

A THEORY OF THE INTERNSHIP IN
PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

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This is to certify that the

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tom Vane Hils".

Major professor

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ABSTRACT

A THEORY OF THE INTERNSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

by Ronald G. Rex

An internship is a method for preparing one who aspires to entering professional practice. It is a training method different from apprenticeship or on-the-job-training.

As a means of training, the internship has been proposed in all of the established professions. The acceptance and use of the concept in professional training has, however, been less than universal.

Analysis of the literature concerning internship as it applies in various professional fields reveals that there is no stable definition of the purposes and conditions which constitute an internship. There is no substantial body of experimental evidence which supports or refutes the contention that an internship is an essential experience in the preparation of a professional practitioner.

There is no theory concerning the internship as a training method and consequently there is no conceptual structure around which research efforts might be built.

This study was designed for the purpose of developing a theory of internship. The concept was accepted as a sociological reality with psychological concomitants. The socio-psychological implications of such an experience were therefore used as guides for unique identifying experiences provided in the internship and for the subsequent learning which results.

A "closed system-element" reduction approach was used for the purpose of isolating the various experience elements to be found in the internship. The internship was ultimately presented as a closed system of specialized experiences in which an incumbent might be offered three dimensions on which to seek for personal identity. The experience was seen as providing opportunities which would allow an intern to develop an identification of self in a professional setting; an identification of role in a professional setting; and an identification of community in a professional setting.

Further analysis of these dimensions resulted in calling attention to the unique elements of which all of these were composed when viewed as closed systems.

Identification of self in a professional setting appeared to involve a widening perception of: 1. personal capacity, 2. aspiration level, 3. tendency toward specialization, 4. commitment to professional service. These become the basis for establishing a set of personal values in relation to professional practice.

Identification of role in a professional setting involves a widening perception of: 1. generalized expectations, 2. self-other perceptions, 3. situation analysis, 4. specific expectations. These fuse and become the basis for a set of status values emerging from the experience.

Identification of community in a professional setting involves a widening perception of: 1. ethical standards, 2. rights and obligations, 3. a sense of authority and autonomy, 4. professional limitations. These provide the basis for a set of professional values emerging from the experience.

Ronald G. Rex

The composite identifications resulting from the fusion of these elements should provide an internal orientation to personal, interactional and positional attitudes and values. These in turn should prompt and support behavior and performance patterns which are at once in keeping with the public image of the practitioner and with the image which exists within the profession itself.

The theory provides, it is felt, a conceptual framework on which empirical research can proceed.

DEDICATION

This manuscript is dedicated to Sue and Sandra whose
patience and assistance made completion possible.

A THEORY OF THE INTERNSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

By
Ronald G. Rex

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE NEED FOR A THEORY OF THE "INTERNSHIP"

This study was prompted by the existence of a series of rather contradictory ideas about the internship as a means of training, and by a desire to reduce these conflicts.

It is commonly held, by many of those concerned with training in most of the professional fields, that an internship experience can become a significant method for fusing theoretical and practical education. Yet within each profession there are camps which support broader internship experiences at the same time that other camps attempt to restrict or to eliminate the internship altogether.

In viewing the proposals for internship presented by its proponents in the fields of medicine, law, education, theology, architecture and other similar professional areas, it is relatively easy to determine that differing sets of purposes or antithetical aims are used to justify the internship. In addition, very little substantial evidence concerning the educational effectiveness of the experience is available. The collection of evidence which can be accumulated across several professional fields consists chiefly of opinions drawn from educators or students who have been closely associated with intern programs of one kind or another.

The confusion as to its purpose and the lack of empirical evidence as to its usefulness contributes to a certain sterility in discussion of the value of the internship. It is commonly known that a "Hawthorne effect" tends to influence perceptions and opinions of those

participating in experimental programs.¹ Much of the discussion of internship reflects such an effect because outside the field of medicine, most internship programs are more or less experimental in nature.

FLEXNER ON THE INTERNSHIP

All of the major professions have at one time or another directed their attention to the internship as a means of training.² Some of the professions have done more with the concept than have others, but no groups has utilized it as extensively as the medical educators.

Near the turn of the century, public attention in the United States was turned to the social service value of medicine and the profession itself became conscious of the instability and lack of standards existent in the variety of "schools" which trained doctors. A combination of public concern as well as a growing professional conscience prompted the Carnegie Foundation to support a comprehensive investigation of medical programs, facilities, and standards operative in the country in 1910.

Abraham Flexner³ was commissioned to make this study and his report and recommendations revolutionized medical training. He is

¹F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker 1939, cited in Ross Stagner, Psychology of Industrial Conflict, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956) pp. 131-32.

²This attention is apparent in articles written about the problems of educating clergymen, lawyers, engineers and pharmacists in: Seward Hiltner, et al. "The Essentials of Professional Education," Journal of Higher Education, 25:245-62, May, 1954.

³Abraham Flexner, Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (New York, 1910).

further credited with having an equal influence upon the professional quality of medical practice since that date. His findings and recommendations served not only as a guide to the improvement of medical education, but his analysis identified characteristics of modern professional training which apply in many related fields.

Flexner identified three stages in the development of medical education in America. The first of these stages was the preceptorship which was built upon principles laid down in the apprentice method. Here an aspiring physician aligned himself with a practicing professional and by helping the latter attend the sick and injured the apprentice eventually learned medicine from his preceptor. Ultimately this system gave way to a "school" type of medical education in which the didactic method was employed by practitioner or lecturers who talked about medicine. This stage eventually gave way to the clinic-laboratory approach where the medical student returned to contacts with patients and learned medicine, under guidance, by attempting to diagnose and prescribe treatment for the illnesses he met in the clinic. Flexner succinctly stated the case for this last approach in saying:

The apprentice saw disease; the didactic pupil heard about it; now once more the medical student returns to the patient whom, in the main, he left when he parted from his preceptor.⁴

Although Flexner was concerned about lack of scientific preparation, i.e. the study of biology, anatomy, chemistry and pharmacology, in programs preparing medical students, he was equally concerned about training which did not provide an opportunity to learn the practice of medicine by practicing. He saw in the old preceptorship-apprenticeship

⁴Ibid., p. 20.

arrangement certain advantages which were lacking in the didactic methods being used by many "schools" in 1910.

In Flexner's analysis of medical education the pattern of training in professional fields other than medicine can be identified. Most professions began by utilizing the apprentice-preceptor method and as the need for more trained professionals increased, an institutionalized approach was used in which one trained practitioner utilized the didactic method to train several aspiring professionals. This brought about schools of law, schools of medicine, schools of education, and schools devoted to other professional areas. But the establishment of schools took the student away from the reality of actual field practice, and in so doing, the value deriving from patient or client contact was lost.

Flexner's analysis also points up the basic difference between an apprenticeship and an internship. An apprenticeship allows a student to approach a practicing situation without prior knowledge of the field. In the process of performing the tasks of the apprentice he acquires the skills and knowledge necessary to becoming a practitioner of his trade or craft.

An internship, on the other hand, is that kind of training experience which follows an organized period of learning. It presupposes the acquisition of specialized skill and knowledge which is to be used in a practical setting. The internship is a training method which is most appropriate for the preparation of a professional person since a profession presumes that a defined body of theory undergirds practice. Apprenticeship is a method of training more appropriate for occupations which are less than professional in nature.

Misinterpretation of the purpose and function of these two methods of training accounts for some of the objections to internship expressed by writers concerned with professional training.⁵ The terms, "internship" and "apprenticeship", are used almost interchangeably by some writers who center their attention on the practical aspects of professional training. Considering the internship as an apprenticeship creates fear reactions that the theoretical and substantive aspects of professional preparation are being sacrificed in favor of "on-the-job" training. This fear is not well founded because a trainee is incapable of assuming intern responsibilities without the theoretical and substantive base upon which professional practice is built.

This common confusion often prevents fair assessment of either of the two methods in light of their intended purposes, and clouds discussion of the effectiveness of each in situations where they are singularly appropriate.

Since this study is designed to analyze the training utility of the internship, a specific set of conditions and characteristics are next set forth to define the concept unambiguously.

DEFINITION OF INTERNSHIP

The purpose of the internship appears to be that of providing for the neophyte⁶ an opportunity to experience the fusion of principles

⁵L. Kandel, "An Experiment or a Revival?" School and Society 76:75, August 2, 1952. This article is critical of the support certain foundations have given the internship idea in teacher education. The argument uses the term "internship" but seems to object to it on the basis of conditions which describe "apprenticeship".

⁶The term neophyte literally means one without experience but for purposes of this paper it will mean one without internship experience.

and theories appropriate to a profession as they are applied in the solution of practical problems. This basic statement of purpose has been put forth by representatives of many of the major professions for the past half century. The internship is, additionally, intended to bring the trainee into contact with practicing professionals in a field setting, and with the clientele to whom professional services are extended. It provides an exposure to the range of problems and conditions normally experienced in professional field practice. In this sense it is an arranged program, supervised and directed, in which the neophyte professional is sponsored by representatives of his training institution and by members of his profession at large.

Logically implied by the preceding definition, certain conditions must exist in such an experience if its purposes are to be met. First among these conditions is the necessity for the trainee to have demonstrated adequate preparation in the academic and practical disciplines appropriate to his field. He must have mastered the skills required for practice and must have a working knowledge of the principles which guide professionals in practice. Second, the internship experience must be sponsored by an accredited and responsible training institution; it must be a recognized part of the institutional program even though institutional facilities are not used exclusively. Third, it must be an experience of a specified duration of time. One year in most professions is considered to be a minimum and this may be extended considerably depending upon the complexity and the nature of the work of the professional practitioner.

Fourth, the intern experience must be one of association involving personal contact between the intern and practicing professionals as well as that segment of the public normally availing themselves of the particular professional services. It must be an experience in which professional status is accorded the intern in the associations mentioned. Relationships with practitioners will not demand the same degree of granted status as will be demanded in contacts with the public. But it is essential that status be forthcoming from both segments if the trainee is to make significant decisions and to assume professional responsibility for them.

This then becomes a fifth condition necessary in internship experiences; the opportunity for the intern to make decisions and assume responsibility for them. Guidance and assistance is needed in this respect if the intern is to gain experience which goes beyond the learning which takes place within institutional classrooms and laboratories. The opportunity and initiative to decide must rest with the intern.

Based on the experience of the medical profession, two other conditions seem necessary to the definition of an internship program. The program should be organized around a set of principles and recommendations laid down by successful practitioners and presented through their professional organizations. In medicine these principles have been codified so that they might serve as guides to institutions establishing programs. Professional associations in law, education, architecture have addressed themselves to the problem of training. The committees and commissions in these professions seem to have exerted less influence within their professions than has the Council on Medical

Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association.⁷

The professional organization also carries the burden of responsibility for initiating the last of the conditions essential to a successful internship program. The energies and influence of the organization must be marshalled in such a way that the internship becomes a required part of preparation for professional practice. Licensing, certification or any other appropriate dispensation to practice would be contingent upon the completion of an intern experience. If an association of practitioners does not strongly support the internship in principle then institutions and individuals may circumvent this phase in training in order to speed a trainee's attainment of full professional status.

ATTITUDES OF THE PROFESSIONS TOWARD INTERNSHIP

When a profession faces an increased service responsibility due to increased knowledge, the total fabric of its training program is affected. The curricular offerings provided in training schools are assessed, the methods of teaching are reviewed, the extent of academic requirements is evaluated, and the processes by which aspirants learn a profession are subjected to modification or change.

The attention of those concerned with training centers not on one of these aspects of a training program but usually upon all of them. The internship, therefore, becomes but one small part of the conditions

⁷Council on Medical Education and Hospitals AMA Essentials of an Approved Internship (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1958) offers a good definitive statement concerning the aims and objectives of medical internship.

reviewed in assessing the effectiveness of training.

The work setting of a profession dictates, to a limited degree, the tendency which a particular profession will have for considering the internship as a favorable method. Hospitals, schools, and social service agencies are basically different from law offices, church communities, scientific or engineering laboratories. Training institutions for particular professions will find that the setting for an internship may exist intact somewhere adjacent to the institution. The opportunity for establishing and coordinating intern experiences is enhanced in such cases.

Within the various professions there seems to be a considerable awareness of the possibilities of internships, for the problem of providing practical training as well as technical and theoretical preparation is a common concern in all fields. But attitudes toward the internship vary both within and among the professions.

Thus, Blaustein and Porter⁸ present both sides of the "practical" versus the "academic" arguments associated with the education of lawyers. Their discussion of practical training seems to lean more heavily on the apprenticeship concept than on the internship concept, however.

Harno suggests that differences of opinion exist among leading lawyers and legal educators concerning the ideal balance between practical and academic training but he indicates that increasing support is growing within the profession for some kind of institutionally sponsored intern

⁸A. P. Blaustein & Charles O. Porter, The American Lawyer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954)

experience for lawyers.⁹

Bannister¹⁰ suggests that in the field of architecture the concern for internship is less prevalent than in some other professional fields. He also reveals that in 1950, twenty-three per cent of the architects in the United States had been trained through apprentice systems in architectural offices. This indicates that the prime concern of the profession, at this time, centers on reducing the large number of practitioners who have no college or university background.

Education, as a profession, has been concerned with the concept of internship since the late nineteenth century. Brown University instituted a program in 1895 which bore many of the characteristics of internships presently defined as experimental.¹¹ The University of Cincinnati inaugurated a program in 1919 which has probably trained more teachers through internship experience than any other program in the country.¹² John Dewey proposed an internship kind of experience for teachers in 1905.¹³ A review of the literature reveals more than one

⁹Albert J. Harno, Legal Education in the United States (San Francisco: Bancroft Whiting Co., 1953).

¹⁰Turpin C. Bannister, The Architect at Mid-Century: Evolution and Achievement (New York: Reinhold Publishing Co., 1954), p. 109.

¹¹Walter B. Jacobs, "Practice Teaching for Secondary School Teachers at Brown University," School and Society 3:533-36 April 8, 1916.

¹²Howard R. Jones, "Internship in Teacher Education" (Unpublished Ph. D dissertation, Yale University, 1940), p. 14.

¹³John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Charles McMurry (ed.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904) pp. 9-30.

hundred fifty articles and studies which deal with the internship as a method for teacher education.¹⁴

Theological schools and seminaries have utilized the internship as an integral part of undergraduate training and have found the practical learnings of interns to be vital to the preparation of ministers.¹⁵

Schools of business have been encouraged to instigate programs of internship for accountants and business administration trainees.¹⁶

In recent years, schools preparing state and local government specialists have utilized the internship as a means of preparing their trainees to assume full professional responsibility upon graduation.¹⁷

The Council on Medical Education and Hospitals is reported to be responsible for monitoring 11,040 intern programs in 848 hospitals

¹⁴ Shirley Radcliffe, Teacher Education Fifth Year Programs (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1959). Forty-nine articles in this publication of experimental programs indicate the internship to be a part of the fifth year experience of trainees.

¹⁵ Seward Hiltner, "The Essentials of Professional Education," Journal of Higher Education, 25 (May, 1954), pp. 245-52. Lists some of the problems faced by educators in divinity schools.

Oliver C. Carmichael, Universities: Commonwealth and American, (New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1959), p. 183. Traces briefly some of the historical developments in theological education since colonial times.

¹⁶ Frank C. Pierson and others, The Education of the American Businessman. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959)

¹⁷ Several of the appropriate professional journals list articles defining this tendency. See: E. J. Rizas, "City Hall Internships for Management," (Public Management, 38, January 1956, pp. 8-10); J. R. Watson, "Internships for Public Service Training," (State Government, 3C, March 1957, pp. 67-69; K. Detzer, "Interns at City Hall," (National Municipal Review, 47, November 1958, pp. 494-96).

throughout the United States.¹⁸ No other profession supports so many programs and no other professional commission is responsible for programs of this scope. For the most part, internship programs in professions other than medicine have been transitory and experimental in nature.¹⁹

Several reasons may account for this lack of application of the internship idea despite the extensive discussion of its usefulness in professional journals. Chief among these reasons is an apparent dearth of information about its effectiveness as a means of training. Literature which deals with education for the various professions is replete with reference to the internship as a means of putting "final polish" on a professional aspirant, but evidence supporting the efficacy of the internship is more difficult to gather.

Secondly, it appears that internship is advocated and utilized most frequently within those professions in which the practitioner is expected to perform services involving direct contact and interaction with people. Medicine, theology, education, law, social and government service, seem to be the fields in which the internship is most frequently employed. Each of these fields is an occupation in which people are initially involved in the services rendered by the calling. These callings contrast significantly with such professions as engineering,

¹⁸ Carmichael, op. cit., p. 201.

¹⁹ Education serves as a good example of this. Paul Woodring's New Directions in Teacher Education, (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1957) lists 25 experimental programs supported by the Fund which use the internship in one form or another. Four doctoral dissertations (cited later in this chapter) indicate an average of 37 teacher education internship programs in operation during the period at which each of the studies were conducted, 1940 to 1956.

chemistry, or architecture where social interaction is not the central focus of the services performed. Hence the internship is viewed in the several professions with varying degrees of interest and enthusiasm.

STUDIES OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTERNSHIP

Since medicine is the only field which offers internships universally, it is here that evidence of effectiveness has been most frequently gathered.²⁰ There are limited opportunities for gathering data comparing the use of the internship in medicine to its use in other occupations. Thus it is difficult to identify universal aspects of internship as a method because the research emphasis has been placed upon proficiency in performing a single profession's functions. In other words, the internship has been evaluated on the basis of the quality of lawyer, or doctor, or teacher which emerges from such an experience. This is as it should be for a particular profession, but it is insufficient for establishing the utility of the internship as a general training concept.

