centered on campus. The marginal cost of these programs is not high and they serve to open up diverse learning opportunities for students. High school students are becoming more and more discriminating in their choice of schools, and the availability of these programs can also assist in recruitment efforts.

Benefits to the Host Agency

Community organizations have an obvious stake in internship programs. In many cases, the presence of an intern enables an agency to undertake projects that it could not have done otherwise. This would especially be the case for organizations with a limited fiscal base. Albemarle County, Virginia, for example, instituted a summer internship program in 1967. Interns have carried out many critical projects, and a cost-benefit study indicates that "for every one dollar spent, the county has received three dollars' worth of service" (National Association of County Officials 1973, p. 4). The total expenditure in salaries over a five-year period was \$17,911.91, and the estimated productivity in one office alone (county planners) was valued at \$30,000. Interns can provide valuable services to an organization, and at only a fraction of the cost of staffing with additional permanent employees.

Similarly, an internship can be an excellent recruitment mechanism. It provides an opportunity for a first-hand evaluation of capabilities, and consequently personnel choices can be made at lower risk. Furthermore, the transition costs of hiring interns is lower. The individual is well acquainted with the organization and can more readily contribute to the on-going efforts of an office. On a more general level, government internships help in attracting qualified individuals to fill the growing number of jobs in the public sector. An evaluation study of the Urban Corps summer internship program in New York determined that one-fifth of the students were more likely to work for the Government because of their internship experience (Nash and Nixon 1967, p. 3.32). Consequently, internship programs, whether sponsored by the university or government agencies, increase the pool of individuals interested in government work.

The existence of interns in an organization can also invigorate the permanent staff. Students are often enthusiastic, and pursue work tasks with high motivation. They bring new ideas and attitudes that can improve the work climate in an organization. It gives permanent staff an opportunity to share the skills and perceptions they have developed from years of experience. Most agency staff receive personal rewards by taking part in the professional development of a student. Similarly, interns may contribute to the learning of the staff, as they might bring an infusion of new ideas into the organization or question practices that exist merely because of tradition (Murphy 1973, p. 7). In addition, the presence of college interns keeps the organization apprised of changes in the aspirations and

skills of college students. This awareness could assist agency administrations in restructuring policies that increase job satisfaction and productivity (Buckle 1973, p. 86).

If interns are carefully managed they can make significant contributions. David Kiel, in his evaluation of North Carolina internships, found that 61 percent of agency respondents strongly agreed that "the intern performed a valuable service for the agency. Six percent strongly disagreed with this statement. Ninety percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that read, 'I am convinced that students can be a valuable resource in helping my agency to achieve its goals.' No respondents strongly disagreed with the statement" (Kiel 1972, p. 40). In an evaluation of the Urban Corps program in New York City, 85 percent of agency respondents rated interns as either very good or good (Nash 1967, pp. 3.21-3.22). Some interns earn the complete confidence of agency staff and are accepted as a member of the professional team. The frequency and degree of student contributions depends upon the skills of both the intern and agency personnel. Most academic directors are proud to recount cases in which their students were given important responsibility after a short time on the job.

Role Allocation

The quality of learning in internships depends upon the commitment and skills of the critical actors in this network of relationships. The university administration, faculty, students, and the staff and administration of the host agencies—all have important responsibilities. The learning system can easily break down if one or more of these actors neglects to execute important tasks. While internships can be a rich and fruitful enterprise, there are factors that can reduce the value of the experience. The following questions might be utilized as a partial means of identifying elements of imperfection in this network of relationships:

1. Is there communication flow between the faculty, the students, and the host agency?
2. Are students dissatisfied with the internship program? Do they sense a lack of commitment on the part of the university or the host organization?
3. Does a program of learning exist at the university to supplement and enrich the practical work experience of the student? Is the program designed to guide student thought regarding the application of theory to the analysis of their experience?
4. Is it common practice for the host agency to exploit students by giving them unchallenging tasks commonly referred to as "busy work"?
5. Is it difficult to recruit faculty for the internship program? Is there a high level of turnover among faculty members in the program? Does program responsibility tend to be shifted to uninterested junior members who reluctantly participate?

These questions can serve as behavioral indicators of problems in the learning system. This section will examine some causes of performance breakdown and develop some ideas bearing upon potential solutions. There is no one best way to construct an internship program, but these ideas can serve as a point of departure in exploring problems and alternative approaches to internship training.

The System of University Values and Incentives

Why is it that in some universities faculty commitment to internship education is marginal at best? There are a variety of explanations. Some faculty members and administrators do not believe in the pur-

poses of internship training. According to Lawrence Goldman, "some faculty have argued that the undergraduate years should be a period of reflection and substantial disengagement from the pressures and constraints of a complex society" (Goldman 1970). Others contend that the university should be intimately involved in the central challenges facing society.

