

THE YOUNG VOLUNTEERS

**An Evaluation of Three Programs of the
American Friends Service Committee**

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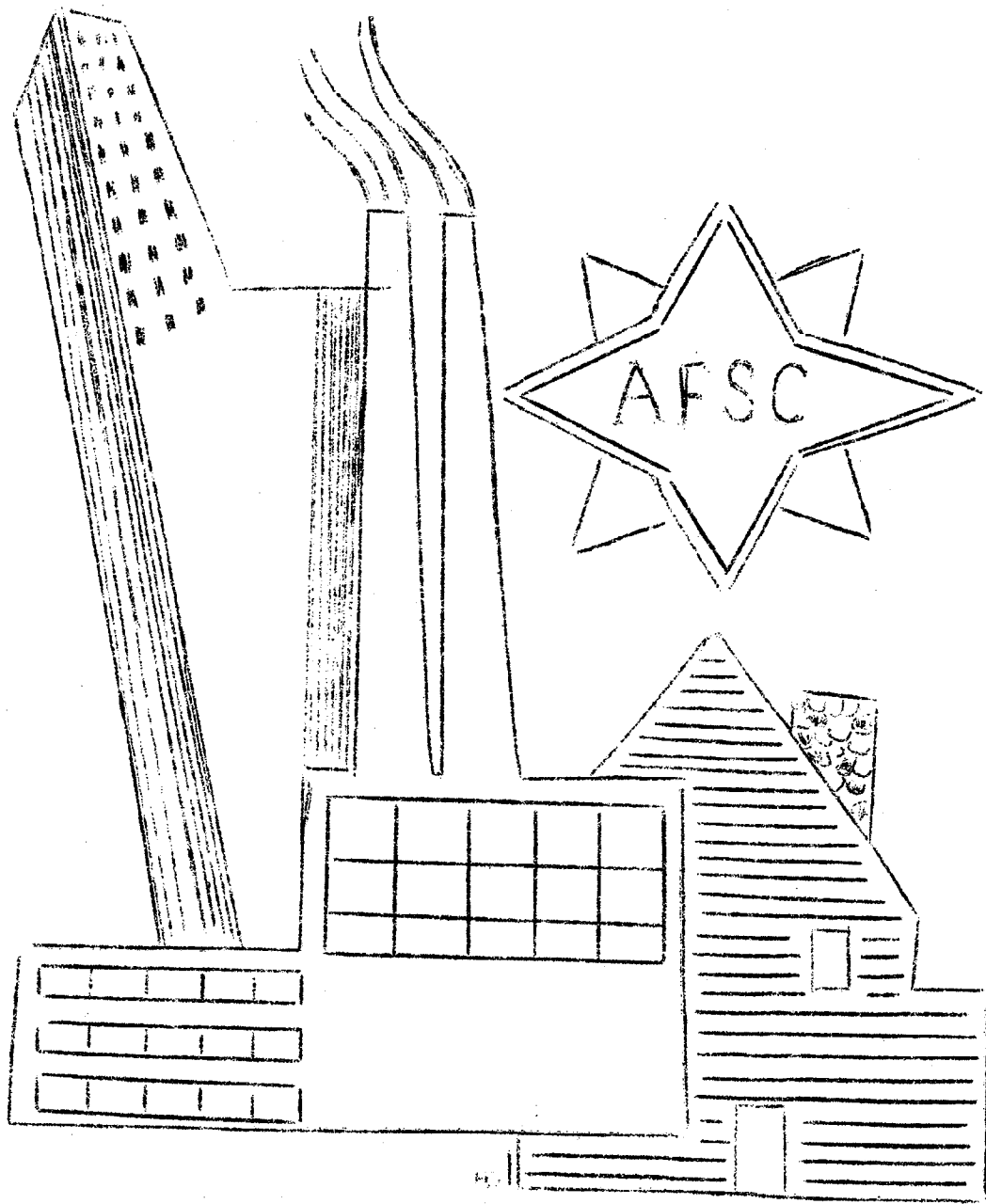
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PREFACE

The 'moral unrest' so deeply penetrating all western societies, the growing vagueness and indecision of personalities, the almost complete disappearance of the 'strong and steady character' of old times, in short, the rapid and general increase of Bohemianism and Bolshevism in all societies is an effect of the fact that not only the early primary group controlling all interests of its members . . . but even the special modern group dividing with many others the task of organizing permanently the attitudes of each of its members, is more and more losing ground. The pace of social evolution has become so rapid that special groups are ceasing to be permanent and stable enough to organize and maintain organized complexes of attitudes of their members . . .

Thomas and Znaniecki,
The Polish Peasant in Europe
and America, III, 63-64

It is toward the ends of confronting the 'moral unrest' of the modern American city and aiding the restless that the Internes in Community Service Projects of the American Friends Service Committee are dedicated. Like their older and better known counterpart, the volunteer work camp, Community Service Projects are intended to bring young adults, regardless of race, nationality or religion, together in a primary group designed to serve the needs of city dwellers.

As many of our present social problems have their source in the restless movements of masses of the population out of a society based on primary relationships into the less controlled existence of life in great cities, the Service Committee has worked to find an urban parallel to the rural program of the volunteer work camp. Among its experiments are two programs (Internes in Community Service, who work in

private community organization and welfare agencies, and Internes in Industry, who labor in city factories and warehouses) the quality of which we want to assess in this sociological field study.

We know the college students who have served as Internes generally praise their experiences as memorable and instructive. But exactly who volunteers to serve, and why? And what are the effects of this urban exposure and group adventure?

This sociological evaluation of three action programs sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, namely the Internes in Community Service, Internes in Industry, and Institutional Service Units, has dual objectives. It is foremost an evaluation of the relative effectiveness of each of these programs in influencing the social and political maturity of program participants. It reports information collected from the young adults who have participated in these programs from 1951 through 1958. In this respect, our aim is to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each program as reflected in positive and negative changes in the character of participants. The focus is centered upon the Internes in Community Service. The other programs are used in part as controls for evaluation.

The audience for this evaluation is principally the Service Committee staff professionals in Philadelphia and in Regional Offices who guide and direct the Domestic Projects Program, and the committees of laymen within the Society of Friends who collaborate in planning the programs and who have a direct hand in the formation of program policies. If the study is released for general circulation, however, we are convinced the evaluation would prove helpful to program administrators, community organizations, and educators generally. It would interest many former Internes as well insofar as

they could compare their individual experiences with those of hundreds of others.

A secondary objective dictated the content of this study. We have attempted to create an academically relevant sociology of an action program. We think our method and our findings constitute a modest contribution to a growing literature on the combined impact of a formal organization and an informal group upon the attitudes and behaviors of individuals. From this point of view, the report is focused on the "micro-sociological" sources of attitude change.

The Internes in Community Service Evaluation began with a request from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation. For several years a financial contributor to the Community Service Projects, the Foundation Board was interested in an assessment of the effectiveness of the projects in influencing the character development of young adults. Discussion between Carl Tjerandsen, Executive Secretary of the Schwarzhaupt Foundation, Thelma How, Friends Service Committee Director of Domestic Projects (and other AFSC representatives), and National Opinion Research Center staff members, led to preparation of the evaluation in January, 1958. In fact, interest in a systematic evaluation had been stimulated somewhat earlier by correspondence between Ralph Tyler, Carl Tjerandsen and Clyde Hart, all of whom share a strong concern with educational research.

Joint discussion between sponsors and research staff led to an agreement that the evaluation would not include coverage of the services Internes give to private community organizations, settlement houses, and service agencies. The dispersion and diversity of such agencies seemed to foreclose the possibility of making generalizations. There was also agreement that evaluation was to focus upon the effects of project experience upon the volunteer participants, in preference to program content itself or to quality of direction.

The Schwarzhaupt Foundation provided a research grant in support of the study and the American Friends Service Committee gave freely of the time and resources of its Philadelphia Office personnel in completing it. Of course, the Friends Service Committee itself wanted evidence of the effectiveness of the program, but the findings and conclusions of this report are intended to be neither praiseful nor to place blame. The study was deliberately given over to one who is not a member of the Society of Friends nor attached in any way to the AFSC organization. Realism counterbalanced this objectivity in the person of the Assistant Study Director, Margallen Hanna Fichter, who as a Friend has participated in both Internes in Community Service and Internes in Industry projects and who, as a sociologist, combined technical skills with her familiarity with project life.

We expect that the primary audience for this report will consist of non-technical persons. Therefore, statistical tables and tests have been removed from the text and placed at the close of the chapter where they may be reached with ease by those most concerned with the burden of evidence. Instruments for measurement have been included in Appendix I, while additional data are provided in tables in Appendix II.

The reader who seeks the core of this report is advised to read chapters iv, v, and viii, as these convey findings about Internes as they were measured before and after their project experience. Because of the great preliminary work in evaluation studies by Henry Riecken in his Volunteer Work Camp (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1952), and by Herbert Hyman and Charles Wright in Youth in Transition (Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1956), we have been able to concentrate analytic effort on accounting for the sources of various changes in the attitudes of project participants. These and earlier studies erected an impressive

scaffolding from which to construct evaluative indices of action programs and their effects. We have borrowed heavily from the work of these craftsmen and have sought to contribute part of an additional superstructure, namely, some systematic explanation of why programs effect participants as they appear to do. To a large extent, the question of whether work camps, citizenship programs, or volunteer service programs do influence the maturity of participants had been answered unequivocally prior to this study. Aware of this, we attempted to design a field study which would allow for increased statistical control over variable sources of influence in order to address the less well answered questions of how and why this influence is transmitted.

It was toward this end that data from participants in Internes in Industry projects and from Institutional Service Units were collected. As Riecken points out in his discussion of program evaluation procedures, "The social scientist should attempt to control variations in . . . the participants . . . and in the situation and events of the actual program" (p.24). We had no wish to attempt to control either experimentally, but as we shall demonstrate, the three programs, when contrasted systematically, open statistical avenues to control--the only means available for explanatory analysis. Thanks are due especially to the Schwarzhaupt Foundation for its readiness in agreeing to expansion of the original study design, intended at first only to concern Internes in Community Service, and to the generous response of the Service Committee in this regard.

This study has depended upon the collaboration of many individuals. The essential contribution was that made by the program participants and alumni who so willingly spent many hours filling out questionnaires, responding to interviewers, and tolerating first hand observation by outsiders. Major credit is due Carl Tjerandsen and Thelma How, whose support and understanding are responsible for originating the

evaluation. Very helpful assistance was given by 1958 Project Directors in all three programs, who helped to administer the questionnaires and who played correspondent and host under many complicated situations.

My greatest debt of gratitude is due Clyde W. Hart, Director of N.O.R.C., whose imaginative encouragement renewed the vigor of our efforts at every turn throughout the year of data analysis. Much of the value of the study is the result of his suggestions. Peter C. Pineo devised several statistical innovations we have exploited in assessing attitude change. Margallen Harna Fichter served with unfailing and creative diligence as questionnaire collector, coder, interviewer, and data analyst. Her work, much of it volunteer, stands in the finest tradition of the Society of Friends and of research sociology. While she did not write any part of the report, out of determination not to bias its objectivity, her enthusiasm for reliable knowledge about the programs has informed every insight I have achieved in its writing. The patiently expert help of the N.O.R.C. machine room staff, especially of Harold Levy, was indispensable, as was the coding of Ann Clark Smith and the special data analysis of Carolyn Huson. Helen Dentler created the frontispiece, and Helen Yoos typed a virtually flawless mass of stencils.

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CHAPTER I

THE SERVICE COMMITTEE PROGRAMS

Internes in Community Service

Recognizing the stake which young people have in the elimination of the barriers which separate man from man, over the past fifteen years the American Friends Service Committee has developed work and study projects in tension areas. This project seeks to apply the motivations and techniques which have operated in these projects to a new area--the area of community services in a highly industrialized city.

This statement headed the first announcement of the plans for the first Internes in Community Service Project, established in Chicago in 1952. The reasoning behind development of this project was that many of the nation's most pressing social problems--housing, youth services, crime and delinquency, poverty, race conflicts--tend to concentrate in cities. Over the next generation, given explosive population growth and increasing urbanization, these problems will intensify. Why not therefore transfer the heritage of earlier Service Committee projects--rural volunteer work camps, urban rehabilitation week ends, and study efforts--into a project to confront young adults with these problems most directly. Why not service in a context where meliorative solutions are being sought, namely in community service agencies in the metropolis?

The conviction that experience in working with existing service agencies was a better approach than to create new agencies also helped to shape the goals of the new project.

The first Internes in Community Service Project, then, was created on the pattern of earlier Service Committee projects. A group of young adults between 18 and 35 would live together, share housework, meditation, study and recreation, and would work at individual assignments in selected social service agencies in the Chicago area.

The project began with four Internes who had summer day camp assignments with settlement houses and who lived at Chicago Commons, a settlement house, where a member of the Chicago Regional Office staff, Andy Billingsley, provided leadership. Chicago was chosen as a site because the project was conceived of by members of Chicago Regional Office and because Chicago is an "ideal" setting in which to discover human problems and in which to join with existing agencies at work on such problems.

According to the first "Report and Evaluation" of the 1952 Project, its major purposes were as follows:

1) To give young people an opportunity to be of service in solution of some of the pressing social problems faced by people who live in large industrial centers like Chicago;

2) To give young people a constructive learning experience in regard to the serious problems of urban living and the provision of welfare services.

Subsidiary purposes of the Project were, according to the same evaluation:

3) To make available Internes at a maintenance rate which might enable some agencies to undertake pioneering programs impossible to undertake with existing staff.

4) Internes might provide additional staff to agencies which, for lack of funds, had insufficient staff to meet program needs.

5) The Internes participating would be introduced to new concepts of methods of resolving social tensions, to the AFSC and to Quakerism.

6) The Project would provide an opportunity for a co-operative group living experience.

7) The Project might be approved as alternative service for conscientious objectors.

The first Chicago Project aimed at including from ten to sixteen Internes, qualified by one or more years of college, maturity, and an interest in working directly with people. Internship was not limited to those seeking pre-professional experience in social work but was instead extended to young adults with a variety of vocational goals. Officials also aimed to include people from a variety of racial and religious backgrounds and of generally diverse social characteristics.

Note that five of the seven original purposes concerned needs and interests, not of social agencies, but of project members. It is with these Interne-centered objectives that this evaluation is exclusively concerned. That is, a service project has two sides to its design: the side of the participant's experience and performance viewed from within the project, and the side of the agency's gains or losses from employing the volunteer participants. We shall be concerned exclusively with the participants.

With very few modifications, the pattern established by the 1952 Chicago Project has been maintained through 1958, even where projects have been located in urban areas very unlike Chicago. While the relevant modifications will be reviewed in later sections of this study, our aim here is to acquaint the reader with general machinery through which Internes in Community Service Projects work. To simplify the pattern, we have broken it into three parts: organization of work; organization of program; and organization of group living. These components will enable us to distinguish precisely between the Community Service Projects and the two programs, Internes in Industry and Institutional Service Units, we have used for comparative analysis.

Organization of Work in ICS

As originally conceived, every attempt is made to assign Internes to existing private agencies in the social welfare field. The aim is to place Internes in "pioneering" positions, positions considered essential yet experimental or involving tasks an agency could not afford previously to undertake.

The principal types of assignments (made by directors) are in community organization work with community councils or settlement houses, and work with young people's groups ranging from nursery schools to community teen age recreation centers. In Chicago, the community organizations have included such local agencies as the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, a voluntary civic association created to foster neighborhood improvement and interracial understanding, located near the University of Chicago; the Lower North Center, Incorporated, a citizens group located in a blighted housing area and dedicated to rehabilitation and conservation; and, among settlement houses, the Erie Neighborhood House, a church neighborhood center concerned with a wide range of educational, recreational, and consulting services in a low income neighborhood.

Here is an Interne's description of his 1958 Summer Project job assignment:

I work in West Oakland, in a blighted area in which 26% of the population is on welfare. This area is chiefly inhabited by Negroes, and to the eye it looks like a good living area. I work for the Sunset District Community Council. At the moment, I'm taking a survey of what people want done in the event that planning for redevelopment takes place. I'm conducting a house to house program of interviews, using questions drawn up by the Redevelopment Agency of Oakland. My job is to handle everything from management of the volunteer interviewers to correspondence with interviewees and the like. I didn't know anything about survey operations when I

started, but I have learned. It's also going to be my job to carry out an analysis of the data and to recruit and supervise volunteers for coding and tabulating.

This is representative of a community organization job assignment at its best. Here the Interne is fulfilling a service of considerable value to the Community Council and is doing it under conditions of great autonomy and individual responsibility.

The following is an Interne's description of her job with the Parkside Community Council:

I work with a play group of children part of the time and promote block group organization among adults the remainder of the time. I do this promoting of block groups through visitation work, a term which means working to get neighborhood residents acquainted with one another. In the morning, my job is mostly to keep kids out of their mother's hair. I have two volunteer mothers who help me play with the kids. I like this job because I like to organize groups and to arrange programs and because on this job I am quite free to organize on my own terms. I have had supervision from a neighborhood club professional and some seminar instruction under him as well this summer.

This instance is cited because it combines elements of community organization jobs, settlement house type programs, and group work with children. Another variant in assignment is reflected in the following job description from a member of the 1958 Summer ICS Project in Berkeley, California:

I work with playgroups at a day camp at Birkwood School in Berkeley. The children range from five to eight years of age in one playgroup and from nine to twelve in the other. Most of the time I work with 26 children in the younger group--at least in the morning. In the afternoon, I work at the Berkeley Day Nursery with about 20 children from four to six years old. I supervise their outdoor play and right now, I'm rehearsing a puppet show with them. These are children of working mothers.

There has been great diversity in the kinds of community organization assignments. Some, such as the position with the Sunset District Council, are highly organized agencies

with priorities which need fulfilling. Others are with newly developed, uninstitutionalized civic groups such as the Parkside Community Council, which lacked even office space of its own as of 1958. The tasks taken on by Internes in these diverse agencies have also varied greatly, from simple clerical assistance to recruitment of members to participating in policy decisions and inter-agency negotiations.

Work assignments in settlement houses and with neighborhood centers have had much more in common as well as a more restricted range of influence upon the Interne, as we shall demonstrate empirically in a later chapter. The core of these work assignments is most often leadership of a playgroup, albeit with a diversity of age levels, with occasional service in alternative capacities such as community center librarian or equipment supervisor.

Work assignments vary along two dimensions. First, the kinds of positions that are accessible depend upon the city in which the project is located, the exact neighborhood in which the project house is situated, and upon long term relationships between AFSC Regional Offices and other social agencies. Secondly, Internes themselves vary greatly in capacity, maturity, and preliminary experience. This means that an eighteen-year-old college freshman may be unsuited to agency policy determination or agency public relations but ideally suited to playgroup supervision. Given these two limiting conditions, neither of which can be controlled fully by recruitment goals or by Regional Office negotiations with agencies, there is often unsatisfactory fit between an Interne's capabilities and his job assignment.

For example, work in community organizations is closer to the original conception of an ICS Project than is work with neighborhood playgroups. It has a pioneering character; it affords Internes a chance to work directly at community problems. But often, community organizations are so poorly

financed that they can make no financial contribution to the project, even where the arrangement sought is a \$300.00 contribution for the full time services of an Interne for an eight week period. As the first 1953 Project Evaluation Report indicated, "In some cases, community groups in early stages of organization have sought the services of an Interne before program goals were definite, and before a structure for determining policy and executing program were arrived at."

The evaluating committee recommended that Internes not be placed in such agencies, but a Regional Office or a Project Director cannot control events within existing private agencies. This has meant this dilemma continues. One alternative open to a Project Director is to place Internes in more readily obtainable playgroup supervisor positions¹--at the cost of certain project objectives, however. Another is to devise new kinds of positions, such as original neighborhood organization programming emanating from the Project House and its Internes, as has been attempted recently in Chicago. Here the cost is sacrifice of an original project goal of work in established agencies in fairly well structured circumstances.

While these dilemmas seem to be external to the experience of individual Internes, they actually shape the kind of job experience he is likely to undergo. And like all dilemmas, those surrounding personnel placement are a source of tension and occasional misunderstanding. One ICS Project Director provided evidence, for example, of apparent exploitation of project services by private social agencies who could have afforded to contribute financially to the project but who saw

¹Group work in neighborhood centers, settlement houses, and schools, is readily available for Internes because such agencies usually hire regular staff at about the same level of training and experience in any event. Two attractions in this alternative are that such centers often employ staff supervision--of value to the Interne, presumably--and that such agencies are more frequently able to contribute financially to projects for the services of an Interne.

this as a source of cheap labor. Similar tensions are sometimes conveyed to the Interne, both on the job and by the Project Director.

From the point of view of this study's comparative analysis of programs, the most relevant feature of the organization of work within ICS Projects is that each Interne within a Project Group works at a different job. The more completely in keeping with project goals the individual job is, the more it demands of an Interne's time and energies. Thus, the work assignments are neither a source of common experience--except abstractly--nor a source of living group reinforcement. The better jobs complete with the project group for the loyalties of the Internes.

Organization of Program in ICS Projects

The number of ICS Projects in action at any one time varies from one to four. In the Summer of 1958, when our data were for the most part collected, four projects were in action, in Chicago, St. Louis, Berkeley, and Seattle (the latter in collaboration with the Young Men's Christian Association of Seattle).

By the organization of program we mean the elements all project groups have in common, not by chance but because of formal arrangements devised by Service Committee staff officials and regional committees. This does not mean the elements themselves are necessarily "formal" but that their form and content originate with policy makers who are not themselves Internes. Nor does this mean these elements are present in equal degree in all project groups. Rather, program elements are simply the manifest regulations, procedures, and required activities expected to characterize project group life and work.

Official proscriptions are few in number but very clear. Internes of opposite sex must have separation and

privacy in sleeping quarters and, where the dwelling allows it, in bathroom facilities. Internes are required to live in the project house for the duration of the project, although occasional visits away from the house are acceptable. Drinking of liquors, wine or beer is not allowed, and in two observed projects, violation of this regulation caused serious but very temporary disruption of project life and verbal sanctions were strongly invoked. And Internes who decide to leave a project are not allowed to re-enter the program at a later date, except in unusual circumstances.

Official expectations are of course greater in number but receive wider modification in practice. Internes, for example, receive an expense allowance of \$40.00 per month while on the job in nine month winter projects and \$25.00 in two month summer projects, over and above room and meals. They are expected to attempt to live more or less within the consumption limits set by this allowance. In fact, many Internes expend larger amounts than this, accustomed as some of them are to larger allowances during the college year. Internes are expected to share in the preparation of meals and in all aspects of housekeeping as part of their cooperative experience. This concept is modified in two ways: by the extent to which the Project Director and in particular, his wife, tend to carry more than their share of housekeeping functions; and by how Internes come to define their group roles, some taking on an excessive number of housekeeping tasks and others avoiding domestic work whenever possible.

Another tenet of cooperative programming merits attention. To some extent, program officials and project directors assume that Internes' recreation and leisure will be invested in group activities, and this frequently amounts to an implicit yet formal expectation. As we shall show later in the study, the demands of certain job assignments (when very heavy or very unsatisfactory), the sex ratio in the group, and the size of the group combine as factors to modify this

expectation, sometimes severely. In an overcrowded project house, for example, Internes may become oriented toward a quest for privacy and relief from group participation. And where the sex ratio is very unbalanced, private dating may tend to replace group recreation.

Most Internes are free and twenty-one. They come to the project groups in part in quest of autonomy and adventure. The Service Committee, on the other hand, is formally responsible for the operation of the groups and, sensitive to the norms of the surrounding community, sometimes hesitates to give Internes any occasion for violating those norms. At least, this sensitivity is conveyed to project directors during their orientation conferences. At the same time, AFSC ideology emphasizes freedom of action for Internes as requisite to growth. The tensions that sometimes result are not peculiar to these young adult programs, but they appear as viable dilemmas to directors working on the scene.