An analysis of the internship as a training concept appears necessary if it is to be eventually validated as an educational tool, and if it is to be accepted more widely and put into practice in programs of professional training.

The lack of systematic studies of the general concept is an apparent reflection of the preoccupations of educators in the various

²⁰ Victor Johnson, M.D., A History of the American Medical Association 1847-1947, (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1947).

professional fields. Professional training for doctors, lawyers, engineers and clergymen is provided in institutions staffed by practitioners and specialists in the profession being taught. As practitioners and specialists they are often teachers and educators only in a secondary sense. Since education is so often of secondary interest to them, they do not evidence intense concern for methods of teaching and training. Their researches are confined to investigations and experiments in the fields of their specialties and not in pedagogical practice. As a result of this set of conditions, little research has been conducted which would either validate or invalidate the internship as a method of training professionals.

Investigation of the internship as a training concept seems to have fallen to those educators who have been concerned with pedagogical practice as a specialty. As in other professions, there have been many suggestions for internships in education; there have been many opinions either supporting or decrying this method of training.

Investigators in the field of education have attempted to accumulate information which would attest to the values of internship programs. Since 1940, five studies have centered on the internship in teacher education. In each case the study has dealt with the organization and the function of the internship and have collected opinion on internships developed in public schools and teacher training institutions across the country.

Jones (1940)²¹ found that the aims of internship programs as interpreted by administrative officials and interns of such programs

²¹Howard R. Jones, "Internship in Teacher Education," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1940).

were:

1. To integrate theory and practice.
2. To offer initial experiences in a professional environment.
3. To provide adequate and competent beginning supervision.
4. To provide a setting for 'learning by doing.'
5. To provide gradual induction into the full responsibilities of teaching.

Cress (1942)²² reported data gathered in 1936-1937 which coincided with that of Jones. He added a caution concerning intern programs for teachers in which he cited the tendency to overlook the learning aspect of internship and to use it as a method for acquiring teachers without paying full salaries for their services.²³

Stiles (1946)²⁴ study was centered on pre-service training of secondary teachers. Some of his findings strengthened the contention that internship is viewed by educators as a necessary and a coming phase of teacher education.

Bishop (1946)²⁵ reported on the purposes of the internship similar to Jones. The opinions of representatives of institutions conducting intern programs, of a jury of educational specialists or

²²Carl C. Cress, "Examining Internships Sponsored by Public Schools," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1943).

²³Ibid.

²⁴Lindley J. Stiles, "Pre-Service Education of High School Teachers in Universities," School Review 54:162-65, March, 1946.

²⁵Clifford L. Bishop, "The Participation of Colleges and Universities in Programs of Internship Training," (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Colorado, 1946).

authorities, and of a group of public school administrators and cooperating teachers were sampled. Positive support was given the internship program with which the respondents had been affiliated.

Stevens (1956)²⁶ analyzed the prevailing patterns and practices of intern programs in operation and concluded much the same as had previous studies regarding the results of intern programs. He enumerated a series of factors which might account for the lack of general acceptance of the internship as a universal teacher-training method. Among these were: resistance to change within the profession; inability to find adequate supervision; cost of maintaining programs; and existing teacher shortages.²⁷

Diekhoff (1959)²⁸ prepared a report of college faculty internship programs sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. A variety of college and university programs were outlined in this report. Faculty and intern reactions were sampled concerning these programs as they operated in twenty different institutions. The response was generally favorable and it was reported that many institutions were retaining a form of the internship for new teachers after fund support had been discontinued.

As it was previously pointed out, all of these studies reported nothing more than opinion, and expert as this opinion may be, it does

²⁶ Elmer S. Stevens, "A Status Study of Internship Programs in Teacher Education," (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1956).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ John S. Diekhoff, Tomorrow's Professors: A Report of the College Faculty Internship Program. (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, n. d.)

not constitute evidence for the actual outcomes of internship experience. It is not possible to gather detailed evidence concerning the educational function of the internship, or to account for the changes which take place in an individual undergoing such an experience. This information is not discernible in the many studies and articles which have been published. This, in itself, becomes one of the major weaknesses of research on the internship to date.

THE LOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

It is a major contention of this study that the lack of substantial research information concerning the internship stems from the fact that little has been done in constructing theories which might account for its educational function. Without such theories, little can be done in the way of systematic investigation of the actual effect of an internship experience upon an intern. Little can be determined concerning the relationship of learnings in the internship to learnings obtained in other elements of a system of educational experiences. Little can be done to modify or restructure intern programs in order that failures or inadequacies may be eliminated and positive measures, supported by research findings, may be substituted in operating programs.

A theory of internship must be based upon the purposes for which the concept was originally developed and it must take into account those factors which seem uniquely appropriate in such an experience. If the internship is truly a unique kind of experience, then it should lend itself to this kind of analysis and theory building.

Since the "internship" as a general method of training is a concept, it is not real in the sense that a specific medical internship in a specific hospital is real. In consequence it appears that the "internship" would defy a systematic analysis.

In a sociological sense, however, the "internship" is real. It is as real as the concept of "family", or "culture", or "institution", or any of the other commonly accepted sociological terms, and as such it is subject to analysis.²⁹

One of the methods for this kind of analysis is that of closed systems and elements.³⁰ This is a process of isolating a concept which seems to possess an entity and analyzing the elements of which this concept appears to be composed. This is a process sometimes called concept reduction.

A theory of internship can be constructed by using the closed system-element approach. By viewing the internship as an element of a closed system of "professional training" it is isolated so that in the next step of concept reduction it is possible to identify it as a closed system itself and to recognize those elements of which it is composed.

In the theory under development, the elements which will be identified as composing the closed system of internship are intended as

²⁹Gardner Murphy deals effectively with this approach to concept analysis in Chapter 16, "Social Motivation," in Garner Lindzey, ed., Handbook of Social Psychology II, (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 601-633.

³⁰Florian Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology, (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934), p. 14, presents the case for use of this method in sociological analysis.

a "set of conventions."³¹ They are arbitrarily selected as having an affinity to the nature and the purposes of the internship. As theory they are not subject to argument as to their "rightness" or "wrongness" except where logic proves them to be inconsistent or incompatible. They are subject to later empirical inquiry and experimental investigation and must be tested on this basis if the theory is to be proven sound or unsound.

As an element, the internship represents a part of a closed system of educational experiences which is designed to lead an uninitiated trainee through an organized sequence of training courses. In this sequence, knowledge and skill are acquired and values and attitudes are formed. The term, "organized sequence" of educational experience, is used to differentiate those experiences provided in formal schooling situations from the casual and informal learning experiences which are a part of every person's background. Assuming that all learning is intellectualized experience, it is necessary to set that kind of learning which results from organized and sequentially determined experience apart from the larger mass of experience which is a normal part of human existence.

Viewing elementary school education, where the emphasis is placed upon mastering the fundamentals of communication and social adjustment, it is possible to recognize one element of a closed system of "educational experience". The elementary school can be separately

³¹ A concise and well ordered description of the purpose, the function and the limitation of theory in the humane sciences may be found in: Calvin Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 10.

identified as an element because it contains within it some discrete characteristics which mark it as different from other components of an "educational experience". Elementary education is normally offered children who fall within certain age-group categories. It is so structured that the individual goes to a certain place or location, and assembled with others he is offered a sequentially arranged set of learning experiences. He is moved from one level of the total sequence to another as it becomes apparent that his learning and his adjustment to the school experience have prepared him for a more advanced series of learning opportunities. Junior high school and senior high school become distinct elements in this closed system of experiences in that the organization, the underlying purposes and the kinds of experiences which are provided are different from the elementary school and from each other. Undergraduate preparation in a college or university is in like manner another element of the total closed system. Graduate work, if it is necessary for professional preparation, is still another element.

The internship itself is an element of this closed system and its classification as such can be defended on several different counts. First, the intern is basically different from persons undergoing other elemental phases of an "educational experience". He has demonstrated the qualities necessary for mastering the intellectual disciplines leading up to professional practice. He is not a raw and untried learner. He is on the threshold of professional practice; in this respect his position is unique as he relates with his educators. Anyone with whom he works will begin at a point at which most educators part from their pupils.

The intern experience possesses characteristics which mark it as different from other experiences. The intern is not expected to absorb knowledge and information and then demonstrate his mastery of this information in the artificial testing situations common to the classroom. He is now at the point where he must make real decisions based upon whatever mastery of his academic background he can call forth. More significant is the fact that in the internship position, the final assessment of his effectiveness will not rest exclusively with teachers or institutional representatives but also with the lay public which he is meeting for the first time as a professional person.

The opportunity for guided self-analysis is another significant unique characteristic of the internship. The extended experience provides a setting in which the incumbent can make a continual evaluation of his preparation, his work and the changes which take place within him as he becomes a professional. Without such an experience, the beginning professional thrown into field practice will find it necessary to make such assessments without mature counsel and assistance. The intern can begin this process with assistance at a most vital juncture in his career.

THE INTERNSHIP IN A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL SETTING

Every element in an "educational experience" carries with it certain psychological and sociological concomitants. An analysis of these factors must be made in developing a theory of internship.

Thus, a system of logical concept reduction has been used in order to place the internship in a proper socio-psychological perspective.

The method of this reduction has been that of moving from a sociological description of internship as a phase of "professional training" to consideration of the psychological impact it might have upon an individual.³² This logical approach is opposite to the more common pattern followed in educational theory building.

Educators are prone to utilize primary psychological orientations in studying and devising training methods. They often use the individual human organism as a base reference for developing theories of teaching and learning. Program planners analyze the physical and psychological needs of individuals and they build their theories and programs around the need structure of the individual organism. They extend the effect of these structures into the society of which the individual is a part and they attach causal significance in terms of the effects the structures have upon society.

This study has utilized a different approach for two reasons. One, the internship is not a novel idea which is being proposed by a theorist bent on providing a kind of learning not heretofore available. It is a concept which has evolved from long social experience. It appears to be an outgrowth of the apprenticeship and the formal "school" systems of training. Two, the investigator believes that society exerts certain forces upon its members in such a way that many educational methods are really means for meeting the needs of a society rather than the needs of the individuals being educated.

³²Gardner Murphy, "Social Motivation," in Lindzey, Handbook of Social Psychology, op. cit., p. 630. The rationale for this method of analysis is well developed in this article.

This does not detract from the significance of theories of education and learning which center on the individual. It merely proposes that an approach which is initially sociological rather than psychologically based may provide some insights and some theoretical structures which will be useful in the study of educational methods in general, and of the internship in particular.

THE ORDER OF THIS STUDY

Construction of a theory of the internship is dependent upon fundamental considerations which account for its existence as a concept of training in the professions. It is, therefore, necessary to identify some of the characteristics which mark the professions as different from other occupational endeavors.

The accepted professions possess identifiable features which make them similar, one to another, and these same features set them apart from non-professional enterprises. The internship is but one part of a series of training experiences offered professional aspirants. The internship's uniqueness can be appreciated only if comparison and contrast is made with other training experiences.

Chapter II, The Nature of the Professions in Modern Society, will account for the growth of discrete occupational groups in a particular culture. The nature of professions and the nature of professional activity will be identified and placed in a social perspective. The responsibilities of the professional man will be discussed and the implications that these responsibilities have for professional education will be delineated.

In schematically portraying the concept reduction process of this study, attention is centered first upon the range and kinds of social experiences to which people are normally exposed. They are experiences which are provided in the commonly accepted institutions in a complex society. Each of these experiences can be considered as a closed system involving concomitant elements peculiar to the experience.

Following the center line and progressing through the five concept reduction stages, stage II portrays educational experience as a closed system and identifies the five institutional kinds of training as elements in this closed system. Professional training is one such element.

Stage III presents professional training as a closed system and identifies the elements substantive disciplines (subject and courses) and professional methods (clinics, laboratories, clerkships) as two components of this training. The internship is conceived as a third element for individuals training in professions where such an experience is available.

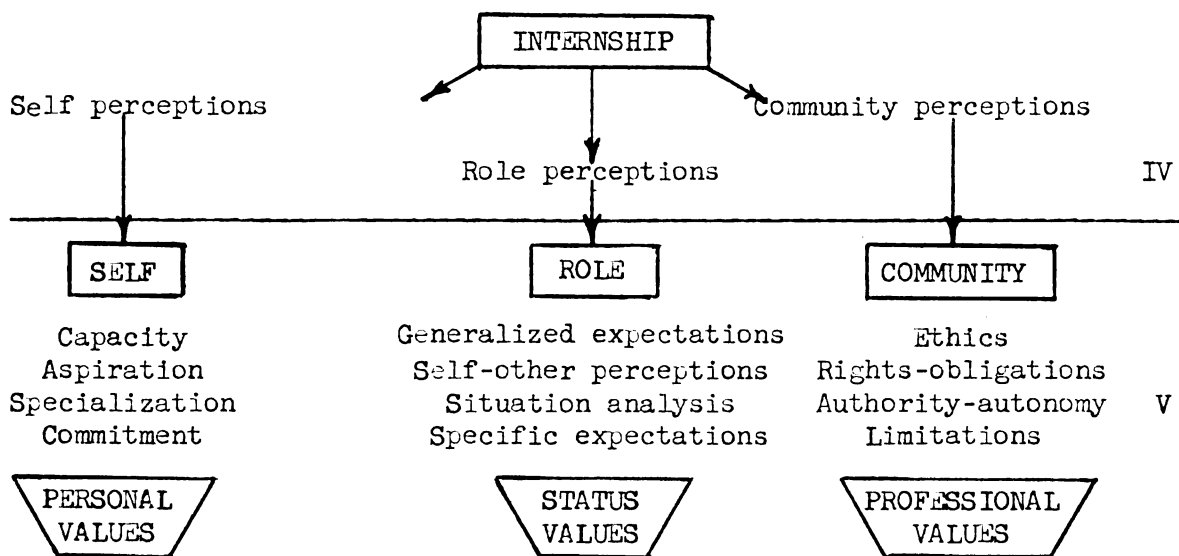
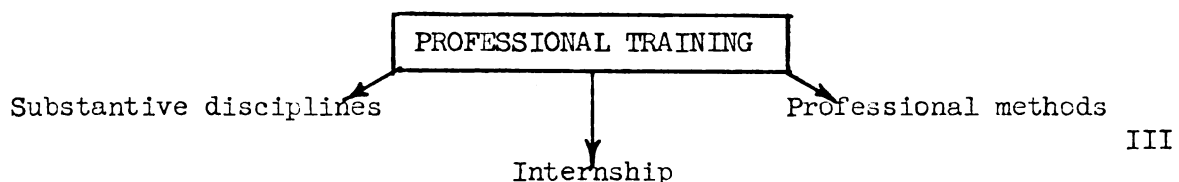
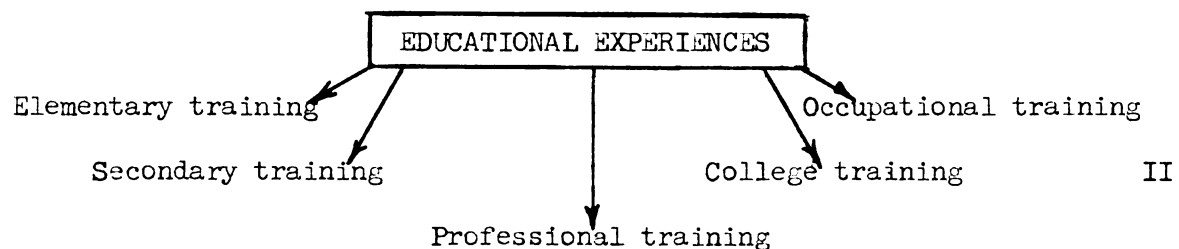
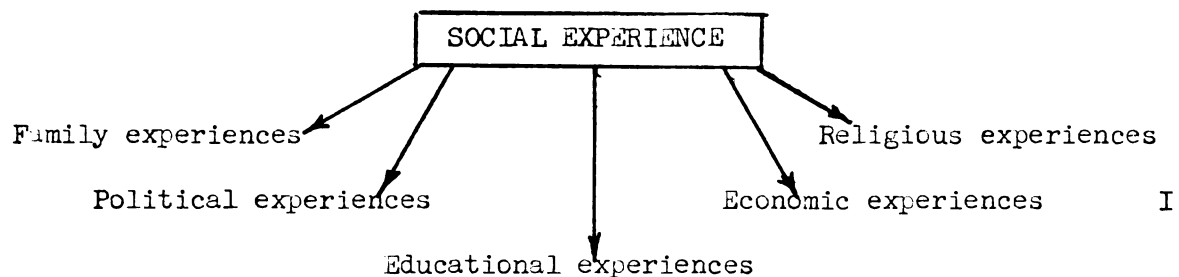
In stage IV, the internship is presented as a closed system and the elements, identity of self, identity of role, and identity of community are viewed as elements of the intership experience.

Stage V represents the last reduction and the areas of self, role and community are each treated as closed systems and an analysis is made of their element components.

Having reduced from the context of total social experience to the experiences available in a particular learning setting, it is held that the theoretical implications of each may be derived more meaningfully from the various elements of social composition, than from the elements which might be proposed from a base of need psychology.

The internship is presented as having elements which are discrete dimensions of social perception. It is viewed as a part of a closed system of social-educational experiences in which an incumbent is exposed to certain perceptual potentials.

The areas of self, role, and community are introduced and discussed in detail as closed systems of experience and perception. The learning residual in each of these areas is identified in the value composites listed at the bottom of the diagram.



Chapter III, The Internship as an Element in a Closed System of Professional Training, will view the internship as it relates to the total range of professional preparation. It will be presented within a context of professional training and the features and qualities of the concept which set it apart from other experiences will be identified.