These value conflicts may become manifest in a variety of ways. If the isolationist position is central to the culture of the university and its member departments, it is likely that the level of financial support for internship education will be low. One might find no individual with substantial responsibility over the program, and faculty might be expected to carry this responsibility over and above regular teaching duties. In addition to minimal support (reduction in regular teaching load, travel funds, remuneration for expenses incurred in visits to host agencies, space, and secretarial support), the faculty member might experience an atmosphere of hostility or complete indifference to the work that he is attempting to achieve (Davis 1971, p. 143) (Murphy 1973, p. 35). Thus, the faculty member is operating in a negative psychological climate, with the program treated as a "step-child . . . without the prestige of traditional research-oriented learning" (Sexton, in Ritterbush 1973, p. 172).

Under these circumstances, it is also probable that the prevailing value system will be manifest in decisions on salary, promotion, and tenure. If faculty perceive their efforts will not be rewarded, they will begin to invest time and energy in other directions. In essence, a structure of disincentives may exist that will have profound behavioral consequences. The internship may be placed lowest on the faculty members' list of priorities—a priority system based on calculations of personal gain and recognition with respect to the productivity measures used in the university. There are, of course, those who may challenge the system of values and call for new measures of faculty productivity. However, this form of advocacy can be risky, and it is unlikely that a quality program could be sustained over time without a more positive system of incentives for intern directors. Given the nature of the employment market in academia and lower enrollments, there is a declining propensity for risk-taking among untenured faculty.

Thus, if a university is committed to field experience education, the problem of structuring incentives becomes closely related to the development of quality programs (Kiel 1972, p. 48; Hedlund 1973, p. 22; Dawson, in *Kennedy* 1971, p. 49).

One of the questions that inevitably gets raised is whether an off-campus learning office should be established. If there is considerable hostility or indifference to off-campus learning in the individual departments, a campus-wide office could be established to provide these opportunities (Murphy 1973, interview). On the other hand, there are potential costs to this alternative. As the size of the program increases, it becomes difficult to maintain the personalism possible in a departmentally sponsored program. Procedures and relationships become institutionalized and the quality of service can easily decline. This problem can be hedged, however, if the director is an able and sensitive administrator and the university resources keep pace with constituency growth. The administrative framework for the provision of internship learning depends, then, on the particular circumstances in each university. Regardless of the administrative structure, however, faculty should be encouraged to sustain a continued involvement and interest in internship training. Experience and contacts are particularly important in this type of program. A high level of turnover means that no individual is in the position of accumulating experience (organizational contacts, testing alternative seminar approaches, reading materials, etc.) essential to the development and maintenance of a quality program.

Faculty Role

While the university's failure to manipulate incentives is one factor associated with suboptimal faculty performance, there are others to consider. The Newman Commission has observed that "colleges are staffed more and more by recent young graduates who have largely gone from kindergarten straight through to their first major jobs entirely with the framework of the educational system" (*Report on Higher Education* 1971, p. 5). Many faculty lack experience in non-educational institutions and have never been exposed to the theory and methods of field experience education. The absence of these experiences constitutes a handicap that can reduce effectiveness, at least in the short run. A problem clearly exists if the following behavior is manifested:

1. The faculty member may not invest heavily in the development of a quality internship program. He might even consider it a form of course reduction, and invest far fewer hours than would be the case if it were a traditional course.
2. The faculty member might not develop a clear academic rationale for the internship experience. There might even be a complete absence of an academic study program in conjunction with the work

experience. Under these circumstances, the internship provides work experiences and nothing more.

3. The faculty member might develop an "academic component [which] dwells on issues derived from readings and theories only slightly connected with the on-going experience of the intern, or at the other extreme, it can be so technical and specific that it deprives the intern of any chance to reflect on broader issues" (Kiel 1972, p. 35).

4. The faculty member may have very little interest in constructing an explicit role or set of responsibilities which define relationships with students and host agencies. A quality internship program hinges upon the skill and performance of the faculty member in executing important tasks.

The lack of skill, experience, and commitment among academic directors can have a highly detrimental effect on the quality of programs.

Before discussing particular roles and functions of a faculty supervisor, it might be useful to delineate the kinds of academic and non-academic experiences that would enhance one's capacity to direct intern programs. The following constitutes an idealized set of criteria that might offer guidance in the selection of faculty. While few intern directors will possess all the requisite attributes, it is better to approximate specific recruitment goals than to select without any set of criteria. Alternatively, some faculty may be interested in this form of experiential education but not possess certain experiences and attributes. In such cases, these ideas might constitute an agenda for personal resource development.