The program is also structured by inclusion of didactic elements. These are less uniformly fulfilled than are general expectations like those mentioned above. One is that each project will develop an educational program of its own; a series of lectures, discussions, films and field trips. These are to be arranged by the Internes to fit group interests and needs and to utilize local resources, including experts. Certain themes are nearly always included in the educational programs. Discussion of individual job assignments, experiences and problems; discussion of political or religious values; and discussion of urban problems, particularly race relations, crime and delinquency, are practically always included. Visiting speakers are most commonly police officials, welfare professionals, educators and social scientists. They also often include individuals espousing world government, pacifism and related facets of non-violent methods of negotiation. Field trips are taken to museums, ethnic ghettos,

housing projects, and occasionally to special religious or political conventions. An Education Committee is nearly always formed, which initiates and receives program suggestions and reports possible plans to the group as a whole at business meetings.

A Recreation Committee is commonly elected or appointed by the group to plan week end or early evening picnics, trips to concerts and other sorts of metropolitan entertainment. These events are often only semi-official, in that Internes are not necessarily "expected" to conform by participating. Often the line between spontaneously created plans for recreation and programmed events becomes a source of group conflict, as committee efforts come to be defined as potentially obligatory plans.

In the Quaker tradition, meditation and consensus play historically significant parts as means to spiritual and secular growth alike. Project groups therefore are always initially organized around business meeting procedures grounded in the principle of consensus. Robert's Rules of Order are replaced by free discourse, respect for minority views with no recognition of them as coming from a minority, and harmonious arrival at unanimity in decision. As we shall see, most Internes are not Quakers and are not experienced in this form of meeting.¹ Yet housekeeping decisions, educational, recreational, and meditative programs are arranged during regular business meetings in which consensus procedures are employed, however tentatively or inexpertly.

Project directors are instructed to encourage a program of daily meditation, the time and place being left for group decision. The initial form of meditation is, however, always Quaker-like, including a period of silence for private

¹The form of business meetings is often a source of fascination, frustration, and grumbling, as inexperienced group members find it takes long hours to achieve consensus.

spiritual inquiry interrupted phasically by meditators who seek to convey something of their current spiritual concerns. Attendance is never obligatory, and the question of regular attendance is often a source of business meeting debate and irresolution.

There are two major complications in the operation of this formal structure. The first is the uncertain "fit" between the structure of formal expectations and features of the informal, emergent living group itself. This indeterminacy is naturally characteristic of small groups under any conditions. It is heightened for ICS by connections between the small project group and the hierarchy of organizations, committees, and staff officials responsible for arranging each project. The project group is not autonomous. Before it has so much as a membership, a variety of organizational decisions have been reached. Internes come to the project and must be officially oriented to this externally arranged structure. As the Internes begin to group themselves, their self-devised norms and preferences may fit the formal structure very closely or very nominally.

The second complication springs from the diversity of job assignments and work schedules of Internes. Some work in the morning and afternoon, others in the afternoon and evening, while others vary their schedules from day to day. For example, some Internes must take their evening meals on the job, eliminating their participation in dinner programs of discussion or recreation. Others must participate in agency programs on week ends or during long evenings. In spite of efforts to control this complication, a project director always discovers he must compromise between the requirements of the participating agencies and the requirements of the project group.¹

¹This is more often the case in winter projects than in summer, as winter Internes hold more demanding jobs.

One effect of this second complication is ably captured in the first project evaluation report referred to earlier in this chapter:

The phases of the planned program that suffered most from this handicap were the education program and group meditation. It was hoped a program of speakers and discussions within the group could give them an understanding of the broad context of social problems in an urban industrial setting and an introduction to new concepts of methods of resolving social tensions, of democratic community organization and of the goals and methods of AFSC. Guests were invited for talks and discussions occasionally on Thursday and Saturday mornings.

As we found this effect prevalent in the three project groups we observed first hand during 1958, the remainder of this quotation is equally relevant:

While these discussions were very valuable it was the feeling of Internes and committee that the formal education program had not contributed as much as was desirable to the total experience of the Internes. It was felt that the provision of a regular time for the educational phases of the program would in large part remedy this lack. The Internes stressed that Chicago had in its very nature much that was educational, that being alert to its opportunities was a large part of an unplanned educational program.

Notice that the asserted effect is lack of full impact from the formal educational program. The proposed solutions are to set aside a specific time and to reconcile this loss by noting the value of the informal education. Since 1953, the effort has been made repeatedly to set aside a time for formal education, with little observed success because of competing demands such as agency needs and lack of control over them.

We suggested concerning the organization of work within ICS, that the pivotal characteristic was that each Interne works at a different job while he shares housing, meals, and a wide range of life experiences off the job with the living group. In like fashion, the most salient feature of the general "formal" program is that it must be interposed

between variegated job assignments on the one hand, and informal group practices on the other. Housekeeping, room arrangements, dining, planned educational, recreational, business and meditational programs do not of themselves coincide with the rhythms of work or the dynamics of informal small group development. In combination, these are inherent organizational dilemmas in the system of internship. They cannot be resolved solely through planning, since they arise from contradictions between the working agencies, the program planners, and the participants, all of whom lack coordinative control over one another. Whether the persistence of these dilemmas is good or bad depends on our ability to assess their effects on the morale, behavior and changing attitudes of participants.

Organization of ICS Group Living

The following is an excerpt from a trained observer's notes concerning supper at an ICS Project House:

There were three guests at the 6:30 Monday night supper, along with all but two of the Internes (who were still at work). The guests were two college friends of one of the Internes and an unidentified visitor. No one conversed with any one of the guests during the meal. In fact, no one conversed at all during the first ten minutes of the meal, when total emphasis was on consuming large amounts of well prepared food. I learned this particular meal had been prepared principally by the Director's wife. As first helpings were finished, the Director announced, "Remember, tonight is education night. We can devote it to one of several topics. You decide." The alternatives, devised, he said, by the Education Committee, were discussion of job experiences, discussion of race relations in the city, or continuation of the exchange of religious beliefs begun the day before.

Now notice the way in which informal relationships shape both the form and content of interaction:

Interne A, who had his friends visiting him, suggested that education night be suspended "this week." Interne B said, "Hear, hear! We're all for that." Interne C

said, "Well, whatever we have, let's not discuss jobs again. We've been all over that." Interne D said, "How about race relations?" No two group members agreed, aside from the two wanting to suspend the evening program. The Director simply listened as each participant chimed in. After almost exactly four minutes of wrangling and jokes, a slight trend began toward deciding on discussion of religious beliefs. Two Internes supported this and a third gave very qualified support, among the eight seated at the table. The slight trend was then seized upon. The Director said, laughing, "O.K., we'll meet at 8:00 and talk about religion." Everyone turned to his own cup of jello, devoured it, and left the table individually.

No episode does more than open avenues for interpretation. We chose this very ordinary incident to illustrate the interplay of work routines (two Internes were absent from dinner, where their later evening was planned), program elements (education night, consensual discussion, formal leadership) and group process. The latter is conveyed in this episode by the manner in which the group assembled to eat, the way it ate hungrily and silently, the presence of a single group member's guests (who went unintroduced), the responses to the Director's query, the way a decision was reached, and the manner of leaving the table.

We have elaborated a simple description to bring home the truth that informal group factors are more variable, more pervasive, and more influential in an ICS Project than any other set of factors, alone or in combination. The weight of this hypothesis we shall assess later in the study. Here we shall continue only to describe the informal group factor in terms of its most visibly distinctive dimensions.

Informal group processes are more variable than other program factors because individuals are unique and their possible combinations infinite. For example, in one interview Interne K mentioned the premature departure of Interne Z from the program:

Last night, when Z was upstairs being interviewed, the whole group got together downstairs in the living room to talk about getting up a quick party--a farewell party for

Z. In fifteen minutes, we decorated the house, a special song of farewell was written for Z, and we wrote out a last minute appeal to ask him to stay with the project. Kids ran around asking, "What are YOU doing for Z?" There was a great deal of guilt in the group, I think, over Z's leaving--a feeling we had done little or nothing to involve Z in the life of the group. Personally, I think a lot of the guilt had to do with hidden envy over Z's early departure, because after he had left, the joke spread around into common usage. It went: "If you leave now, maybe we'll have a party for you. . . ." And some other Internes are making plans to leave early since Z left.

Without accepting Interne K's comments as valid, we capture from his remarks at least three strands of individual behavior in the informal group setting, all of them of great emotional significance. First, the fact of Z's personal decision to break with the project; second, the uniformity of response to this decision as an expression the total group's interpersonal relationship with Z; and third, K's privately revealed perceptions of these events and his presumably unique interpretations of what he saw. We introduce this episode to suggest the diversity of possible forms of group structure which emerge from permutations of individual behavior, interpersonal relations, and total group action.

Informal group living is more pervasive than other factors. Unlike many informal small groups, ICS groups are together night and day, eating, recreating, talking, planning, and working on informal projects for at least a period of two months. For winter projects, the duration is nine months. Some winter Internes remain on for the summer projects as well. Every ICS group tends to duplicate informally its formal program components. For example, in one summer project in 1958, a large subgroup of Internes spent every Sunday (and some week nights) attending a different and usually exotic religious service. These "church safaris," as one Interne called them, were never arranged by the Education Committee. They emerged spontaneously from the interests of two Internes, who then extended the activity to include anyone who wanted to go along.

As another example, we observed several times in different groups that the Internes doing the dishes and cleaning up after meals were not the Internes listed on the Housekeeping Committee bulletin posted in the kitchens. Inquiring, we found that one or two subgroups of Internes, usually all girls, would tend voluntarily to take on more than an assigned share of household duties, motivated by higher standards of cleanliness in one instance and by subgroup gratification through this shared activity in another. We could expand the evidence for this duplicative tendency indefinitely. Its importance for participants is that a web of interpersonal involvements is spun during the course of a project, and it is primarily within this unprogrammed network that standards are created, activities shared most intensively, and influences exchanged.

This pervasiveness may affect group morale and growth favorably or unfavorably. It is not an automatic "good" but a profoundly determining factor which shapes overall reactions to the total experience, as we shall show. In one group, for example, Internes were fairly uniform in making comments such as the following:

This summer there was no 'working through' of group feelings. . . . There were only a series of elaborate antagonisms between individuals, which we exchanged and then left sitting there. . . . X was a real trouble maker and we never managed to come to terms with him.

In another group, Internes tended to make a very different series of references to informal processes. The interviewer asked Interne B about her dating activities:

I don't think dating is the right word--that's not what we do, really. In the summer group now, the sex ratio is about 3 girls to a boy, and that makes dating impossible. In the winter, I 'discovered' T and we began to become serious about one another, and it took about two weeks to make things right between our relationship and the rest of the group. We talked to the Director's wife about it all informally and we worked to have the group approve of us. . . . On the winter project, there was a great deal of teasing and joking between the sexes, but the boys did not single out individual girls to date. They teased all of them, and both sexes had a real need for this. . . .

Here the pertinence of informal group relations is shown in its influence on private needs. As a result of group standards, the group-excluding term dating is rejected. In place of dating or "pairing" or "coupling off" (as one group called it), one group substituted joking relations. In another, where pairing did take place, the couple had to "go before the group" to seek its acceptance of their private relationship.

There remains the task of conveying something of the concrete content of ICS project group activity. Facets of this range of activities are embodied in the following interview quotations:

Interne M spoke of group activities during the Winter Project. There were four members in the group when it began, and a fifth joined in the early Winter. During the first month, we experienced many difficult and often painful adjustments, especially in adjusting to our job assignments. I felt no need for outside social contacts at any time during the project, but I did take one night course in race relations at X University. None of us had any real outside connections other than those at our jobs. At Thanksgiving, three of us went to Washington, D.C., to a prayer and conscience peace vigil over one week end. We made the trip out of our personal budgets but on a shared basis. At around Christmas, we attended two peace conferences in the city and joined in two local peace demonstrations.

This quotation, made in response to the question, "Tell us something about your group's activities," includes no reference to the formal program. In fact, the Interne emphasized in speaking of the Education Program, "It was of almost no importance to me. I do remember hearing one excellent talk by a visiting expert on housing problems . . ." Nonetheless, the content of activities referred to is directed to social and political affairs. Contrast this activity with the following description by a trained observer of a Sunday evening at ICS Project House:

The group had spent the week end at a campsite in a combined recreational and religious "retreat." The three carloads of Internes returned to the Project house by five Sunday evening. Supper was casual and haphazard,

since people entered at different times and prepared their own snacks. Dinner had been a huge joint enterprise picnic. By 7:30, the "church-browsing subgroup" had set off for a Negro Baptist church meeting. Later in the evening, the group returned, bringing in a young Negro minister who had been at the meeting as an observer. Internes drifted in and out of the living room, were introduced to the young guest, and joined in a long conversation on the differences between Negro and White church organization and Negro ministerial politics. These informal conversations were often interrupted by incursions of the Director's children, who were picked up and played with happily by the Internes. The children and the young Internes together gave the appearance of a close knit kinship group; this by-play was more important to all concerned, I believe, than the conversation with the guest. The children were highly sociable and full of fun and interacted very fluidly with the Internes. Later in the same evening, after some other visitors had come and gone, I found Internes writing letters, sharing the Sunday papers, and, at 10:30, starting a game of pinochle. The Director joined this foursome.

The purpose of including this description is to convey the primary group quality of social relationships. Were we to add descriptions of kitchen meal preparations, housecleaning activities, and mail sorting, this family characteristic would be more completely expressed.

Institutional Service Units (ISU)

The essence of evaluation is comparison. Thus to study the Internes in Community Service we felt it was essential to collect similar information about two other American Friends Service Committee programs which might provide the most natural kind of comparison and which might incidentally supply insights about these which would interest AFSC officials. We picked the programs known as Institutional Service Units and Internes in Industry because there was good advance evidence the participants in these programs were similar to ICS participants.¹ They were reportedly college students or

¹One might have used American Work Camps, the School Affiliation Service, the College Program, or a number of other AFSC programs currently in action. In this respect, our

graduates between 18 and about 26 years of age, concerned with learning about a variety of human problems and with a search for solutions to problems. Differences between these programs also seemed relevant, as we shall show in this chapter.

Institutional Service Units are groups of young adults under the leadership of a Project Director, who spend their summer months supplementing the staffs of any of a number of kinds of institutions--mental hospitals, schools for retarded children, correctional and penal institutions being the principle kinds. Ordinarily the service group lives together in quarters provided by the institution, although on occasion the quarters tend to divide the group into a men's unit and a women's, or to separate individuals by housing them where staff quarters are dispersed. In the 1958 Summer groups, for example, the Unit at the Salem State Hospital (a mental hospital) was housed as a group in a large, very new and commodious dormitory identical to a conventional college dormitory except that it was used--or other corridors were used--by hospital staff. The 1957 Summer Unit at August State Hospital in Maine, however, lived in two dormitories, one for men and one for women, which made group unity more difficult to achieve. For the most part, the groups we have collected data on are groups which were housed together somewhat like the Salem State Hospital Unit. The importance of this will become apparent in our analysis of group structures, but initially we would note that ICS groups are housed in a Project House which is maintained by the Internes themselves, while ISU participants are housed by their employing institution which maintains the quarters itself (although ISU

choice of controls was arbitrary. In another respect, the controls selected are planned, administered, and organized by roughly the same group of central office and regional staff members, and this we find a persuasive basis for comparison. As of 1956, AFSC had developed a U.S. Projects Program, the result of integration of Senior and Junior Work Camps, Internes in Industry, Internes in Community Service, and the Institutional Service Units programs. These were unified under the direction of Thelma H. How.

members may make their own beds and clean their individual rooms). This also means ISU members do not make their own meals, but eat in the institutional cafeteria or refectory, sometimes as a group, other times as individual employees.

ISU members work as institutional aides. Ideally, their tasks are differentiated from those of mere "summer help," and the institutions usually commit themselves in advance to providing greater work flexibility and greater opportunity for patient or inmate service to ISU members than to routine staff personnel.

Institutional aides in mental hospitals may conduct recreational programs for the patients, spend the day conversing with individual patients or groups of them, participate in occupational therapy projects, release time for full time staff members to complete side projects of institutional improvement, and so forth. From the point of view of comparison with ICS, Service Unit members do a variety of things while on their jobs, but their jobs have much more in common with one another than do the jobs of ICS Internes. This is a crucial difference between the two programs, from the sociological perspective. ISU workers get paid a wage by the institution to supplement existing staff and program. Thus they have a common employer, a common institutional work setting, a common wage, and in many respects common work tasks. At these points ISU is much more uniformly and unambiguously "structured" than is ICS as a program, and analysis of the programs uses this as an explanatory factor.

These constitute the essential differences. Aside from housing, housekeeping, dining arrangements, and the organization of work, the two programs are very alike. ISU members, formally and informally, organize their educational, recreation, meditation, and general business activities in

ways broadly identical to ICS participants.¹ In interviewing project group members, we met one ISU participant who had served in an ICS unit the previous summer. We asked him to contrast the two programs. He said, among other things:

Work in ICS is more of a voluntary service--that is, you don't get paid a wage. In ICS there is more freedom on the job; here we are all more restricted in the number of things we are free to do. Yet for some reason this ISU unit is more of a 'group'. . . . It's very important that we are all on the same shift here in ISU, where we weren't at ICS. At ICS, there is more individual activity and less group unity. I prefer the group unit of ISU, but some people prefer individual freedom.

To demonstrate how easy it was for the interviewee to make direct comparisons between the two projects, we add the following remarks he made (not because the judgements are generalizable):

The education program is broader here at ISU than it was in ICS--outside of work or aside from work, that is. Our identical work hours mean we can do more committee planning. At ICS we used to quibble a lot over housekeeping; here we don't have housework like that--and no quibbling as a result. But the ICS Project House was much more like a 'home.' It had real group potentialities. Our meditation program didn't work at ICS, although we tried. It seems to work here at ISU, although a lot of us use the time for catnapping since it comes right after dinner in the evenings. We used to hold it at 8:30, but we were sleepy then too.

¹Here is a quotation from an ISU group's final evaluation report: "Over and above all these planned things were the individual, day to day, unplanned activities: showing slides in the evenings, having watermelons, playing musical instruments in the cottages, teaching new games, taking boys on home visits, special trips, field trips, visiting our boys when they went to the hospital. . . . These were the real things--the meaningful things. In this is the 'crust' of our experiences. Our life as a unit was remarkable. We learned from each other. We worked together and maintained a homogeneous atmosphere."

Internes in Industry (II)

We assumed originally that the program most like ICS was Internes in Industry (II), and on this assumption we collected data on II alumni as well as on ICS alumni.

The official goals II is designed to fulfill are as follows: (1) To provide college students and young college graduates of both sexes an opportunity to work at blue collar jobs in urban industries; (2) to thereby provide a context for experiencing first hand aspects of labor relations, worker-management problems, and associated features of urban factory reality; (3) to give students the experience of finding and "holding down" their own blue collar jobs in both good and bad job market situations; and (4) to create a cooperative living group within which participants can share their job experiences as well the customary values of cooperative living.

At first glance there are close similarities between these objectives and those of ICS. For example, Internes in both programs live cooperatively, sharing either a single project house or--as in the Chicago Internes in Industry--a portion of a larger settlement house. Thus they eat together, sleep together, and maintain themselves cooperatively. This superficial similarity disappears when the two programs are viewed organically, however, for Industrial Internes must find their own jobs and, given the variability of the summer job market, these may be available only on night shifts or evening shifts (four to midnight), so that cooperative living for II is more extremely subject to variations in the organization of work than it is in ICS projects. Here is a quotation from an Industrial Interne, as illustration:

After the first two weeks, when quite a few of us were unable to find jobs, P got in touch with his father who is an XXX Company Executive. Mr. P managed to get six of us a job loading grocery trucks with potatoes on the 6 p.m. to 2 a.m. shift. These jobs didn't last too long for all of us, and Mr. P got some of us different jobs later

on. I got a spot in a can company working the evening shift. Our group was very conflicted over these split shifts. The Director and his wife opposed our taking the night work because they knew it would split the group. . . . Three people left the group before half the summer was over . . .

There is evidence that most Industrial Internes have greater need to earn surplus incomes during the summer than do ISU members or Community Service Internes. In a situation of poor job possibilities, this external need induces negative morale within the living group--in a way that is not characteristic of ICS groups or Service Units.

Thus not only is work organized very differently in II, but the effect of this difference can alter basically the organization of both program and informal group relations. This impact of split shifts, employment frustrations, and concern with working life is not necessarily unfavorable to group living, of course, but its influence is illustrated qualitatively in the following field notes from a trained observer's coverage of an II business meeting:

I heard a project member call out into the dormitory hall, "Time for the gripe session. Come on everybody!" The content of the gripe session illuminated this label. It was devoted chiefly to negotiating maintenance, cleaning, and food preparation details for the coming week. "We need to prepare the volunteer lists," the student chairman announced in a sardonic voice. One boy became verbally very agitated about "past injustices" in sharing the work, and he insisted on "more equitable distribution of jobs from now on." (This meeting occurred two and a half weeks before termination of the project.) However, there was little antagonism expressed beyond this. Rather, most members were visibly comfortable in one another's presence, and I would estimate the social climate of the group as low pressure and as emphasizing secure interpersonal relations. Five of the fifteen persons at the meeting did nearly all the speaking. They were boys, whose suggestions were very readily accepted in all instances by the girls present.

We are trying to observe that Internes in Industry projects, because of their organization of work, are

significantly less "structured" than either ICS or ISU projects. By this is meant that variable job conditions in II make for uncertainty in project planning, great ambiguity of fit between program elements, and comparatively less clear standards for action.

In one other respect II differs fundamentally from the other two programs. II projects often involve volunteer neighborhood service projects devised by the Internes themselves, but essentially the II program does not bear "loadings" on social service functions at all similar to the other projects.

While people come to ICS and ISU at least in part to participate in welfare operations, people who come to II have very limited reason to expect to perform welfare services, given the nature of the program. This constitutes a fundamental difference in both program orientation and individual motivation, as we shall show empirically later on.

In most all other ways, II is organized formally and informally in a manner identical to the other two programs. The elements of group education, recreation, meditation and business meetings by consensus methods are present in equal strength. Given favorable employment conditions, informal group ties are as pervasive and influential as they appear to be in ICS projects. Even unfavorable job conditions may foster a climate of adversity within which an II group is drawn together. And, like many ICS job assignments, as the following quotation from an interview with an II member indicates, II jobs contain the raw material for deepening individual insights into urban life ways:

During her first two weeks, D worked as a binder in a city printery. Her co-workers were strongly ethnic Polish-American girls, whom D discovered to be intelligent, efficient and busy workers. Most of them, she learned, lived near the factory, and when they learned D was living at the H Settlement, they urged her to get a secretarial job and to get out of that 'dangerous' locale.

. . . D left this position in order to avoid the foreman's firing of an older woman with higher seniority when a work slump set in. D got a job as a waitress in a fading downtown cuisine for 50¢ an hour plus tips. The other waitresses were all concerned over D's living in the Settlement House area . . .

Incidentally, as the following excerpt from an AFSC general evaluation report (1957) suggests, the value of II for an individual may depend on how concerned he is to begin with over the nature of labor relations:

Chicago offers the best opportunity for the Internes in Industry experience of any of our locations. Internes were employed in a variety . . . of industrial plants, good educational resources were available, and . . . a well rounded industrial experience was available. However, few internes in this summer's program came to project primarily because of an interest in labor relations. Daily contacts with individual workers were quite sufficient explorations in the area of labor for many. Members of the group generally shared their daily experiences informally. . . . The few who were interested in the study of labor relations were rather disappointed, but the majority . . . found the experience adequate.