Three major experience elements are classified as composing the internship as it has been previously defined. They are manifested as perceptions or awarenesses which go to make up an individual's value system. These perceptual elements are classified as: an identity of self in a professional setting; an identity of role in a professional setting; and, an identity of community in a professional setting.

Chapter IV will deal with identity of self as a closed system. It will examine the kinds of internal awarenesses and perceptions which an individual may develop as he experiences an internship.

Chapter V will analyze the identity of role as a closed system. Here, elements will emerge from, and center on, the social-interaction aspects of the internship. Attention will be focused primarily on the contact situations which are the heart of the internship.

Chapter VI will investigate those elements which seem to be most closely related to identity of community in a professional setting. Community will be interpreted as meaning more than spatial locale in this particular reference. It implies a broader acceptance of the term community which projects the idea of "place" or "position" as regards the professional and his professional practice.

Chapter VII will serve as a consolidating and as a summarizing effort in that, self, role and community perceptions of the internship will be viewed together. The elements which go to make up each of the three experiences will be viewed comparatively and their interrelationship will be discussed.

This introductory chapter has presented a definition of the internship and has pointed out its present status as a method in the training of professionals. It has been suggested that the lack of support for the method might be accounted for by the paucity of the research available on the effect of internship experiences in the total preparation of a professional person. Lack of a theory concerning changes which take place when an intern undergoes this phase of training was suggested as a reason for this paucity. Such a theory must be developed in order to serve as a conceptual structure for research.

The outline for the building of such a theory has been presented and the development of the theory follows.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE PROFESSIONS IN MODERN SOCIETY

In developing a theory concerning a phase of the training offered professional aspirants, it is first necessary to view the professions, per se. Professions possess characteristics which set them apart from other occupations and which identify them as discrete units of social organization.¹ It is necessary to see these occupational groups in proper perspective as they relate to the society as a whole.

Professions may, in fact, be considered elements of the closed system of action and organization which goes to make up a society. In order to analyze the professions it is necessary to view their development, their function, and their operational forms.

Professions are products of two sociological phenomena common in human organization. They result from the tendency which societies have toward dividing and diversifying the responsibilities for labor, and they exist because a society tends to acquire, to classify and to pass on knowledge.²

Professions are occupational groups which perform essential services for a society. They are services which are beyond the performance level of "average men" and as such, they require specific skills, specialized knowledge, and a particular set of attitudes and perceptions.

¹ A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 284-287.

² Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933), pp. 14-18.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONS

Within Western society, the nature of professions has undergone constant change since Europe cast off the feudal systems of the Middle Ages. Change has been characteristic of the crafts which now compose "the professions", of the knowledge which has been accumulated by each of the professions, of the services the professions are capable of providing, and of the methods used in selecting, retaining, and training entrants into the professions.³

According to historical accounts, law, medicine and theology were the first accepted "professions" in Europe. According to present standards, none of these would have qualified as more than semi-skilled crafts initially. But in 12th century Europe, these groups represented the most advanced forms of training and involved the greatest collection of warranted knowledge available. Practitioners of law, medicine and theology were capable of performing services which society recognized as not available elsewhere and a particular status was accorded the groups as "professions".⁴

³A thorough account of the growth of building trades and particularly the field of architecture supports this point in: Bannister, op. cit., pp. 82-92. Patterns indicated here apply equally as well as to the developmental characteristics of the other professions.

⁴Carr-Saunders and Wilson op. cit. pp. 289-94. Identify law and medicine as areas which became secular at a very early period and consequently reflect more accurately the characteristics of professions as accepted today. The authors consider the church related occupations as not entirely professional because the motivating force is spiritual rather than social.

As western Europe society matured, it became more complex. Greater division of labor, accumulating bodies of knowledge, and increased areas in which specialized services were needed, ultimately generated new professions. Among these new groups can be found such well established professions as engineering, education, architecture, social work, accounting and journalism. Even today certain occupation groups are vying for recognition as professions.

As knowledge in a particular field increases, the use of this knowledge gives promise of new and essential services to society through a particular occupational group. That group, recognizing this, becomes concerned with establishing itself as a profession. It becomes concerned with setting standards which will limit and control its members.

The qualified members of a profession are thus moved to form associations and mutually to guarantee their own competence. . . . Another motive is present from the beginning. . . . 'the maintenance of a high standard of professional character and honourable practice.' The responsible members of the profession in fact desire to see a proper standard of professional conduct set up and maintained. . . .⁵

The emerging profession becomes concerned with establishing itself as a profession within the society which supports it.

The public has to be convinced that the practitioners of the new craft possess a technique founded upon an elaborate training and that equivalent services cannot be rendered by any untrained person who may offer to perform them. . . .⁶

⁵Carr-Saunders, op. cit. quoted in, B. O. Smith et al., Readings in the Social Aspects of Education, (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1951), pp. 549.

⁶Ibid.

Once the occupational group has become established as a professional group, it begins to put its house in order and it develops a series of characteristics which Flexner has defined as the "ear-marks of a profession."

. . . Professions involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; they derive their raw material from science and learning; this material they work up to a practical and definite end; they possess an educationally communicable technique; they tend to self-organization; they become increasingly altruistic in motivation.⁷

Some of the characteristics mentioned by Flexner may occur within an occupational group before it achieves full status as a profession. After achieving this status, however, much of the group's collective attention will be centered upon these professional characteristics as they relate to social function.

One of the most common referents used in setting a profession apart from a trade or a craft is the method and the nature of training used in professional preparation. Carr-Saunders identifies this:

A profession may be defined as an occupation based upon specialized intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to, supply skilled service or advice to others. . . .⁸

Intellectual study and training becomes the center of professional preparations as contrasted with training for non-professional occupations. These conditions tend to channel certain segments within a society toward the professions while others are channeled into non-professional activities.⁹

⁷ Abraham Flexner, "What Are the Earmarks of a Profession?", in Smith et al., op. cit., pp. 556.

⁸ A. M. Carr-Saunders, Professions, Their Organization and Place in Society, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 5.

⁹ The psychological influences on occupational choice are a common theme in the guidance and counseling field. c. f. Donald Super,

EDUCATION FOR THE PROFESSIONS

Certain individual qualities and characteristics are demanded of the professional man; professional training is, therefore, designed so that these qualities will be developed or instilled in those who qualify for training. Over a period of time, a society tends to develop a set of expectations for its professionals and these become crystallized when individual practitioners form into professional associations and standardize the training and prescribe the boundaries of professional performance.

Modern professions have performance standards which are, for the most part, universal. That is, these prescriptions serve equally well in identifying the role and the expectations of the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher, or any other accepted professional practitioner. Hiltner has stated as the generalized "characteristics of the professional man":

. . . the professional man operates from basic principles . . .
This is what a 'learned profession' means . . .

. . . the professional man operates through technical means, but in mastery of them, not in subordination to them--using them to free rather than to fetter thinking and action.

. . . he operates in some direct way for human welfare . . .
For the professional man the human welfare considerations are an explicit part of the principles upon which he relies.

. . . the professional man operates responsibly; that is, he has a discriminating view of what his own principles may be applicable to, and of where the knowledge and skills of others are more relevant . . .

The Psychology of Careers, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957) and Anne Roe, The Psychology of Occupations, (New York: Chapman & Hall, 1956). For the sociologically deterministic view, see: Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

. . . the professional man operates in some way as a representative of a group which, collectively, is a 'profession.' Part of his ethics has to do with the way in which what he does and how he does it affects the whole group of which he is a representative.¹⁰

To develop these five characteristics of the professional man, it is apparent that a particular kind of learning situation must be arranged if the initiated trainee is to become the qualified professional practitioner.

The aspiring professional must be given the opportunity to learn the disciplines which apply to his field. He must be exposed to the best teaching techniques appropriate to each discipline and must take from this experience specific knowledge of the discipline as well as a command of the basic principles which guide the use of this knowledge.

He must, further, be trained in the practical or technical aspects of his field so that proven practices and techniques will be a well established part of his personal reserve in the solution of professional problems. He must be familiar with, and skilled in the use of, any technical processes, tools or working materials used in the modern practice of his craft.

The future practitioner must be cognizant of the history and philosophy of his profession and must have attained a proper perspective of the "human welfare" aspects of his calling. He must view his work beyond the confines of the specific acts he will be expected to perform and see it in relation to other practitioners in his own profession, to other professions, and to the total pattern of social organization.

¹⁰Hiltner, op. cit., p. 250.

He must be conditioned to act responsibly and to assert both his right and authority to make decisions in his area of competence. He must be aware of the seriousness of his professional charge, but he must be confident, not timid, in making the decisions and performing the tasks which society has allotted to him. He must realize that his specialty exists, as such, only because it depends upon particular talents and training. Having these, he is bound to serve by utilizing his talents and training in the most effective manner at his command.

The fledgling professional must become aware of his singular role as a practitioner, but, more than this, he must learn and accept the fact that he is a part of a collective which has brought an essential service to society and which is now charged with the maintenance and improvement of that service. He must embrace the traditions of his professional group, abide by its ethics, and subscribe to its standards. He must be alertly concerned in his own practice, and in the practice of others, that the purposes of the profession are being met and that the frontiers of professional knowledge are being extended so that services of those practicing become increasingly more effective.

This places serious responsibilities upon those preparing to enter professional practice. It places an equally heavy burden on those charged with training entrants into the field. The magnitude of this responsibility is reflected in the extensive training time needed in the professions and the heavy learning demands placed upon trainees.

The education of its inductees plays a large part in the deliberations of any professional group. Selection and retention of trainees, measures of competence, standards of performance, and methods

of training command the attention and the energies of the devoted members of a professional group.

SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF A PROFESSION

Today, many quasi-professional groups are establishing the attitudes and the means for becoming the professions of tomorrow.¹¹ It is not uncommon to find colleges and universities offering courses and degrees in such occupational specialty areas as: industrial management, and supervision, labor relations, and in such technological services as electronics, transportation, marketing and packaging. The occupational areas dealing with public protection, the military services, police and fire protection agencies show signs of forming "professional associations" and directing their attention to the professional aspects of their calling. The occupations contained in the broad area of mass-media communication, printers, printing lay-out personnel, radio and television technicians and many other related occupational specialties are awakening to the essential nature of their services and are responding to the growing knowledge which is essential to adequate performance in their fields.

As this knowledge accumulates, and becomes increasingly necessary as a preliminary condition of entrance into the field, the occupational group will take on more of the characteristics of a profession.

But society, as a whole, must be willing to grant status to a profession. The special occupational group must be able to show that

¹¹ Myron Lieberman, Education as a Profession, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 13.

the services it performs cannot be substituted by any other means and that untrained and unprepared personnel cannot adequately perform the service. Pre-professional and professional training consequently becomes a concern of those practicing in the field. Training responsibilities will usually be assumed by some institution where departments can provide the necessary academic disciplines and instruction. But there still remains the basic problems of providing a setting for realistic practice where the trainee can utilize his skills and knowledge under guided supervision.

The internship is such a setting. It has been introduced as one phase in a sequence of training experiences. It is an unique kind of training experience in which particular types of learning and special areas of awareness and understanding may be provided a trainee. It is an identifiable pedagogical entity, possessing characteristics and qualities of its own and revealing features which are worthy of study and analysis.

The internship offers an incumbent a series of adaptive and adjustive experiences and provides a number of identification figures which an individual may use as he assesses his growth toward professional stature.

The chapter following will analyze the internship as an element in a closed system of professional experiences.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERNSHIP AS AN ELEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Professional training has been identified as a significant element in a closed system of educational experiences appropriate for a profession. Professional training will now be viewed as a closed system of arranged experiences and those elements of training which bear signs of being identifiably different from other elements of professional training will be isolated.

The professional man in modern society is distinguishable because he performs services of a nature unlike those performed by members of other occupational groups. The professional has been prepared for these tasks by an organized and sequential arrangement of classes, courses, readings, lectures and recitations. He has been tested and examined at varying stages of his preparation and his learning has been assessed as a measure of his ability to advance in his training.

In terms of preparation for professional practice, it appears that undergraduate college work should be the first element of training experience identified and analyzed. Training and experience which precedes work at the college level does not seem to bear a direct relationship to professional training when it is recognized that of the millions who complete elementary and secondary education each year, only small groups enter further training for professional preparation. Even smaller numbers of these entrants complete all of the requirements and eventually enter professional practice.

All professions agree that the undergraduate school is an important part of the education of the professional man. But among the various professions it is not commonly agreed as to whether undergraduate experiences should be primarily professional or pre-professional in nature.¹

Medicine holds that a general education in the arts and sciences should be acquired at the undergraduate level and most medical schools require an earned bachelor's degree as a condition of admission.²

Many law schools, on the other hand, recommend a bachelor's degree, but require only two years' college work prior to admission to professional school.

Theological schools vary and there appears to be no general pattern of pre-professional requirements for that profession. In many cases professional course work in theology may be taken as a part of an undergraduate program.

Education commonly grants a professional degree and qualifies one for a teaching certificate upon the completion of a bachelor's degree. As with architecture and engineering, the professional courses are included as part of the undergraduate program. Schools of social work and government service also fall into this category as do schools of business and social science.

¹An example of the contrasting viewpoints centering on this issue may be found in: Marle Borrowman, The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956). Although this survey deals with professional education, it reflects currents of thought which apply in other professions.

²Carmichael, op. cit., p. 201.

Despite these differences among professions, it is apparent that every profession has shown interest in broadening the undergraduate experiences of trainees and offering more than a specialized sequence of courses which should apply most directly to the future work of the professional. The trend in most professions is toward the requirement of a broadly conceived education offered in undergraduate school and then provision for the intensive and specialized experiences necessary for professional preparation at the graduate level.³

When a trainee enters the professional sequence appropriate to his field, he begins a new phase. The divergence of purpose and activity of the various professional courses in medicine, law, education from the pre-professional foundation courses makes it possible to speak of these specialized offerings as a new element of professional training.

Upon completion of pre-professional and professional course work, there are several channels through which qualified individuals enter the professions. For many beginners, the step which follows the completion of formal training and degree requirements is that of direct entry into professional practice. Patterns of direct entry take on many forms for the several professions. These may be traditional recommendations developed by the profession or agencies using the services of the professional. Beginning lawyers, architects and consulting engineers often become affiliated with established firms as junior members or partners. Engineers, as well as specialists in the sciences

³ Earl J. McGrath, Liberal Education in the Professions (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959).

and social sciences who are employed by industry or by government agencies, may undergo brief orientation training programs designed to familiarize the initiate with the specific work to be done. These professional adjustment programs are not, however, part of the regular programs offered by established training institutions, and are not "internships" according to the definition presented previously.

Medicine, theology, and education are three areas in which internship arrangements have been commonly made at the institutional level. These arrangements have been designed to provide the internship as a terminating experience before conferring the full right to practice professionally.

The internship, thus, is yet another element in the closed system of professional training. The unique function of the internship, then, is that it serves as a final capstone to the training. Its functions are analagous to those of the "rite of passage" in the primitive tribe.

The internship, as a point in a training sequence, is a terminal phase in a series of academic and professional experiences provided by formalized programs. It is also an initial experience which will provide the kinds of problems and conditions which the intern will recognize as typical of professional practice. The internship is, in other words, a kind of middle ground. It follows after the structured pattern of university training, a training which is ordered and sequential and to which the intern finds it necessary to adapt. The internship precedes full professional practice which offers a rather random selection of problems and conditions with which the practitioner

must be able to deal. The internship lies between these two, offering some sequence but also a random selection of problems. As such, it involves certain aspects of training which are not appropriate to either pre-intern training or post-intern practice. It is not a place to learn the basic skills, disciplines, or the principles of a professional field. These should have been acquired prior to internship. It now rests with the intern to put these skills and learnings into practice in the intern situation. The internship is, however, not a place where every attitude and every skill necessary for professional practice is learned. In other words, the intern, at the completion of his internship, is not yet a finished practitioner when he enters professional practice. But he has a more complete and more realistic view of himself as a beginning professional than would be possible if he were to enter practice directly from the classrooms and laboratories of a training institution.

One might question the real value of such an interim experience if it assumes the learning of the basic disciplines and skills necessary for professional practice, and if it does not produce a finished product in terms of ability to practice professionally. It is here that the basic purpose of the experience must be viewed and the kind of learning inherent in the internship must be assessed. It is precisely the interim quality which becomes the real value of the internship. The period provides an opportunity for guided self analysis of one's effectiveness as weighed on scales of a dual professional performance. More specifically--a medical intern can judge and be judged on his success in diagnosing and curing a patient's

illness; a legal intern can judge himself and be judged in terms of the way he plans a case or arranges a brief and carries the case to its conclusion. A teaching intern can judge and be judged in terms of the learning which he engenders in his pupils.

It is true, of course, that these are all highly abstract assessments. They can be made only through exercising opinion, and opinion is always subject to further analysis and review. The very nature of professional effort and subsequent professional result is never clear-cut and final. This is true of the efforts of professionals as well as interns. If a patient's illness appears to be cured as a result of a certain treatment, does it mean that no other prescription could have succeeded? Does it mean that the same prescription and treatment would succeed another time? If a teacher's efforts are reflected by learning gains on the part of his pupils, does it mean that greater gains could have not been accomplished by utilizing different means of teaching?

The point, here, is that something more specific in terms of possible learning must be identified with the internship if it is to be validated as a training device. These specific learnings that the internship provides are the following: basic insights for an incumbent about his own motivations as a professional, about his values as an individual practitioner and as a member of a profession, and about his role and his position as a practitioner in a professional community and in the larger society.

A fourth sphere of possible specific learning and one most commonly related with professional performance is deliberately set aside in this study as not relevant. This is the area of technical competence.