It is useful to have experience in field experience education—either as student or academic director. Field experience education encompasses many complexities that are not present in the traditional classroom setting. Experience in this form of learning provides a sounder basis to anticipate problems and design learning activities. It is also helpful if the faculty supervisor has working experience in non-educational institutions. Exposure to other institutions can assist one in structuring an academic program compatible with the work culture that the student encounters. The problem of relevancy applies here: If the student senses that classroom activities do not relate to internship experiences, there would be little incentive to participate vigorously in seminars. This condition can lead to considerable frustration for students and the faculty supervisor.

The academic training of a faculty member is also an important consideration. It is most useful if one's training centers on theoretical

and substantive concerns of interest to both the academic and practitioner communities. This would enable the academic supervisor to construct a learning program to capture the interest of students; that is, students would perceive that their personal effectiveness would be enhanced by virtue of their involvement in the academic component of the internship program.

It is also important that the academic supervisor be interpersonally competent. Such individuals function as university representatives to the community. Their skill in establishing relationships with host agencies can enhance or detract from the reputation of the university.

Lastly, Hennessy has emphasized the importance of being able to guide students in the skills of participant observation (1970, p. 117). The systematic observation of empirical events is a central task in all forms of field experience education. Indeed the quality of the program hinges upon the discriminative analysis of experience and observation.

Counseling Function—Of all the specific tasks or functions of the academic supervisor, none is perhaps more important than counseling. The student first needs to develop work preferences based upon a personal inventory of skills and interests. The faculty supervisor should assist students in examining alternative possibilities in light of explicit criteria. Among these are: (1) requisite skills; (2) career interests and objectives; (3) compatibility of personality with the psychological climate of the agency; (4) character of work tasks; (5) degree of potential involvement in various aspects of agency life; and (6) potential acquisition of important knowledge and skills. In essence, the task is to increase the student's capacity for judgment. Failure to execute this task may lead to a student-agency mismatch.

Once the work begins, the faculty supervisor should be available to discuss programs with the interns. The student should be encouraged to examine the problem and develop strategies for solving it. Dealing with the complexities of organizational life is an important aspect of learning in internships and the faculty supervisor should intervene only when serious problems exist and when student actions have failed to achieve the desired objective.

The faculty supervisor should also perform academic counseling. Students will become engaged in a rich set of experiences and will need assistance in developing a conceptual apparatus for the systematic examination of these events. The systematic analysis of one's experience will help preserve important information for future reference. There are few characteristics more important than the capacity to learn from experience and apply these ideas in subsequent events.

Preserving Academic Goals—Faculty supervisors need to adopt a specific posture in structuring relationships with students. It is important to develop a high level of rapport with interns and also sustain firm accountability practices. Interns have a propensity to go “native” (develop strong attachments to the host agency) and to temporarily lose interest in the academic component of the internship (Hennessy 1970, p. 30). They become caught up in the “action,” and acquire a new sense of importance by adopting professional roles. Some will consider academic requirements as an impingement on their independence and status. While this mental frame is understandable, it can severely hinder the faculty supervisor in executing an academic program. Many faculty supervisors consider this a major problem, and it constitutes perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the job. Inducing students to think systematically about their experience is a formidable pedagogical task. The excessive use of authoritarian models and a structured hierarchical relationship (coercion, imposed goals, and threat systems) can lead to a breakdown in rapport with students.

One approach to structuring accountability is the development of contracts that specify learning objectives, responsibilities, and standards of performance (Sigmon 1972a, Appendix C; Meyer and Petry 1972, p. 13). Contracts can improve the quality of learning but the faculty supervisor may need to enforce the legitimacy of the contract and exact penalties for contractual noncompliance. There are times when the student may request a modification in the contract. Given the nature of the work experience, the request may be completely justified. Such modifications, however, should be based upon mutual consent between the faculty supervisor and the student. If a formal contract is not used, the faculty supervisor will probably need to devise some other strategy to encourage compliance with academic objectives.

Given this background, it is useful to move from a general examination of issues to a description of a prototype graduate internship program in the School of Government and Public Administration at The American University. Such a description serves to indicate the spectrum of responsibilities facing intern directors and is a singular example of how these abstract principles are translated into practice.

Placement Process—The principles outlined in the previous discussion on counseling are operationalized in The American University program. The initial counseling session focuses on criteria for internship selection, and a number of specific internship possibilities

are discussed. Students are encouraged to visit a number of offices and to evaluate alternative possibilities in light of particular criteria. They should ask a number of questions of agency personnel and withhold a commitment until they are certain of the agency's intention to provide good supervision and place them on significant projects. Thus, an important responsibility falls on the student in the initial stage of the program. While this inevitably leads to a period of uncertainty and confusion, it induces students to examine possibilities and form a decision based upon the best available information. One of the goals of experiential education is to develop decisionmaking skills. If faculty take on the burden of making these decisions, the student is deprived of an opportunity to exercise judgment and evaluate the consequences. This, of course, does not preclude faculty intervention if there is good reason to question the advisability of a particular internship.