The Project Directors

Project Directors are themselves young adults, usually between 27 and 35 years of age, who are appointed by regional staffs and lay committees with the consent of the national administration. Often they are married men whose wives and children live and participate in the projects. Husband and wife usually work as co-directors.

Most often, ICS and II leaders are a married couple who serve as co-directors. ISU directors are usually single persons in units of one sex and couples for mixed units.

Leadership is conceived of as a volunteer service, essentially, rather than as a summer job. It is thought by staff and the responsible lay committees that teachers and graduate students are the readiest source of directors, as well as mature individuals who happen to be "between"

occupations. Persons who have been on the AFSC staff frequently have led projects at some time in their careers, before staff employment or during it. Ideally, program officials seek to employ as directors persons identified strongly with Quakerism, ideologically and organizationally, particularly individuals with experience in projects of the AFSC. This standard is exceptionally difficult to achieve, however, for personnel available for a post at the level of project director tend to lack the depth of desired background experience.

Service Committee ideology is relevant to this discussion. For many years, important leadership within the Committee has equated good social service endeavors with volunteer service and temporary rather than permanent staff participation. This perspective has been less a judgement on professional social work than a dedication to the concept of lay involvement in human service. It is in this climate of opinion that the project programs under study were generated, and it is this ideology which moulds the character of project leadership. Even among those policy makers who wish to employ trained social workers as directors of ICS projects, for example, the general conviction is that such professionals should serve as experienced volunteers.

In fact, in 1956, for example, about one in five directors in the three programs under examination had had some previous leadership or participation experience in AFSC projects. Thus the goals set are limited by two realities. Project directors are offered very low wages for their services and are expected to approach their work more as volunteers for service than as junior professionals. Secondly, their participation in no way guarantees future consideration for permanent staff appointments in the AFSC organization--although the administration often extends aid in helping directors find post-project jobs or means for returning to graduate and professional schools to complete educational goals.

In only one respect is the employer's goal achieved. That is, most project directors are either Friends or have had strong previous orientation to Quaker ideology.

Project directors tend to be appointed some time between February and May in the months preceding summer programs. Between the time of appointment and assumption of posts, orientation to project operations varies from close contact between directors and regional officials to very sporadic correspondence. Virtually all directors share the orienting experience of the "Pendle Hill Conference," an assembly devised to equip directors with the means for leading their projects. Here is a description of the effects of the Pendle Hill experience from a report by ICS project co-directors:

We found the few days at Pendle Hill absolutely invaluable for our first summer as leaders of a project. We thought that the coverage of procedures and problems that might arise was excellent. . . . But more than this I think we felt most important was our sense of the purpose and intent of the AFSC in setting up the project. We felt we really understood and believed in the philosophy back of the creation of such projects, and were able to relate this . . . to the wider work of the entire AFSC. Of course we had some general ideas about this before we ever applied for the job, but the orientation at Pendle Hill gave us a sense of clarity and assurance about what we were trying to do that was well worth while, and without which we would have frequently felt quite lost during the summer.

Project directors tend to be college graduates who have not yet identified fully with a specific occupation and who are searching for criteria for a meaningful occupational decision themselves. ICS Project Directors tend to have strong if still tentative interests in social service administration, community organization, and church-community relations. II Directors have similar identifications but often supplement these with a concern for labor relations, union organization, and fair employment practices, and they have

usually had blue collar job experiences themselves. ISU Directors have frequently had backgrounds in education, case-work, nursing, or some medical-related occupation.

Our study will present very little information about the variable effects of formal project leadership, for several reasons. We have learned that AFSC staff officials expend great effort in attempting to recruit good directors. They also strive to make the Pendle Hill orientations maximally instructive. We believe regional and headquarters officials and lay committees stress the problem of leadership as heavily as they possibly can, and that the leadership recruited is as good as it can be, given the limits on financial and manpower resources. It does not appear to us to be a variable amenable to evaluation. We are most concerned with the effects of the programs on the student participants, and while the quality of directorship doubtless affects this impact, we intend to emphasize those features of programming more accessible to modification.

We have one other basic reason for under-emphasizing formal project leadership. Directors serve as agents of AFSC in regulating the activities and standards of project groups. Their capabilities as agents of transmission are highly variable, however, in contrast to the external uniformities of program design, goals and situation, and in contrast to the pervasive strength of informal group factors.¹

¹This is not simply a research expedient, we should add. Our observations of directors in action and our interviews with them led to the decision that their capabilities were generally excellent enough to render this factor less determinative than other factors. We did note projects where direction was so extremely competent that performance gained greatly thereby; and doubtless there have occurred extreme instances of incompetence.

CHART 1

SCHEMATIC SUMMARY WITH WEIGHTINGS*

Components	I.C.S.	I.S.U.	I.I.
<u>Work Organization</u>			
** Similar Jobs	1	2	0
Work Interrelated With Living Group	1	2	1
** Work Same Shifts	1	2	0
Total	3	6	1
<u>Living Group Design</u>			
Share Housekeeping	2	1	2
** Share Meal Preparations	2	0	2
** Share A Project House	2	0	1
Total	6	1	5
<u>Program Elements</u>			
Meditation	2	2	2
Education	2	2	2
Recreation	2	2	2
Consensus Practiced	2	2	2
Project Director	2	2	2
Total	10	10	10
<u>Program Objectives</u>			
Social Service	2	2	1
** Urban Problems Exposure	2	0	2
Quaker Problem Solutions	2	2	2
** Real Income for Internes	0	2	2
Total	6	6	7
Total	25	23	23

* Weighting: 2 Given if Component Always Present
1 Given if Component Occasionally Present but
Not Universal or Requisite
0 Given if Component Practically Never Present

Chart 1 serves two purposes. It summarizes most of the components of project life we have tried to sketch in this chapter. And it assigns simple, uniform weights to each component to allow us to concentrate attention upon the most relevant (potentially influential) differences between the three programs.¹

The double asterisk (**) rows reveal points of greatest contrast between the projects. These are: (1) ISU is non-urban in its locations and concerns; (2) ICS is more completely a volunteer activity than is ISU; (3) cooperative living is not as characteristic of ISU as it is of the other programs. Most important, we believe, (4) work arrangements in II are most unlike the other two programs.

Let us clarify the import of this by recourse to weightings. The programs differ unimportantly on program elements and objectives, using gross weight comparisons. They differ greatly in organization of work and in living group design. ISU has the highest coherence or unity between job life and project group design, but lacks cooperative living features.

¹Of course such a weighting system may be "rigged" in several ways: by including or excluding program components, by stating them positively or negatively (e.g., one could say Jobs Not Alike for the first component), and by jiggering the weights themselves. We have safeguarded the summary only with respect to jiggering the weights. A component is either always present, sometimes present, or absent. While there have occurred projects which overlap even these broad classes, we feel the estimates are highly accurate for projects from 1952 through 1958.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY DESCRIBED

Design of the Field Study

We were commissioned by the Schwarzhaupt Foundation to collect and evaluate information about the changes in attitudes, the career interests and the community concerns that occur among Internes in Community Service. Our aim was to design a field study that would answer this question: How effective is the ICS Program in influencing the political and social maturity of its participants? Several elements are involved in this question, and we shall note here the way we attempted to build each of them into the design.

1. Level of Effectiveness

Effectiveness is obviously a relative condition. As every program evaluation ever conducted has demonstrated, it is relative first of all to the effectiveness of similar programs. Therefore, we undertook to design a study that would allow a variety of inter-program comparisons. We needed to have as comparison or control groups the participants in programs being conducted under comparatively identical auspices, situated in comparable locations, containing fairly comparable respondents, and going on at the same time. This was the logic that led to study of the two control programs, Internes in Industry and Institutional Service Units. We have already explored ways in which these programs are similar enough to provide comparisons and unique enough to limit our generalizations. Additional qualifications on this matter of

comparability will be added as the findings are unfolded.

Effectiveness is also relative to the measures devised to assess it. We felt that the measures employed should therefore be identical with those employed in similar studies, preferably studies conducted to answer the same general questions as this project. Fortunately, two well known field studies conducted by experienced social scientists readily fulfilled this ideal. Youth in Transition: An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Encampment for Citizenship to the Education of Youth (Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1956), by Herbert H. Hyman and Charles R. Wright, evaluates the relative effectiveness of the Encampment for Citizenship Program, which

. . . brings together each summer about a hundred youth from many parts of the United States, of diverse creed and race, but united in their dedication to a better world, their strong and serious interest in social problems. . . . For six weeks, these youth live together in a community permeated, in principle, by an atmosphere of equality, presumably enriching their experiences, and being stimulated by a varied educational program of lectures, workshops, discussion groups and field trips all designed to inculcate greater skills in democratic living . . .¹

In these respects, Encampment participants are closely similar to Internes in Community Service. In other respects they differ considerably. The Encampment recruits among senior high school students, and the median age for this population was 19 years as against 21 for ICS. Ranges of ages are identical for the two groups of recruits, however. The most crucial difference between the programs is that the Encampment is a study program while ICS is in contrast a work program. This difference provides a secondary means of interpreting differential effects of work experiences on Internes, if we use measures similar to those used by Herbert Hyman and Charles Wright.

¹Page A-1.

The other well known field study is Henry W. Riecken's The Volunteer Work Camp: A Psychological Evaluation (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952).

The work camps studied were those conducted by the American Friends Service Committee. Applicants for participation are required to meet the same qualifications set up for ICS. Screening of applications is handled in a similar fashion. Overlap between recruitment populations is known to be very high. Many work camp volunteers have served as ICS in the past or will do so after their work camp experiences and vice versa.

The programs differ essentially only on program content. Work camps tend to involve hard physical labor in situations of great community need, while ICS jobs almost never do so. Also, work camps are for the most part located in rural communities, while all ICS projects are located in urban areas. The work of camp volunteers is usually badly needed by the host community, while this is not the case to the same degree in private social agencies under ICS arrangements. These differences allow for interpretations of the effect of urban locale and of a particular kind of semi-skilled work on attitude change within ICS. They do not violate the crudely comparable character of the programs.

Finally, these two studies employed highly similar measures of attitudes and related variables. Hyman and Wright state,

. . . measures of relative change also provide one solution to the problem of isolating the influence of the Encampment from other influences simultaneously working on the campers to modify their character. . . . Comparison groups thus function as the equivalent of control groups in an experiment. . . . In this respect we were fortunate to profit from the work of Dr. Henry Riecken who had conducted a pioneering full-scale evaluation of the work camp program of the American Friends Service Committee. Many of his concepts and corresponding measuring instruments were adopted in our study with the result that

comparisons can be made between very similar ventures in character education.¹

Some of the difficulties in evaluating program effectiveness have been removed, then, by utilizing many of the measures developed by Henry Riecken and replicated in the Encampment study. Riecken's measures, or most of them, had been employed previously in somewhat similar contexts, but we shall not undertake to trace their use beyond Volunteer Work Camp, where some of the origins of measures are cited. In sum, previous work as well as exploitation of comparison programs under AFSC guarantees our findings against the evils of unwarranted and unbounded assessment.

2. Influencing Political and Social Maturity

Too much relativism is a stifling quality in evaluation research, we believe. While we want safeguards against absolute judgements--and we have built these into the design by using control programs and the measures devised by Riecken and Hyman and Wright--we want at the same time to be able to gauge whether a program such as ICS accomplishes the goals its own leadership has erected. The following questions comprise those most frequently raised by sponsors, AFSC staff officials and interested Friends:

- a) Do Internes become more intelligently concerned about urban social problems as a result of their participation?
- b) Do Internes learn something about the ways of meeting the above problems?
- c) Do Internes become more involved in social service or other kinds of participant leadership at college or in their communities as a result of participation?

There are many associated questions about program influences on Internes, but analysis suggested they could all be

¹Ibid., p. I-8.

subsumed (more or less) under these three. Question (a) addresses the matter of increased awareness of problems. Question (b) asks whether Internes learn anything about solutions to such problems; and (c) asks for evidence of later evidence of concrete applications of awareness and solutions.

Evaluation of ICS as effective or ineffective is therefore attempted not only in comparative terms but against these three self-defined objectives. Again, effectiveness must be considered a property of "greater or lesser," however, and this judgement we shall leave to the readers. How thoroughly these ends "ought" to be achieved is a judgemental issue the research findings cannot address.

The instruments used to measure both types of questions about effectiveness--comparative and internal--are described in detail in each appropriate chapter and in Appendix I. Generally they include more than twelve scales of attitudes on issues of fact as well as opinion. Certain indices, such as the Urban Savvy and Race Savvy Indices for example, are intended to answer the question about problem awareness, both between programs and within ICS. Other indices, such as Civil Liberties, Democracy and Non-Violence, concern attitudes toward problem solving techniques.

The question of program influence on behavior on campus and in the community is answered not through attitude questions but indices of activity. It is to gain information on this question that we decided a sample of program Alumni was necessary. We therefore mailed questionnaires to 659 alumni of ICS and II project groups, using the latter for comparison purposes. We shall put limited confidence in the data about alumni, since so many other influences intervene between project and present for these former Internes. But we can know whether in fact, Internes engage in problem solving, service oriented activities at present, and we can use alumni data for comparison checks as well.

CHART 2

CONCEPTS AND INSTRUMENTS USED TO MEASURE
EFFECTIVENESS OF PROGRAM

Concepts	Instruments
1. Personal Career Goals	1. Open End Questions
2. Political Action Orientation	2. Action/Apathy Index
3. Current and Desired Community Involvement	3. a. Organizational Memberships b. Target Choice Question
4. Community Problem Awareness	4. a. Open Ended Question b. Social Work Case Problem
5. Image of Individual and of Group Potency of Citizen Action	5. Potency Index
6. Intended Future Group Affiliations	6. Open End Question
7. Voting in Local, State and National Elections	7. Check List of Eligibility & Participation
8. Levels of Concern Over Public Affairs	8. Battery of Questions
9. Authoritarianism	9. F Scale
10. Democratic Orientation	10. Riecken Scale
11. Tolerance	11. Stouffer Scale
12. Civil Liberties	12. Riecken Scale
13. Absolutistic Attitudes	13. Hyman-Wright Index
14. Political-Economic Conservatism	14. Riecken Scale
15. Social Rankings of Group Members	15. Four Sociometric Choice Questions
16. Project Group Structure (Integration, Cohesion, Subgrouping)	16. Re-Analysis of Data from 15 Above
17. Performance in Project	17. 19 Rating Type Questions and Qualitative Personal Interviews

CHART 2--Continued

Concepts	Instruments
18. Project Work Experience	18. Rating Questions, Qualitative Interviews
19. Group Living Experience	19. Rating Questions, Qualitative Interviews, Field Observation
20. Program Content	20. Interviews, Staff Materials Review

Chart 2 does not exhaust the concepts or the instruments used in conducting this evaluation, but it does select for emphasis the central techniques. Items 1 through 14 were intended to evaluate the relative effectiveness of ICS in influencing the political and social maturity of Internes. Items 15 through 20 also contribute this objective. They also serve as sources for explaining why and how the program is or is not an effective influence.

Specifically, explanation will proceed at four levels. Individual background characteristics set limits on the kinds of effects the program induces, and these will be explored with some care. Secondly, it is possible to construct a few indices concerned with individual characteristics, as these are predicted to modify program effects. Among these, for example, are indices of "Privilege," "Practice," and "Political Role Set." Privilege refers to differentiation between participants from socio-economically favored family backgrounds and those from relatively less favored backgrounds. Practice refers to the predicted differences between Internes who come to ICS after a variety of previous similar experience and those who enter as relative novices. Political Role Set concerns the extent to which Internes are actively integrated in political action settings prior to entry into the program. (See Appendix I for Index construction).

A third level of interpretation to be emphasized is that of interpersonal relations and informal group structure as factors affecting level of specific project effectiveness. Our discussion of these factors in chapter i accounts for our efforts to concentrate on this series of variables. A fourth level is that of qualitative assessment of combinations of factors, ranging from special housing conditions to neighborhood location of the project.

3. The Participants: Sampling

Of the four components of the study design, program, effectiveness, influence on attitudes and behavior, and participants, decisions made about drawing a sample have the gravest impact. The inferences drawn about any aspect of the first three elements depend upon the representativeness and adequacy of the sample of participants. We decided to take a "saturation" sample, namely to obtain before and after questionnaires from all participants in the 1958 Summer projects, including Internes in Community Service, Internes in Industry, and Institutional Service Units.

We also decided to mail questionnaires to all Alumni of ICS and II who were located in the United States. Foreign students were excluded on two grounds: one, that our instruments were strongly "culture-bound" and therefore not truly applicable to measurement of program influences on foreign participants, and two, that the available addresses for overseas alumni did not appear firm enough to warrant the mailing expenses involved. To reach alumni, we had to rely on AFSC Philadelphia Office mailing lists, the quality of which depends less on staff diligence than on the determination of individual alumni to keep that office informed of changes in residence. With 1958 Summer Internes, we had the advantage of having the tests administered by Project Directors on the site of the project on the basis of careful written instructions (see Appendix I).

The two-part sample of current summer Project participants and all domestic alumni had only one glaring defect. It did not include ICS winter Project Groups, the two or three small groups which annually operated in Chicago, Berkeley and elsewhere, between October and May, dissolving after nearly nine months of work. Surely nine month Internes differ from three month summer workers? For a variety of reasons we were circumstantially unable to sample this very small current population of about ten Internes.

We compensated by interviewing intensively the five members of one winter ICS Project, by visiting their Project House as observers on several occasions, and by re-interviewing the winter Project Internes who stayed on for the 1958 Summer Project. In addition, we have compensated in our analysis of the alumni data by drawing a few test comparisons between winter and summer Interne questionnaire responses.

Details About the Samples

The basis for the Alumni sample was six lists provided by the AFSC. Each of these lists was compiled in the fall of the year to which it applies, and contains the names and addresses of all the participants in AFSC projects from the previous fall through the summer. Thus the first list runs from the fall of 1951 through the summer of 1952, and so on through the summer of 1957.

Before questionnaires were mailed, the names (399) of all foreign students, as well as a few people who participated in programs other than ICS and II, were removed. (The list for 1956-57 was the only one which included work camp and ISU names as well as ICS and II names.) An additional fifty names were found to be duplicates. For sampling purposes, whenever a name appeared more than once, only the most recent participation was recognized.

Questionnaires were sent to the 659 participants remaining on the list. Two hundred of these had been in ICS and 459 in II. Sixty-three of the mailed questionnaires were returned for inadequate addresses, or because the respondent's forwarding request had expired. We may therefore assume that approximately 596 questionnaires actually reached their destinations. Of these, 265 useable questionnaires were returned (44%). One hundred of these were from ICS alumni (54%), and 165 were returned by II alumni (40%). Because of the expense involved, no attempt was made to follow up the non-responses to the Alumni questionnaire.

In the summer of 1958, 183 people participated in the ICS, II, and ISU programs of the AFSC. Being primarily interested in the ICS, we included all four ICS projects in the study. For comparison purposes, the two II groups and four of the seven ISU's were also included.¹

Individual project directors administered the Before and After questionnaires to each group of participants. Thirteen of the internes arrived too late to take the Before questionnaire. Similarly, some internes left their groups a day or two before the After questionnaire was scheduled for completion. Of this group we managed to secure questionnaires from all but eight of the participants by special letter to them at their home addresses. Thus twenty-one subjects were excluded from the sample to be analyzed.

None of these excluded types, nor the group to whom individual questionnaires were sent, was large enough to allow statistical comparisons with the characteristics of those included in the sample. The only real importance of this loss, however, rests in the bias it introduces into our sample of the two II groups, where seventeen out of forty-seven potential subjects had to be excluded.

¹The other three ISU's were of shorter duration than the usual 8 to 10 weeks.

Questionnaires were administered to all foreign students in the summer groups. For some purposes, however, the ten non-citizens who completed both questionnaires are analyzed separately from the 108 citizens. This fact accounts for the fluctuation of total columns in tables between 108 and 118.

Quality of the Sample

How representative of the universe of ICS and II Alumni is our Alumni sample? The only population characteristic on which we had information external to the questionnaire itself was sex of participant. Region of address might have been coded, but the amount of forwarding of mail packets makes this an unreliable indicator. In addition to sex, of course, we knew the year in which an alumnus participated, but this is not a very distinctive population characteristic.

Using distribution by sex as shown in rows 8 and 9 on Table 1, we may test the extent to which the sample represents the sex distribution on the original mailing list. Unless a one in a hundred chance has occurred in sampling, ICS alumni sampled represent correctly the proportion of men and women in the original population. This holds true irrespective of year of project participation. This is not true for II, however. Using the same 99% confidence interval for a binomial distribution, men are significantly over-represented among responding II alumni in both 1953-1955 and 1955-57. While proportion differences are not significant for 1951-53 for II, the effect of male over-representation is heavy enough to unbalance the total II proportions.

What does this mean? It means, first, that if sex were the only relevant population parameter we could assert our sample of ICS Alumni is representative and that our II sample is based on a disproportionate number of men. Certainly this is not the only relevant parameter, but it is the only known one. On this basis we shall assert cautiously that the 54.3% of the

TABLE 1

THE UNIVERSE AND THE SAMPLE

	1951- 53	1953- 55	1955- 57	Total
1. Number of names on list from AFSC	271	322	515	1108
2. Names excluded because foreign or non-ICS-II	63	60	276	399
3. Duplicate names removed	23	21	6	50
4. Number of questionnaires mailed				
ICS	18	79	103	200
II	167	162	130	459
Total	185	241	233	659
5. Number of questionnaires returned, wrong address				
ICS	5	11	.	16
II	24	19	4	47
Total	29	30	4	63
6. Questionnaires which supposedly reached respondents				
ICS	13	68	103	184
II	143	143	126	412
Total	156	211	229	596
7. Useable questionnaires returned				
ICS	9 69%	38 56%	53 51%	100 54%
II	53 37%	53 37%	59 47%	165 40%
Total	62 40%	91 43%	112 49%	265 44%
8. Male: % of questionnaires mailed				
ICS	33%	23%	45%	35%
II	40%	38%	38%	39%
Total	39%	33%	41%	38%
9. Male: % of questionnaires returned				
ICS	33%	24%	38%	32%
II	43%	57%	51%	50%
Total	42%	43%	45%	43%

ICS Alumni who returned the questionnaire may be considered representative, while the 40% of the II who returned it are over-represented by men.

TABLE 2
BEFORE-AFTER STUDY
THE UNIVERSE AND THE SAMPLE

	ICS	II	ISU	Total
1. Number of participants in all AFSC project, Summer 1958	64	51	68	183
2. Number of projects	4	2	7	13
3. Projects included in the study	4	2	4	10
4. Number of people included	64	51	43	158
5. Number of project directors excluded from study	8	4	7	19
6. Number of participants who did <u>not</u> complete Before questionnaire	2	11	0	13
7. Number of participants who completed Before, but <u>not</u> the After questionnaire	1	6	1	8
8. Participants who completed <u>both</u> questionnaires (4-[5+6+7])	53 95% (of 4-5)	30 64%	35 83%	118 (81.38% of non-directors)
9. Number of foreign students included in (8) but excluded from parts of the analysis	4	6	0	10

Distribution by year of participation, summarized in row 7 of Table 1, permits inferences about sample quality. Only the proportion returned by ICS Alumni among 1951-53 participants differs significantly at the .01 level from the

proportion returned for other program years and from the mean proportion returned. This includes II returns, no two of which differ significantly. Thus, there is a slight disproportion of early ICS Alumni included in the sample of returned questionnaires, though if one inspects the number involved one sees this is a matter of 9 returns out of a possible 13. A balanced representation from this earliest cohort would have been 7 or 8 returns, meaning the sample is unbalanced only by two too many returns from earliest participants.¹

While any general description of effects for all Alumni would doubtless overstate the effectiveness of the programs since those most responsive to program experiences are those most likely to return the questionnaire, nevertheless the 45.6% ICS Alumni and the 60% II who did not respond are distributed equally through the years. We conclude that the alumni sample is seriously limited, therefore, from the point of view of differential involvement. But it is sufficiently representative to allow study of persistence of effects by contrasting early participants with most recent.