TECHNICAL COMPETENCE AS IT RELATES TO THE INTERNSHIP

One of the areas of performance frequently mentioned as a function of the internship, is that of developing technical competence. It is commonly assumed that such development is an expected outcome of an internship experience and it is further assumed that standard measures of knowledge and skill can be utilized in determining the degree of competence attained by an intern. These measures then provide a basis for validating the internship's effectiveness.

This study is predicated on a different line of reasoning, however. Technical competence is perceived as being a quality which is not unique to the internship even though it is a valid measure of performance. The point here is that technical competence demonstrated in the internship is really a manifestation of pre-intern learning and experience.

The initial definition of the internship stated that the trainee must have mastered the skills and knowledge essential to practice before internship. Technical competence will have been assessed previously and probably will have been used as an indication of readiness for internship. Throughout an intern experience a trainee will probably sharpen his competency as a result of the cluster of practicing opportunities offered him. But technical competence is not

the central purpose of the internship. It can be better learned or acquired as a pre-planned, sequential arrangement in a formal school setting.

It would appear that a fairer evaluation of the internship as an educational method would result from assessment of the learning and perceptual possibilities which are unique to the experience.

The basic premise that all learning is an extremely individualistic phenomenon cannot be ignored. Individuals learn singly--even though they may be assembled and taught collectively. The singular perceptions and identities which individuals acquire only in the internship should become the focus of an evaluative study.

Thus three dimensions of awareness have been chosen as areas seeming to hold the greatest promise for analysis as elements of the internship. They are areas which involve the perceptions drawn from the self, perceptions drawn from the social interaction, and the perceptions drawn from the professional environment in which the internship is set.

All individuals are concerned with some fundamental questions related to being and existence. They are concerned with knowing "Who am I?", "What am I?" and "Where am I?". This desire for personal identification is a persistent and ongoing human attribute through all stages of development. All learning is basically centered on these three identifications, although increasingly the learner finds them obscured by the demands placed on acquiring specific skills and detailed knowledge and by putting both of these to work.

In the internship, these identification concerns are also central though modified somewhat by the previous experiences of the intern. The aspiring physician has learned to identify himself as a member of a family, as a member of a school, social and community groups, as a citizen of a city, state and nation, a member of a church, and so on. He has formed some opinions about himself concerning his effectiveness as a member of each of these groups. He will have formed additioned impressions of himself as a speaker, a writer, a listener, a thinker, a student, an athlete, an actor, a singer, ad infinitum.

The medical student has undoubtedly been attempting to answer the question, "Who am I---as a physician?" throughout his medical school career. But the nature of medical school is such that the medical student identity will predominate during the formalized learning period. The medical student will be more prone to think of himself as, "John Adams--medical student" than he will as "John Adams--physician".

In the intern experience, he can now test and form some perceptions of himself as Doctor John Adams. This opportunity exists within the framework of experiences provided in the internship and is a significant part of John Adams' preparation for future performances. He may come to identify himself as a practicing physician and may develop some definite awarenesses about his motivations, his values and his capabilities for professional practice. He may learn to differentiate between John Adams, physician, and John Adams, family member, and John Adams, citizen and John Adams, medical student. He

may recognize that as John Adams, physician, he has become a person different from the family member, the citizen or the medical student.

The question, "What am I--as a professional?" is also answered in the intern experience and the answer will emerge from the "Who am I?" identification; here the prescription of performance begins. Doubly involved are the questions: "What is expected of me?" and "What can I expect of clients and other members of the profession?".

It is apparent that social contact and interaction become important in arriving at this second identity because expectations emerge only from such interactions. As "John Adams--medical student", an individual may learn the disciplines of medicine and demonstrate that such learning has taken place. As "John Adams--interning physician," he may become aware of the expectations held for him and those which he in turn may hold for others.

The question, "Where am I?", may also be answered as the intern reflects on the professional environment in which his internship occurs. As in all new environments, the attention of John Adams will probably gravitate, first, to the novel aspects of the internship experience as they contrast with his previous experiences. He may become aware of his position and status as a member of a professional group and may consequently mediate on his privileges and responsibilities as a member of such a group. But he may quickly find that status considerations alone are an inadequate means of orienting himself as a professional person. He may find that the experiences of his professional predecessors, synthesized in an ethical code, begin to guide him toward fuller awareness of his "position" in his profession

and in society. He will probably have had academic training in the history, the philosophy and the ethical aspects of medical practice, but until he finds himself a practitioner, he may not have utilized this learning in arriving at an identification of his personal position.

A justifiable question arises concerning the foregoing exposition of the internship learnings as perceptions and of the relationship of these to behavior. How does the "Who am I", "What am I", "Where am I" complex of perceptions relate to technical competency, when competency is basically a reflection of knowledge and skill?

The answer lies in showing that the identity perceptions are inseparable parts of a larger system of behavior determinants which will ultimately affect professional performance. Granted that without knowledge and skill no intern performance can be successful in achieving its aims, it is argued that without clarification in the dimensions of identification which have been posited, ultimate successful performance is not likely. Technical competency is a necessary but not sufficient condition for acceptance as a professional.

Skill and knowledge appropriate to a professional field is provided in pre-intern professional training, but the identity perceptions can be provided only in the realistic professional practice setting of the internship, since they depend upon contacts with clients, patients or pupils.

It is held therefore that it is unessential and inappropriate to utilize tests of skill and knowledge for the purpose of determining the effectiveness of an internship. At the present time, most methods

for assessing performance resolve around skill and knowledge. These are the items which are tested when an attempt is made to assess technical competence. It seems more fair that an attempt should be made to test the development and growth of identity awarenesses in interns. This is the facet of competence which is a more characteristic feature of the internship experience.

In the chapters which follow, attention will be drawn to the identity areas of self, role and community. An analysis will be made of the elements of which these perceptual fields are composed.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTITY OF SELF IN A PROFESSIONAL SETTING

A rationale for selecting self-identification as an element in a closed system of the internship has been stated. The questions now become: what are the kinds of events in the internship which serve to alter the intern's perceptions of himself as a professional person? What are the elements of self-identification in the internship, and most importantly, what are the unique opportunities which are afforded interns and which are not offered those who enter their profession by other routes?

The internship provides an individual with a new and different setting for the assessment of himself. It is different from the examination and evaluation which was required in the formal training experience provided by schools. For in the internship, evaluation is based not upon one's ability to adapt to a predetermined set of arranged and sequential learning experiences, but instead, it will call upon one's personal resources to adjust to the random demands of professional practice.

The young medical intern, for example, may serve a specified period of time working in an emergency accident ward. The nature of the cases will be determined by the chance occurrence of particular kinds of accidents and injuries. This contrasts to the curricula of the school where the student might be exposed to a pre-selected sequence: cuts and abrasions, then bone fractures, then internal injuries, and finally, perhaps, cases of massive hemorrhage. The

random nature of the problems presented in the internship experience is its unique characteristic. It calls for a different set of skills, especially those of decision making.

The new setting and new order of demands are conducive to several kinds of self-assessments in the intern: his personal capacity for professional performance; his attitudes toward specialization within the profession; his personal commitment to the total demands of professional practice; and finally as a kind of summation of these assessments, his sense of personal worth in a professional setting.

PERSONAL CAPACITY

Personal capacity for professional performance is an element in the closed system of self perceptions developed by interns. Every individual brings into any situation certain preconceptions, certain resources of knowledge upon which to draw, and certain technical skills which may be put to use. In an internship, the training which has preceded the experience has been designed to provide specific skills and knowledge appropriate to professional practice. This knowledge and these skills are peculiar to his chosen field of practice and to some degree uniformly offered to all interns like himself. In a particular profession then, interns approach their assignments with a relatively standardized set of preparatory experiences due to the order of courses offered by colleges and universities.

But it is known, however, that there are great differences in the learning rates, capacities, and potentials among various individuals. It is not, therefore, to be expected that every intern will enter his assignment with exactly the same amount of knowledge, or with the same skill, or capacity to learn.¹ This inherent difference among individuals will account, in part, for differences in professional performance throughout the internship.

It is an individual's opportunities for discovery about his ability to perform professional tasks, to form professional judgments, to make professional decisions which are important to the internship. He will have an opportunity to weigh these qualities in himself against the demands of the job and against the seasoned judgments of the practitioners with whom he works.

Evaluative judgments are made of an intern's capacity by those responsible for assessing such performance. But more important, there is a process of evaluation that takes place within the individual which will, to a large extent, influence his future attitudes toward professional issues and his behavior in decision-making situations. Challenges to personal security, and situations of threat and frustration are inherently a part of the internship experience. The intern's responses to these challenges will influence each individual's perception of himself as an intern and as a future professional.²

¹Robert Merton, George Reader and Patricia Kendall (eds.), The Student Physician, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957, Published by the Commonwealth Fund), p. 63.

²See Theodore Sarbine, chapter 6, "Role Theory" in Lindzey, Handbook of Social Psychology Vol. I, p. 225.

His professional maturity may be accelerated, or it may be arrested, as he perceives his capacity for dealing with the general range of professional performances which will be expected of him.³

Not only the quality, but the nature and the kind of services he will be motivated to perform will be determined by the self assessments made during the internship. The quality of professional performance will presumably improve as the individual's experience becomes extended.

Additional knowledge and skill appropriate to professional practice may be learned and certainly should be expanded and brought into perspective within such an experience. But the important focus in becoming aware of one's personal capacity is not solely the amount of skill and cognate knowledge one attains, but the way in which these are put to use in solving professional problems. It is true that one who possesses insufficient skill and knowledge to perform the services expected of an intern in medicine, for example, will find the internship to be inadequate preparation for professional practice. One can not learn medicine and practice medicine at the same time. But it does not follow that superior command of chemistry, anatomy, biology, pharmacology and other materia medica, as well as skill in surgery and diagnosis, will necessarily guarantee success in an intern experience.

If an individual is strongly motivated toward research, or chemistry, or biological sciences, it is possible that his superior knowledge and intense interest will inhibit rather than accelerate his becoming a good doctor, i.e. practitioner. The intern experience, in

³Merton et al., op. cit., pp. 203-204.

this case, may, in fact, lead to the conviction by the intern that he does not have the capacity to succeed in the practice of medicine because his principal motivations are not in that direction.

Similarly, the emphasis which formal training--school subjects, classes, and courses--places upon an individual's acquisition of facts, concepts, and technical knowledge, often make grades, class standings, quickness in learning ends rather than means. One's sensitivities to the intrinsic values of learning and the ultimate use to which it must be put may be dulled.

Assessment of personal capacity leads one to some essential questions: what are my goals in becoming a doctor, or a lawyer, or an educator? How good do I want to become as a professional person? For what level of practice am I best suited? Where will I find the greatest personal satisfaction in practice? These questions relate to the individual's level of aspiration and follow assessments of personal capacity.

ASPIRATION

Level of aspiration is a vital element in the intern's self-concept development. It is an outgrowth of an awareness of personal capacity which the intern develops.

A new kind of aspiration may appear as a result of an intern experience. It is a more realistic purposing than that which spurs an individual to enter a pre-medical training program, for example, because he wants to be a "doctor". At best, the uninitiated bases his choices upon images or stereotypes of action which imply to him the

work of the doctor. But these are poor approximations of the real work of the practicing professional.

Studies of occupational choice reveal some interesting information about the intensity of consideration which individuals give to the selection of a life work.⁴

It has been reported that many young people choose occupations or professions on the basis of the socio-economic prestige of the calling. Their choices may be influenced by the stereotyped public image of the "average practitioner," or by the personalized image of a professional as presented by some person significant in the life of the youngster. Other studies indicate some professionals were almost entirely motivated in their initial choice of occupation by extrinsic factors such as the influence exerted by parents, teachers or friends.

These findings lead to the inferences that most individuals know little or nothing about actual day-to-day, hour-to-hour work of the practicing professional. The lawyer is often perceived as being constantly involved in tense and dramatic courtroom scenes;⁵ the doctor as rushing into emergency life and death situations and performing quick and miraculous cures; the teacher as performing inspiring and unselfish services by cultivating the great minds of future generations. In any event, few people know how a doctor divides his day between office, house calls, and hospital. They are unaware of the routine and often mundane work of the medical practitioner. The same is true of the non-lawyer's view of the lawyer. The long hours of reading,

⁴Roe, op. cit., pp. 251-273, and Super, op. cit., pp. 170-270.

⁵"Law" in Vocational Information - The World Book Encyclopedia, (Chicago: Field Enterprises Inc., n.d.).

research and meticulous preparation of briefs is not a part of the stereotype of the American lawyer.

The aspirant to the clergy, to engineering, and to the other professional endeavors may be equally misinformed or suffer from the same lack of information. This is true, certainly, for all of those who have had no more than transient contact with the practitioners whom they hope to emulate. Some aspirants, of course, are better oriented to professional work because they may be following in the footsteps of family members or close family friends. Their orientation may be more realistic than those more distant from the profession, but even here they may be the recipients of "after hours" discussions, or "living room" lectures directed by the significant practitioner. These in themselves are inadequate means of conveying a real feeling for the profession.

Some fields lend themselves to public observations more than others; people often feel better informed about the work of practitioners here. Individuals should have a clear conception of the teacher's work than that of any other profession, for example. Most individuals will, in the course of public school training, be exposed to more teachers than to any other professional group. But even in this case, people outside the field of teaching, who have never assumed the role of the teacher and the commitment responsibilities which accompany it, deal in a stereotype of rather crude dimensions. The public stereotype of the teacher is gross, unrealistic and inaccurate.⁶

⁶ Among the more interesting investigations along this line, one finds Arthur Foff's Ed. D. dissertation, Teacher Stereotypes in the American Novel Stanford University, 1953.

As a person becomes increasingly immersed in the functional aspects of professional practice, he begins to build an aspirational structure which is compatible with his perception of himself and his field of experience. Although this structure is not reasonable or realistic in all cases, it is generally agreed that mature and intelligent individuals ordinarily do produce aspiration patterns commensurate with their ability and their opportunities.⁷

An internship experience is not, however, a means to the final establishment of one's aspiration structure. Flexibility and adaptability are the core of any sound system of aspiring. There are many hidden opportunities and many unforeseen exigencies which can effect one's aspiration potential at a given time. Aspirations change as experience changes even in mature individuals. The internship should, however, become an arena in which professional aspiration might show real growth on the basis of genuine professional experience. Here an individual can become realistically cognizant of the kind and quality of surgeon, or teacher, or lawyer he would like to become.

The growth of knowledge and services which characterize the professions will quite possibly cause the intern to aspire toward one of the fields of specialization related to his calling.

SPECIALIZATION

The tendency to specialize, that is, the recognition that one must limit himself in professional study and in the performance of

⁷Pauline Sears "Level of Aspirations in Relation to Some Variables of Personality: Clinical Studies," Journal of Social Psychology 14:311-36, 1941.

professional tasks, is another element in self-perception that may occur in the internship.

As the breadth of professional knowledge and the scope of professional function impresses the individual, he begins to circumscribe and limit his activities in certain areas. Kendall and Selvin⁸ cite evidence that a relationship between native ability and the nature and intensity of specialization in medicine exists; but concern here centers on the fact that in all of the major professions, the tasks of the practitioner tends to become fragmented as expanding knowledge and function place heavier demands upon him in terms of training and practice.

In the internship the trainee is exposed to a variety of experience in the many specialties within his field. In this experience he may form some impressions of himself as a specialist. It is probable that the previous orientations of specialty which have been offered have done little to solidify impressions of his own ability in special areas. These orientations will have centered more upon principles of the specialty and will have been intended as preparatory for his forthcoming intern experience. An awareness of specialization in relation to perceptions of self is made possible in the internship.

It is possible that the kind of awareness being discussed follows the development of a sense of capacity and of a level of aspiration. It is equally possible that all three may be simultaneous

⁸Patricia Kendall and Hanan Selvin, "Tendencies Toward Specialization in Medical Training," in Merton, op. cit., pp. 153-174.

realizations at some point in the intern's assessment of his experience. Interest in specialization may precede the testing of one's own personal capacity, but such interest is hardly effective in motivating one to spend the time and energy needed to prepare for the practice of surgery, or corporate law or nuclear research. Without some firm conclusions concerning one's capacity and level of aspiration, it is doubtful that an intern could arrive at a very sophisticated decision about specialization.

All of the foregoing elements of attaining an identity of self will lead an intern toward some level of commitment to the work of a professional practitioner. Without this commitment an internship would have little meaning as a training method. For those who are not afforded the opportunity to test commitment prior to practice, as in an intern experience, the gap in preparation may be significant.

COMMITMENT

A personal commitment to professional tasks is inherent in the internship. Moreover, the very nature of most internships which are organized so that simple and less challenging functions are practiced first, makes for a gradually deepening test of the intern's level of commitment. In medicine, for example, simple diagnosis, checks of pulse and respiration, tests of temperature and nerve response, are likely to be the first responsibilities of the intern. In law, reference research, preparation of simple and rather standard briefs and perhaps work with an experienced counselor in a courtroom are the beginning intern experiences. The same type of initiatory

experiences are characteristic of other professions providing internships. While this is not the beginning of a developing commitment in the intern, it is that point at which the standard for testing commitment has been changed. The test becomes increasingly demanding as the experience is extended. Ultimately the full press of professional responsibility is thrust upon the trainee and he finds it necessary to make decisions, to direct his energies and to measure up to the ethical standards of his profession. Throughout his entire training experience, in pre-professional and professional training as well as the internship, the trainee is given an opportunity to test his personal commitment to the professional role he plans to assume. But at each phase of his training the nature and method of this test is altered due to widening demands placed upon him.