The initial counseling session also constitutes an occasion to set the general tone for the program. Performance expectations are specified, especially with respect to the academic component of the internship. This counseling session takes place at least six weeks before the internship semester begins. Thus, while there is no formal contract, an informal "good faith" agreement is made bearing upon the student's general approach to the program. The provisions of this informal contract are reinforced in a comprehensive orientation session that takes place approximately two weeks before the actual work begins. A discussion of the orientation session will point up the range of faculty responsibilities and the specific character of the academic program.

Program Design—The major purpose of the orientation session is to discuss the rules of the game and to delineate the framework for learning. Students take two courses (six hours credit) and are expected to work at least 300 hours per semester. Letter grades are used for the academic work in the university-based seminar, while pass-fail grading is used for the experience-based internship. The academic requirements are:

1. A weekly one-page integration paper, in which theoretical ideas treated in the reading are related to the behavioral dynamics in the internship.

2. A twenty-page paper to be handed in at the conclusion of the internship. This paper is an organizational analysis focusing on such phenomena as organization tone, goal setting, communications processes, problem solving, agency evaluation, leadership style, au-

thority structure, incentive structure, conflict solving processes, and relationships with the external environment. The introduction to the paper is to be theoretical in the sense of providing a framework for examining dynamics of organizational behavior. Once the theoretical infrastructure is developed (based largely on literature in organization theory), they are to write a case study based upon their experience in the host agency.

3. A five to ten-page "personal growth" paper that deals with all forms of learning other than their knowledge of organizational dynamics. Among these are writing and research skills, substantive knowledge, human relations skills, personal effectiveness skills, value clarification, clarification of career interests, and a better understanding of personal strengths and weaknesses.

4. Participation in the intern seminar. Interns function as participant observers and present data to student colleagues in regularly scheduled seminars.

The discussion sessions provide an additional mechanism for the application of theory to the students' work environment. This provides an opportunity for students to contribute to each other's education by sharing perspectives based upon their experiences. This seminar is not an informal discussion of anecdotes but is a "work session" where organization theory is systematically related to behavioral dynamics at the host agencies. Thus, the quality of the seminars is largely dependent upon the energy and commitment of the group to the learning task. The students have the explicit role of contributing to each other's education and maintaining the integrity of the learning process in the group. The question posed to students is as follows: Can interns engage in diverse work settings, think analytically about the experiences, and sustain discussion that results in important learning?

The primary purpose of the seminars is to increase the capacity of students to analyze the factors that contribute to or inhibit organizational effectiveness. Students are presented with a list of questions and readings, and each seminar focuses on one or two aspects of the organization. The seminars focus on organization tone, goals and functions, internal systems, external systems, communication patterns, conflict-solving processes, problemsolving processes, incentive systems, and evaluation. The students collect data by interviewing staff, by the analysis of personal interactions, and by systematic observation of events in the form of staff or interorganizational meetings.

The internship seminars are structured so that students function in leadership roles. The design and execution of a successful meeting is a challenging task. As students soon learn, many meetings in business and government fail to meet objectives. Similarly, many seminars on the university campus are not productive enterprises. Since students are training to be public administrators, they need to focus on the requisite skills to be contributing members of a group both as leaders and as regular participants. Students are given primary roles in conducting meetings. The student acting as group leader is responsible for reviewing the learning goals, determining the range of data that students possess for the week, arranging the order in which issues will be explored, and guiding the discussion in an efficient manner. A second student is given the task maintenance function; that is, to intervene when learning goals are not being achieved and the group appears to be wandering in unproductive directions. He functions as the conscience of the group, in pointing out when goals are being displaced. This does not foreclose the possibility of digression, but the group should be aware when it is digressing, and there should be a consensus that the digression will create information useful to the members.

Another function of the orientation meeting is to sensitize students to common pitfalls in groups meetings. Among these are long and aimless anecdotal remarks, dominance by too few students, lack of preparation and subsequent commentary of limited utility, and pairing, where two students carry on a prolonged dialogue that may be of limited interest to the rest of the members. Explicit attention to these problems can help create the conditions for learning. Some seminars are terminated by a *process review*, in which the group examines the quality of its own learning and discusses ways of reducing the level of imperfection in the learning process.

Students are not to discuss specific names of staff in their commentary, and they also must respect the confidentiality of remarks made by student colleagues. Since there is interaction among the host agencies, the data discussed at the table must remain confidential and be utilized only for learning purposes. Under no circumstance should the data be used to undermine the position of another agency.

Evaluation processes are also discussed in the orientation session. The intern director distributes a variety of forms and discusses the purposes underlying their use. The *Evaluation of Intern* form is to be filled out by the supervisor of the host agency. The possession of the evaluation form can sensitize interns to criteria utilized in the assessment of competence. Host agency supervisors are encouraged

to discuss the evaluation report with the student at the conclusion of the internship. It is most useful for the intern to possess feedback on his own performance. Such information can be used by the intern to construct an agenda for professional development.