The alumni data play a minor part in evaluation of the programs, for many reasons. Our attention has focussed much more expectantly on analysis of the 1958 Summer participants as measured before and after their summer experience. The basic test of ICS effectiveness is the relative change observed between the time of initial arrival and departure. The

¹Inspection of Appendix I will show that effort was expended to insure the quality of Alumni response. The National Opinion Research Center was identified as a sponsor, and confidentiality was guaranteed. Index questions were disarranged to prevent response pattern effects. Alumni were not asked for facts they might be unable to recollect, and changes in status and activity over time were carefully controlled by using dual "Then" and "Now" columns wherever feasible.

instruments were administered under controlled conditions to the summer groups,¹ and identical scoring procedures were used for responses on both questionnaires.²

Table 2 summarizes information about our 1958 Summer Sample. Of the universe of ICS participants, 95% completed both the before and the after questionnaires. This proportion excludes Project Directors, of course. Only the II population was relatively under-sampled, and here the loss was unavoidable because of late arrivals, as shown in row 6 of the table. We shall consider our ICS sample thoroughly representative. The other summer samples are also representative on the basis of evidence presented in Appendix II, where excluded participants are compared with samples. There is only one weakness in the overall summer sample. The total number of cases per program is too small to allow intensive analysis on every point desired. This is especially true for the control groups. We tried to remove this difficulty by conducting analyses at several levels. Wherever possible, we tabulated data by project groups. Where cross-tabulations thinned out, we switched to conclusions drawn on the basis of program differences. Where global inferences were essential, we occasionally went so far as to combine all 118 participants into a single population. There are thus

¹Project Directors were carefully instructed (see Appendix I) to administer the questionnaire to participants in a uniform group setting. They and the respondents were adequately oriented to the objectives of the inquiry, without being over-informed, and confidentiality was maintained. We know there was variability in conditions of administration, of course. Some groups were very eager to "do well" by the inquiry; others were casual, others hasty. We do have evidence of test reliability, however, which is persuasive.

²That our research procedures were not themselves obtrusive is suggested by Riecken's finding, using a very similar instrument, that the effect of the pre-test was to reduce rather than to enhance amount of observed change. Ibid., p. 101.

three levels at which evaluative analysis proceeds: project groups; programs; and globally--summer participants compared with alumni, for example, or with Riecken's subjects.

The Experimental Design

Chart 3 schematizes the comparisons that are made in our study. The orthodox experimental design on which this is based would require essentially no treatment in the case of the control groups. Ideally, the experimental group is "treated" with stimuli--in this case, a work and group experience--while the control groups are not treated in this sense at all. Subtraction of the amount of change in control groups from the amount of change in the experimental group is then said to provide a measure of residual effect, that is, a measure of effect of the stimuli over and above sheer test error and natural change.

There are reasons why our design does not violate possibilities inherent in this orthodox model. For example, we know from Hyman and Wright's work that control group change on the standardized measures employed is relatively negligible.¹ Most important, we shall be able to control variation statistically through a particular adaptation of linear regression analysis in a way that exploits rather than confounds the special nature of this design. As a result, we shall be able to learn something about all three programs rather than only about the experimental program. There is also a highly pragmatic reason for this modified design. Riecken has argued so persuasively about the impossibility of finding a suitable control group for an evaluation study of this sort; and to devise one artificially would be less meaningful than to modify the design as we have done.²

¹Op. cit., Table IV-3, p. 25.

²Riecken, op. cit., p.

CHART 3

THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

	Pre-Project Experience	Treatment	Post-Project State	Effects
Experimental Group: ICS 1958 Summer Groups	1. Questionnaire Measures on Internes	ICS Project Experience	Measures in Questionnaire Repeated	Score Changes
Primary Control Groups: ISU & II 1958 Summer Projects	2. Identical Questionnaire	ISU and II Project Experience	Identical Questionnaire	Score Changes
				Differences between effects in Group 1 versus 2 are effects of ICS

Incidentally, Riecken's work campers and Hyman and Wright's Encampment participants, as well as our samples of program alumni, may be considered as alternative control groups on occasion, giving us heightened flexibility.

Additional Data Collected

The core of this evaluation will rest on analysis of the change measures administered to 1958 Summer Projects. We have tried to supplement this analysis by conducting a series of interviews and field observations. Our conviction that paper and pencil tests are in themselves meaningful but at best insufficient instruments for evaluation is expressed in our expenditure of roughly one-fifth of the study budget in the collection and preparation of qualitative information.

At the outset of the study, for example, we discussed the various programs with AFSC Philadelphia official staff and spent one day reviewing administrative records and program reports. Evidence was excerpted and a variety of reports, correspondence and the like taken home to the National Opinion Research Center. This material was extremely valuable, of course. Had the budget allowed us, we would have returned to Philadelphia to collect more information more systematically.

Five of the eleven 1958 Summer Projects were visited by at least one of the two research analysts. Because of their proximity, the Chicago ICS Project and the Chicago II Project were visited repeatedly. Program groups of all three kinds were visited to observe housing arrangements, educational, recreational and meditation sessions, to share in meals and in housekeeping, as well as general interaction. Internes and directors were interviewed as individuals under private and confidential circumstances, and observational notes and interviews were recorded, typed up and collated at N.O.R.C. The value of these supplementary data will be exhibited prominently in several chapters.

Accounting for Effectiveness

A sound evaluation study ought to tell us whether the program in question is effective. It should also, we believe, include means for measuring various sources of strength and weakness in the program; and translated, this means we should have some way of accounting for the level of effectiveness achieved. We wanted to know how effective ICS was in influencing positively the maturity of its participants, and we also wanted to know why this was the case. Part of the accounting scheme we devised is implicit in our study design. Thus, differences in program effects on one dependent variable, say an attitude index, can be connected with

differences in program organization. For example, if we find that ICS groups show greater positive attitude changes on the Urban Savvy scale than do ISU groups, this may be interpreted as resulting from the location of ICS groups in urban and ISU groups in non-urban settings. True, we do not know this is the appropriate explanation for the difference, but the accounting has great economy and conceptual clarity--particularly if changes are patterned in accord with this account, that is, if II also reveals greater positive change on Urban Savvy since II groups are also located in the city. The differences between programs specified in chapter i will be employed in this fashion.

Our second means for accounting for effectiveness is grounded in a theoretical orientation buttressed by findings from both preceding field studies.¹ The orientation is that of the small groups researcher or the group dynamicist who holds that interpersonal relationships and informal group organization are the factors to be attended to in understanding why individuals modify their values and attitudes. As their central explanatory mechanism, Hyman and Wright offer the concept of the reference group. That is, ". . . in Social Psychology it has become the widely accepted view that the individual identifies himself with other groups. Their standards, in turn, become his and are the guides to his thoughts and conduct." (P. V-11). Henry Riecken's analysis, subtitled a

¹Hyman and Wright concluded, for example, ". . . three sets of tests of the didactic program's dynamic influence in producing . . . changes . . . are all negative. . . . The didactic program nowhere manifest itself as the dynamic for changes in character . . . rather it is the communal life . . . the student is carried along by the ethos that pervades the community. . . . We are strengthened in this conclusion by the findings of Riecken's study. . . . In his analysis of the major channels for transmitting ideology, he gives least significance to these and most to activities that go on during the camp period." Pp. V-6-V-10.

psychological explanation, emphasized "intrapsychic" individual change as revealed through projective tests, as his accounting scheme. His findings led him, however, toward a strong emphasis on interpersonal exchange of ideologies within the informal work camp setting as a more inclusive concept for explaining changes.

Because our sample is based on small project groups rather than on a single large community such as the Encampment, and because the groups are differently organized per program, unlike work camps in general, we have a chance to look at the explanatory relevance of interpersonal relations and group organization which was not available in the two preceding evaluations. A variety of instruments ranging from analysis of program organization to social rankings within groups will be employed to exploit this opportunity.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNES

Who are the Internes? How alike are they, racially, ethnically, educationally? An evaluation of program influences must take pains to make very clear who is being influenced. That is what we intend to do in this chapter. Many things about the Internes are brought up in later chapters where they seem more pertinent. Here we shall not go into the ways Internes differ in their motives for joining projects, or their career plans, for example. We will attend to first things first by reporting on the demographic characteristics of our sample, namely the basic identifying features such as age, sex, and region of home community common to our subjects.

In part, Internes are selected because they fit certain standards set forth by AFSC program officials. For example, Internes are usually required to be college students or graduates, unmarried, and in a position to accept assignment to a project located far from home or campus. Too, Internes must possess physical health and emotional well being. These standards predetermine the nature of the young adults who enter.

There are less visible selection standards operating as well. American college students are far more likely to learn of the programs than are foreign students, and social science and education majors among them are probably most likely to cue to the recruitment literature posted on college bulletin boards or to attend meetings at their schools to visit with an AFSC traveling college secretary. While AFSC encourages ethnic, class, and religious diversity, their sponsorship in itself reduces the likelihood that many Catholic students will apply. Quaker sponsorship also naturally attracts a disproportionate share of

Protestant young adults and reduces attraction of a-religious and anti-religious students.

An equally pervasive force toward special selection is financial. Internes in Community Service receive only a small monthly expense allowance. While participants in the other two programs can often manage to save money from their earnings over a summer, the savings are apt to be lower than those a college student could make working in his home community or in a nearby city at a full time job chosen for its money-making possibilities. To some extent this fact will encourage young adults from financially secure families to apply more readily than those from lower income backgrounds.

And, parents who are themselves college educated prove more responsive than less educated parents to the prospect of their children investing in an educational and service-centered summer as opposed to a money-making activity.¹ Better educated parents will also feel less apprehension, perhaps, about encouraging their children to participate in a coeducational cooperative living venture located in a distant community, although this factor may reverse on occasion where the venture seems "too alien" to the professional, white collar parent's imagination, as is the case for some Internes in Industry, for example.²

¹For instance, we asked Internes whether their fathers and mothers favored or opposed their entering the programs. According to their estimates, 20 per cent of the grade school graduate fathers, 45 per cent of the high school educated, 54 per cent of the college educated, and 56 per cent of the post-graduate educated fathers favored their children's entry into the program. Estimates of mothers' attitudes by level education were 36 per cent (grade school), 44 per cent, 64 per cent and 59 per cent respectively.

²Among college educated mothers, for example, two-thirds were reported as favoring their children's entry into ICS and ISU and only half as favoring entry into II. However the same pattern obtains for high school educated mothers, proportionately more of whom approved of ICS and ISU than of II, indicating this is a general relationship not dependent on level of education.

These factors amount to a series of situational forces which attract certain young adults and repel others. The logic of this approach will become clear as the evidence is developed in this and later chapters.

The Inner Core of Participants

Summer participants are so homogeneous that we may characterize the typical member in each program. The modal Interne in Community Service is a white, native born, 21 year old college undergraduate. Both her parents are college graduates and her father is a professional or a business executive. Her family is stable and comfortably situated; they have changed residential locations only once or twice during her lifetime. She is a junior at Antioch College, majoring in elementary education. From a variety of previous experiences in camping, week end work camps, religious education seminars, and similar group projects, she has developed a tentative career interest in teaching first grade but she is also attracted to learning more about professional group work. When at home, she attends the Methodist Church regularly and while at college, she attends Chapel two or three times a month and is active in the college YWCA.

The modal Interne in Industry is a white, native born, 21 year old college undergraduate. Both his parents are college graduates. Indeed, we would simply repeat the above description, with these changes: the II Interne is equally likely to be a young man or a young woman; and if he is a young man, he is not likely to be registered as a conscientious objector.¹

The typical Institutional Service Unit has a background identical to those of ICS and II Internes. He is even less likely

¹About one in six young men in ICS are conscientious objectors--most of them doing alternative service stints. About one in eight or nine in ISU are conscientious objectors, while our summer II sample included no objectors.

to be a foreign student, however, and he is most likely to be a psychology or sociology major enrolled in the University of Washington (for example).

Homogeneity along the dimensions mentioned above is so great (see Table 3) that we can say that seven in ten Internes in Community Service and six in ten members of the other two types of projects are college undergraduates between 18 and 22 years of age, white Protestants, United States citizens, with fathers employed as professionals, business executives or similar managerial officials. These proportions hold for all but one of the project groups, II Six, in which ten in 18 members meet these criteria.

We have chosen to call these modal participants the "inner core" because it seems helpful to think of each project group as containing an extremely homogeneous majority "surrounded" by three or more demographically divergent members. These may be foreign students, American Negroes, recent college graduates who are between 23 and 26 years of age, and young adults from lower income family backgrounds. Of course, we could expand or contract the size of the "outer core" by adding different demographic criteria. Thus this distinction only serves to emphasize the relative homogeneity of project members and to single out for attention those differences we believe contribute influentially to the groups' experiences.

More About the Inner Core and Outer Core
(Tables 4, 5, 6)

Table 4 summarizes a variety of selected characteristics of Internes, including alumni. About four-fifths are of college age; one-fifth are between 23 and 26 years old. About two-thirds are women, and more than nine in ten are United States citizens. Foreign students are drawn from Europe, Africa, and India, as well as England. Contrary to popular impression, projects attract very few Quakers. The proportion has become smaller each year since 1952 as recruitment efforts have broadened. Yet very

few Jewish students and virtually no Catholics enter the program. Non-Quaker Protestants preponderate.

Incidentally, most Internes profess considerable diligence as church-goers, more than three-fourths claiming to attend church services during the school year at least two or three times monthly. Very few (11 per cent) are explicitly a-religious or anti-religious.

Internes tend to be drawn not only from among active church-goers. They are also program participators: about seven in ten enter ICS after having participated in from one to five similar previous experiences--including work camps, week end service projects, social problem seminars, and group work activities.

About two-thirds of the summer subjects and the alumni have fathers who are either professionals or managers (business executives, proprietors, etc.). The remainder include craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and sales workers, but few farm foremen or laborers or other unskilled occupations. With the exception of ICS Project One, at least half the group members come from families in which both parents are college graduates, and less than 4 per cent from families in which neither parent attended college. On the combined bases of occupation and education, we conclude that most Internes come from high socioeconomic backgrounds, principally upper middle class.

Additional evidence of high socioeconomic status comes from our test of quality of the college being attended. We prepared an arbitrary list of widely known, highly reputed colleges and universities which we designed "Class A Schools." These represented less than one-fifteenth of all the institutions of higher education in the United States (see Appendix I). Internes were then classified as attending or having attended a college that was or was not on the list. Forty per cent of the summer subjects and 72 per cent of the alumni were enrolled in Class A Schools. The heavier alumni proportion reflects current graduate school enrollments, as these are inevitably more often on than off such a list. The finding is unequivocal that Internes are drawn

far more than would be expected by chance selection alone, from high quality colleges and universities. The very even regional distribution of home communities suggests this background of relative privilege obtains regardless of Internes' origin.¹

ICS members come from all regions of the United States. Only the Deep South and the Southwest are slightly under represented. They are also well mixed regardless of the location of the project group. For example, about 85 per cent of the Internes assigned to groups in the Middle West came from home communities located outside this region. If we use a mobility index of four or more reported residential moves as a measure of high mobility, nearly two-thirds of the ICS Internes and one-half of the other subjects have experienced low mobility.

One other kind of distribution interests us at this point. Project groups are well mixed with respect to academic interests of Internes. While two-thirds of our subjects are either humanities or social science majors, proportions are balanced among groups, as are science majors and applied subject majors. Only physics and chemistry and biology majors are under-represented (3.0 per cent), indicating a surprisingly broad spectrum of academic interests, given the special focus of the program.

Special Differences in Internes in Industry

The sex ratio in ICS is unbalanced in favor of women (two-thirds). In II, there are almost precisely as many men as women members. The difference in proportions is statistically significant; more importantly, we suspect it affects the styles of interpersonal relations that come to characterize project groups as well as differences in attitude scale scores. Women, for

¹Cross tabulation of parent's education with Interne's college further supports the notion of high general socioeconomic backgrounds. For the combined sample, where parents are both high school graduates, the chance is two in ten that the Interne will be enrolled in a Class A School. Where parents are both college graduates, the chance is six in ten. As more than half the Internes have two college educated parents, the relationship is modal.

example, tend to register higher, more authoritarian scores on the Authoritarianism Scale. We shall have to attend henceforth to sex differences between programs in any overall analysis of program effects.

While about one in twenty ICS members are non-whites, one-third of the II Summer project members were non-whites. This difference is somewhat peculiar to the summer subjects, however, for the non-white alumni in II (7.3 per cent) do not differ significantly from the non-white proportion among ICS alumni (5.0 per cent).

The third relevant difference is that ICS includes conscientious objectors (average 8 per cent) and is in fact registered with the Selective Service System as a program acceptable under certain circumstances for fulfillment of alternative service requirements. The II summer subjects included no conscientious objectors, and among the II alumni only 4.8 per cent reported themselves as such.

Special Background Characteristics of Institutional Service Unit Members

ISU participants differ from ICS and II Internes on very few characteristics. The crucial distinctions are that ISU subjects include no foreign students, and the proportion of social science majors is higher than among Internes in the other two programs. We have no alumni sample, so more thorough contrasts are difficult to specify. In general, the demographic composition of ISU is more like that of ICS than that of II, but the great homogeneity of all subjects is the central finding we wish to report.

ISU even includes 5.7 per cent reported conscientious objectors, incidentally, allowing us to conclude that the scarce and variable demographic elements reduce to two. The proportions of foreign students and non-white participants constitute the relevant sources of differences between project groups, with the unbalanced sex ratio in ICS constituting a third, more minor source of fundamental differences.

Summary

The crucial differences between the characteristics of program participants, we believe, are those of sex, nationality, and race. In terms of group composition, II Internes are more heterogeneous than either of the other kinds of groups. Had we been able to estimate this condition before designing the study, we would have sampled ISU Alumni rather than II Alumni. The evidence is sufficient, however, to claim that program participants are enough like one another by criteria of social backgrounds, age, geographic location, and related factors to allow meaningful comparisons to be drawn between programs and among groups within programs. For, even where the programs do not match, the differences are minute: there are only ten foreign students in the Summer sample, and four of them are within ICS and six within II; and there are twenty-four non-whites, five in ICS, seven in ISU and twelve in II. These differences can be controlled. Furthermore, their extent is inconsiderable given the range of possibilities that could occur in a natural experiment or field study.

Once the nature of project group composition has become manifest, the question of the extent to which the groups have been drawn from the same population becomes rather irrelevant. We have "saturation samples" of the 1958 Summer participants; we know the basis of their similarities and we have sketched in the outcome of recruitment policies: a homogeneous project group of roughly ten individuals "surrounded" by three or four group members from very divergent backgrounds. This allows analysis of program effects in terms of a model of group process. We should expect one kind of positive program influence to amount to a process of communicative exchange of attitudes between homogeneous group members and divergent individuals. This is only one of a number of possible analytical approaches; but its value will be demonstrated in later chapters.

This model is in keeping with official program policy and with the expectations of program participants. AFSC

recruiters and domestic project officials, national and regional, work to include as many individuals from diverse backgrounds as may be said to meet admissions standards. One Summer project group was very pleased to find among its members a Negro student from the Deep South, for example, and keenly disappointed when an intensive health examination revealed the youth had tuberculosis scar tissue (dormant) and was required to leave the project. Repeatedly, participants made statements like the following, when interviewed:

I'm especially pleased to have the experience of living with a group and learning to get along with people--especially people from outside the midwest and foreign students. I feel I'm learning to think for the first time. . . .

These are comments made by an upper middle class native born white college girl in an Internes in Industry project, employed as an industrial warehouse worker.

How Internes Enter the Programs: Special Note

More than one in ten of our summer subjects had engaged in previous AFSC sponsored programs, ranging from work camps to week end seminars and including one or more of the alternative domestic project programs under evaluation here. Among the Alumni sample, 37 per cent of former ICS Internes and 38 per cent of II had had previous AFSC experiences. This and complementary evidence indicates that as the domestic programs have aged and grown they have increasingly recruited outside a limited circle of "regular" participants, as AFSC ideology would dictate.

Interlarded with this segment of "regulars" is a larger number of Internes who report from one to six previous similar experiences. By these are meant participation in non-AFSC summer camps, work projects, and religious or social educational seminars, similar enough to appear somewhat equivalent to Internes themselves. This is a subjective standard, but we were less able to assess equivalence than were participants. Seven

in ten ICS Internes, whether 1958 Summer or Alumni, reported at least one similar previous experience. Over half the II Internes and ISU participants reported one or more, also.

The frequencies of similar activity are so high and so inclusive, indeed, that we might consider our subjects in general to be endemic program joiners.¹ One-fifth of all Summer members reported from four to six or more previous similar experiences, and 38 per cent of the ICS and II Alumni said they had engaged in similar programs subsequent to their ICS or II project participation.

In any event, this background of active participation confounds any attempt to explain how Internes come to apply for the domestic programs. We distinguished between four channels through which subjects might be stimulated to enter any one of the three programs. The most common channel is family members and friends who knew about the projects and who convey information and incentives to the applicants. One-fifth are stimulated to apply as a result of influences received from family and friends alone, irrespective of program. Another fifth are recruited via contacts with AFSC staff officials (principally AFSC Regional College Secretaries) who tour college campuses seeking to interest prospective candidates. About 15 per cent apply as a result of information obtained more or less solely through articles, bulletins, pamphlets and feature publications describing project achievements. A final one-fourth are exposed to two or three of these sources simultaneously, usually a combination of family and friends and professional recruitment channels.

Without regard to differences between programs, participants who enter the programs with no similar previous experiences are recruited through different channels than are

¹This generalization would depend for confirmation on available national comparisons, which we do not have, unfortunately.

those with one or more similar previous experiences. This statistically significant difference derives chiefly from differences in access to two channels. Inexperienced members are recruited through family and friends more frequently than experienced members. Cross tabulations did not reveal statistically significant influences on this experience factor beyond this, however.¹

TABLE 3
RELATIVE HOMOGENEITY OF PROJECT GROUP MEMBERS¹

Project Group	Total N	Homogeneous N	% Homo.	%
1	16	10	62	ICS: 62
2	10	6	60	
3	10	6	60	
4	17	11	65	
5	12	8	67	II: 57
6	18	9	50	
7	4	2	50	ISU: 63
8	7	5	71	
9	14	7	50	
10	10	8	80	
TOTAL	118	72	61	

¹Number homogeneous based on number of group members who are:

- 1) White
- 2) U.S. Citizens
- 3) Of professional or managerial fathers

¹Multivariate analysis using an "Index of Practice," meaning persons previously experienced in project participation as distinguished from those who are inexperienced, provided no vital clues toward ordering our findings.