The tests in the internship are of a nature different from those in previous situations. The intern is faced with the necessity of accomplishing effective results from his effort. He is no longer expected to demonstrate mastery of a particular subject or skill by repeating it back. He is no longer compared with other students for the purpose of determining his standing as a learner. In the advanced stages of internship he is not even measured against a predetermined set of standards which indicate the level and the quality of his performance. He has gone beyond this point in his progress toward professionalism.

In the internship, the trainee becomes his own best judge of the quality of his work. He is put to the test of constant self evaluation of the worth of the services he performs and the validity

of the judgments and decisions he makes. His indices for this evaluation are the knowledge he possesses, the methods he applies and, above all, the actual results of the application of knowledge and method.

If he continually gets unsatisfactory or inappropriate results from his efforts, as an intern he still has some shelter and recourse in his relation with more experienced practitioners who are his mentors. He has the opportunity to strengthen weaknesses in skills or fill gaps in essential professional knowledge under guidance. But he also has an opportunity to decide what professional demands in general, or specialized demands in particular are beyond his ability level or contrary to his interests.

Commitment to a profession entails much more than a desire to be a doctor, a lawyer, or an educator.⁹ It involves also a self awareness that a professional enterprise suits an individual in terms of the demands placed upon him, and the rewards accruing to him. An intern's perception of rewards may change somewhat as he recognizes new areas of personal satisfaction emerging from successful intern performance. Where an individual may have come to this point in training spurred by economic or prestige promises, he now stands at a point where the social service value of his calling and his ability to adapt to the demands of professional practice are significant factors in increasing commitment.

⁹An interesting study of values and commitment can be found in: Robert C. Davis, Commitment to Professional Values as Related to Role Performance of Research Scientists, (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956).

If he does not discover these satisfactions he may well decide against continuance in training. There are drop-outs in all phases of professional preparation; some by elimination, some by voluntary withdrawal. Those who discover that their personal commitment is not suited to the demands of professional service are among these drop-outs. The screening that occurs in the internship is based on considerations more relevant and personal than at any other stage in professional preparation.

The level of commitment demanded varies from profession to profession. It is not common for a person trained in the practice of medicine to depart from his calling once training is completed. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for lawyers to enter different fields of endeavor, although in many cases their legal background serves them in the new area, this is especially so in the case of lawyers who enter corporate management, politics, finance or university work.¹⁰

At the other extreme, teachers are prone to depart from the professional work for which they have been trained.¹¹ It is true that economic and prestige factors account, in some degree, for this tendency. As well as the fact that women compose a majority of those

¹⁰Harno, op. cit.

¹¹Ward S. Mason, Robert J. Dressel and Robert K. Bain, "Sex Role and Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers," Harvard Educational Review, 29 (Fall, 1959), pp. 370-383. Discusses the contingent aspects of the teaching profession as perceived by new entrants. See also: National Manpower Council, A Policy for Professional and Scientific Manpower, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 60.

training for public school work. Family plans and contingencies often remove women, at least for a time, from active teaching. But studies of the commitment of men to teaching also show rather low rates of continuation in the profession.¹²

Since there seems to be a higher commitment among those completing medical training and a lower retention for those completing teacher training, it might be construed that the rigor of training plus the universality of the internship in medicine could in some way be related to the greater holding power of the medical profession. The uncommitted and the half-committed will not undergo the rigorous demands of medical training and internship. And the internship itself facilitates a gradual extension of commitment.¹³ In other professions, training which is less demanding fails to eliminate those who are less than fully committed.¹⁴

The variety of experiences and the individual successes in each of these will have significant effect upon an intern's level of aspiration within the profession. The completion of professional training will have been the focus of aspirations up to this point, but now, success as a practitioner, at some particularized level, will become the center of further aspirations.

¹²Mason, op. cit.

¹³Henry Hill, "Wanted Professional Teachers," Atlantic, 205 (May, 1960), pp. 37-40. An answer to critics of present teacher certification standards. Hill implies that persons not willing to meet standards have less than the necessary qualities to become useful additions to a profession.

¹⁴Ibid.

Variety of experiences, the contacts with specializing practitioners, and the recognition of ability or lack of ability to perform in specialized areas will further motivate an intern to consider specialization within his profession. It is impossible to say what exact form this may take. Failure could engender avoidance of a specialized area, or it could intensify a determination to master a specialty.

The motivations which move individuals in one direction or another are not clear. Merton¹⁵ presents some interesting conclusions in relation to medical students, but much more research needs to be done here. In any event, the internship provides an arena in which the move toward or away from specialization can be begun.

Finally, a degree of commitment is attained as an individual views the nature of his chosen work against the backdrop of his energies, his abilities, his wants, and his needs. Self knowledge about one's commitment is another realization which will emanate from the intern experience.

All of these elements, in turn, fuse and merge into an often complex set of personal values which serve as a guide, not only for the future professional's behavior, but which provide a base from which he will come to judge the acts of his fellow professionals.

The extent of commitment increases as one progresses through professional training. Passing through the elimination procedures of the pre-professional and professional training phases will reinforce the desire for success among those who remain in training and they will become increasingly committed as a result of these experiences.

¹⁵ Merton, op. cit., p. 153.

The internship, itself a form of screening device, will further this tendency. The personal satisfaction forthcoming from successful professional performances, and the knowledge that one is a member of an elite, will shore an individual's commitment to a calling, and the challenges of practice may stimulate further the desire to practice.

Personal capacity, aspiration level, tendency toward specialization and commitment, then, constitute the elements of a closed system of self identity awarenesses made possible by internship.

PERSONAL VALUES

The elements which have been delineated above become the summation in a set of personal values related to the identification of one's self in a profession. These personal values seem to be a most important result of the intern experience.

Gradual induction into the responsibilities of full professional practice provides opportunity for an intern to gauge his personal preparation and capacity against the demands of the job. This will provide a kind of implicit worth-index which he may use as he progresses through his training.

CHAPTER V

IDENTITY OF ROLE IN A PROFESSIONAL SETTING

In addition to the changes which may take place in the self perceptions of an individual undergoing an intern experience, change may also occur in the role perceptions which may emerge from the contact experiences with other professionals and clients. It is probable that situations or patterned contacts may provide the intern a basis for not only firming his opinions of himself in a professional setting, but also provide him with a set of behavior referents which will become the basis of his image of a professional in a work setting.

It is true that a young legal, medical, or education student will gradually form some opinions about actions appropriate in professional practice as he undergoes earlier phases of his training. If his professional goal is medicine, for example, he will know from the beginning that a doctor diagnoses, treats, and prescribes for injuries and ailments. If he is an aspiring lawyer, he will know that a lawyer's work involves gathering information about a client's problem and analyzing the various facets of this against legal precedents and pronouncements. Similarly, the young teacher-in-training will come to recognize that his professional role is more than that of "pouring forth" what he knows. He will begin to understand that this is but a small part of his greater responsibility, that of arranging and managing the most suitable conditions for learning.

The people with whom the aspiring professional comes in contact in the pre-intern phases of his preparation will be those

specializing in teaching or research in the various disciplines undergirding professional practice. They may, but more likely may not, be practicing professionals themselves. Certain of the professional specialists might practice as well as teach, but professors in the basic disciplines such as anatomy will probably devote the major portion of their time to teaching and research and will have had only limited experience as practitioners, if they have had any at all.

As a result, the significant people in the life of a medical student, for example, will meet him in school settings, and, for the most part, interact within non-practicing situations. This, in turn, will shield the trainee from the very important contact conditions of professional practice. The internship, however, coming at the end of a preparatory sequence and being centered almost completely on contact and interaction, may give the incumbent some new and vital perspectives.

Work with a practicing professional, in all likelihood, will provide a new set of referents upon which the trainee will model his own behavior patterns. The quality of work, the enthusiasm for it and the evidences of professionalism demonstrated by his mentors in the internship will become fundamental to role assessments the intern will make of himself as a practitioner. Even lack of enthusiasm, unprofessional behavior, and inferior performance may be forces resulting in a sharper definition of role by the intern, though whether the definition that results is desirable or not is difficult to predict.

The significant item here is that the heart of the internship experience is the opportunity it provides for interaction with people who need professional help and people who give it. Role identification possibilities are multiplied by contact with a large number of people and with professionals in a variety of positions. For while role identification begins within the individual, such identifications must extend beyond the strict boundaries of the self as the significance of others in influencing one's own behavior becomes increasingly apparent. The actions of others are equally as important as one's own actions in the definition of a role. Merton reflects this point in saying:

...there still remains the distinctively sociological matter that behavior is not merely a result of the individual's personal qualities but a resultant of these in interaction with the patterned situations in which the individual behaves.¹

The contact with others then serves as the bridge necessary for moving from the strictly internal and psychological considerations involved in the perception of self-identity to the dynamic and interactional considerations necessary for the perception of role-identity.

While the development of role in the internship is compatible with general role theory, in some respects it is necessary to depart from the usual concept of role. An internship is a specialized and limited sociological situation and consequently adjustment to classical role theory is required. The internship is a kind of experience offered a select group of people who are training to become professionals. It is a special training device for a special group, and

¹Merton, op. cit., p. 62.

the concepts of role which emerge are not universal in their appropriateness or in their utility for all people. The roles to be viewed are those related to the elements of professional function and they must be further isolated and studied. This departs from the more universal and generalized aspects common to other sociological analyses and centers attention exclusively on dimensions peculiar to the internship.

Role, in the internship, is concerned with such specific questions as: How does one behave as a doctor in a particular situation? How does one make the decisions which might be expected of a lawyer in a specific case? What are the limits of action and decision within which a social worker or a teacher or a minister may operate and still be within the bounds of "professional" performance?

In attempting to answer these questions, the intern faces the need for skill in analyzing status situations, skill in making adequate assessments of one's self in relation to others, and skill in becoming cognizant of the role expectations which influence behavioral patterns in society. This involves the interaction of perceptions held by individuals, by specialized groups and by larger aggregates in society.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Professional groups in a society are tacitly granted status due to the nature of their service function. The status accorded each of the professions may vary from society to society, and from time to time within a particular society. Role is unequivocally

associated with status. Linton states that a role "represents the dynamic aspect of status".²

It is probable that status is a subsequent product of role-action rather than a determinant for role-action. Sarbin emphasizes this in saying:

...Role centers around the organized actions of a person coordinate with a given status or position. One of the sometimes confusing results thus regarding roles and positions as being intimately related is their being treated as identical. They are interdependent concepts, but not identical.³

An individual's actions must fall within the limits of the expectancies of others, and the individual must be aware of these expectancies if he is to assume a role adequately. Reinforcing this interpretation of the interactional or self-other aspects of role, Cottrell suggests that role is:

...an internally consistent series of conditioned responses by one member of a social situation which represents the stimulus pattern for a similarly internally consistent series of conditioned responses of the other in that situation. Dealing with human behavior in terms of roles, therefore, requires that any item of behavior must always be placed in self-other context.

Thus, out of the dynamic interaction of actions subject to status considerations in the internship, out of behavior influenced by the self-other perceptions of participants of a situation, the internship may be studied as a setting for acquiring new role identifications. If an internship is adequately supervised, if it is of

²Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 114.

³Theodore Sarbin in Lindzey, Handbook of Social Psychology, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," Sociological Review, (July, 1942), p. 617.

sufficient duration, and if the range of experience is both broad and diverse, then it might be assumed that an intern will acquire a concept of role which will be consistent with those of other committed members of a profession.

As with the other outcomes of the internship, role identification can be viewed as an element in the total range of internship experience. It can also be viewed as a closed system of experience containing its own set of interrelated elements.

The elements appearing to be significant are the following: generalized expectations, self-other perceptions, situation analysis and specific expectations. All of these lead an intern to develop a set of status and role perceptions commensurate with his personal values.

GENERALIZED EXPECTATIONS

"Generalized expectations"⁵ mean the cluster of impressions and perceptions which an individual may have accumulated about performances and behaviors to be expected from doctors, lawyers, teachers, or other professionals.

They are "depersonalized" expectations, i.e., the term does not refer to the expectations for a particular doctor, lawyer, or teacher, but rather to expectations held for "doctors", or "lawyers", or "teachers" as a general class. They are the expectations which the

⁵W. B. Brookover, "Research on Teacher and Administrator Roles", Journal of Educational Sociology 29, (September, 1955), pp. 2-13.

layman develops and which he uses as a referent in discussions with various professionals except in those cases where he is considering "my doctor" or "my lawyer", etc.

The lack of a precise definition of "generalized expectation" is inevitable because with professionals there is such a broad variety of involvement possibilities in interaction situations. "Generalized expectations" are expressed in terms of loosely constructed maxims which imply that doctors, or lawyers, or teachers behave in a particular way. But "generalized expectations" are not unimportant even though they lack precise definition.

Persons having limited contacts with professionals expect performances more in keeping with these generalized expectations than with expectations which evolve from more prolonged or intimate experience with professionals. As a result of this tendency, it is essential that the professional be cognizant of the public's generalized expectations as he approaches a particular contact. For acting contrary to the generalized expectation may alienate a patient or client before the real process of diagnosis or counsel has begun. Lack of client cooperation can offset or undo the most sound diagnosis or counsel. An inappropriate mental set in a client can defeat any honest effort on the part of a practitioner.⁶

During his pre-professional and professional training experience, an aspirant is consistently nearing, in his behavior, the

⁶Huntington in Merton, op. cit., pp. 179-187.

practitioner's definition of the professional role. He will move from the generalized public expectation that a doctor "cures an illness" to an understanding that a doctor "tries to identify an illness, tries to classify it and prescribe treatment, and tries to prevent further illness recurring from the same cause." The spread between these two levels of expectation is very wide and much learning must occur on the part of the intern before the latter is ultimately realized and accepted with conviction.

The pre-intern experiences, centering on the academic disciplines and the technical means of professional practice, will often slight the personal aspect of practitioner-client relations and the trainee may give little thought to the effect these relationships may have on a specific course of professional action. Consequently, it is essential that the intern become aware of the levels of general expectation and the impersonal, but more sophisticated, expectations for professional performance.

The internship is an experience in which the trainee may begin to perceive his role in more than general terms. If he is assigned to an experienced practitioner, he will observe, through the effects of the actions of that practitioner and the concomitant reactions of the practitioner's patients or clients, the varying levels of generalized role expectations and their importance for performances. He may see in the performance of the practitioner or in the actions of patients, behavior which may be complementary, or which may be contrary, to his own expectations. The learning here will prepare the intern for the gradual induction into those phases

of training in which he meets his patients or clients alone. It will allow him to form some conclusions concerning general expectations which are applied to the practitioners in his field and how these expectations seem to fit him personally.

It is true that some knowledge of generalized expectations and their relationship to professional action will have been formed from earlier observation of other practitioners and their effect upon patients or clients. The knowledge gained in the internship will, naturally, be an enlargement of the understanding of generalized expectations which the intern will have developed throughout the period of his training. Although an intern's set of general expectations are refined and clarified as a result of his experience he will still need to learn how to respect the expectations of his clients.

An example might be found in a case where a medical intern contacts a patient who manifests a serious skin rash. The patient expects the doctor to treat the rash and solve his problem. His expectations will be those of having the doctor question him as to the time at which the rash occurred, the duration of the rash, the extent of body coverage involved. He may also expect that questions of diet and other physical details may be asked. He will expect the doctor to make an analysis of the case and prescribe treatment.

The intern, on the other hand, will know that these initial expectations will apply, but in addition to this, his expectations, as a medical practitioner, will prompt him to consider the physical, the neurological, the emotional, the glandular, and even the social

implications of this rash. The rash may be a symptom of a very complex set of affecting conditions. The patient may be suffering from emotional stresses which have brought on glandular imbalances; these may, in turn, have emerged from marital problems, job problems, or financial problems, etc.

The intern's behavior, in this situation, will be motivated by his awareness of the expectations of the patient, and also by his own perception of the role of the practitioner. In one situation, with one patient, it might be possible to delve into the conditions peripheral to the actual ailment and to get more directly at the causes of the rash. In another situation, the intern may perceive that such probing would intensify anxiety--which may be a cause--and he would, on this occasion, merely prescribe a lotion or a glandular depressant to relieve the symptom with the intention of pursuing the cause at another time.

This example illustrates that the public's generalized expectations are not a sufficient basis for professional decision making. The inadequacy of such public expectations in meeting the conditions for professional practice will, hopefully, engender in the trainee a concern to obtain deeper insights into the bases of professional performance. This should bring about some intensive searching on the part of the intern for an adequate perception of himself and of others who become involved in situations requiring professional service.

It should become apparent to an intern that generalized expectations emerge from the perceptions the public holds for

professional purpose in his field of service. These must be the shared perceptions of both the public and the practitioners.

Beginning with the gross definition that doctors are expected to heal, lawyers are expected to settle legal problems, and teachers are supposed to teach, generalized expectations can be broken down into expectations for training, for professional attitudes, for behaviors, and for activities. These expectations will together form the public image or stereotype which will prescribe generally what a doctor, or a lawyer, or a teacher is expected to do in the course of his work.

The specialty of the practitioner will have to be appropriate to the needs of the particular person seeking professional services, and generalized perception of this specialty will be instrumental in bringing a client to a practitioner. But these stereotypes are only rough guides and demand further elaboration on the part of the practitioner and the client if a relationship is to be maintained.

The factors which influence a client's selection and especially the retention of a doctor or lawyer transcend the level of generalized expectation. The kind of doctor or lawyer will be determined by the client's ability to categorize and classify professionals. A doctor may be perceived as: inexperienced, overworked, a community leader, an excellent diagnostician, a specialist in some area of medicine or surgery. Each or any combination of these perceptions can be influential in the selection and retention of a professional by a client. Each will affect the specific expectations a client will hold for the practitioner.