Students are also given an *Evaluation of Host Agency* form. These forms are filled out at the completion of the internship, compiled in a notebook, and utilized as a data base for assisting future students in making internship choices. Students also evaluate the quality of the academic program, and this information is utilized to modify program content in subsequent semesters.

The orientation session also provides an opportunity to discuss mechanisms of communication with the host agency. In addition to sustaining communication through phone calls, the intern director makes site visits to the host agency. Face-to-face contact is extremely important in sustaining quality relationships. Such visits serve many specific purposes: they demonstrate to the host agency that the university is concerned about the quality of internship experiences; they encourage agency staff to spend additional time and effort in strengthening the experience; they provide an opportunity to monitor the quality of the experience and, if necessary, make specific recommendations for change; they are a mechanism for feedback bearing upon the quality of student performance; and they serve as an opportunity to explore future internship possibilities. While phone calls are helpful, there is some reluctance to be completely candid over the phone. Such visits also place the intern director in a better position to counsel students on problems and to advise future interns about learning opportunities in different agencies.

An additional activity discussed in the orientation session relates to a special seminar with host agency supervisors. Supervisors are invited to the American University campus once a semester to participate in a discussion session on some issue in public administration. Students initiate the session with a short presentation of ideas bearing upon a problem in organizational dynamics. Host agency supervisors respond by discussing their perspectives on the problem. Consistent with the theory of internships, this seminar provides an opportunity for an integration of perspective between academics and practitioners. The meeting is premised on the assumption that a sharing of perspective can enhance problemsolving capabilities in both communities. These meetings also provide an occasion to recognize the important contributions that host agency supervisors have made to the professional education of these students. In this way the

orientation session introduces the model for field experience education and lays the foundation for the progression of events that ensue during the semester.

Student Role

The most important actor in this professional network is the student. The internship is designed to generate professional growth and intellectual development. Student learning is very much dependent on deep involvement in all aspects of the internship. If the primary actor is reluctant to pursue learning in a systematic and orderly way, the theory underlying internship study will become invalid. The faculty member must exert leadership in setting the academic tone, but the ultimate success of any internship falls upon the student.

In addition to academic tasks, the student must pursue job-related tasks with a high measure of motivation. A precondition for learning is comprehensive involvement in organizational processes. The student should also be sensitive to professional feedback, so that measures can be taken to improve performance during the internship semester. Similarly, Murphy points out that the student who adopts "the 'Mr. Big from the Front Office' role can expect closed doors and little support from his supervisor and co-workers" (1973, p. 45). The use of discretion can go a long way in increasing the value of an internship.

The Host Agency

Most host agencies approach internship training with a high measure of integrity. In selected circumstances the intern might experience considerable frustration because of suboptimal performance on the part of the host agency. Some indicators of performance breakdown are:

1. No planning with respect to job function.
2. Giving interns menial work tasks where there is little opportunity to develop professional skills or to exercise initiative.
3. Structuring work life in such a way that the intern is isolated from meetings and the central processes of decisionmaking.
4. Allocation of job tasks that are vague and unclear.
5. Giving interns work responsibility that is of marginal concern to the organization.
6. Placing the student in a politically tenuous situation by structuring work activities that are controversial within the organization.
7. Planning work activities that are insufficient to keep the intern busy.

8. Inadequate supervision of the student or general apathy toward the internship program.

9. No attempt to evaluate performance and communicate information to the intern.

10. Structuring work tasks so narrowly that there is no opportunity to exercise judgment and initiative.

A comprehensive evaluation of the New York City Urban Corps internship program (Nash and Nixon 1967) demonstrated that these factors were important influences on job satisfaction. For example, of those students who were very satisfied with their internship, 81 percent reported their work assignment was interesting, and 92 percent reported the internship gave them an opportunity to exercise initiative. In addition, the report found that the "higher the academic level required for the job, and the more challenging it seemed to be, the more likely was the job to be rated very good" (Nash and Nixon 1967, 4.2). Interns also appreciated an "open agency" where they could sit in on meetings and where the staff was receptive to new ideas.

In examining factors that can improve internships, it is important to consider the policy of top management. If there is no incentive for staff to invest in the training of interns, the probabilities are high that host agency personnel will expend time and energy in other directions. Therefore, it is important that the internship program receive strong sanction, explicit recognition, and the expenditure of some resources. Robert Sigmon (1973a, p. 18) suggests that organizations develop a year-round program with a ratio of "one full-time, year-round, budgeted service-learning internship to 50 full-time employees." He also calls for explicit organization policy with respect to task identification, selection and training of interns, intern supervision, liaison with college and university communities, establishment of criteria for the allocation of job responsibilities, and procedures for review of organizational effectiveness on the quality of their involvement in internship training (*Ibid.*, p. 18). In addition, Murphy (1973, p. 7) emphasizes the importance of giving the intern legitimacy within the organization to facilitate his integration into the professional network. Top management can also sanction special internship seminars to add focus and breadth to the experience.