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF ICS INTERNES

Characteristic	Project Group				% Summer ICS	% ICS Alumni
	1	2	3	4		
Number	16	10	10	17	53 (N)	100
18 to 22 years	13	9	8	15	85	78
Women	10	8	7	9	64	68
Foreign students	4	0	0	0	7	(did not sample)
Conscientious Objectors	2	0	0	2	7	9
Non Whites	0	0	1	2	6	5
Protestants	12	9	7	14	79	59
Quakers	0	0	0	1	2	15
Father Profess'l	4	3	3	7	32	42
Father Managerial	8	3	3	5	36	29
Both Parents College Educated	3	5	5	11	45	59
Interne's College on Grade A List	5	3	5	10	43.4	77
Social Science Majors	7	3	3	6	36	49
Humanities Major	6	2	4	3	28	24
High Residential Mobility	6	6	4	3	36	37
Home Community:						
New Engld, Mid Atlan.	1	2	3	5	21	34
Mountain, Pacific	4	1	1	7	24	28
W.North Central	2	2	3	3	19	8
E.North Central	2	3	2	2	17	22
S.Atlantic, E.S.Central	2	2	1	0	9	5
One or More Similar Previous Experiences	3	8	7	11	74	68

TABLE 5
SUMMARY OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF II INTERNES

Characteristic	Project 5	Group 6	% Summer Internes	% Alumni
Number	12	18	30 (N)	165
18 to 22 years	8	16	80	76
Women	5	10	50	50
Foreign Students	3	3	20	(not sampled)
Conscientious Objectors	0	0	0	5
Non-White	3	7	33	7
Protestants	6	11	57	62
Quakers	0	3	10	20
Father Professional	5	8	43	49
Father Managerial	4	4	27	21
Both Parents College Educated	6	10	61	61
Interne's College on A List	7	5	40	72
Social Science Majors	5	2	23	39
Humanities Majors	3	7	33	28
High Residential Mobility	3	5	27	47
Home Community:				
New Engld, Mid Atlant.	2	3	17	38
Mountain, Pacific	0	4	13	7
W.North Central	2	1	10	11
E.North Central	5	1	20	24
S.Atlant., E.S.Central	0	6	20	13
One or More Previous Similar Experiences	7	8	50	61

TABLE 6

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF ISU PARTICIPANTS

Characteristic	Project Group				% of Total Summer Sample
	7	8	9	10	
Number	4	7	14	10	35
18 to 22 years	3	6	11	8	80
Women	4	3	7	4	51
Foreign Students	0	0	0	0	0
Conscientious Object.	0	0	1	1	6
Non-Whites	1	1	4	1	20
Protestants	2	4	12	6	69
Quakers	1	0	0	2	9
Father Professional	2	2	4	6	40
Father Managerial	0	3	4	2	26
Both Parents College Educated	3	4	6	7	57
Interne's College on A Grade List	1	2	7	3	37
Social Science Majors	2	6	2	8	51
Humanities Majors	0	0	4	1	14
High Residential Mobility	2	2	6	7	49
Home Community:					
New Engld, Mid Atlant.	1	3	0	2	17
Mountain, Pacific	1	2	9	3	43
W.North Central	0	0	2	3	14
E.North Central	0	1	0	1	6
S.Atlant., E.S. Central	2	1	1	0	11
One or More Similar Previous Experiences	1	6	6	8	60

TABLE 7
CHANNELS OF RECRUITMENT BY SIMILAR PREVIOUS
EXPERIENCE AND PROGRAM

	ICS		II		ISU
	Summer	Alumni	Summer	Alumni	Summer Only
With One or More Similar Experiences	39	68	15	100	21
Friends & Family	9	7	2	20	1
Professional Recruitment	8	13	5	6	6
Previous AFSC Experience	6	29	2	45	4
Reading Published Mat.	2	4	1	7	1
Two or More of the Above	10	10	3	14	8
Other, NA	4	5	2	8	1
With No Previous Similar Experience	14	32	15	65	14
Friends & Family	2	8	3	12	7
Professional Recruitment	2	7	3	17	1
Previous AFSC Experience	2	8	2	18	2
Reading Published Mat.	1	2	2	2	---
Two or More of the Above	6	2	1	8	4
Other, NA	1	5	4	8	---
Total	53	100	30	165	35

Type Recruit	(Above Data Collapsed)					Total
	Family & Friends	Pro-fess'l	Previous AFSC Exper.	Reading Matter	Dble Exposure	
Prev Exper	39	25	86	15	45	210
No Prev Exper	32	30	32	7	21	122
						332

$$\chi^2 = 9.24, p \geq .05$$

CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECTS OF PROJECT PARTICIPATION

The 118 Internes who filled out the questionnaires at the beginning of their projects in the summer of 1958 were by and large college sophomores and juniors fresh from the alleged serenity of American and foreign campuses. While most of these young people were seasoned joiners in discussion groups, school and community programs, and summer camps of various sorts, most were also accustomed to the soft shelter of upper middle class suburban homes and the laissez faire routines of dormitory and fraternity life. When they filled out the second questionnaire, this group had been exposed to a range of rather new and contradictory experiences.

Internes in Community Service had for two months worked with relocated and displaced rural Negroes and western Plains Indians as they accommodated to the mysteries of the metropolis. They had invented games and bathed and comforted children who spoke only Spanish. They had interviewed slum dwellers or helped relocate families from land clearance areas. They had, in some cases, worked with and struggled against city political bosses and ward heelers.

Institutional Service Unit participants had shared ideas and feelings with allegedly hopeless schizophrenics; played checkers with senile custodial patients and devised tournaments for the gratification of invalids and retarded children. Many had witnessed the poignant dilemmas of institutional care and had struggled to sort out consistent values in the conflict between custodial security and therapeutic care.

Internes in Industry felt the thrust and anxiety of

unemployment. Some joined unions and touched first hand the complexities of racketeering as well as the tactics of unfair managers. They work alongside immigrants, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians on the assembly line and in the warehouses of Chicago and Lynn, Massachusetts. Some of them ventured into voluntary service efforts in the evenings and on week ends.

Surely these new experiences conveyed the materials for changing character. Perhaps more than in any previous setting, Internes had the opportunity to govern themselves, and to experiment with resolution of personal conflicts through the devices of democratic exchange. Exposure to a battery of influences occurred on a mundane yet no less meaningful level, as well. As one ICS Interne, an eighteen year old girl, expressed it, "It may not sound impressive to you, but I've learned to cook! And that's very important to me. I'm a good cook!"

There is little question about the capacity of these experiences for changing character. The task is to attempt to tap the dimensions of the changes; to be able to specify the kinds and amounts of changes that occurred for a significant number of participants, and to connect these with the fabric of each program. In this respect, the social scientist cannot get out much more than he puts into the study design. We described our instruments in chapter two. They embody our reasoned expectations of the kinds of changes that could occur, without beginning to exhaust the range of alternative changes, of course.

We shall review the evidence on attitude scales first, because to these we applied our most precise analysis.

A Comment on Interpretation

The reader who examines the tables in the appendix to this chapter will notice that all of the observed changes are small in magnitude. On strictly statistical grounds there is little reason to be critical of the small size of some changes. As a group, Internes are near the extreme of most of the scales

before they begin their summer work. The scale ranges are necessarily finite, and many Internes approach scale limits on the pretest and reach them on the post-test. Thus changes appear very small because of lack of range for measures of change. Errors of measurement also have the effect of reducing the possibility of finding a statistically significant difference. Therefore, when a group's mean change is listed as statistically significant, or when a group is located above a regression slope, measurement errors as well as pre-test score has been accounted for and works against our hypothesis of significant change.

Take ISU Group Nine on the N Scale for example. On the pre-test, members of this group had a mean score lower than eight of the other nine groups. On the post-test, this group changed favorably toward greater Nonviolence, yet not enough to take it "across" a slope of average change after errors are accounted. In a statistical sense, our data indicate clearly that had the instruments been better, the magnitude of the changes would appear larger.

It should ~~also~~ be remembered that extreme opinions are harder to change toward a given extreme than are average or moderate opinions. Compared with other populations, the Internes will be seen to hold very extreme attitudes. We shall call this the "crowding effect" in subsequent discussion.

An Overview of the Findings

The bulk of this chapter treats the details of changes within and among groups as these were measured by each instrument on the questionnaire. To avoid the great danger of losing the forest for the trees, we have summarized here the essential effects of the programs on participants as reflected in our measurements.

CHART 4

SUMMARY OF ATTITUDE CHANGES BY PROGRAM*

Scale	All Summer Internes	ICS	II	ISU
Authoritarianism	Change	Change	Change	Change
Non-Violence	Improve	Change	Improve	Improve
Escapism	Change	Improve	Change	Change
Conservatism	Improve	Improve	Improve	Improve
Action/Apathy	Improve	Improve	Improve	Improve
Tolerance	Improve	Change	Improve	Negative
Civil Liberties	Improve	Improve	Change	Negative
Democracy	Improve	Improve	Improve	Improve
Urban Savvy	Change	Change	Change	Change
Race Savvy	Improve	Change	Change	Improve

*Change means change statistically significant at the .10 level or better (one tail test); Improve means favorable change not quite significant statistically; Negative means unfavorable change. See Table 8.

We can report with confidence that project participation, regardless of program, stimulated significant change in three components. Participants became less authoritarian, less escapist in their political orientations, and more knowledgeable about city problems. In all other respects, the experience tended to improve though not change fundamentally the social and political attitudes of the summer subjects considered as a whole.

The chart further shows that ICS Internes also became more non-violent. II Internes became significantly more liberal in their views on issues concerning civil liberties, while ISU members became less tolerant and less libertarian. The evidence is clear that on a variety of dimensions the influence of the domestic programs is very consistently beneficial. As far

as increasing the political and social maturity of Internes is concerned, all three programs must be evaluated as successful, although the depth of this effect is limited by the relatively extreme initial maturity of the subjects recruited.

CHART 5

SUMMARY OF QUALITATIVE INFLUENCES OF PARTICIPATION*

Measure	All Summer Subjects	ICS	II	ISU
Political Potency of the Individual	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
Political Potency of Groups	Change	Change	Change	Change
Local Politics Interest	Change	Improve	Change	No Change
National Politics Interest	Improve	No Change	No Change	Change
World Affairs Interest	Improve	No Change	Improve	No Change
Civic Orgzt's Interest	Change	Improve	Change	Improve
Public Affairs Concern	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
Social Service Action Set	Change	Change	Improve	Improve

*Change means change significant at the .10 level or better (one tail test); Improve means favorable but non-significant change; Negative means change in unfavorable direction.

Overall, the effect of participation is to stimulate significant change in young adult's interests in local politics; their belief in the ability of groups to affect political decisions in a free society; their interest in the affairs of civic organizations; and their readiness to act positively in a community service problem. Their interest in national politics and world affairs, extremely high to begin with, are improved or

reinforced but not transformed by participation in the programs. Most interestingly, participation makes young adults less optimistic about the power of individuals to affect the political process, and it reduces estimates of how emotionally cathected individuals believe themselves to be about public as contrasted with personal affairs.

Again the evidence is very clear that altogether the domestic programs achieve one of their implicit objectives, that of strengthening and deepening the interest of young adults in their responses to social problems, community and political affairs. We shall argue that the two negative effects support favorable assessments of program influence in the sense that participants become more realistic about their personal roles in the political process; many young adults begin the summer with inflated impressions of the ideology of social involvement.

To some extent the effects fit the contents of each program. ICS subjects changed most, for example, in increasing their action orientations toward social service. ICS Internes were so high on interest in civic organizations initially that significant change was not possible. By and large, however, influences are more common to all programs than peculiar to any one or two.

Authoritarianism: The F Scale

The Authoritarianism or F Scale is intended to measure an individual's disposition toward authority, strict discipline, and the use of force. A typical item concerning authority, for example, is, "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn." A more subtle item concerning discipline, is, "Some leisure is necessary but it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile." This scale has many complicated deficiencies, but it has wide use and repeatedly reflects high reliability (.78, Riecken). We expected that project participation would reduce authoritarianism for several reasons. Program ideology is deliberately

democratic as is project group government in all three programs, as we have indicated. Effective confrontation with this ideology should tend to reduce excessive respect for authority. In ICS and ISU, job assignments demanded interpersonal fluidity and high tolerance of ambiguity. Where Internes could provide or develop these skills, their level of authoritarianism should be reduced.

Excluding foreign students (as we have done in measuring attitudes generally because the scales are "culture-bound")¹ levels of scores on the F Scale were significantly reduced by summer project experience. The amount of change was statistically significant for subjects in each of the three programs. ISU subjects started with lower mean authoritarianism. They were less "rigid" to start with--and amount of ISU change during the projects was greatest.

Taken generally, the statistical significance of this change is fairly astonishing. Only three of the groups had mean scores higher than Riecken's subjects on the pre-test! Our subjects, like Riecken's, furthermore, were very considerably less authoritarian than participants in the Hyman and Wright evaluation. In other words, our subjects began their summer with very low mean scores on authoritarianism and nevertheless further reduced this level in the course of two months of project life.

Nonviolence: The N Scale:

Of the N Scale, Riecken said,

The N-scale is the shortest we used, consisting of only seven items, but covering fairly well the range of sentiment from extreme pacifism to a rather warlike, violent position. All of the items center around the use of force

¹Foreign student's F Scale scores serve as a case in point. Their pre-test mean was 6 points above the mean for non-foreign students as a whole, and it did not change significantly during the test period.

in settling human disputes, and most of them refer explicitly to war. We found adequate reliability (.77) in this scale in spite of its brevity. A low score is identifiable with a pacifistic position, while a high score reflects willingness to endorse going to war. (Op. cit., p. 34)

Riecken's work camp subjects were more Nonviolent (that is, had lower N Scale scores both before and after the summer) than did our subjects. Moreover, Riecken's mean difference was significant. There are three important differences between his results and ours: (1) His sample took the test in the summer of 1948, a time only two years removed rather than twelve from the violence of World War II. We would expect the salience of pacifist sentiments to vary in response to world conditions and to the range of possibilities that seem open for coping with these conditions. (While 1948 was a year of increasing disenchantment with the prospects for a lasting peace, it was also the year of the Wallace Progressive Party campaign.) (2) Work camps then and now include a small but somewhat more evenly distributed component of Conscientious Objectors than do other AFSC domestic projects. In our sample, Conscientious Objectors were located only in groups one, four, nine, and ten, where for some, formal alternative service was being served. (3) His subjects were significantly less in favor of violence than ours at the outset of the summer.

Our subjects as a whole did not become more significantly non-violent during the course of the summer. The amount of change was significant among ICS Internes but insignificant among II and ISU. At the project group level, change was not consistent within even the ICS groups. Indeed, in ICS group three, mean N Scale score increased significantly, meaning group three Internes became less nonviolent.

Four groups contained conscientious objectors: ICS Groups Number One and Four (two C.O.'s each); and ISU Groups Number Nine and Ten (one C.O. each). Does this appear to influence N Scale scores as we expected it might? The answer is

that it depends on the attitudes of the non-objectors in the group at the start of the summer. ICS Groups One and Four had pre-test N Scale mean scores which were almost identical with the grand mean for the sample as a whole. That is, among our subjects, members of these groups had typical N Scale attitudes. The degree of change was statistically significant in both these groups, and it was greater in degree than the change in seven of the eight other groups. But in ISU Groups Nine and Ten, the pre-test means were extremely low, and the degree of change was thus not significant in Nine and was negative in Ten.

The presence of C.O.'s in a group may very well stimulate an increase in pacifist sympathies among group members who are not strongly oriented one way or the other initially. Where a group's members are initially strongly pro-pacifistic, their presence has either no effect or on occasion a negative (boom-erang) effect on other members. Most importantly, significant changes occurred in groups with no C.O. members. Their presence or absence may be irrelevant, therefore.

Political Escapism Index

One of the goals of the ICS program is to increase the political maturity of participants. Using highly reliable scale questions previously used by Hyman and Wright, among others, we devised a combined score on five attitude questions to serve as an index of an individual's readiness to avoid, ignore or underestimate the importance of political action. These included, for example: "A good many local elections are not important enough to bother with," and, "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person can't really understand what is going on," as well as, "So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much whether I vote or not." Here a low score signified low degree of political escapism, and represented the favored direction.

The amount of change on this index was significant in the direction of lower escapism for the subjects as a total sample.

Among programs, however, the amount of change was significant among II and ISU members and not among ICS. Only Group One among the ICS groups changed significantly in the desired direction.

ICS group means tended to be higher on the pre-test than were the means of other program groups, indicating ICS Internes were more extremely escapist before participating than were other program members. This extreme was not affected significantly by exposure to influences within the ICS program. The only exception occurred in ICS Group One, where the most extreme group mean was significantly reduced.

Political Economic Conservatism (PEC)

Our PEC scale is identical with the one used by Riecken and later by Hyman and Wright. It includes ten items covering political and economic issues of the day such as limiting the power of labor unions, tax ceilings on high incomes, and government security procedures. A high score indicates agreement with a conservative position and a low score identifies a liberal or progressive position. Riecken obtained a reliability coefficient of .81 on this instrument.

Our subjects are more conservative than Riecken's work camp volunteers. However they are much more liberal than undergraduates at Harvard and the University of California, whose scores are reported in Riecken. Our subjects are precisely as liberal as the young adults measured by Hyman and Wright in the Encampment for Citizenship.

Neither Riecken's subjects nor those in the Hyman and Wright study changed on this scale. These authors argue that this scale reflects relatively deep lying and therefore permanent value orientations. None of our groups changed significantly on this scale either. Some improved slightly toward increased liberalism; some became slightly more conservative; others showed no mean change. There is no pattern in direction of change, either. Some conservative groups became more conservative, others more liberal, and so on. Every possible

variation was exhibited. We would conclude that this instrument is of doubtful worth. There is some meaning to be gained from inspecting single items. Internes in Industry, for example, showed increasing liberalism in response to an item attacking the value of unions. They showed significant change on this item while neither ICS nor ISU changed significantly. Generally, however, the items are too subject to varying political and economic conditions to maintain their salience.

Action/Apathy

This index of Hyman's is based on weighted responses to three questions.¹ Typical of these is, "Sending letters to Congressmen has little influence on legislation." Possible scores range from 0 to 6 for the Index, 0 representing an attitude of actionism politically, 6 of apathy.² Hyman and Wright's subjects obtained a pre-test score of 1.9. Unfortunately, they do not report their post-test score.

Program Internes exhibited extreme initial political actionism. The "crowding effect" applies emphatically here, with a pre-test grand mean of 1.38 and a post-test mean of 1.16. Comparatively speaking, Internes had "no place to go" on this measure, being initially so close to the theoretical 0 of extreme actionism. Indeed, our smallest group, ISU Seven, obtained a mean of 0 on the post-test!

Among programs, ISU had the "best" initial score and also showed the greatest mean change. II closely approximated ISU in both respects. ICS Internes registered the highest pre-test mean and showed the least change. None of the changes

¹Op. cit., p. Ap-6.

²Action is not meant to convey either reactionary or radical overtones in this index. It means only a readiness to respond actively as a citizen. The other two items are, "If a person is uncertain how to vote, it is better if he does not vote," and, "The average citizen is justified in remaining aloof from dirty politics that may exist in his community."

were statistically significant in magnitude--nor could they have been given the initial actionism.

Tolerance Scale (T)

Tapping yet another dimension of political maturity are scores from Internes' responses to the Tolerance Scale (T). Devised by Samuel Stouffer for his national study of Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties, the T Scale has a reported coefficient of reproducibility of .96 (Guttman). The T Scale measures readiness to tolerate extremely divergent political views and to believe in the right of political extremists to express their views. A typical item is, "A person who wants to make a speech in my community favoring government ownership of the railroads and big industries should be allowed to speak."

As a whole, our young adults exhibited as high a degree of tolerance as it was possible for a group to obtain on this scale. They were on the average less than one point from the highest possible theoretical score on both the pre and post tests, with extremely small deviation around the means (see Table 14). Nonetheless, two of the groups, ICS Two and Four, became significantly more tolerant over the summer.

Although the change was negligible two of the four ISU groups became slightly less tolerant during the summer, a trend which fits with our findings on the Civil Liberties Scale.

Civil Liberties Scale

We included a scale used by Hyman and Wright to measure an individual's disposition to work for preservation of civil liberties. This six item scale runs from a theoretical low of 0 (most libertarian) to a theoretical high of 10 (least libertarian). A typical item is, "In some cases the police should be allowed to search a person or his home even though they do not have a warrant."

Hyman's subjects obtained a mean score of 2.4 and of 1.8,

pre and post. The Summer Internes showed a pretest mean of 2.35 and a post-test mean of 2.00. Like the Encampment youth, then, Internes were extremely libertarian initially and improved slightly during the course of the summer. The change was not statistically significant, for any group or program, and could not be expected given the heavy crowding effect. As on the Tolerance Scale, deviations from the group means were very rare, the mean error being 1.55 pre and 1.53 post-test.

There is one change of special importance on the Civil Liberties Scale, however. The ISU subjects began the summer with the lowest mean score (1.60, standard deviation 1.14) and at the close of their program, showed less libertarianism with a mean of 2.11. This reduction in libertarianism holds for three of the four ISU groups, and in the fourth, Group Four, the initial group mean was atypical for the whole sample (4.50).

We take this as a demonstration of the influence of project experience. ISU members became relatively less libertarian as a result of their exposure to the dilemmas of institutional custodial care and security procedures in mental hospitals. The test of this centers on the item already quoted concerning the right of police search without a warrant.

We need a device that will take into account where our subjects stood on the question initially. A standard device for this purpose is the Effectiveness Index,¹ which provides a ratio of posttest score to pretest. Using this Index, ICS subjects obtained an improvement ratio of .50, and II subjects a ratio of .19 on the question about police search without a warrant. ISU members obtained a -.55, however, a decrease in libertarianism.

¹Pretest-Posttest / 100-Pretest, is the formula for the Index. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, et al., eds., The Language of Social Research (Glencoe, Free Press, 1955), p. 79.

Democracy Scale

Fifteen items comprise the Democracy Scale, also used by Riecken and Hyman and Wright. All the items concern decision-making processes and leadership. They bear, not on constitutionalism or political representation in a formal sense, but on equality and shared responsibility as values in small task groups. Typical of the items are: "In case of disagreement within a group the judgement of the leader should be final," and, "Sometimes one can be too open minded about the possible solutions to a problem that faces a group." All the issues underlying the items have been identified repeatedly as elements in a democratic perspective toward group interaction. There is no question about their direct connection with AFSC program philosophy nor of their relevance to cooperative group living.

Riecken obtained a reliability coefficient of .73 in his test-retest. A high score indicates an undemocratic attitude, a low score a democratic one. The theoretical range on this scale goes from 15 (most democratic) to 105 (most undemocratic).

The summer Internes were relatively extreme in their initial scores. The overall mean was 49.14--more democratic than Riecken's and Hyman and Wright's subjects. The Internes did not change in amounts that were statistically significant, however, while Riecken's subjects did change significantly.

Eight of the eleven groups improved somewhat, but within the scale important changes toward both more and less democratic attitudes occurred. For example, half the groups became less democratic on two items: Item 6, "In case of disagreement within a group the judgement of the leader should be final," and Item 9, "The best criterion for judging any technique for dealing with other people is in terms of how efficiently it will get the job done." Both items invite impatience with democratic procedures.

There is a positive correlation (R_s equals .51) between improvement on Item 9 above and group rank on social cohesiveness. Thus the more cohesive the group the more the group

members tended to emphasize human relations in preference to task efficiency. We will explore single items further in a later chapter. Here we suggest that project group participation may affect belief in democratic procedure favorably or unfavorably, depending on the amount of cohesiveness the group achieves over a summer period.