Each succeeding contact situation will involve perceptions of a more specific nature, and these perceptions will result from the contact and the action of the participants. The significance of these individual self-other expectations in interaction cannot be overstressed. A professional practitioner's success will be affected by his capacity for understanding himself and others in interactive situations. This is also an area in which the internship can make a contribution.

SELF-OTHER PERCEPTIONS

The emphasis shifts now beyond the rather superficial level of generalized expectations. Each contact situation will become, in itself, a germinating center for new role perceptions and for new role action.

As a professional, the intern is placed in a position of becoming an initiator of action in reference to his client. This action will stem from personal assessment of himself and the client. The perception he has of the assessment his client has made of him as a professional is also significant in determining the course of action to be taken.

Self perception, in this sense, is viewed as a dimension different from the qualities of self discussed in the preceding chapter. In a role situation, the term self takes on a somewhat different meaning as defined by Sarbin:

...the self is what the person 'is,' the role is what the person 'does.' When interested in the self, we regard the person as an organization of qualities. When we study roles, we regard the person as an organization of acts. Parenthetically, direct observation reveals only action systems resulting from the interplay of self and role.⁷

⁷Sarbin, op. cit., p. 224.

There is no fixed pattern which will define the impressions and counter-impressions which will emerge from social contact situations. Each incumbent in a position will find himself constantly influenced by the effect of his actions, as he perceives them, on the other. Hall and Lindzey further delineate this dual quality of self-perception in saying:

The term self as used in modern psychology has come to have two distinct meanings. On the one hand it is defined as in the person's attitudes and feelings about himself, and on the other hand it is regarded as a group of psychological processes which govern behavior and adjustment. The first meaning may be called the self-as-object definition since it denotes the person's attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and evaluations of himself as an object. In this sense, the self is what a person thinks of himself. The second meaning may be called the self-as-process definition. The self as a doer, in the sense that it consists of an active group of processes as thinking, remembering, and perceiving.⁸

Using the role-self as a base for perceiving action situations, the intern is presented the opportunity of fusing the two self perceptions in the unique setting of the internship. Thus in the performance of professional tasks he epitomizes both the object and the process aspect as he becomes an agent for the solution of professional problems.

He must take into account all of the personal aspects of the situation, as well as the interactive aspects. He must utilize his training and knowledge in addition to his professional judgment and ethical values. All of these are brought to bear upon specific situations. Above all, the intern must be able to make an adequate analysis of a contact situation, because each professional contact is, in a sense, unique.

¹Hall and Lindzey, op. cit., p. 468.

It is the function of the practitioner to identify these unique qualities and to adjust his method of action to them. The distraught or the anxious patient; the client manifesting lack of confidence in the practitioner; the pupil with negative sets toward learning; these will necessitate actions different from those used with the calm and cooperative individual who seeks the services of a professional.

There may be consistency or similarity between cases. Virus infections and appendectomies may follow characteristic classification patterns, but each patient represents an individual problem demanding an individual course of action. As such, the doctor must view the individual and the variations inherent in a situation; he must view the situation itself and make appropriate assessments of it. Certain learning difficulties follow specific classification pattern, but the teacher must be able to perceive himself and the other in the situation and to work through these often conflicting perceptions affecting the situation.

The counsel of mature practitioners can guide the intern in making these judgments early in his experience. The actual contacts and responsibility for action will cause him to accept responsibility and to perceive and to judge later in his experience. He will develop the "feel" for working with people. The ability to analyze each contact situation becomes another quality expected of the practitioner and the opportunity for developing this ability seems to exist within the intern experience.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Situation analysis parallels concern for self-other perceptions. As previously stated, the determinants of action are centered in the perceptive abilities of the members of an interacting pair. Action will stem from such perceptions but, in a professional setting, action is also subject to the influence of the situation itself.

The intern and his patient or client enter a contact situation with some common orientations. The purpose of the contact is usually clear in that the two are brought together in order to solve a problem of health, or of legal difficulty, or of some other professional nature. Each professional and his client brings to the situation a perception of his own responsibilities in terms of initiating action. The patient or client is responsible for identifying his problem and the professional is responsible for diagnosis or counsel. The nature of these responsibilities fixes the positions of the two vis-a-vis one another.

A patient or client will grant status to a professional (or an intern) on two counts. One, from his generalized perceptions of doctors or lawyers or teachers and their utility in his particular case; and two, from the specific impressions he forms of the practitioner as he observes performance of the role. This implies status gradients of both a generalized and a particularized nature.⁹

⁹Talcott Parsons, et al., Working Papers in the Theory of Action, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 46.

There are also generalized and particularized procedural forms present in a contact situation. Certain canons of good taste must be observed by both the doctor and the patient in the process of a physical examination. Both must avoid acts or procedures which will embarrass themselves or the other person. A lawyer must likewise observe principles of good form, such as privacy in consultation and confidential treatment of information relevant to a case. These constitute generalized and commonly accepted procedural forms common to professional practice. All professions have these forms well developed and they are mutually understood by professional and clients.

Each new contact provides the professional an opportunity to perform at certain particularized levels. This is the heart of the "bedside manner" so important in medicine. Each profession has its "bedside manner" in which the aim of the professional is that of gaining the client's confidence. This is done in order that recommendations for problem solution or professional services rendered will be accepted in good faith by the client. It is here that the beginners find great difficulty in adjusting. Should an attitude of intense personal interest and empathy characterize the professional's approach to a client's problem, or should aloof and objective behavior be demonstrated? Should the practitioner engage in humor and lightness, or should seriousness be the keynote? In what manner should the practitioner attempt to establish a climate of favorable reaction in his client? Not only this, but also each contact and each situation may be different in terms of the needs of the patient or client and what is required to establish such a favorable climate.

Within the intern experience it seems likely that more constant and apparent attention will be given to situation analysis than may be true of later practice. This is so precisely because the intern may lack the experience so necessary in meeting the fluctuating needs of situations and may lack "built-in" procedures for dealing with them. He will have had less opportunity to make routine certain of his procedures and he will be consciously adapting to each situation he meets. He will probably err and often be inconsistent in his actions during the internship, but without the opportunity that the internship provides he will be less than well prepared to assume the responsibilities of full professional practice.

As a result of his internship, the intern may gain a valuable backlog of experience in balancing the elements of generalized expectations, self-other perceptions, and situation analysis in arriving at yet another element crucial in decision making. That element can be called specific "expectations" and this is the essence of a professional's response to the demands of each particular case.

SPECIFIC EXPECTATIONS

"Specific expectations" are the product of reciprocal interaction. They develop as a professional and a client meet in a face-to-face situation. From the contact, the professional may form some specific expectations concerning the patient's or the client's performance. The patient or client, at the same time, will form specific expectations in the process of consultation, counsel, or treatment. In any case, the expectations of each participant will be based upon the consistency of his experience with the other

participant in terms of generalized expectations, self-other perceptions and situation analysis.

It has been stressed that all of these combine to form a climate of confidence or lack of confidence in the ability of the practitioner. This in turn will influence the client's willingness to follow prescription or counsel and will influence the intern's confidence in providing such counsel or prescription. Beyond this, however, the practitioner has even greater decisions to make. He must first assess himself and his ability to deal with this particular problem. He must next be concerned with the accuracy of his diagnosis or appropriateness of his counsel. He must consider his impression of the patient's candor and frankness in reference to the problem. He must make some prognosis concerning the patient or client reaction to his solution for the problem. All of these must be arrived at before an actual solution is proposed.

The right and the necessity of the professional man to make decisions relevant to the conditions with which he works has been stressed previously and will be reinforced in the chapter following. It is this facet of professionalism which marks such performance as different from other forms of decision making. The center of such decision making rests within the sphere of the situations in which decisions are made, and the decisions are dependent upon the professional's perception of specific expectations.

It is in the intern situation that the professional aspirant learns to differentiate between generalized expectations and specific expectations and to move from the former to the latter as the situational

conditions warrant. These actions are motivated by the perception of specific expectation. They mark individual practitioners as different--one from the other--and they consequently account for the degrees of effectiveness which they demonstrate in professional practice.¹⁰

Thus in the internship, the neophyte practitioner is given the opportunity to recognize and analyze the dynamic interpersonal aspects of professional practice. The intern has an opportunity to recognize himself as an agent and an instrument of professional service. He may become aware of the variant influences and forces operating in professional contact situations and he becomes cognizant of the effect that he, as a person and as a professional, may have upon these variants. The sum of what the intern may derive from the internship might be called the "status values" accruing from the experience.

STATUS VALUES

Status values for the professional imply more than a hierarchial level or rank position in a society. Since in the internship they are arrived at realistically in action situations, they are the product of interactional experience.

Professional status is granted the practitioner in a very tentative manner. The conditions of the grant include, demonstrable proficiency in the skills appropriate to the field, perceptive ability in analysis, diagnosis or recommended courses of action, and sensitivity of the initiative expected from a professional. Failing

¹⁰Huntington in Merton, op. cit., p. 187.

to demonstrate these qualities, the professional will perceive in those with whom he comes in contact a diminishing grant of status. This in turn is bound to effect his own concept of status as it befits professionals in practice and as it applies in his own experience.

Having moved from the generalized expectations to the specific expectations in terms of professional prescription, having acquired sensitivities to self and to other expectations, and having learned these things in a setting of a specific situation the intern, it would seem, would be adequately prepared to meet the problems and the uncertainties of professional practice. Thus he will have garnered a set of status values which are essential and appropriate to his calling.

This chapter has introduced the elements which make up a closed system of role perceptions within the internship. The interactional aspect of professional practice has been cited as the area of critical concern to the practitioners.

The elements, generalized expectations, self-other perceptions, situation analysis, and specific expectations, have been presented as perceptions which might compositely become the core of a set of status values which the intern will need as he enters professional practice.

Having looked at the self perceptions and the role perceptions available within an internship, attention should now be directed to the professional perceptions which may be provided in the intern experience.

CHAPTER VI

IDENTITY OF COMMUNITY IN A PROFESSIONAL SETTING

An internship experience provides for an initiate an opportunity to examine a series of complex and interlocking professional values. Some of these have been described but there is an additional set which is derived from the impressions and convictions concerning the "place" which he occupies as a professional. This means that the intern will be given the opportunity to develop a sense of vocational and professional "location", and a sense of his particular position in the culture and the society of which he is a part. It is essential that these values be examined if the trainee is to succeed in assuming a professional attitude and value system.

MacIver and Page¹ define the term "community" as being geographically centered, at least in historical social perspective. This is logical because all of the essential identifying features of a community seem to center on the interaction practices of people who are spatially adjacent one to another. Forms of social structure and organization, and processes for the division of labor, are manifestations of a "community" in terms of classical definition.

There is an equally important psychological configuration which is termed "community sentiment". It is this quality which MacIver and Page identify as the least changing of all community characteristics because it seems to emerge from a need structure

¹ R. M. MacIver and G. H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis, (New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1949).

the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been
admitted to the office of the Secretary of the State of New York
since the 1st of January, 1900, and the date of their admission.

which identifies man in a society. They say:

Community sentiment is developed by the socialization process itself, by education in the largest sense, working through prescription and authority, social esteem and disfavor, until habits and conformities become the ground of loyalties and convictions.²

These sociologists go further in describing three significant elements of community sentiment. They delineate a we-feeling as the cohesive belonging impression engendered in community living; they identify a role-feeling as a positional and directive awareness acquired in interaction situations; and they indicate a dependency-feeling as that inherent sense which social experience nurtures in terms of both physical and psychological needs.³ They state that community sentiment:

...stimulates a common interest among the members of a locality...It embraces both what belongs to us, the heritage of tradition, the positions we occupy in the community, the familiar features and our possessions and what we belong to, the obligations and responsibilities that hold us within the accepted social order.⁴

Tendencies toward community "feeling" or "sentiment" seem to be natural in the makeup of normal individuals. Each person must have himself identified as to "where he stands" in his social environment. The increasing complexity of modern society brings about conditions which make identification with, or a feeling of "belonging to", transcend the strict limitations of geographic locale.

²R. M. MacIver and C. H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis, (New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1949). Quoted in Blaine Mercer and Edwin Carr, Education and the Social Order, (New York: Rhinehart and Company Inc., 1957), p. 421.

³Ibid., pp. 421-422.

⁴Ibid., p. 422.

re-orientation for a significant body of work (e.g. Brown & Gilman, 1960).

For a further

example of a similar relationship, see Brown & Gilman (1960, p. 26).

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Roland Warren recognizes this condition in a paper which attempts to define tendencies toward both locale identification and organizational identifications.

...community can be analyzed in terms of a horizontal axis and a vertical axis. The horizontal axis emphasizes locality. It involves the relationship of the individual to individual or group to group within a locality...

The vertical axis emphasizes special interests. It involves the relationship of individual to a local interest group and of that local interest group to a regional, state, or national organization...its principle task is accomplishing some specific achievement and its principal leadership role is that of the 'problem area specialist'...⁵

The intern experience, in the light of these statements, may be thought of as primarily oriented toward the establishment of a set of vertical identifications. In these identifications the individual becomes cognizant of the various levels of professional affiliation which exist within his calling, as well as the relationship of his professional position to the immediate locale.

Learning in a local and specific situation, the intern will, nevertheless, become concerned with many elements of professionalism which will transcend the particular setting of his internship. Among these elements we find such generalized and inclusive concepts as: professional ethics, professional rights and responsibilities, sources of professional authority and autonomy, and the limitations of professional practice. The internship will provide an opportunity for testing concepts involved in these elements in actual practice situations and it should provide the intern with a more complete

⁵ Roland Warren, "Toward a Reformation of Community Theory," Human Organization, 15 (Summer, 1956), p. 8.

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understanding and appreciation of their nature. The intern may, therefore, acquire a set of professional values which should serve as guides for establishing the attitudes he will carry forward into future performance.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Adherence to a set of professional ethics is a fundamental requirement demanded of practitioners. Developing a sense of the importance of professional ethics is probably one of the more vital experiences a training institution can offer a professional aspirant, and an intern will usually bring from his prior schooling some ethical standards which he has developed in the process of training. In medicine and in law, definite efforts are usually made to teach professional ethics formally prior to contact experiences with clients. But an understanding of the full import of professional ethics is a difficult thing to teach and it is equally difficult to learn in a formal situation.

Ethical standards stem originally from the collective desires of a profession to circumscribe the performance of practitioners so that their actions will be above reproach from society-at-large.⁶ Codes of ethics emerge from the collective experiences of the profession and are developed in light of the service function which the profession provides for the society.

⁶Flexner in Smith et al., op. cit., p. 556.

It is not society which provides the ethical codes of a profession, but it is society which provides the arena in which ethical standards are arrived at and the setting in which they must be practiced.

It is not the individual practitioner who develops ethical codes. Alone a practitioner needs only his judgment, his personal morals and his conscience in arriving at a personal ethic. But a single practitioner of any craft or skill is not a professional. Professionalism and ethical codes are built by the collective energies of many practitioners who are concerned about sharing knowledge and tradition with new entrants into the field in order that the profession's purposes in providing vital services will continue to be met.⁷

Professional concern and effort bring about the ethical codes which guide the performances of practitioners, but it is only in a setting of professional practice that the total import of these ethical codes can become meaningful.

Teachers, for instance, are supposed to face controversial social issues which touch their area of specialty. According to the accepted ethical code they must be impartial and objective in dealing with the issues.⁸ In general, the code is a fair guide for teachers, but the exigencies of certain cases can prove it to be a wrong course of action. Sometimes the two sides of a controversy are not balanced in the use of logical or empirical substantiating evidence.

⁷Emile Durkheim, Professional Ethics and Civic Morals, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 6.

⁸Lieberman, op. cit., p. 443.

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Sometimes fear, or ignorance, or superstition, or bigotry may be the framework upon which the case for one side of a controversy is built. If a teacher feels this to be true in a particular controversy and if he follows the mandate of the ethical code, he may identify the ignorance or bigotry which motivates a particular side and in so doing he may be charged with less than impartial behavior. The same charge could be leveled against him if he did not identify the ignorance or the bigotry in an attempt to be impartial. Although the code may be sound for general cases, the professional will find in certain instances that sections of the code may be untenable.

The intern, consequently, begins to understand the ethics of his profession when he begins to work with an experienced practitioner in situations where ethical judgments must be made. He learns by observing the performances of professionals with whom he comes in contact. There are at least two innate possibilities for learning in this respect.

The intern will utilize the ethical base which he has acquired in pre-intern experiences as a standard against which to measure the performances of his mentors in the internship. This may place the intern in a position of conflict when his perceptions of ethical action do not coincide with those which guide his mentor. He may find as a result of these conflicts that he, being a neophyte, may need to modify his perceptions of the ethical issues involved in the situation due to circumstances not spelled out in the code.

The discovery of disparities between the intern's own set of ethical orientations and the professional actions demonstrated by

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his colleagues or mentors, may lead to a second learning alternative. He may find that his own ethical perceptions have been reinforced and he will become intent upon avoiding certain courses of action because they conflict with his standards.

In any event, the necessity to balance his own ethical perceptions against the conditions and possibilities of professional action, provide the intern with an opportunity for making judgments of an ethical nature and for testing these judgments in "live" situations. The intern has an opportunity to gain increasingly deeper insights into the real meaning of an ethical code as it relates to the making of professional decisions.

The decisions the intern makes early in his intern experience will probably be made with closer reference to the letter of the ethical code, because the code will appear to him as a safer reference than his own individual perceptions in particular cases, but later other variables will be taken into account. An illustration of the point being made might be found in the common reaction of professionals toward the actual or implied criticism of other professionals.