In addition to sanction from executive levels, it is important that the staff supervisor execute particular tasks to strengthen the quality of the internship. Among the most important responsibilities are the following:

1. Setting a tone of open discussion and cooperation with the intern (Murphy 1973, p. 38).

2. Providing project alternatives or assisting the intern in conceptualizing a worthwhile project (Sigmon 1972a, p. 7).

3. Providing a comprehensive orientation to the culture of the organization, its structure, and its relation to the external environment.

4. Provision of technical support with respect to those skills the intern needs to develop.

5. Facilitate intern exposure to various aspects of organizational life; that is, special seminars, business meetings, hearings, project reviews, etc.

6. Periodic evaluation of intern progress, with open and frank discussion of strengths and weaknesses. (A HUD Handbook, p. 25).

7. Helping the intern understand how informal and formal organizations work (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

8. Apprise the intern of organization norms, work expectations, and modes of communication.

9. Sustain open communication with the academic supervisor.

10. Remain sensitive to problems and needs of the intern, and provide assistance at appropriate junctures.

The successful execution of these tasks will increase productivity and strengthen the educational value of the internship.

While internships can be of considerable value to host agencies, there are also some potential costs. Some host agencies have not experienced a high level of success with interns. Given the fact that some internships are of relatively short duration, the student may not be able to build the necessary expertise to make contributions to the organization (Thomas, interview, March 15, 1973).

The problem might be hedged somewhat by a systematic and comprehensive orientation and training period, and by allocating job responsibilities that do not require past experience. If the nature of the work is such, however, that an intern could not reasonably make contributions in the allotted time frame, it would be unwise for the organization to participate in the program. Of course, productivity is also a function of the right intern-organization match. A carefully designed screening procedure would increase the probability that the intern could contribute meaningfully to the on-going work of the organization.

A related problem bears upon the number of hours the intern is expected to work each week. If the prescribed number of hours is

small (perhaps eight hours), the agency may experience difficulty in fitting the student into the work flow. The intern may not be available at crucial junctures in organizational life and staff will be reluctant to rely on the intern to carry out crucial tasks. In cases where the number of hours is too short, universities should be encouraged to rethink their requirements. It appears to me that twenty hours per week is a reasonable minimum standard for most circumstances. The student would be working at least a portion of three days, and would either be present when a problem arose or would reenter the agency soon after.

Host agencies are often unaware of the learning objectives and academic rationale of university-sponsored internship programs. Under such circumstances, even a well intentioned host agency supervisor will not possess guidelines for structuring the internship experience. This problem might be a result of communication breakdown, or the fact that the academic supervisor did not examine the question of objectives. It would be most useful if host agency personnel possessed broad guidelines for structuring the internship experience.

Another problem bears upon recognition for host agency supervisors. Many supervisors exert considerable time and energy but may not be recognized for their efforts ("Community-Based Education . . .," 1973). One form of recognition draws upon the structure of rewards within the organization; that is, salary increments, job advancement, and general recognition from higher management. Yet, the university bears a responsibility as well. The case could be made that the supervisor is functioning as an instructor and therefore should receive financial remuneration for these efforts. Public school teachers who supervise student instructors often receive compensation, such as a cash payment or the opportunity to take a course at a reduced tuition rate. The appropriateness of such a policy depends not only on the capacity of the university to bear the cost, but also on whether professional skills are being taught in the supervisory activity. While remuneration is commonly used in teacher training, this is rarely the case in other forms of internships.

Regardless of policy bearing upon remuneration, the faculty supervisor, as a representative of the university, should certainly express gratitude to members of the host agency who played important roles in forming the experience. The university might distribute certificates of appreciation to host agency supervisors. These individuals often take deep interest in students and provide experiences that constitute a basis for continued professional development.

Further Issues in Internship Training

Who Should Participate?

One of the central policy questions in any internship bears upon the criteria for entry. Some have suggested that intelligence as measured by I.Q., academic achievement tests, and grades should not be relied upon too heavily. Hennessy contends that energy, stability, tact, curiosity, motivation, and commitment are equally important criteria for the selection of interns (Hennessy 1970, pp. 21, 110; see also Murphy 1973, p. 11).

One's productivity often hinges upon interpersonal competence, defined as the ability to work effectively with others. So, the use of more narrow academic criteria would exclude many individuals who could function very effectively in an organization. Most students approach internship training with a high level of motivation and commitment. The problem, according to Goldman (1970, n.p.n.) is to "weed out the inevitable few who perceive the program as an opportunity to escape a fourth course. . . ."