Urban Savvy Index

One of the special aims of the ICS program is to educate young adults about problems of metropolitan life. Several of the general scales, such as Tolerance, Civil Liberties, Political Escapism, bear indirectly on attitudes toward the city. But we felt a need to devise an index that would tackle this feature of the program very explicitly, and so we constructed an eight item list of statements with which Internes were asked to agree, disagree, or to circle a question mark, representing a "don't know" response. The items constitute difficult factual assertions which a pilot test indicated young adults would not generally have precise knowledge about, but which would be answered correctly most often by individuals exposed to courses in urban sociology or municipal government.¹

That the index proved meaningful is shown by the mean score differences between summer programs and between ICS and II alumni scores. ICS pretest scores were higher than those of the other program subjects, and ICS alumni, who include a high proportion of professional social workers and social scientists,

¹Some are also "trap questions" in that they rest on stereotypes commonly held by fairly informed, well educated adults who are nonetheless ignorant about the current facts. For example, the item, "Crime rates in certain rural sections of the U.S. are higher than crime rates in such cities as Chicago and San Francisco," is intended to tap responses from those disposed to rural romanticism of a sort attributed to some work campers by Henry Riecken. A similar statement on the index is, "Human relationships in city slums are often as healthy emotionally as human relationships in rural areas." The index has a theoretical range from 0 (least Urban Savvy) to 23 (most Urban Savvy).

were significantly more savvy than any other subsample. The rurally located ISU participants were initially less savvy than Internes in the other programs.

We have good reason to think we have a crude but direct Index of Urban Savvy at hand. What does it reveal about the educative potentialities of each program? It indicates that ICS Internes were initially better informed about the city and its problems and that they became more savvy during the course of the summer.

Two ISU groups and one II group also improved on this index. Two of these had very low initial savvy, however. The third, ISU Group Ten, was atypically high in amount of Urban Savvy both before and after the program. It is relevant that this project was located within a standard metropolitan area while the other ISU projects were provincial.

Race Savvy Index

A similar special aim of the Interne programs is to increase the participant's understanding of ethnic and racial minorities. Again, several of the general attitude scales shed light on this matter, but we wanted to be sure to attend to it very explicitly. We devised a set of five factual items to indicate how knowledgeable Internes were about aspects of contemporary race relations. It was constructed exactly as was the Urban Savvy Index, except that subjects had to respond with a measure of the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements. Typical items were, "A substantial number of labor unions either bar Negroes from membership or relegate them to an inferior status," and, "During periods of economic stress, race prejudice becomes more acute." The Index had a possible range of 5 (least Race Savvy) to 35 (most Race Savvy), and the actual range ran from 8 to 35.

With very little variation among individuals, our subjects proved extremely knowledgeable about race relations. The pretest grand mean was 23.96 and the post-test, 24.76, out of the possible 35 points. The "crowding effect" was so strong

that amount of improvement was not statistically significant for the Internes as a whole, though significance was reached for ICS and II.

This measure reveals the specific influence of project experience on the individual. We have reported that Internes in Industry had fullest exposure to ethnic and racial minorities because of their blue collar jobs. ICS and ISU youth also interacted closely with minority groups, but less frequently and not as co-equals. ICS Internes served, supervised and directed minority groups, as did the hospital unit workers in ISU; but II Internes worked as co-equals with non-whites. We think this may explain how II Internes, who began the summer with as high Race Savvy as other program members, achieved greatest statistically significant change in their knowledgeability about race relations.¹

Summary of Scale Findings

The scales measure different dimensions of political and social maturity. Obviously, any project group may improve on one dimension and not change or regress on another.² Yet it should be possible to conclude that one program induces relatively greater change than another and that one group improves more than another in some general sense. This is of intrinsic interest. It is also essential to any effort to account for attitude changes in terms of program and group factors.

¹Another contributing factor may be the proportion of non-whites in a group. There is a rank order correlation of .50 (approaching significance: $p = .07$) between high proportion and high improvement on this index.

²That this is true is indicated by a W Coefficient of Concordance of .15 for the nine scales and the ten ranked groups. Yet with an $N = 10$, as here, a W of .15, yields a $X^2 = 13.5$, with d.f. = 9. Thus this concordance has a $p = .15$. Therefore there is probably more than chance correspondence between overall level of gain and a given group, since a concordance of this magnitude would be likely to occur by chance in repeated samples only 15 per cent of the time.

CHART 6

SUMMARY EFFECTIVENESS INDEX SCORES AND
GROUP RANK ORDER

Group No.	Sum E.I.*	Group Rank	Scale								
			F	N	P.E.	D	C.L.	Tol	A/A	Race	Urb
1	.66	6	.07	.12	.14	.09	.11	-.19	.15	.08	.08
2	2.06	3	.11	.12	.06	.33	.15	1.00	.22	.02	.06
3	-.36	9	.01	-.13	.06	-.12	.18	-.23	-.27	.05	.09
4	2.11	2	.11	.13	.03	.23	.64	.66	.08	.12	.02
5	1.01	5	.08	.01	.14	.04	.43	0	0	.12	.19
6	1.21	4	.06	.17	.13	.05	.25	.27	.23	.13	-.07
7	2.20	1	.14	.11	-.02	-.06	.11	.66	1.00	.05	.21
8	-.51	10	.10	.05	.18	.15	-.98	0	0	.05	-.06
9	.62	7	.04	.05	.10	.02	.66	-.63	.14	.16	.08
10	.29	8	.10	-.07	.12	-.03	-.14	0	.25	-.05	.11

Mean: .93

$$* \text{ Index} = M_2 - M_1$$

ICS: 1.18

ISU: .65

II: 1.11

$$\text{Max Poss Score} - M_1$$

Chart 6 represents the program and group ranks as we choose to assign them after repeated analysis. This ranking is based on the Effectiveness Index summed as scores on nine of the most pertinent attitude scales. We chose to use the Effectiveness Index because there is no mistaking its relationship to group performance. It takes into account a group's initial mean score, its post-test score, and the range of the given scale. We have not included the foreign students

because they did not constitute an independent project group. Fortunately, they fall close to the mean summed Index score and thus do not affect the rank order of groups.

The Chart shows that Internes in Community Service achieved the greatest overall improvement and Institutional Service Unit groups the least. If we break the levels of improvement by individual groups, we obtain the following three part division:

CATEGORIZATION OF GROUPS BY RELATIVE IMPROVEMENT					
Above Mean Change		Below Mean Change		Negative Change	
ISU	Seven	ICS	One	ISU	Eight
ICS	Four	ISU	Nine	ICS	Three
ICS	Two	ISU	Ten		
II	Five				
II	Six				

Seemingly, if we had more than two II groups in the sample, every program would be represented in every category. Our rankings do not allow us to conclude that any one program is superior to another. The problem that poses itself is to explain why some project groups improve more than others, regardless of program differences.

Other Influences

One of our aims is to assess the influence of project participation on the political maturity of the Interne. One avenue toward this was suggested by Hyman and Wright, who asked their young adult subjects: In general, do you think that the individual citizen can do a great deal, only a moderate amount,

or hardly anything at all about the following matters: prevention of war, reduction of governmental corruption, reduction of local governmental corruption, improvement of housing, and improvement of race relations." These items were set in a boxed check list. They were followed by a request to evaluate what organized groups of people "can do in these matters." We used this index of Individual and Group Political Potency. A zero represented the lowest, least desirable potency score, ten the highest.

The grand mean on Individual Political Potency declined from 6.10 to 5.69 over the course of the summer. This is statistically insignificant but suggests that what changes did occur were toward reduced optimism about the political potency of individual action. Using the pretest means as a cutting point, this trend is further emphasized at the program level, as follows:

SCORES ON INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL POTENCY INDEX, BY PROGRAM			
Post-Score	ICS	II	ISU
Above Mean	17	12	14
Below Mean	36	18	21
N	53	30	35

$$\chi^2 9.40 \quad p < .05$$

This drop in optimism occurred in all programs. Among individual groups, nine in ten followed this trend, and the drop was statistically significant.

Most interesting is the contrast between this trend and that revealed on the Group Political Potency Index. Here Internes tended to be more optimistic in the first place and even more optimistic at the close of the programs. At the program level, using initial means as a cutting point, a statistically

significant change occurred toward increased optimism. This trend also obtained for project groups, without exception.

NUMBER SCORING ABOVE AND BELOW PRETEST PROGRAM MEAN
SCORE, BY PROGRAM, ON GROUP POTENCY INDEX

Post-Test	ICS	II	ISU
Above Mean	30	24	25
Below Mean	23	6	10
N	33	30	35

$$\chi^2 16.92 \quad p < .05$$

The above table shows the favorable increase in evaluation of group political potentialities. It also reveals that the number of changing participants was proportionately lower in ICS than in ISU. ICS Internes changed less than did other summer members. Indeed, ICS had a lower mean at the close of the summer than at the beginning, while the means increased in both II and ISU.

What do these indicators suggest? On entering the programs, young adults felt the individual citizen could achieve a moderate amount as an individual toward improving race relations, reducing governmental corruption and the like. During the programs, most participants tended to revise their estimates of individual potency. At the close, most estimated the individual can do a moderate amount, but increasing numbers felt individuals can do "hardly anything." Extreme optimists had become slightly more moderate. The net effect might be called a sharpening realism concerning political limitations experienced by individuals.

The estimates of group potency reversed this trend. Estimates at the start of the summer tended to be very high. Most Internes felt that groups can do "a great deal" to solve a list of social problems. A significant number in each program

were even more convinced of this at the close of the summer, the proportion of changers being lowest in ICS.

Changing Interest In Political and
Organizational Affairs

In order to tap program and project group effects on levels of interest in relevant spheres of political and social action, we obtained before and after ratings of individual interest in the following spheres: local politics, national politics, world affairs, civic organizations and church activities. We used a four point rating list ranging from disinterested to very interested.

Pre-program interest in local politics was bimodally distributed. Less than one-fifth of the young adults were either very interested or totally disinterested, while the remaining four-fifths split evenly between fairly interested and not too interested. This mild involvement should be viewed against the backgrounds of the participants, 79 per cent of whom were not eligible to vote in the most recent local elections in their home communities. Moreover, of the 14 per cent who were eligible, eight out of nine did not vote. Initial interest in local politics was understandably low, in other words.

NUMBER OF SUMMER INTERNES EXPRESSING
INTEREST IN LOCAL POLITICS

Before Summer	Yes	After Summer No	Total
Yes	41	8	49
No	18	48	66
Total	59	56	115

$$X^2 = 3.841 \quad p < .05$$

Program participation significantly increased the level of interest. Favorable turnover was significant for Internes as

a whole. About 16 per cent changed unfavorably, and all of these were moves from fairly to "not too" interested. No one with some initial interest became disinterested. Three-fourths of the 20 initially totally disinterested reported some increase in level of interest.

This favorable turnover toward increased interest was uneven among programs, however. The changes among ICS members were in a favorable direction, but the proportion was statistically insignificant. Among ISU members, as many individuals lessened as increased their interest. Thus the overall effect is accounted for solely or almost solely by changes within Internes in Industry. No II Interne lessened interest who reported it initially, and one-third of the initially disinterested Internes reported increased interest.

About eight in ten Internes were fairly or very interested in national politics before the summer began. Almost nine in ten expressed this level of interest at the close of the programs--an increase, a favorable turnover of slightly more than 8 per cent. The number interested both before and after was thus so high that the amount of turnover is insignificant statistically, although in a favorable direction.

Nine out of ten Internes expressed initial interest in world affairs and maintained the level over the summer. Of the eleven changers, seven increased their interest. Incidentally, over half the members reported they were very interested on both questionnaires. The amount of change generally in each program was insignificant, but was proportionately greatest in II.

Internes as a whole showed significant proportionate change toward increased interest in the affairs of civic organizations. One-half were interested both before and after the program, and 18 per cent changed from little or no interest to fair or great interest. This improvement occurred principally within II, however, where initial interest tended to be lower and where there was therefore room for improvement. In ICS,

61 per cent were initially concerned, 75 per cent on the posttest.

Concern with church activities should be understood in terms of the church going estimates Internes made on the first questionnaire. One-half of our summer sample reported attending church every week during the year, and another one-fourth said they attend twice or three times a month. These high levels of participation in organized religion hold among participants in each program.

On the pretest, two-thirds expressed interest in church activities. At the close of the summer, the proportion had declined to 60 per cent. Declining interest was frequent enough to be significant at the .10 level. Among the programs, this decline is accounted for totally within ICS, where the proportion losing interest in church activities is 13 per cent, significant at the .02 level. Turnover, favorable or unfavorable, is extremely slight in the other two programs. In short, pre-program interest in church activities was high in all programs and remained so except in ICS, where many lost interest.

Emotional Response to Public Affairs

In an effort to tap a deeper level of individual responsiveness to political events, we asked, "Do you ever get as worked up or aroused about something that happens in public affairs or politics as you do about something that happens in your personal life?" We would assume that yes answers indicate unusually high potential involvement in political events, irrespective of content. About 45 per cent of the Internes answered yes to this question, the highest proportion (49 per cent) among ICS, both before and after the summer.

TURNOVER IN EMOTIONAL CONCERN
ABOUT PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Before	After		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	53	26	79
No	10	26	36
Total	63	52	115 (3 N.A.)

$$\chi^2 = 7.1, p < .01$$

The interesting finding from this question is that the proportion of declining concern with public affairs was significant overall. Reduced involvement occurred principally in II and ISU; but insignificantly in ICS, although ICS turnover was also toward lowered concern with public affairs (74 per cent pre, 64 per cent posttest).

Program Influence on Educational Plans

In the post-questionnaire we asked Internes to describe in their own words what influence, if any, their participation had on their future educational plans. The question was open-ended, but the responses were so uniform we could code them only into three categories.

More than one in four Internes (27 per cent) reported some change in their plans. Among the fourth "influenced," about nine out of ten reported a determination to take more college courses in human relations, including sociology, psychology, and related social sciences. This was more a reinforcement of current interests than a fundamental revision, since so high a proportion of Internes are social science majors on entry into the programs (37 per cent specifically, plus 20 per cent in applied fields, principally education). Yet 37 per cent of the applied majors indicated educational plan changes (the highest relative effect), suggesting that many future teachers may

become more concerned with human relations than with pre-professional courses as a result of participation. At the program level, influence was most frequently cited by ICS, least by II. Other kinds of reported influences were too sparse to allow analysis.

Reported Interest in New Organizational Memberships

We asked Internes to name organizations they intended to join or would like to join, if any, after the close of the summer. We assume that new orientation toward involvement in certain groups may be taken as an indication of project influence, although we are aware that the question invites response.

The results are impressive, we think. One-half the Internes mentioned no groups, but among the choosers interests were very specific and relevant. Among II and ICS, a variety of peace movement groups were mentioned, including the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, and Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. One-fifth of the Internes in ICS and II cited such movements. The characteristic ICS choice was of one or more human relations groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and local civic associations in home towns and campus communities. The characteristic ISU choice was future membership in the Mental Hygiene Association--reflecting the effects of exposure to the national mental health problem. More than one in ten members in all projects cited political identifications with the American Civil Liberties Union, the World Federalists, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and the like.

The range of awareness of organized movements displayed in these choices is what we consider impressive. Their close fit with the content of each program indicates their sources in project experiences and contacts.

The Social Worker Problem

To test for changing awareness of community problems and means of solving them, we devised a brief case problem for the questionnaires, as follows:

Assume you have lived for six months in a county-seat community of 20,000 and you learn through informal conversation that the community has no social worker or welfare agencies other than a branch of the State Department of Public Assistance. What would be your reaction to this information?

Following this question, we asked, "If you would want to take action to get welfare services, list three steps, excluding study of the problem, you would take." The problem posed a test of awareness and quality of awareness of an ICS-related challenge. We coded the open ended responses according to whether the reaction to the lack of social workers was expressed in actionist terms, affectively only, or judgementally. Reliability was insured by double coding and check-out. We assumed that "action oriented" responses were most mature and desirable.

OVERALL RESPONSES TO THE SOCIAL
WORKER PROBLEM

Before	Action Oriented	After Program Non-Action Oriented	Total
Action Oriented	31	8	39
Non-Action Oriented	32	47	79
Total	63	55	118

$$\chi^2 = 14.1, p < .001$$

Dividing responses into action orientation versus all other, the favorable turnover toward increased actionism is

extremely significant. Overall, one-third of the Internes were actionists initially, and the proportion expanded to 53 per cent by the close of the programs.

By programs, this favorable turnover occurred in all three, but most significantly in ICS. We would conclude that project participation strengthens an action orientation toward community welfare, and does so most effectively in ICS--meaning in this respect the program content shows through consistently.

Awareness of Community Problems

To probe for Interne's awareness of social problems, we asked the question, "What would you say were the three most important problems facing your home community today?" Not every subject gave three answers of course, so the number of "no answers" was unusually high. Racial and ethnic minority group problems and shortages in educational, welfare and recreational facilities were cited most frequently overall. But while the welfare facilities category increased, concern with minorities decreased.

The most common answer, before and after, among ICS was that of educational and welfare shortages--indicating both recruitment and program content effects. ISU members cited minorities most frequently, but increased their citations of welfare problems on the after test--a probable program influence. II responses changed very little comparatively, with minorities mentioned most frequently. Growth of concern with political problems--local management, local governmental corruption--was most outstanding in II.

To get meaning out of different program influences here, we devised an ad hoc index.¹ The index measures categories of

¹We divided the categories' post-test frequency by pre-test frequency and multiplied by 100. For example, 6 ICS subjects mentioned housing shortages on the pretest, 12 on the post. The index score is thus 200. Scores of 200 or more were taken as items of greatest positive increases in awareness. All these are mentioned above.

greatest growth of problem awareness per program. Housing shortages increased as a response most significantly among ICS. In ISU, ideological criticisms--charges of materialism, greed, overemphasis on the wrong values--and community apathy showed greatest increase. In II, political problems were outstanding.

Estimated Program Influence on Job Plans

The most frequent response to career plans, made on the pretest by nearly one-third of the subjects, was uncertainty--a lack of goals which is rather endemic among liberal arts college undergraduates. Among those who reported definite occupations, 13 per cent cited teaching elementary school and 11 per cent social work. Higher level teaching positions, work in religious education and religious administration, and applied social sciences--clinical psychology, welfare administration--were the next most frequent choices. The surprising finding is the relative absence of commercial or business occupations. While these were categorized among those responses coded as unclear and "other," we know that altogether less than one in ten were interested in business!

In our alumni sample, with this older group, one-third of the 265 subjects have still not decided on an occupational goal. An additional one-fourth mentioned tentative plans, conditional on future circumstances. Ten per cent cited elementary teaching, and 20 per cent social work. Again, fewer than one in ten chose business occupations. The parallels between the 1958 Summer Internes and the alumni, many of whom are already well on the way toward permanent career identifications, are extremely close. For the alumni, we included the code category of politics and defined it very broadly. Yet no alumnus reported an interest in a political career, local, state, national or international, elective or appointive.

What are the effects of project participation on these job goals and uncertainties? We asked a post-test open end

question to invite self-reports on the influence of the project on career plans. Nearly one-third stated that the summer had had no influence on their plans. Another third reported participation had strengthened their interest in a career of social service, although this effect occurred only among ICS and ISU. This response was variously expressed as, "I want now to find work helping people in need," and, "I am more interested than ever in a job where I can work with and serve people."

While an additional one-fifth mentioned other positive influences, these were too individual and variegated to allow special coding. Most of them however had to do with reinforcement of earlier held objectives and a sharpened awareness of the workaday world. Reported negative influences were extremely negligible (1.7 per cent). Seven per cent, evenly distributed among the programs (all girls), reported the influence of specific interest in marrying, some times to an individual met in the project group during the summer. Incidentally, one-half of the alumni sampled reported their experiences had had no influence on their career plans.

Influences on Personal Self-Valuation

To probe whether or not participation affected members at relatively deeper levels of self, we borrowed some questions used by social psychologists concerned with assessing what they call the concept of "stimulus value of the self." The notion is that any individual, on entering a new group, brings with him a set of generalized private estimates of his social worth, the estimates having been developed out of repeated testing in earlier social settings.

Because these self-value estimates are essentially private and often only half conscious, we included a no response category shown on the questionnaires as a ? check box. The results are provocative enough to be presented in the text of this chapter, as follows (for specific questions, see Appendix I):

RESPONSES OF 118 SUMMER INTERNES

	Per Cent			
	Yes - Pre	Yes - Post	No - Pre	No - Post
1) General Index of Group Acceptance	84.7 (100)	83.9 (99)	11.9 (14)	8.5 (10)
2) General Index of Popularity	18.6 (22)	11.8 (14)	45.7 (54)	55.9 (66)
3) General Index of Task Leadership	37.3 (44)	27.1 (32)	20.3 (24)	28.8 (34)
Totals	46.8 (166)	40.9 (145)	25.9 (92)	31.1 (110)

Does program participation influence self-value estimates? The above table excludes these persons checking ?, as their responses are not interpretable. The effect of the program appears to reduce initial stimulus values members assign to themselves. The variation may be due to nothing more than measurement error, but the trends reflected are highly consistent. Only one set of cells reflects no turnover, and that is the proportion reporting self-estimated group acceptance. All other cells reflect turnover in the direction of reduced self-valuation.¹

Most Internes do not expect to be one of the most popular members of groups to which they belong, and the proportion increases with project participation. About 37 per cent feel they are considered by others as one who often initiates ideas or solves group problems (task leadership), but by the close of the programs, only 27 per cent feel this to be true of themselves. And the proportion who definitely believe they are not task

¹One independent test of validity comes from the alumni sample. We asked these questions of alumni and asked them to check the items for two time periods--self-value during project participation and self-value at the present time. Both the proportions themselves and the turnover among alumni tend to validate the above trends. The unsolved difficulty here is reliability, however.

leaders increases by 8 per cent, indicating that some uncertainty about personal resources has been stimulated.

A Concluding Note

The implications of these findings will become clearer in the later chapter of interpretations. As a way of double-checking the import of our attitude scale findings, we made the computations concerning variances shown in Tables 19 and 20. Project group members did indeed make attitude changes of a kind that cannot be ascribed to the operation of measurement error and chance influences alone. The very high proportion of significant changes in variance from pre to post tests reflects the fact that changes occurred in response to very systematic influences as well. The changes in variance are so large that no reasonable investigator would claim they were due to chance. In some instances, project group members became significantly more alike in their attitudes. Here, we would say that the group incorporated a norm of attitude change as it developed and members adopted the norm as their own. Where variances were reduced significantly, that is, Internes had adopted their group as a standard of reference.

In other instances, the amount of variance increased significantly. Here we would say project group associations created standards against which members tended to differentiate themselves. Attitudes toward Nonviolence amplify both processes. Groups Two, Three, Four, and Ten become significantly more homogeneous in member attitudes on this scale. While groups Eight and Nine became slightly less violent--improved--their members increased very significantly their range of responses; they became less alike as a result of coming to know one another closely.¹

¹The Pearsonian correlations (r) shown on certain of the Tables may be used in a similar fashion to interpret change processes, as we shall show in a later section.

TABLE 8
LEVELS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN PRE AND POSTTESTS*

Group	F	N-V	E	PEC	Scale**		CL	Dem	US	RR
					A/A	T				
1	.17	.05	.05	.07	.25	---	.37	.42	.03	.25
2	.03	.05	---	.36	.24	.06	---	.40	.03	.43
3	.33	.03 ¹	.30	---	---	---	.20	---	.12	.30
4	.01	.05	.34	.07 ¹	.38	.06	.30	.38	.40	.15
5	.16	---	.13	.16	---	---	.07	.46	.02	.03
6	.08	.08	.03	.38	.25	.11	.20	.40	.19	.05
7	.04	---	---	.08	---	---	.40	---	.08	.33
8	.15	.20	.18	---	---	---	---	.06	---	---
9	.22	.17	.25	.06	.30	---	.06 ¹	.34	.14	.15
10	.03	.09 ¹	.01	---	.37	---	---	---	.10	.29
Foreign	.12	.10	.13	.34	.12	.30	.26	.40	.20	---
ICS	.01	.02	.13	.49	.30	.07	.12	.44	.02	.09
II	.04	.11	.02	.18	.28	.11	.03	.33	.01	.07
ISU	.01	.26	.03	.19	.19	---	.07 ¹	.23	.07	.46

* One tailed test, p values shown. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test used---Cells are those where sum = 0 or where direction was unfavorable but insignificant.