Within most professions, it is accepted that judgment of a fellow practitioner is unwarranted without substantial evidence. The nature of professional work is such that failure to achieve completely favorable results in all instances is to be expected. Doctors do not cure, or save, all of their patients. Lawyers do not win all of their cases. Teachers do not fully train all of their pupils. Complete success in professional practice is not possible.

Each failure on the part of a professional can be judged in two ways. It can be judged in terms of the results of professional action. Did the patient improve or did his condition worsen? Did the client win his suit or case, or did he lose? Did the pupil learn what was planned for him or did he not?

A second basis for judging professional success evolves from the course of action prescribed by the practitioner. Was the course of action appropriate to the conditions of the case? Were all of the available factors and means weighed in prescribing the course? Did the practitioner exercise sound judgment in prescribing the course of action? This second stage in judging professional action is one which becomes clear to an initiate after he has been exposed to the conditions of practice.

As an intern becomes aware of the second stage in judging professional action his interpretation of ethical codes will be altered. In the beginning, the code itself will have sufficed in making judgmental decisions about the work of others. But as he becomes acquainted with the complexities of practice he will develop an awareness of the right of the professional to consider his own personal ethic as well as the code in order to arrive at a sound and appropriate decision. The intern will learn to refrain from judging on the basis of results rather than on the basis of course of action.

Since ethical codes provide a reference point in prescribing professional performance, the intern will find himself adapting to the code. This may entail definite changes in attitudes, habits, or traits common to his pre-intern behavior. Treating professional

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information as confidential may be contrary to the individual's previous behavior pattern. Avoiding the temptation to advertise one's professional ability, or accepting responsibility for providing professional services to all segments of society, these are gross examples of the kinds of adaptations which one must make.

The ethics which are ultimately internalized will become the guiding forces which move the aspiring professional toward modifying and adapting his value system and behavior patterns so that they are in keeping with both professional prescription and his own personal prescription.

The point is not that the experienced practitioner is unmindful of, or prone to disregard, ethical standards. It is rather that with experience, ethical judgments are tempered by the perceptions which the professional forms concerning the nature of his work, and his concept of his rights and responsibilities. Most important, the functional purpose of ethical statements may become more evident. The doctor or lawyer guards professional information because he becomes increasingly aware that misinterpretations or misuse of such information can become damaging to his client, to himself, and to the profession at large. This is an awareness which goes beyond the formal limits of imposed rules and regulations. It becomes internalized and a part of the total attitude which the professional applies to the conditions of his work. It becomes, in essence, his responsibility to be discreet with information and it becomes his right to decide to what professional use that information may be put.

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Even if the internalization described above does not occur the intern will discover that he must adapt to the standards of his profession in order to be accepted by those other professionals who pass on his qualifications and eventually grant him full status. He will also need to demonstrate his adherence to ethical standards in order that the public will accept him. The enforcement of ethical standards goes beyond the internal needs of a profession.

Society, although not strongly instrumental in developing specific ethical standards, is nonetheless functional in enforcing those that are finally developed. A profession is concerned with the maintenance of ethical standards for the protection of the profession itself.⁹ Society is equally concerned with its own protection against unprofessional practice once it discovers malpractice. It is not uncommon to see the results of the stigma which the public attaches to the physician who advertises, or declaims his colleagues, or performs service not sanctioned by the bulk of society. The same social sanctions are applied to the lawyer who violates the canons of legal ethics in practice, or provides his services in a questionable manner, or for questionable causes. But confusion often occurs when the public's and the practitioner's perceptions of ethics are not in agreement. Conflict may occur for several reasons.

A professional group must, in the beginning, establish an ethical code which will define and describe professional actions in such a way that a clear course is identified in cases involving public or individual welfare. The basic requirement is for specific and operational statements. This code must be understood by all

⁹Carr-Saunders, in Smith et al., op. cit., pp. 548-49.

practitioners in a professional field, and it must be understandable when it is interpreted to the public. The rationale for the code should be clear to the profession, though not necessarily to the public.

Lack of information on the part of the public may be expected when one views the number of professions and the variety of ethical considerations relevant to each of them.

The existence of an ethical code provides an operational referent from which both professionals and society-at-large can judge professional action. The fact that such a code exists, however, tends to bind the professional to the general tenor of the code. Ethical standards are the first and final recourse in the assessment of professional conduct and action.

If a practitioner ignores the ethical implications of his actions, then the public interpretation of such action is not bound to the ethical referent. The assessment of conduct may center on the results of action rather than the course of action itself. From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that this will cause the professional to accept end result responsibility rather than process responsibility for his actions. This will take the initiative for judging professional performance away from practitioners and place it at the hands of a less well informed public.

Lieberman makes the point that public education today is somewhat in this position because the ethical code for educators is not specific, and consequently not well understood by the bulk of educators.¹⁰ Professional actions in education are therefore, not

¹⁰ Lieberman, op. cit., pp. 417-451.

evaluated in reference to ethical codes and consequently the course of action assessments are ignored in favor of result assessments.

The public exerts some undue influences in the judgment of the actions of professionals in education because of this set of conditions.

Internships in education might offset this if trainees were imbued with a deeper understanding of the role and significance of ethics in their professional work.

The internship is not a place of total learning in terms of ethical codes. Some aspects of these professional guides are not fully absorbed and understood even in the first few years of practice. But seeing them applied in a functional setting can occur in the internship. The observance of ethical standards can play an important part in affecting the career of any professional aspirant. Some professionals who enter practice without benefit of internship do so without a full grasp of the ethical standards which are nominally expected of them as regular practitioners, and the transition from student to practitioner is more difficult as a result.

Beyond the formal requirements of an ethical code, a practitioner must become individually resourceful in finding his personal guidelines for professional performance. He will need as a part of his preparation to have a well-developed sense of rights which he has as a professional in the conduct of his practice, and an equally well-developed sense of responsibilities which accompany these rights.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

A sense of rights and responsibilities, becomes significant at the point where ethical codes no longer provide a basis for dealing with a situation.

Emerging from ethical considerations, rights and responsibilities of a professional position seem to be learned in an internship. This is another area in which the total learning is not completed within the span of the internship. But an initial awareness is possible and the intern can build upon that awareness a system for professional decision making.

In much of modern role theory, the idea of rights and obligations, or responsibilities, is attached firmly to a concept of role. The theory presented in this paper does not detract from that orientation, but does center upon particularized set of rights and responsibilities which stem directly from, and are applicable to, professional performance. For this reason they are viewed as an element in the closed system of experiences which apply to the previously defined concept of professional community.

Rights and responsibilities might, in a limited and narrow sense, be interpreted strictly as ethical standards. But in a broader sense, this would be inaccurate because ethical standards, to be effective, must be simple, direct and applicable to a hierarchy of characteristic professional services. Every professional experience afforded an intern, on the other hand, is one in which his professional rights and responsibilities play a part in providing a base for his decisions.

The internship situation, itself, imposes certain restrictions upon the assertion of the rights and responsibilities of the individual involved. Rigorous demands upon time and energy as prescribed parts of a job are common limitations. The intern works long hours; he performs many of the difficult, unglamorous tasks which may be associated with the profession. He is often tested for his willingness to go beyond the normal limits of duty in doing his work. He is paid for his services--which become increasingly professional as his experience grows--but the payment is fixed at a minimal level.¹¹

The reasoning behind this set of conditions is not complex. It represents the utilization of the common device of compelling the individual to sublimate and discipline his personal desires in deference to a higher authority. The ultimate authority in this case being the profession. Since the altruistic aims of all professions are those of service to society above all personal needs or desires, the intern, in his experience is presented the opportunity to demonstrate these qualities in himself.

This particular limitation of the rights of the internship exists in varying degrees within different professional training programs. Even within a single profession various training programs may be quite different. It is, nevertheless, one widely used means of inculcating in individuals preparing for professional practice

¹¹ Jack Starr, "Our New Hospital Crisis," Look Magazine, 24: (March 20, 1960), pp. 25-33. This article quotes figures which would indicate that intern shortages may drastically reduce this tendency in training programs. It is stated that shortages have driven hospitals to place unqualified and ill-trained foreign medical students in intern positions with little consideration for training and much consideration for the services they may render. Other professions have experienced this same problem from time to time.

a deeper sense of duty and humility to professional ideals.

The internship then, provides the setting in which an incumbent is constantly pressed to understand his rights and responsibilities as a professional in his contacts with clients, with other practitioners, and with the community-at-large. He is given greater grants of authority as he develops.

Each doctor, lawyer, teacher, as a part of his work responsibility, will find that he exercises significant influence and control over the lives of individuals with whom he comes in professional contact. The power to do so becomes one of the rights of professional practice and it is a right granted the practitioner when he is engaged for service.

These rights given the practitioner, may involve grants of information, relinquishment of patient or client privacy, or enforcement of client adherence to professional suggestion. Although license is given to the practitioner, these areas may represent inviolable domains of the client's life in regard to all others. The practitioner, consequently, enters an extremely intimate relationship with many of his clients. These rights of access, given a practitioner by his client, carry with them broad attachments of responsibility. The client literally puts himself in the practitioner's hands and trusts the professional to assume responsibility for the action which follows.

The doctor is given the right to diagnose and prescribe for an illness, but he must assume responsibility for his diagnosis and for his prescription. The diagnosis must be as accurate as possible and the prescription must be appropriate, and potentially beneficial.

The lawyer may be given access to knowledge about a client's financial condition, or his mental state, or his tendency toward social deviation. He must responsibly use this information pursuant to the performance of professional services, and never beyond this point. A teacher assumes the right to control the behavior and actions of his student charges, but his responsibility binds him to direct these actions toward the achievement of socially useful and socially approved goals.

A practitioner's rights and responsibilities as they relate to his clients or patients come to have real and practical meaning in an internship situation.

Rights and responsibilities involve not only the client relationship, but relationship with other professionals. In terms of professional privilege and obligation, the intern stands to learn much concerning his interaction with other members of his profession and with other professions. He will come to recognize that as a practitioner he may assume certain rights and prerogatives which will carry concomitant obligations to other professionals. This will become the core of working relationships which the intern will begin to set up with his fellow professionals.

The practitioner's awareness of rights and obligations as these relate to his immediate community are significant facets of professionalism. The intensive preparation and experience of the professional gives him an "expert" status in a community. This implies a subsequent right to make judgments concerning community problems centering in his area of specialty. The doctor may be asked to speak on issues of public health, the teacher on issues of education, the

lawyer on issues of law and justice. Professionals have both the right and the responsibility to be heard on appropriate issues when their preparation qualifies them to perform services which will inform, enlighten or caution the public. This means that the practicing professional is responsible for extending his interests beyond immediate practice and into the community of which he is a part. He has the right to be heard when he recommends or makes pronouncements concerning public welfare, but he is responsible for recognizing the proper moment for his pronouncements.

The internship is not the arena in which all of these rights and responsibilities are learned, but it should be the place where awarenesses and perceptions of this aspect of professional practice takes functional form in the minds of professional aspirants. Such awarenesses may begin with a delineation of the rights and responsibilities of the internship, but they extend into the area of professional autonomy and authority as the trainee is given increasing responsibility. As the need for professional decision making is thrust upon the intern, he begins to shift from his initial grasp of ethics the degrees and sources of autonomy and authority resident in the traditions of his profession.

AUTHORITY AND AUTONOMY

Authority and autonomy in professional practice is the central reference for the decision-making functions of the practitioner. The professional man is identified as different from the non-professional

man in that he is capable and willing to exercise autonomy in crucial decision making, but he is equally willing to submit to authority when this will best facilitate sound decision making. The professional man operates within the sphere of authority, both social and professional, but he is given greater latitude in the selection of the authority upon which he bases his decisions. He uses this authority, then, as a tool rather than as a limiting instrument and it becomes the key in explaining his value to society. He is capable of diagnosing and treating an illness; he is competent in tracing the course of justice as an individual's actions are measured against the law; he is free to teach and discuss those ideas which may brook controversy but which open new inquiries to science, philosophy or the humanities.

What are the sources of authority from which the professional draws his counsel? Where must he look when the burden of critical decision rests wholly upon him? How does he select a source of authority which will support him in the final analysis of his decision making? These questions are almost rhetorical in that there are no complete and total answers. But the professional man, due to the nature of his work and responsibilities, must be on familiar working terms with the sources of authority for his profession if he is to practice effectively.

One of the major sources of authority utilized by the professional centers in the preparatory training which qualifies him for practice. The areas of knowledge, and the disciplines cognate to his field of specialty, serve as systems of authority upon which he

must draw constantly in practice. The principles and theories which he has learned; the processes of inquiry, of deduction, and of experimentation which he has acquired; and the empirical knowledge which he has absorbed through training and experience, serve as his central source of authority.

Society, in terms of custom, code and law, will set up certain limits of practice which will provide a second source of authority. But the professional man, in the course of most of his normal practice, will not find these limits unduly binding. His training and his ethical code will normally keep his actions well within the bounds of any form of legal or cultural limitation. In all established professions, legal agencies exercise authority in terms of licensure or dispensation to practice. These usually represent the minimal requirements for admission to practice and roughly prescribe the outer limits of professional conduct. These groups may be drawn from a profession but as such the group functions for the society as a whole. In this respect society is the ultimate authority as regards the judicial and the conduct aspects of professional practice.¹²

The profession, itself, also serves as a source of authority. The ethical standards which it prescribes, the traditions and ideals which it supports will become authority referents for the professional.

But authority, without a concomitant sense of autonomy, does not alone define the professional man. It is probable that the major portion of professional decisions are predominantly based on autonomous actions.

¹²See: Carr-Saunders, op. cit., pp. 404-421.

The internship provides opportunity to bring the elements of authority and autonomy into play as decisions are made. The reality of diagnosing a patient's illness and prescribing a treatment appropriate for it; the responsibility for preparing a case at law so that justice to both client and society will be done; the challenge of bringing powerful physical phenomena to bear upon the solution of human problems in a constructive or a destructive manner; these become the points in professional practice in which a balanced sense of professional autonomy and authority are engaged. It is from a sense of ethical standards, with a clear cut perception of rights and responsibilities, practiced with an awareness of the interplay of autonomy and authority that "professionalism" is learned. Learning these, the intern must eventually come to recognize that any profession, in the end, is incomplete, and is, moreover never fully prepared to achieve its ultimate goals in any society. There are elements of uncertainty prevalent in all professional decisions and these elements emerge quite often from the limitations of professional knowledge and experience.

PROFESSIONAL LIMITATIONS

Professional limitations represent an inevitable awareness which comes with exposure to professional practice. Every professional activity, whether it be law, medicine, education, engineering or theology has some areas of uncertainty.¹³ It is this uncertainty, and the inability of the untrained to deal with it, which creates a need

Renee Fox in Merton, op. cit., pp. 207-241.

for the services of professional people in the first place. The professional man is aware of the uncertainties associated with his field, but he has prepared more intensively to deal with these uncertainties, and he is conditioned to face them more rationally and objectively for the purpose of reducing them to manageable form. This does not mean that uncertainty is eliminated by the professional, because this will never be the case with the variables of human existence. But the professional man deals almost exclusively with these items in his practice; as a result, he becomes increasingly aware of the limitations of his profession in achieving the altruistic aims which are set out for it. This in no sense makes a cynic or a doubter of him. On the contrary, it is the recognition of this uncertainty which causes him to seek answers to questions, or hypothesize and experiment in order to add to the stock of certain knowledge which exists in his field. The reduction of uncertainty associated with medicine, or law, or education, then, becomes an aim of the true professional in these fields.

Professional limitations go beyond uncertainty, however. In each profession there is a point at which each general practitioner and each practicing specialist must recognize that the services of another professional become more appropriate to a case or a condition. This is a decision situation in which the practitioner must assess his personal and professional abilities and weigh them against the conditions which he faces. It is a time for sober and mature reflection; a time in which the professional man honestly measures his resources against those of one more experienced, or more skillful, or more intensively trained, and decides to consult with him or refer

the case to him for continuance. This requires sound judgment and honest interpretation, and it must emerge from the realization that a specialist can provide a better answer.

Such decisions must be made within all professions, and the ultimate utility of the specialized training and practice within a profession is dependent upon this realization in each practitioner. The total value to each practitioner, in turn, is dependent upon the realization that special services exist, and on his ability to diagnose conditions and refer to the proper specialist. This implies that preparation for professional practice requires that the aspirant have, in addition to his own sense of professional authority and autonomy, a sense of professional humility. This can only be gained through experience in practice. The internship offers such experience.

PROFESSIONAL VALUES

Professional values become the ultimate summation, then, of the intern experience. In terms of the sense of professional community engendered by the experience, these values will ultimately become the individualized ethic which marks the experienced practitioner. These values will be composed of the elements which have been discussed previously.

They will center, originally, in the formalized ethical standards which guide all members of a profession. They will gradually be supplemented by a growing concept of rights and obligations and a concomitant recognition of authority and autonomy as it relates to

professional practice. Throughout the experience, the intern will become increasingly aware of the limitations of his profession and of the uncertainty which characterizes it. He will become equally aware of his personal professional preparation as it compares to the specialized fields of practice within his own profession or within other professions.

Having acquired these values, the professional is better prepared to face the problems and make the decisions which he will incur in practice. His sense of professional responsibility and his perception of a professional "place" in society will be firmed by these values. It is therefore assumed that his performance and his service will be appropriate to the prescription laid down by his profession and in keeping with established public expectations.

CHAPTER VII

A CONSOLIDATED THEORY OF INTERNSHIP

In the preceding chapters, the internship has been viewed in terms of its origins, and its possible functions as a phase of training for the professions.

As an educational method, it has been pointed out that the internship has limited, and specialized qualities. It has been further stated that the concept seems to have received little intensive study as an educational device. Nevertheless, it has been employed in certain professions to a degree that there are many opinions concerning its utility and effect.