Host agencies should accept interns only when they are relatively confident that the student possesses the requisite traits to participate fully in the important activities of the office. Accepting an intern out of a general feeling of obligation to the faculty director or the university is not in anyone's interest. A requisite condition for a successful internship is that *all* actors are enthusiastic about the relationship and approach the experience in a positive and constructive way.

Where Should Students Intern?

What type of agencies produce the best experience for interns? While there is no hard and fast rule, it is useful to consider particular factors in developing a placement strategy. Some intern directors have emphasized the value of placing students in new offices. According to Murphy, "valuable experience can be obtained in a new program where precedents are lacking, where most of the participants are learning themselves, and where assignments are less procedurally structured" (Murphy 1973, p. 14). New agencies provide broader opportunities for the exercise of initiative. Valuable learning opportunities are also found in small offices, where the demands on the professional staff are high and where resource constraints preclude

functional specialization. In this situation, the student is more likely to be treated as a member of the professional staff with important job responsibilities. Hennessy (1970, pp. 111-112) develops the following hypotheses on the relationship of office character to the quality of internships:

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), the less likely the intern is to get comprehensive experience and the more likely his work is to be research.

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.

These hypotheses constitute probability statements and are not intended to suggest that large offices cannot provide quality experiences. To the contrary, a well handled intern in a large office could benefit immensely from the extensive resources at hand. The most important factor is the commitment of the host agency to provide a rich experience for the intern.

Compensation Practices

Policies dealing with compensation practices are heavily debated in colleges and universities. Should students receive compensation for the internship experience? While some contend that they should not, the thrust of opinion among intern directors is strongly in favor of some form of payment.

Compensation can take several forms. Interns could be paid directly by the agency for services rendered. Urban Corps interns earned between \$600 and \$1,000 in New York City (Nash and Nixon 1967, 3.1). In some cases, the intern receives remuneration to cover basic expenses such as tuition, transportation, and food. Some universities have received grants for their programs and are in a position to pay students for their work efforts. Another alternative is university-host

agency cost sharing to pay intern salaries. An additional mechanism to assist students financially is the provision of a differential tuition rate for field experience education.

While some schools permit some form of fiscal relief, others permit no compensation in any form, and the tuition structure is identical for on-campus and off-campus study. There are a wide range of philosophies on this question and university practices reflect this diversity of opinion.

Those who oppose payment frequently argue that it would reduce the control of the university over the internship. If payment were utilized for services rendered, the faculty supervisor would have reduced leverage in his interventions with the host agency. Some contend that since the student is being paid by the agency, job tasks would be allocated on the singular criterion of agency need without consideration of the potential learning value to the student.

Another concern of those who oppose paid internships is that students who are regularly employed may also request academic credit for their work experience. Academicians differ about the appropriateness of granting credit for experiences not sponsored by the university. It is my view that college credit should be granted only when there exists a university program of learning in conjunction with the work experience.

Another source of opposition to paid internships stems from administrative problems. If the university adopted the position that all interns should be paid by the host agency, it would then be incumbent upon the faculty supervisor to expend time and energy in finding agencies willing to engage in a paid internship arrangement. For a faculty member with regular academic duties, this constitutes a responsibility that entails considerable time. It is fairly easy to find good nonpaying internships; however, the available pool of paid internships is much more limited. The constraints on a faculty member's time might limit his ability to successfully execute this task. Furthermore, paid internships might serve to discriminate against agencies with more limited resources. It is just such agencies that are in dire need of interns and can often provide very rich experiences. Another argument against paid internships is that it would create inequalities, in that students might become unhappy as a result of salary differentials.

The logic used to support compensation practices is based upon a different predictive theory. Some contend that when an office commits financial resources, they will make a stronger effort to utilize interns in significant ways. If an agency has a genuine stake in the perform-

ance of an intern, they are more likely to structure activities that are genuinely important to the organization. Robert W. Wilson, the Manager of Fairfax County, Virginia, has written that "when interns are free, there is a tendency for local government officials to be less attentive and less demanding. Internship supervisors [host agency] will treat the program with more intensity if they know that the salary is being paid from local appropriations" (Wilson 1973, n.p.n.). Similarly, Murphy has written that "payment also serves to reduce participation by administrators who do not have the intention of using the intern effectively, but who would accept an internship because it didn't cost them anything" (1973, p. 11). A central assumption underlying this position is that competency is really tested and developed where an intern is given important responsibilities and where expectations are high. If host agency supervisors are reluctant to challenge an unpaid intern, both the intern and the agency lose important benefits.

One consequence of a nonpayment program is that it discriminates against less affluent students. These students need to secure some type of part-time employment in order to meet basic living expenses and to finance education. Most of their time outside of regular academic responsibilities is spent on a part-time job and these students would not have time to participate in a nonpaying internship. Consequently, a paid program could discriminate against the less affluent agencies, while a nonpaying program could discriminate against the less affluent students.