** Abbreviations clarified in text of chapter and succeeding tables.

¹ These are the only differences in unfavorable direction that obtained $p \leq .10$.

TABLE 9

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON AUTHORITARIANISM (F) SCALE

Group	N	Pretest Mean	Posttest Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2	r
ICS						
1	12	40.20	37.20	11.17	9.79	.61
2*	10	39.30	35.10	8.64	11.42	.85
3	10	39.80	39.40	6.99	8.85	.81
4*	17	43.47	38.82	8.97	10.86	.80
II						
5	9	36.88	34.11	9.91	7.27	.44
6*	15	45.26	42.60	11.59	13.14	.90
ISU						
7*	4	44.00	37.75	7.35	7.50	.86
8	7	37.71	33.86	6.02	4.41	-.01
9	14	40.21	38.64	10.53	10.85	.77
10*	10	37.80	33.90	5.49	7.14	.53
Foreign	10	48.00	46.10	14.98	14.22	.93
Total	118	41.39	38.37	8.57	8.31	
ICS*	49	41.06	37.82	8.37	7.50	
II*	24	42.12	39.42	8.89	8.28	
ISU*	35	39.46	36.23	7.23	8.09	
ICS Alum	100	35.67		8.72		
II Alum	165	36.45		7.57		
Riecken's Ss		41.39	39.28			
Hyman Ss (Median)		45.00	41.00			

Theoretical Range: 11 (least) to 77 (most auth.).

* Mean difference significant at $p \leq .10$ (see Table 8).

TABLE 10

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON NONVIOLENCE SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2	r
ICS						
1*	12	21.67	19.00	8.09	8.78	.78
2*	10	21.70	19.10	8.65	7.74	.78
3*	10	20.60	23.30	8.77	6.65	.91
4*	17	20.71	18.12	8.27	7.39	.82
II						
5	9	21.78	21.55	7.69	9.58	.64
6*	15	23.40	19.40	8.35	9.01	.36
ISU						
7	4	16.50	14.75	8.27	8.38	.97
8	7	28.00	26.57	4.40	7.85	.68
9	14	19.64	18.71	8.02	8.61	.91
10*	10	18.60	19.90	9.63	7.39	.76
Foreign*	10	22.00	20.10	9.29	9.64	.85
Total	118	21.40	19.93	8.28	8.10	
ICS*	49	21.12	19.59	8.46	7.36	
II	24	22.79	20.21	8.53	8.41	
ISU	35	20.66	20.17	7.55	8.39	
ICS Alum	100	20.93		4.63		
II Alum	165	21.82		3.82		

*Mean difference significant at $p < .10$ (see Table 8).
 Groups 3 and 10 show significant negative change.
 Theoretical Range: 7 (most) to 49 (least nonviolent).

TABLE 11

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON POLITICAL ESCAPISM (E) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2	r
ICS						
1*	12	15.08	13.00	3.99	3.80	.45
2	10	14.00	13.20	5.19	4.16	.59
3	10	14.50	13.60	4.09	4.99	.45
4	17	12.88	12.53	4.27	4.82	.70
II						
5	9	13.56	11.67	7.42	4.85	.70
6*	15	13.87	12.07	4.99	5.51	.72
ISU						
7	4	11.25	11.50	3.09	3.70	.95
8	7	14.57	12.00	3.99	3.05	-.10
9	14	13.43	12.07	3.52	4.12	.19
10*	10	12.80	11.30	1.38	2.00	.54
Foreign	10	14.40	12.40	4.77	4.20	.24
Total	118	13.75	12.36	5.07	4.22	
ICS	49	13.98	13.00	4.63	4.62	
II*	24	13.75	11.92	6.92	4.67	
ISU*	35	13.23	11.77	3.23	3.37	
ICS Alum	100	12.66		4.59		
II Alum	165	13.32		5.18		

*Mean difference significant at $p \leq .10$ (see Table 8).
 Theoretical Range: 6 (least) to 42 (most Escapist).

TABLE 12

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON POLITICAL-ECONOMIC
CONSERVATISM (PEC) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2
ICS					
1*	12	36.58	35.08	7.67	9.52
2	10	40.00	38.70	7.47	3.90
3	10	36.40	37.20	4.55	7.47
4*	17	37.29	39.12	6.42	6.42
II					
5	9	38.22	36.33	5.39	5.73
6	15	37.67	36.93	5.18	9.50
ISU					
7*	4	39.50	35.75	16.52	13.12
8	7	39.29	40.57	8.14	7.03
9*	14	37.86	37.00	5.29	6.17
10	10	37.00	37.20	5.52	4.87
Foreign	10	35.90	35.00	8.77	12.02
Total	118	37.61	37.23	6.89	7.69
ICS	49	37.49	37.65	6.53	6.83
II	24	37.87	36.71	5.28	7.61
ISU	35	38.09	37.63	8.87	7.80
Niecken Ss	158, 128	31.18	29.75	9.05	9.47

*Mean difference significant at $p \leq .10$. Group 4 shows negative change.

Theoretical Range: 10 to 70 (most Conservative).

TABLE 13

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON ACTION/APATHY (A/A) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2
ICS					
1	12	1.67	1.42	1.84	1.84
2	10	1.80	1.40	1.30	1.30
3	10	1.10	1.40	.97	1.30
4	17	1.41	1.29	1.12	1.67
II					
5	9	1.11	1.11	1.35	1.35
6	15	1.20	.93	1.15	1.15
ISU					
7	4	1.00	0	1.94	0
8	7	1.71	1.71	2.22	1.48
9	14	1.00	.86	.59	.59
10	10	.80	.60	1.30	.65
Foreign	10	2.40	1.60	1.95	1.30
Total	118	1.38	1.16	1.50	1.19
ICS	49	1.49	1.37	1.31	1.53
II	24	1.17	1.00	1.25	1.25
ISU	35	1.09	.86	1.51	.68
ICS Alum	100	1.04		1.29	
II Alum	165	1.22		1.56	
Hyman Ss		1.90			

Theoretical Range: 0 (Actionism) to 6 (Apathy).

TABLE 14

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON TOLERANCE (T) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2
ICS					
1	12	14.58	14.50	1.53	1.53
2*	10	14.60	15.00	.65	0
3	10	13.70	13.00	1.62	1.62
4*	17	13.59	14.53	2.51	1.39
II					
5	9	15.00	15.00	0	0
6	15	14.00	14.27	2.02	1.44
ISU					
7	4	12.75	14.25	3.40	.49
8	7	15.00	14.43	0	1.48
9	14	14.21	13.71	1.47	4.41
10	10	14.90	14.90	.32	.32
Foreign	10	13.60	14.30	3.57	1.30
Total	118	14.19	14.34	1.86	1.20
ICS*	49	14.06	14.31	1.58	1.13
II	24	14.37	14.54	1.01	.72
ISU	35	14.40	14.26	1.30	1.67
ICS Alum	100	14.89		.06	
II Alum	165	14.58		1.41	

*Mean difference significant at $p < .10$.
 Theoretical Range: 0 (least) to 15 (most Tolerant).

TABLE 15

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON CIVIL LIBERTIES (CL) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2
ICS					
1	12	1.60	1.42	1.84	1.23
2	10	2.00	1.70	1.30	1.30
3	10	2.70	2.20	2.60	1.30
4	17	1.88	1.76	1.72	1.15
II					
5	9	3.11	1.77	1.35	1.35
6	15	2.66	2.00	1.72	1.15
ISU					
7	4	4.50	4.00	1.94	2.92
8	7	.86	1.71	.74	1.48
9	14	1.29	2.14	.59	1.76
10	10	1.40	1.60	1.30	.65
Foreign	10	2.20	3.00	1.95	2.60
Total	118	2.35	2.00	1.55	1.53
ICS	49	2.02	1.76	1.87	1.25
II	24	2.83	1.92	1.89	1.25
ISU	35	1.60	2.11	1.14	1.70
ICS Alum	100	1.57		1.91	
II Alum	165	1.55		1.67	
Hyman Ss	(Median)	2.4	1.8		

Theoretical Range: 0 (most) to 10 (least Libertarian)

TABLE 16

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON DEMOCRACY (DEM) SCALE

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2
ICS					
1	12	49.50	46.50	8.90	10.44
2	10	45.00	44.00	12.67	11.37
3	10	44.20	47.80	12.02	12.35
4	17	52.53	51.65	13.11	9.21
II					
5	9	51.56	50.00	15.50	8.42
6	15	51.47	49.53	11.81	13.82
ISU					
7	4	46.00	47.75	10.69	6.32
8	7	50.29	44.86	6.29	12.95
9	14	42.93	42.36	10.00	7.94
10	10	45.90	47.10	10.07	11.37
Foreign	10	58.70	57.60	16.90	17.22
Total	118	49.14	48.24	12.87	12.20
ICS	49	48.55	48.04	11.67	10.84
II	24	51.50	49.71	13.65	11.12
ISU	35	45.60	44.83	9.26	9.64
ICS Alum	100	47.45		11.12	
II Alum	165	47.58		12.19	
Riecken Ss	158, 128	50.97	46.37	13.17	12.78
Hyman Ss	(Median)58.		56.		

Theoretical Range: 15 (most) to 105 (least Democratic).

TABLE 17

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON URBAN SAVVY (U.S.) INDEX

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2	r
ICS						
1*	12	8.17	9.83	5.37	4.18	.92
2*	10	7.00	8.00	4.62	4.06	.08
3	10	8.80	10.10	4.10	5.82	.64
4	17	10.59	10.88	4.60	5.02	.81
II						
5*	9	6.33	9.56	5.24	6.35	.79
6*	15	9.53	8.53	4.44	5.41	.73
ISU						
7*	4	5.50	9.25	4.04	1.89	.20
8	7	7.71	6.86	5.02	5.84	.67
9	14	6.71	8.07	4.29	4.60	.51
10*	10	8.80	10.40	5.87	5.76	.82
Foreign	10	7.30	8.80	2.16	4.78	.22
Total	118	8.19	9.22	4.01	4.90	
ICS*	49	8.90	9.88	4.63	4.91	
II*	24	8.33	8.92	4.64	5.89	
ISU*	35	7.37	8.63	4.84	4.24	
ICS Alum	100	10.81		4.99		
II Alum	165	9.98		4.98		

*Mean difference significant at $p \leq .10$ (see Table 8).
 Theoretical Range: 0 (least) to 23 (most Savvy).

TABLE 18

PRE AND POST TEST SCORES ON RACE RELATIONS (RR) SAVVY INDEX

Group	N	Pre Mean	Post Mean	S.D.1	S.D.2	r
ICS						
1	12	22.08	23.17	4.44	5.02	.30
2	10	24.30	24.50	3.92	3.14	.81
3	10	24.10	24.60	4.98	4.74	.86
4	17	24.12	25.47	3.81	4.33	.21
II						
5*	9	21.22	22.89	4.74	4.31	.47
6*	15	25.26	26.53	4.70	4.32	.81
ISU						
7	4	24.25	24.75	6.02	4.79	.90
8	7	23.57	23.00	8.62	7.42	.98
9	14	24.14	25.86	5.71	3.21	.43
10	10	21.50	21.50	3.74	2.49	.50
Foreign	10	24.80	24.40	3.36	3.89	.45
Total	118	23.96	24.76	4.85	4.09	
ICS*	49	23.65	24.53	4.42	4.46	
II*	24	24.28	24.91	6.64	4.82	
ISU	35	23.75	25.16	5.17	4.03	
ICS Alum	100	24.35		3.65		
II Alum	165	24.99		4.66		

* Mean difference significant at $p \leq .10$ (see Table 8).
 Theoretical Range: 5 (least) to 35 (most Savvy).

TABLE 19

P VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VARIANCES,
PRE AND POST TEST* ON SELECTED SCALES

Group	N	F Scale		NV		Urb Savvy	
		t	p	t	p	t	p
1	12	-1.66	< .10	1.29		6.72	< .005
2	10	1.50	< .10	-1.59	< .10	-1.06	
3	10	3.54	< .01	-6.10	< .005	4.21	< .005
4	17	3.95	< .005	-2.44	< .025	1.82	< .05
5	9	-2.93	< .025	2.43	.025	2.67	< .025
6	15	3.37	< .005	.94		3.26	< .005
7	4	.18		.08		-3.79	< .10
8	7	-.71		5.96	< .005	1.48	
9	14	.52		1.92	< .05	.90	
10	10	2.48	< .025	-3.61	< .005	-.29	
Foreign	10	-1.24		.63		8.03	< .005

$$*t = \frac{(S_2^2 - S_1^2) \sqrt{N-2}}{2 S_1 S_2 \sqrt{1 - r_{12}^2}}, \text{ with } N-2 \text{ dif.}$$

Cf. H.M. Walker & J. Lev, Statistical Inference
(New York: Henry Holt, 1953), p. 190.

All blank p values > .10
Minus t values = Reduced Variance over time.
(Two tailed test).

TABLE 20

P VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRE AND POST TEST
VARIANCES ON TWO SCALES*

Group	Race Savvy		Scale	
	t	p	t	p
1	1.30		-.50	
2	-3.33	< .01	-2.52	< .025
3	-.86		2.03	< .05
4	1.62	< .10	2.05	< .05
5	-.88		-5.03	< .005
6	-1.57	< .10	1.60	< .10
7	-2.51		.81	
8	-1.88	< .10	-.62	
9	-7.26	< .005	1.76	< .10
10	-4.38	< .005	4.03	< .005
Foreign	1.50	< .10	2.33	< .05

*See footnotes, Table 19 for clarification.

CHAPTER V

MOTIVATION AND MORALE

Before we turn to an explanation of program effects we want to know what Internes themselves had to say about what they wanted and got from their participation. We want to know how they rate various aspects of the program, the work, and project group life. Self-reports about motives and ratings of performance quality are highly subjective means of evaluation. What individuals report to be their motivations are seldom comprehensive or reliable reflections of their private goals. Nor is there any easy connection between what individuals report that they get out of an experience and what they reveal behaviorally (and attitudinally).

Yet these differences between self-reported estimates and estimates made by an observer from objective instruments need not obscure the meaning and worth of self-reports. There is an intrinsic worth about self-estimates. They reflect the ways, in this instance, in which Internes choose to define their public goals and their experiences. These should "tally" with objective assessments. Each should ramify the import of the other, or if they differ, topics for special evaluation should be uncovered. In this chapter, then, we will present information on how Internes defined their program goals and assessed the quality of their experiences.

Motives for Participation

On our summer pre-program questionnaire we asked, "Why did you want the experience of serving in this project?" In collating the open ended responses, we noted four basic kinds of

answers: Exposure to the workaday world, autonomy from home and campus, group affiliation, career training, and human service. Unfortunately, we were unable to distinguish between answers containing motives toward exposure and motives toward autonomy. Apparently, these are aspects of the same acquired drive, namely to spend a summer away from family, campus and home town engaged in activities that might prove new, challenging and even problematic. This "quest" for new experience involves both avoidance of old primary associations and the search for stimulating new surroundings.

Under group affiliation we included all expressions of desire to join a cooperative living group, to make personal friends within a project group, and the like. Service refers to motivation to contribute to the welfare of other persons, specifically outside the project group. And career responses include all answers reflecting a fit between project content and occupational goals; ICS Internes often commented on a desire to test their interest in a social service career, ISU participants reflected interest in counselling and clinical psychology under this category, and II Internes occasionally mentioned jobs in labor relations and industry.¹

Regardless of program differences, the most commonly shared motive is Exposure-Autonomy. In nine of the ten groups, between one-half and all of the members report this motivation. The deviant case is ISU group Eight, which reports a much higher proportion of Career motivation than all other groups and which deviates in other ways from general group trends.

Little uniformity obtains between groups within any single program. One may infer that participants bring a diversity of

¹To achieve comparisons, it was necessary to percentage the responses, but this has limited value in the case where a group has only four members, as in ISU Seven. This problem will "bother" our analysis repeatedly henceforth. The reader is encouraged to consider the underlying absolute numbers to correct for this deficiency.

TABLE 21

PROPORTIONS OF MOTIVES EXPRESSED FOR PARTICIPATING

%

Project	Motive					N
	Exposure- Autonomy	Group Affiliation	Service	Career	Other	
ICS						
1	56	12	19	56	6	16
2	60	40	90	40	0	10
3	80	80	70	20	30	10
4	59	41	53	35	18	17
Total	62	53	53	40	13	53
ISU						
7	100	75	100	0	0	4
8	29	43	43	71	29	7
9	79	71	57	50	43	14
X	60	100	10	20	40	10
Total	66	74	46	40	34	35
II						
5	83	58	17	33	8	12
6	89	39	6	17	28	18
Total	87	47	10	23	20	30

expectations with them on entering a project and that in spite of advance orientation from AFSC by way of recruitment and correspondence, individual variability is considerable.

There is evidence for some degree of fit between content of the program and individual motivation to participate, however (see Table 21). If we compare total proportions, for example, II Internes are much more uniformly motivated by Exposure-Autonomy goals than are ICS or ISU members. ISU members are somewhat more uniformly motivated by Group Affiliation interests. Service goals characterize ICS and ISU much more uniformly than II, although within program variation is high in all three programs on service motivation. Similarly, career goals are very infrequent within II. ISU has a meaningfully higher proportion of additional unclassified individual incentives than either of the other programs.

TABLE 22
PROPORTIONS OF MOTIVE TYPES BY PROGRAM
%

Program	Exposure-Autonomy + Group	Career Plus	Service Plus	Total
ICS	17	40	43	100
ISU	31	40	29	100
II	70	23	7	100
Total	35	36	30	100

Respondent motives neither scale nor cluster in any neat fashion. There is in other words a great variety of overlap of kinds of motives for any individual participant. We found, however, that we could cluster motives in a gross sense, if we separated persons who reported only Exposure-Autonomy and Group Affiliation motives, persons who reported Career motivation as

well as any other incentive, and those who reported Service as well as any other incentive. This enables one to see meaningful underlying program differences. Exposure-Autonomy is the distinctive motivation impelling participation in II. Service is the comparatively distinctive motivation stimulating membership in ICS.

In spite of great range and diversity of expectations, there is some degree of rational "fit" between program and participant in this respect. ICS by design offers opportunities for both pre-professional career experience and for social service. ISU, located principally in mental hospitals, offers very similar opportunities, but the difference between campus or home settings and hospital contacts seems at first more dramatic than in the case of community group work, thus heightening the anticipation of exposure.

II is clearly least like the other programs in content and in the motives its Internes bring with them as partial functions of this content. Blue collar industrial jobs are potentially vehicles for high Exposure and Autonomy. For some industry-oriented participants, such jobs may have special value, but this is a fairly special case and such motives are infrequent. Certainly II is far less of a setting for direct social service.

Project directors like to discuss their belief in a close fit between the motives an Interne brings to a project and his personal growth and contribution to the project. There appears to exist a kind of clinical conviction that individual motives differ greatly in kind and intensity. When a project group does not seem to be going well in the judgement of a director, this interpretation is frequently invoked.

Our evidence is not firmly convincing, but we would suggest two challenges to this perspective. First, our attitude scale findings reported in the previous chapter may be taken to indicate that the great majority of young adults who enter

domestic programs are extraordinarily well motivated. Their individual attitudes on entry already reflect closely the values and beliefs implicit in the programs. Their expressed purposes show an interest in reinforcing these orientations through participation. This interpretation is rather uniformly supported by our qualitative interviews. Three out of four recruits are well informed about the nature of the programs and highly articulate concerning their personal reasons for joining. We consider this an extraordinary situation in the sense that very few organizations engaged in successive recruitment of members enjoy such close fit between program objectives and the goals of recruits.

The second challenge is that there is no correlation ($R_s, -.04$) between the proportion of reportedly "dedicated" members in a group and the relative amount of attitude change common to the group. By dedicated we mean members who report career and service goals. The argument that dedicated recruits know best what they want from project life and work and will thus tend to find what they want, is challenged by this lack of relationship, we believe.

As sociologists we would suggest that little emphasis need be placed on the motives that young adults appear to bring to participation in projects. Acceptable applicants willing to participate will by definition be well motivated group members in a high proportion of instances, and motivations most relevant to individual and group growth will tend to develop during rather than prior to the summer. They will be individual expressions of group standards. The standards of course may favor or work to prevent growth. This reasoning does not extend to the rare case of the young adult stymied by personal stresses.

Ratings by Program (Summer 1958)

We asked our Internes on the post-project questionnaire to rate a variety of features of their experience. These were

categorized into program, work, and group life features, and we obtained five or more ratings on each feature. On the checklists, Internes were asked to rate the quality of listed features, for example, provision of food and shelter in the program, as excellent, good, average, or poor. Tables 23, 24, and 25 present the ratings as given, omitting, however, the good and average ratings to increase our ability to assess differences.

Look first at the pattern of ratings of program elements in Table 23. Generally, ISU members tend to rate their program as Excellent much more frequently than either of the other groups. ICS Internes exceed ISU in rating counselling and guidance services most favorably, and II exceeds only on provision of individual privacy.

But a more detailed inspection, using 20 per cent frequency of Excellent ratings, will tell us something more realistic. Although the general pattern persists, all three programs show broad satisfaction with provision of food and shelter and with recreation. ISU is however markedly better rated on orientation, cooperative living, educational exchange, and quality of group leadership.

Using 20 per cent frequency of Poor ratings, ISU features reflect no substantial dislikes. ICS reflects broad dissatisfaction with privacy and meditation elements. And II reports dissatisfaction with privacy, group leadership, meditation and counselling. Thus, whether taken favorably or negatively, the ISU program is singularly best received and least disliked among the three. II is least favored and most disliked on elements of program content.