The case for presenting a theory of internship has been reviewed and the rationale from which such a theory should develop has also been identified.

This final chapter, as a summary, will recapitulate the foregoing concepts and will attempt to integrate them into a concise theory of the internship.

PERCEPTUAL LEARNING IN THE INTERNSHIP

Perceptual learning is usually a by-product of, rather than a center for, the assessment of change on the part of a learner.

When an elementary school child is exposed to the multiplication tables or a concept in geography or new material in reading, attention is placed upon how well he can adapt and respond to the

learning experience, rather than how he perceives the situation and what meaning these perceptions have for him. Teachers assess performance rather than perception. The logical assumption is made that one must perceive and understand in order to perform; therefore, performance becomes an index of perception. The next logical step is that of setting standards of performance which will serve as comparative measures of quality and quantity of learning. This tends to move attention even farther away from perception in the direction of performance.

If a teacher deals with a child experiencing learning difficulty, the teacher will become concerned with the child's understanding of the material to be learned. Ordinarily, however, there is a pre-structured method for reorganizing a child's perceptions to fit the pattern necessary for demonstrating competence in performance. Teacher initiative is therefore directed toward perceptual re-structuring rather than toward understanding on the part of the child.

All formalized educational experiences follow this general pattern. From early elementary school through the highest level of graduate school, an individual must be intent upon restructuring his perceptions according to pre-established patterns.

In contrast, professional practice does not follow a pre-established pattern. The nature of a particular kind of professional practice will dictate that a limited variety of services will be performed by the practitioner, but the order of their occurrence, and the intensity of the practitioner's involvement occur randomly rather than on some scheduled or ordered sequence. This imposes a

necessity for competence in many areas, and flexibility on the part of the practitioner. It demands that he work from a set of basic theories and principles rather than from a pre-established set of solutions to a set of specific problems.

If he has acquired his prerequisite theories and principles in an ordered fashion, it may be very difficult for the practitioner to call them into play unless he perceives himself in his role as a practitioner, and the professional community of which he is a part, as interrelated facets of the total problem on which he is asked to serve as a decision maker. It is difficult, therefore, to relate principles and practice in a professional setting without some experience and guidance in doing this. Beyond this it is difficult to form professional judgments and to arrive at professional decisions without this ability to relate theory to practice.

The responsibility for forming judgments and for making decisions based on principles as they relate to a particular situation is the identifying feature of the professional man. Adequate preparation to meet this responsibility will come from an intern experience.

The internship, by its nature and its structure, is basically different from other formal learning situations. The arrangement of learning experiences, the assessment of learning, and the use to which that learning is put, is different and more realistic i.e. less ordered than are the learning situations in public schools and colleges.

The areas of learning which have been identified as most significant in intern situations are different from those usually

identified in the assessment of formal learning experiences. For this reason, it is expected that modified analytical and evaluational techniques will be needed to investigate the implications of this theory.

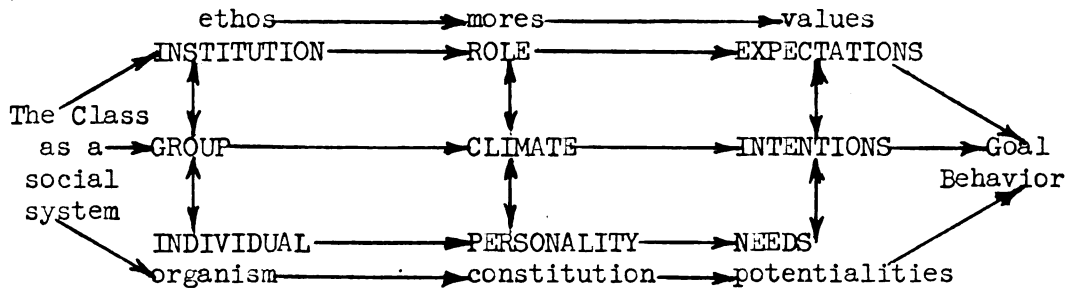
All of the areas of learning and identification discussed, imply perceptions made and values acquired as a result of the intern experience. For the most part, they are elements which will be, or should be, internalized by the incumbent so that actual determination of their effect will not always be traceable in overt behavior. They might, in fact, be best identified by individual self analysis. This does not detract from their significance in an educational sense, because some of the weaknesses of prevailing educational structure and practice stems from its failure to account for the individual's perception of change in himself as a result of his learning.

Attention has been given to this aspect of learning, but such attention has usually been centered within the disciplines of psychology and sociology and has had little influence in the educational, or more specifically, the pedagogical practice.

Getzels and Thelen¹ have discussed this problem in accounting for the effects of classroom experience upon the learning of individuals within the classroom. They have initially considered the classroom as a "social system" involving individual, group, and institutional referents. Their conceptual model is one which is

¹Jacob Getzels and Herbert Thelen, "The Classroom as a Unique Social System" in Nelson S. Henry, The Dynamics of Instructional Groups (59th Yearbook of The National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 53-82.

intended to show the interrelationship of significant factors on an action frame. This action frame accounts for the interrelationships existing between the factors influencing the behavior of individuals involved.²



This three-dimension conceptual system bridges a gap which has separated the social, interactional and psychological considerations which are an integral part of any learning situation. Theorists have traditionally considered only one dimension of learning in interaction situations. In the schematic above, the lower line defines the psychological complex of individual traits and qualities. The center line accounts for the interactional factors functioning in a classroom. The upper line identifies the sociological group of institutional factors which influence the situation.

The model implies that there is both horizontal and vertical relationship between each of the identified factors and tacitly suggests that one is not more significant or predominant than another.

Horizontal flow implies that change (learning) is an involvement of all of the factors identified in the conceptual

²Ibid., p. 80.

schematic, and that action, or dynamics, might occur in a left to right direction from the setting of the classroom to the observed behavior.

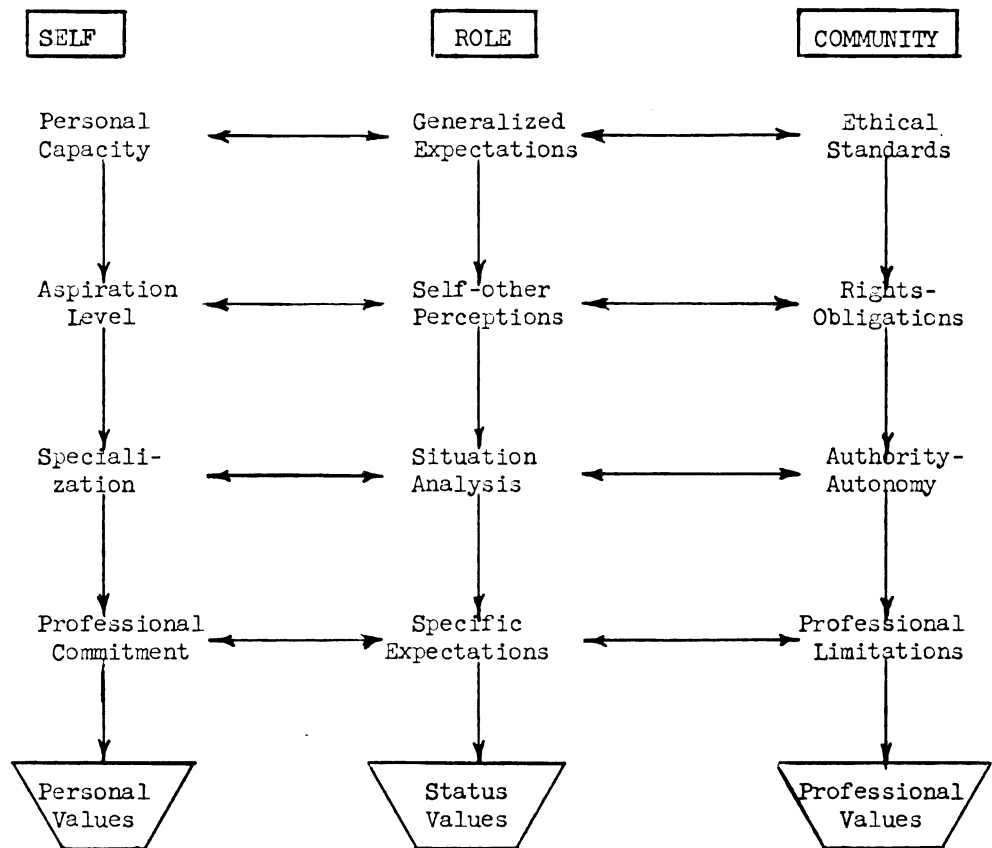
A SCHEMATIC DESIGN OF THE INTERNSHIP

With modifications, the model structure utilized by Getzels and Thelen can be adapted for the purpose of schematically identifying change (learning) potentially resident in an intern situation. Such a model is arranged as a refinement of the schematic presented in Chapter I.

Utilizing a vertical rather than horizontal flow sequence it might be assumed that learning in the dimension of SELF, ROLE and COMMUNITY might progress downward from these centers to the value composites which are the summation of these elements.

Each of the items identified in the three vertical tracks appear to be interrelated both in a horizontal as well as a vertical relationship. The downward progression is not intended to imply a rigid sequential order for the appearance of these identifications or awarenesses in an intern. It is possible, for instance, to theorize that commitment might precede all of the other items on the SELF dimension. Commitment might even follow the limitations element in the COMMUNITY line. The point here is not to identify sequence and order as much as to account for those interrelated elements which go to make up the complex of learning experiences in the internship.

Viewing the model horizontally, that is, from a comparison of coordinate items in the three dimensions, an attempt might be made



to assess interrelationships as they exist in the ranges of SELF, ROLE and COMMUNITY.

The median position of ROLE implies that the entire internship experience centers here. In other words, an intern will realize little in terms of professional perceptions outside the contact situations of his experience. But with each of these identity perceptions occurring in the ROLE dimension, certain concomittant realizations might be expected to occur on the SELF and on the COMMUNITY dimensions. As an example, assume that generalized expectations are to occur in the internship, a concurrent assumption could be made that these would influence personal capacity perceptions at the SELF level and ethical perceptions at the COMMUNITY level.

The same interrelationships might apply to a central consideration of self-other perceptions on the ROLE continuum. It could be expected that these perceptions influence the aspiration perceptions in the SELF dimension as well as the rights-obligations identification on the COMMUNITY level.

Further assumptions and hypotheses could be drawn concerning the interrelationship of any of the elements identified in the schematic structure. Empirical research can be designed to test the significance of each of these theoretical variables and to verify an hypotheses of influence of interrelationship.

It has been indicated earlier that the approach to this theory has been centered in sociology more than in psychology. It has been stated that the existence of the internship as a sociological entity has prompted this approach and that by using a closed system-element reduction process, the concept has been brought into

sociological perspective. It has been proposed that the kind of learning potentially resident in the internship is social in nature. But it cannot be expected that a full justification for the internship can exist if the psychological implications which exist within the concept are ignored.

Human learning, in any form, is subject to certain influences which are best accounted for in the "laws of learning" as defined by psychologists. Learning is, in final account, strictly an individual process. Perception, the heart of this theory, is a psychological process which involves the phenomena of attention, association, memory, discrimination, patterning and conceptualizing.³ If learning is to take place in an internship situation then, it will call these processes into play as the incumbent intellectualizes his experience.

When reducing an internship experience to its basic components, it can be described as: composed of people, interacting in a specific setting, for the purpose of dealing with a particular kind of problem. Each person in such a setting will have perceptual learning opportunities. Since concern here centers on the educative potential of the internship, attention must be concentrated on the constant perceiver, the intern, rather than on the transient perceiver, the patient or client.

The internship, can be justified however, on psychological grounds in recognizing that it is a conceptual structuring device

³ A discussion of the mechanics of perception and understanding may be found in: Lee J. Cronbach, Educational Psychology, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954), pp. 277-299.

which centers in the individual. Study can be made of the three perceptual areas SELF, ROLE and COMMUNITY in the light of their socio-psychological dimensions.

The SELF perceptions gained in internship, although strongly influenced by the social situation, will provide for an individual an intrinsic kind of personal-worth index as he deals with professional problems.

The ROLE perceptions will provide an awareness of the dynamic qualities of professional practice and will serve an intern as an index of the reciprocal qualities of professional interaction.

The COMMUNITY perceptions will provide an extrinsic index of the relationships which exist between the individual practitioner and the professional community of which he is a part.

The internship should serve as a "finishing experience" which completes the training of a professional practitioner in such a way that he knows the work of a doctor or lawyer or teacher; he acts as a doctor, lawyer or teacher is expected to act; he thinks as a doctor or lawyer or teacher in conjunction with his work, and he feels as a doctor or lawyer or teacher, based on his identity perceptions.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The theory presented in this study has been developed as a means for stimulating research on the educational value of the internship.

It has been stated previously that the "rightness" or "wrongness" of this theory can be determined only by empirical investigation.

This suggests that research efforts need to be directed towards the internship as an educational process and the various assumptions contained within the theory need to be tested for validity.

The utility of this theory results from the composite assumptions which have been developed and these assumptions are presented in such a way that the dimensions of identity and their components are structured.

It is possible to test the theory which has been proposed in this paper if an internship program of the kind defined in chapter one is available. It is possible to study the various assumptions of the theory and it is possible to verify or negate them through methods of organized inquiry.

If empirical study is made of the internship and if the assumptions of this theory are found to be correct, it would seem that the internship, as an educational method, would be recognized as an essential phase in the preparation of professionals whose services center on interaction with people. This would provide deeper insights into the complex process of preparing people for professional practice and it would formally recognize the significance of the perceptual aspects of learning experience. These in turn might offer suggestions for change in pre-intern or post-intern training. The profession in general and practitioner in particular might benefit from changes in training procedures made as a result of conclusive empirical evidence.

Since the theory evolves around the perceptual potentials inherent in the internship, it appears that particular kinds of

research techniques and instruments might be more appropriate than others. Perception at all levels is a particularly internal phenomenon. For this reason, much of the investigation of intern awarenesses will stem directly from responses elicited in the trainee. Perceptions are not overt, and cannot be implied from behavior with any degree of accuracy. It is, therefore, necessary to consider devices and techniques which will identify in an intern the awarenesses and the identities he may develop as his experience continues. The mere act of identifying the elements proposed in the theory will tend to heighten their significance and the candidate may give greater credence to their value in professional preparation. This in itself will constitute learning.

Since perception is a central focus of these identity dimensions it would seem that verbalization and record keeping might be the two most frequently used sources of data. Depth interviews and journals or diaries can provide information about a trainee if an evaluator knows what he is seeking. Intern supervisors who serve as counselors can form conclusions about an intern's awareness of the identity elements as he assesses background and conditions in making decisions.

Certain socio-metric techniques, role playing, and inter-group ratings, can provide clues to the appearance and the intensity of professional perception and awareness in interns.

Self assessment instruments utilizing forced choice items might provide valuable data concerning the elements of SELF, ROLE and COMMUNITY perceptions.

Scales designed to measure dependence-independence intensities in decision making could be constructed. Multi-dimensional perception assessments, i.e. instruments which might gather information on several perceptual elements, might be devised and used. In this way some recognition of the reciprocal influences of various perceptions might be determined.

These suggestions imply, then, that a frontier exists in the area of the internship. The real educational effectiveness of the method has not been determined. Its efficiency is now supported mainly by opinion. The professions need evidence which will support or destroy the contention that the internship provides an essential and unique kind of experience in the training of professionals. This theory has been designed as a part of that larger purpose.

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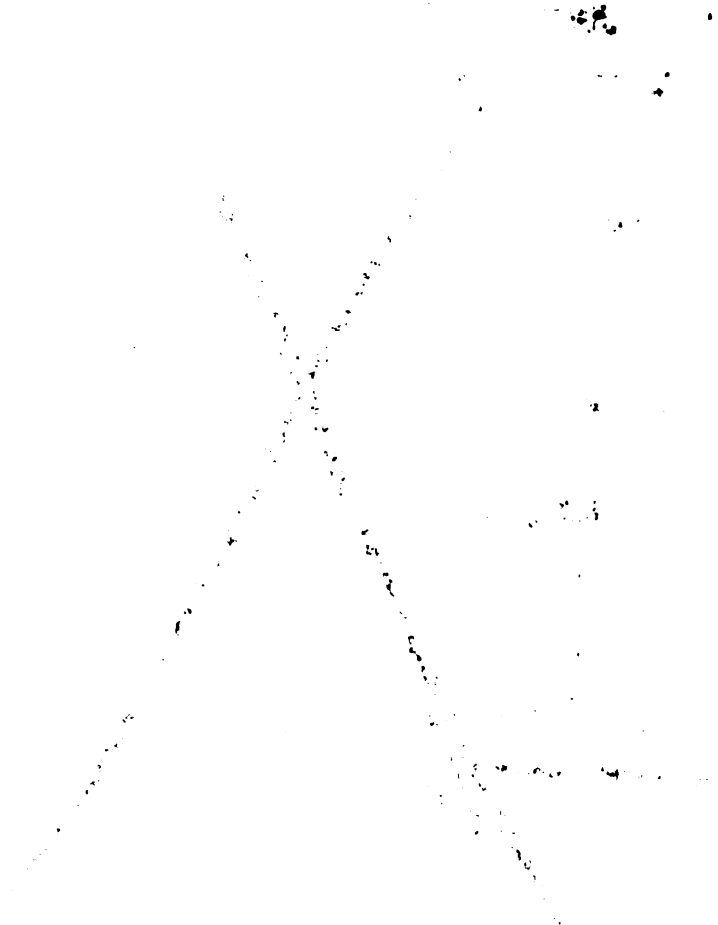
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