A Solomon-like compromise between these two positions would be to permit paid *and* unpaid internships. This would serve to increase the pool of internship possibilities. Students could compete for whatever paid internships were available in the community. Those in need of financial assistance could compete for the paid internships, or they might receive a stipend from the university to subsidize their experience. The less affluent community organizations could then participate readily in the program.

On the problem of salary differentials, Murphy has suggested that the host agency forward payment to the university. The university would then divide payment evenly among the students (Murphy 1973, p. 11). Theoretically, this would provide opportunities for all students to receive compensation, and agencies who pay very little or no salary would also have the benefit of interns. This alternative, however, constitutes an interagency subsidy and might be opposed on these grounds.

The issue of university control is premised on a fear of student exploitation. However, most academic directors have found that host agency staff approach their responsibilities in good faith and are anxious to provide a meaningful experience for the student. In cases where internships are utilized as a recruitment mechanism, the agency has every incentive to provide a good experience. Host agencies are also quite receptive to university interventions and, with rare exceptions, problems can be worked out in an equitable manner. A good academic director can head off many problems by specifying program goals in the initial stages of the internship.

One of the more compelling rationales for encouraging compensation practices was expressed by Mr. Donald Eberly of the National Service Secretariat. Charles Kuhlman quotes him as saying that "since the intern represents an incremental addition to the productive capacity at the command of the agency, it should be willing to pay for at least a fraction of the market value of that capacity" (Kuhlman 1971, p. 10). While it might not be feasible to limit the program to only paid internships, compensation should be encouraged to the extent that fiscal resources exist for this purpose.

Evaluating Intern Performance

Grading practices for internships have also been the source of considerable discussion. The central issue is whether interns should receive letter grades or be evaluated on a pass-fail basis. There are some good arguments on both sides of this question. Those who support letter grades contend that they have a motivating influence on students. While some universities have attempted to downplay grades as a mechanism to promote learning, the fact remains that many students have been conditioned to respond to this form of incentive. In addition, students contend that pass-fail grades place them at a competitive disadvantage in seeking entrance to graduate schools. Grade-point average is one criterion in entrance standards and students seek every opportunity to strengthen their position. Some universities also place constraints on the use of pass-fail courses. For example, they may not permit courses graded on a pass-fail basis to be counted toward the student's major field. Under such circumstances, students would naturally press for letter grades in internship training.

Those who oppose letter grades often contend that it is difficult to evaluate intern performance with any level of precision. There are broad differences in job descriptions, degree of responsibility, requisite skills, etc. In addition, performance criteria differ and host agency

supervisors will approach evaluation with a different set of principles. How does the faculty member consider all these factors as well as the quality of performance in the academic segment of the program? In response to this argument, some faculty supervisors believe that a letter grade can reasonably be utilized if there is good communication with the student and the office. Others are quite perplexed about how one reasonably integrates work evaluations with academic performance to derive a grade for the course. While some intern directors are confident of their ability to translate work evaluations into grades, others have concluded that there is no effective or reasonable way to execute this task.

There are some alternative ways of dealing with the problem. Some intern directors grade pass-fail but specify rather demanding criteria for receiving a "pass" grade. These criteria would apply to performance on the job and in the classroom. Other directors have adopted the alternative of giving a letter grade based only on performance in relation to academic tasks such as seminar participation, papers, and exams. Instead of a grade, the rewards for job performance are knowledge, pay, personal growth, recommendations, and sometimes employment.

There are distinct reward systems for both aspects of the program (interview with Charles Kuhlman and Dennis Smith, Center for Urban Affairs, Indiana University, 1973). Under some circumstances, one could use both pass-fail and a letter grade. If, for example, the university grants six hours of credit for the internship, one might grant three hours of pass-fail credit for the work experience and three hours of credit using letter grades for the academic component of the program. In this way faculty supervisors might have more confidence in their judgments, since the evaluation symbols would more closely reflect the level and quality of information for evaluation.

Whatever alternative is adopted, the intern should receive feedback from both the academic and host agency supervisors. Evaluation should be something more than a mechanism to preserve qualitative judgments. These judgments should function primarily to assist the student in building competency.

Conclusions

Internships and other forms of field experience education are now becoming a standard form of teaching. The concept of a classroom without walls is achieving general acceptance in academic circles. New programs, however, generate new problems and academia is questioning how it is to operate under these seemingly boundless conditions. There are no conventional answers and the range of educational approaches are as broad as one's creative instinct. When a good program becomes a reality, the subsequent danger is that the design characteristics will become hardened. It is incumbent upon academic directors to experiment, to evaluate, and to utilize this data in modifying program design. Internship programs should adapt to new realities in both the academic and practitioner worlds. Internships are a challenging and dynamic form of pedagogy, and the investment in time and effort can generate widespread benefits to faculty, students, and to the larger community.

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