Table 24 presents ratings of job features by type of program. The general trend is the same. ISU is most highly rated on most of the items, but less consistently than on program elements. Here, ICS parallels ISU very closely on four of the seven items: both programs show broadly favorable job ratings

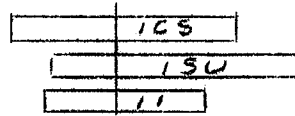
TABLE 23

PROGRAM RATINGS BY PROGRAM

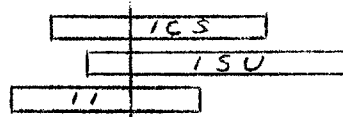
Per cent of participants who rate program:

60% 40% 20% 0 20% 40% 60%
 POOR EXCELLENT

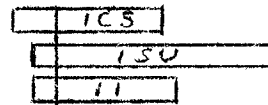
Orientation:



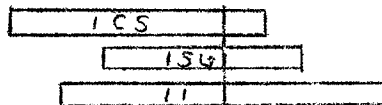
Cooperative living:



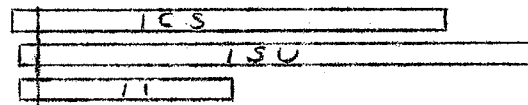
Educational exchange:



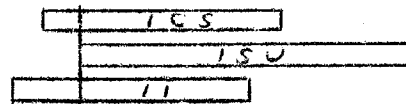
Provision of individual privacy:



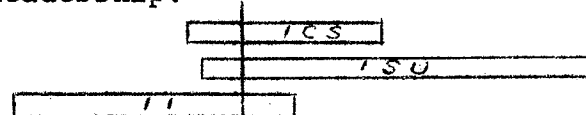
Provision of food and shelter:



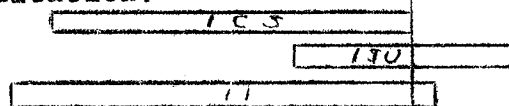
Recreational program:



Quality of group leadership:



Group meditation:



Counselling and guidance:

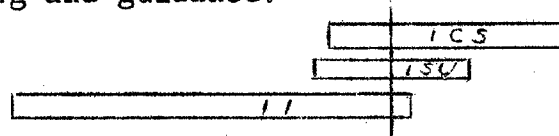


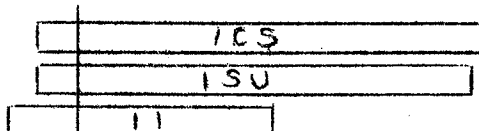
TABLE 24

JOB RATINGS BY PROGRAM

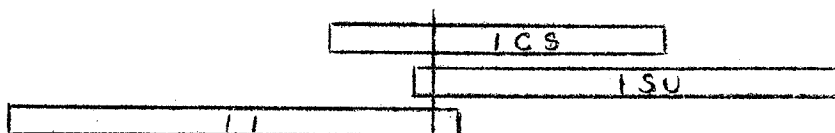
Per cent of participants who rate job:

60% 40% POOR 20% 0 20% 40% EXCELLENT 60% 80%

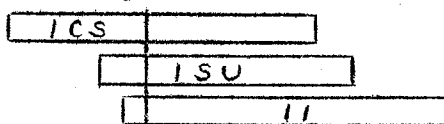
As an eye-opener into realities of America:



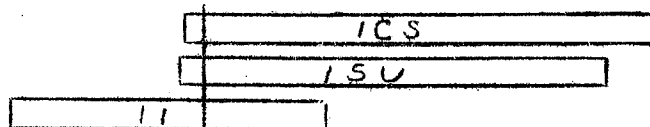
As a dedicated venture into social service:



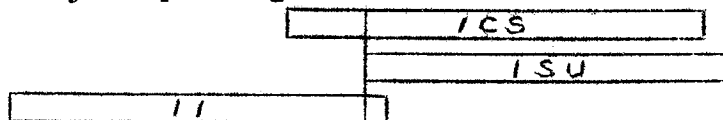
As a source of knowledge about the world of work:



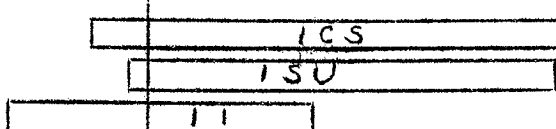
As a testing-ground for personal capabilities:



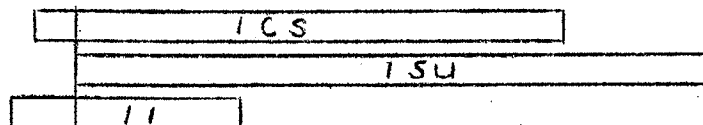
As a way of putting beliefs into action:



As a series of satisfying personal experiences:



As training in human relations and human problem solving:



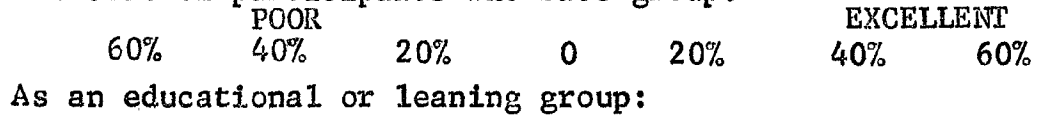
POOR

EXCELLENT

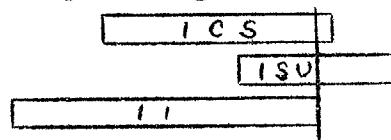
TABLE 25

GROUP RATINGS BY PROGRAM

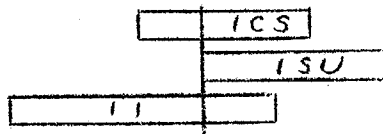
Per cent of participants who rate group:



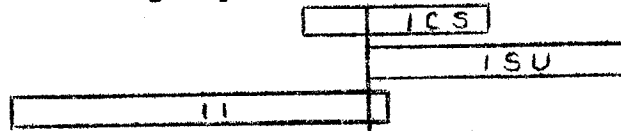
As a means for expressing Quaker beliefs and social philosophy:



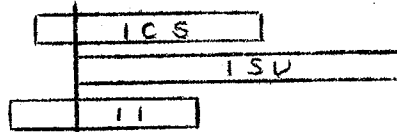
As a source of lasting friends:



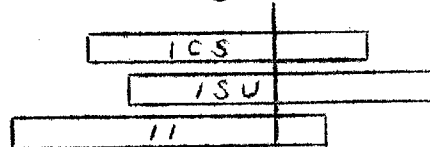
As a human service group:



As a source of relaxation and fun:



As a group thru which one might resolve some personal problems:



0

POOR

EXCELLENT

on eye-opener into realities; personal testing ground; beliefs into action; and personal satisfaction. Rather crucially, however, ISU significantly exceeds ICS in rating service and training in human relations as Excellent features of the work experience. Only II reflects any critical general dissatisfactions or Poor ratings, and these on social service, personal testing, beliefs into action, and personal satisfaction.

Table 25, we think, gives ratings which most closely reflect levels of performance by program. Program elements such as provision of privacy and shelter, for example, exist somewhat independent of the participant, as do job assignments, while friendships and service opportunities are elements of project group life that are created largely through participation. This table reveals most emphatically the overall rating superiority of ISU. Percentage differences between ISU and ICS are significant statistically at the .05 level on all features of group life save the last one on the chart, which refers to the group's therapeutic potentialities. And on this feature, ISU also exceeds ICS.

ICS Ratings are generally unstable. Poor ratings are extensive on group as means for expressing beliefs, and on therapeutic potentiality, while Excellent ratings are extensive on fun and education. II group ratings are generally stable at Poor, except on fun and education.

Import of the Program Ratings

According to the private ratings of participants, all three programs were very broadly Excellent on the following features:¹

- 1) Provision of food and shelter
- 2) Recreational program

¹Ratings of Good were distributed very much like ratings of Excellent. Ratings of Average we defined as without referential meaning.

- 3) Jobs experienced as "eye-opening"
- 4) Jobs as training in human relations
- 5) Project life as a learning situation
- 6) Project life as a source of fun

By the same measures, all three programs were broadly Poor on the following:

- 1) In providing privacy for the individual¹
- 2) Group meditation
- 3) As a means for expressing Quaker beliefs
- 4) Group life as a vehicle for personal adjustment (therapeutic potential)

ICS is distinguished by ratings in the following ways: Its Internes were most generally pleased with counselling services in the program; they found their work most generally "eye-opening," the best rated testing ground for personal capabilities; and the most satisfying personally. Negatively, ICS Internes felt least well oriented; felt the lack of privacy most keenly, and paralleled II for most extensive Poor ratings on therapeutic group experience and quality of meditation program.²

The general import of the ratings is that ISU is clearly very well received by its participants and II clearly not as well received, while ICS hovers between these extremes. The specific item ratings may be interpreted in too many different

¹Riecken found that work camping is "psychically exhausting. For at the end of summer there is a clear and significant increase in a need Murray terms 'passivity' . . . the subjects are fatigued . . . and are expressing . . . a strong desire to withdraw from the camp situation to less demanding environments where they will be more comfortable and will not have to expend so much energy in striving. . . . They have found the business of living and working in a highly motivated, intensely solidary, self-governing group an exhausting experience." *Op. cit.*, pp. 114-15. We think low ratings on privacy provisions irrespective of program may well be a reflection of the same need disposition among our subjects.

²That the raters who considered counselling and guidance in the program to be excellent are also among those who rated the project groups as poor vehicles for personal adjustment expresses the unreliable nature of ratings generally.

ways to be convincing in any one. Yet, taken relative to one another, they become vital indicators of relative group satisfaction.

TABLE 26

MEAN SCORES ON RATING SCALES* BY PROJECT GROUP

Group Number	Mean Job Rating (7 Items) (Range: 0 - 28)	Mean Group Rating (6 Items) (Range: 0 - 24)	Mean Program Rating (9 Items) (Range: 0 - 36)
ICS	12.9	14.6	20.4
1	16.6	16.4	24.0
2	11.3	15.6	23.0
3	9.7	13.9	18.3
4	12.2	12.9	16.8
II	16.9	16.6	23.5
5	18.2	16.3	23.4
6	16.0	16.8	23.5
ISU	11.3	11.8	18.3
7	10.7	10.0	16.0
8	10.3	14.71	20.4
9	10.2	9.64	16.4
10	13.7	13.5	20.4
Grand Means	11.3	11.8	18.3

*Lower the score, higher the rating given.

Relationship of Ratings to Attitude Change

Table 26 summarizes the mean scores on each type of rating scale. Table 27 shows the high concordance between kinds of ratings. A group whose members rate their jobs highly is very predictably a group whose members also rate their group and the program highly, and vice versa. This means we may average the groups' ranks on the ratings to build a composite Average Rating Rank, as shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27

GROUP RANK ORDERS, FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST RATINGS

Group Number	(AV) Av. Ratings	(J) Job Scale	(G) Group Scale	(P) Program	Amt. Attitude Change
1	10	9	9	10	2
2	7	5	7	7	7
3	3	1	5	4	8
4	4	6	3	3	6
5	8	10	8	8	1
6	9	8	10	9	5
7	2	4	2	1	3
8	5	3	6	5.5	9
9	1	2	1	2	4
10	6	7	4	5.5	10

Association of J, G, P = W = .85, $\chi^2 = 22.8 < .01$

Rs

AV and Change: -.20

J and Change: -.41

G and Change: -.29

P and Change: -.28

There is every reason to expect that a group whose members rate most aspects of their jobs, their interpersonal relations, and their program highly should also prove most responsive to project influences. We had expected that high morale would correlate significantly with high relative attitude change. As the ranking chart shows, there is an insignificant negative correlation between amount of change and morale. In other words, Groups Nine and Ten changed very little in attitude scores, yet they reported very high morale.

The full analysis of this negative relationship we shall reserve for chapter vii, our account of project processes. The

finding needs emphasis at this point, however. Morale, or individual satisfaction with all aspects of the summer experience, is not a function of relative changes in attitudes--or social maturation. Nor does a "happy group" necessarily produce incentives for change or growth. We need now to explore what morale does in fact associate with.

Motives and Morale

We spoke of Internes who at the start of the summer reported motivation to gain career experience and to serve people as dedicated. We may think of these dedicated members as having more specific goals and therefore as knowing more precisely what they want from their projects.

A group's relative proportion of dedication, we noted, was unrelated to its social or political growth during the summer. It is significantly related to the group's morale, however! The more highly dedicated a group initially, the higher is its morale at the close of the summer.¹ The relationship of dedication to Job Ratings is particularly significant ($R_s .70$, p less than .05), meaning that a group whose members are concerned with career and service objectives tends to rate its job experiences highly. In a way this constitutes a principle in "Boy Scout" (or naive) psychology. Groups whose members are ready to invest most in their work report that they got most out of their work experiences over the summer. This is naive in that actual growth, or objective measures thereof, does not support this connection.

Morale and Friendships

We need to press further toward an understanding of

¹Rank by proportion of dedication and rating scale ranks show a concordance of W equal to .76, p less than .01. The Average Rating correlates $R_s .52$ with rank by dedication; the Group Rating $R_s .41$; and the Program $R_s .50$.

project group morale. To do so, we want to disclose variables with which it is significantly associated. We have seen that morale is not correlated with attitude change, but is highly correlated with the extent to which a group contains service and career oriented members.

Project groups differ in the number of members who come to each group together with college and home town friends. In ICS summer projects, one in five Internes had friends who applied when they did, compared to one in two Internes in both II and ISU.

Lack of friendship attachments does not affect differences in ratings on morale factors. ISU and II have equal proportions of members who began the summer with friendship attachments, yet ISU members rate their projects far more favorably than do II. But if we compare groups, an important correlation emerges. Each of the three morale scales correlates highly and positively with the proportion of prior friendships in each group. For example, if we rank groups from the one with the lowest proportion of unattached members to the one with highest, the ranking correlates significantly (R_s , .56, p less than .05) with ranking on the job morale scale. In other words, the more acquainted a group's members are before they enter the project, the greater is the group's satisfaction with the experience, particularly with the work experience.

Motivation incidentally is unrelated to this factor of friendship, yet both are significantly associated with morale. Thus high morale is in part a function of the "right" combination of motives in some group members with longstanding friendship ties among other members. This obtains specifically for ISU groups Seven, Eight and Nine, the high morale groups, and for II groups Five and Six, the low morale groups.

Morale and Parental Attitudes toward Projects

In chapters ii and iii we considered some features of

parental opposition. We explained there how we asked Internes whether they thought their fathers and mothers favored, were neutral toward, or opposed their entry into projects. Half our summer subjects said their fathers and mothers favored their entering. About one in ten fathers and two in ten mothers were reportedly opposed.

Proportionately, parental opposition was greatest among II Internes and lowest in ISU. Combined father-mother opposition equalled 20 per cent in ISU, 28 per cent in ICS, and 40 per cent in II.

Among the groups there occurred a definite correlation between a group's aggregate amount of parental opposition and each of the morale scales. While each correlation approached significance, the most significant correlation obtained between opposition and the Group Morale scale ($R_s .75$, p less than .01). Thus the lower the proportion of parental opposition, the higher the group's rating on group morale.

Correlation rarely means causation, but we think parental attitudes do contribute indirectly to an Interne's satisfaction with his experience. II Internes, for instance, were least likely to gain parental approval.¹ We believe Internes tend to identify with parental norms and therefore rate their experiences in projects much as their parents would if they were participants. To the extent that this is true, parental standards and their extension in the young adults themselves amplify the meaning of our morale measures.

We think the morale ratings are given by the Internes as indicators of the comfort, pleasure and overall hedonic tone of

¹As we suggested in earlier chapters, parents tend to view ISU as a well structured program that combines comfortable living conditions with summer earnings, job security, institutional supervision, and social service. In contrast, II job assignments tend to be viewed as less certain, less supervised and involving greater social exposure, without visible service features.

the summer experience, the standards of hedonism deriving from upper middle class suburban family standards of life satisfaction generally.

Discussion

If this interpretation is at all sound, let us summarize its implications. First, proportion of previous friendships and amount of parental approval are highly concordant measures. Both, with dedication type motives, are significantly related to morale measures. The net meaning of morale is that it is a reflection of the fit between project expectations and general standards of social and economic gratification. The Interne who enters a project with one or two good friends who share his views and standards; the Interne who enters with the expectations of job security, physical living comfort, and firm supervision--prime attributes of ISU--is predictably very satisfied with his summer. The Interne who enters without friends and who does not find secure employment and physical living comfort is predictably less satisfied. Which Interne matures most significantly during the summer is not answerable in terms of these dimensions.

Add to this the dimension of motivation, and one has a crude image of the project group destined to enjoy highest morale: This group contains a high proportion of members who knew one another in advance of the summer, who entered the project to gain career training and to give human service, and whose plans were overtly approved of by their parents. Note that these are pretest factors, all of which associate highly with post-test morale.

The impression we want to convey is that some kind of polarity exists between creating a "happy" project group and creating one in which social and political maturation take place. The burden of evidence in this chapter is that groups with greatest relative discomfort, that is, least privacy, most

dissatisfying work experiences, least cooperative group relations, for example, appear to achieve the greatest degree of change in attitudes.

This is thoroughly relative to the generally high ratings all groups gave themselves on the morale questions, of course. We will consider this inverse relationship between morale and attitude change intensively in chapter vii. As preview, however, to further suggest the social sources of high morale,¹ we close this chapter by noting that composite morale correlates positively with sociometric indices of group cohesion (R_s equals .74, p less than .01) and group integration (R_s equals .50). Morale is a sound indicator of social gratification; it is in no sense an indicator of growth.

¹We cross tabulated the various morale scales against a variety of demographic and other variables, without locating meaningful breaks in the data beyond those reported in this chapter. There is a very consistent tendency for women to report more favorably on the rating items than do men, but the trend is not productive of significant differences. We would suggest the morale scales are extremely stable reflections of group-engendered satisfactions and frustrations.

CHAPTER VI

THE ALUMNI

Introduction

Evidence has been presented that all three programs of the American Friends Service Committee are effective in the achievement of their goals. Study of the 1958 Summer sample established that the participants had changed in many important and favorable respects by the end of the summer.

But changes observed over a two-month period may prove unstable or superficial. Perhaps the impact of project experiences endures for a few weeks and then begins to erode. The kinds of growth we are concerned with must be found to endure before evaluation is possible. Ideally, we need a longitudinal design by which to follow the 1958 subjects as they mature into full adulthood.

But we chose to sample former Internes in Community Service and former Internes in Industry as a kind of substitute for true longitudinal inquiry. A sample of alumni has two advantages. First this larger sample gives us a chance to test the generalizability of certain of our findings about the summer subjects. Second, we hoped to uncover what former Internes believe in, are interested in, and participate in, at present.

Neither advantage is gained with ease. The alumni could be very unlike our summer subjects without invalidating our findings as outlined in chapter iv. What the alumni were like before they entered the projects is essentially unknowable. Moreover, most of them have engaged in other projects of a similar sort since their original participation. There are

countless other intervening influences which make it impossible to specify effects of projects on individual alumni. We cannot assume that our data on the alumni reflect specific effects of project experiences. This handicap is not unsurmountable, however, for we are most interested in learning what is happening to alumni under natural, realistic conditions; we invite the influences that have shaped them as part of the field study situation.

We have divided the alumni sample into cohorts by their dates of original project participation. Thus the ICS sample divides into two cohorts, an early group of former Internes who participated in projects between 1951 and 1955, and a late group of recent participants (1955 through 1957). The dates overlap because a very small number of our subjects engaged in the year long rather than in the summer project programs. The larger II sample divides into two early cohorts; 1951 through 1953, and 1953 through 1955; and one recent cohort, 1955 through 1957. By using these cohorts together with our sample of 1958 Summer Internes we may exercise some control over the passage of time.

Incidentally, whether we consider the 1951 alumni or the 1957, we are still examining a sample of very young adults. Two-fifths of our alumni are between 22 and 24 years old, and only 13 per cent are 27 years or older. Two-fifths are presently attending graduate or professional schools or have very recently completed a post-graduate program. All but 2 per cent of the remaining three-fifths are still undergraduates or graduated within the last one or two years. Thus most have not yet secured the occupational and community niches that characterize full fledged adults.

Fewer than two-fifths of the alumni are not yet definitely decided on an occupation. About one-third were still completely undecided as of 1958. The others were in the process of making firm decisions. We discussed their career goals in chapter iv. It will be recalled that none is interested in politics professionally and that less than one in ten plans to

enter business or industry. A third of the ICS alumni and a fifth of the II are planning and studying to become social workers, and the remainder are tentatively identified with teaching, social research, and allied educational spheres ranging from therapy to religious education.¹

In spite of the youthfulness of these alumni, they are our best avenue toward the evaluation of long term effectiveness of the programs, especially where cohort differences reflect meaningful patterns of growth or erosion.

Social Characteristics of Alumni

Review of the tables presented in chapters ii and iii will establish the fact that in terms of social origins, summer subjects and alumni are virtually identical. The alumni proportions on fathers' occupations, parents' education, religious preferences and church attendance, regional locations, and so forth, do not differ significantly in a statistical sense from the proportions found for summer subjects. In nearly all respects, the alumni come from backgrounds identical to those of current Internes.

The few differences that do occur are as follows. II projects appear to contain increasing proportions of non-whites in the current groups. Generally, there are fewer Quakers participating currently. And far more of the alumni are at present attending universities included on our Grade A list, principally because most of them are graduate students clustered in the larger research universities.

¹Among those already professionally occupied, 30 are employed as social workers, 63 as teachers and applied research workers, and 5 as ministers or church educators--all equally divided between II and ICS.

The differences in racial and religious groupings suggest that as program administration has become increasingly established since 1952, and as the programs become more widely known among young adults, a slight increase in diversity of social backgrounds has occurred. This increasing racial and religious diversity is complemented by a slight increase in numbers of foreign participants. No change is substantial enough to affect the overriding feature of alumni when compared with summer subjects, however. The samples have been drawn from the same population of young adults, a population dominated by individuals from white, Protestant, native-born, upper middle class, college educated families.

Alumni Attitude Scale Scores and Morale Ratings

As Tables 1 through 18 indicate, most of the attitude scales given to summer subjects were also given to alumni. We hypothesized that alumni attitudes should closely approximate those of our summer subjects as revealed in the post-test. We also hypothesized that if political and social maturation were stable, continuing processes, alumni scores should prove superior to scores of summer subjects on the post-test. These were crude guiding hypotheses and there are naturally many contradictory possibilities.

Impressively, both hypotheses are at face value strongly confirmed. The alumni are significantly less authoritarian. They are also slightly less apathetic politically, more tolerant, and show higher regard for civil liberties than do summer Internes. They are also more democratic, show greater urban savvy, and better scores on estimates of individual as well as group political potency. Alumni and the summer subjects were identically low on political escapism, non-violence, and race relations savvy.

On no scale were there noteworthy differences between ICS and II alumni. Actually we have overemphasized the fine

differences between alumni and current Internes; for here, as between ICS and II alumni, the only significant difference occurred on authoritarianism. Alumni are generally more extremely non-authoritarian.

Thus our two expectations were realized. Our findings on the small sample of current Internes are strengthened by the great homogeneity between attitudes in the two samples. And where differences occur, they occur in the hypothesized and desired direction. Alumni exhibit slightly greater social and political maturity in their attitudes than do current Internes.

We do not have any way of assessing how much of this growth is a function of project participation. We do know from the morale ratings of program, job, and project group elements, that ICS alumni gave ratings identical to those reported by ICS 1958 Internes. There is less than a one point difference on mean scores on any of the scales between the two ICS groups. The ICS program appears to reflect great continuity in its characteristics, and our rating devices seem highly reliable. This finding holds for both early and recent alumni cohorts.¹ Since the overall morale ratings are very favorable, we may take it that participation is felt to be worthwhile.

If project life is so favorably recollected, we should find more direct evidence of this orientation. Among responding alumni, 11 per cent said they left their project groups prior to the close of the program; but only one-third of this group of twenty-nine individuals gave as their reason for early departure any statement of dissatisfaction. The remainder claimed to have left for circumstantial reasons. About 98 per cent said they would recommend project participation to other young adults, and over half had urged from three to nine or more friends to apply for project memberships.

¹II alumni rate their experiences slightly more favorably than did our summer subjects, although the differences are insignificant statistically. Alumni ratings may be more favorable in the aggregate because of poor employment opportunities in industry in the summer of 1958.

Moreover, alumni apparently remain in surprisingly close contact with one another over the years, judging from Table 28. Although alumni are dispersed widely throughout the United States, the amount of interaction between former members is extremely high. More than half have been in touch with from one to six colleagues during the past year, and only 15 per cent have had no contacts. Inevitably, association attenuates over time. But compared to other human networks, we are discussing a very small world of interactive young adults when we consider these alumni.¹ It is reasonable to speculate that project membership continues to operate as an influential reference point in the changing behavior of alumni.

As further substantiation that we are looking at young adults who have created a community of shared attitudes and associations, we remind readers of our impression that summer Internes appeared to be endemic participators. Among responding alumni, one-fourth reported that prior to joining ICS or II groups, they had engaged in three or more similar previous program experiences. Two-fifths reported they had joined similar projects subsequent to the one we asked them to discuss.

Perhaps this small world of young adults is a simple consequence of our sampling procedure. Voluntary mail questionnaires might be responded to by those alumni still most firmly identified with this small world and ignored by those who have rejected the experience. No doubt, the responding alumni are more involved than non-responders; but as we indicated in chapter ii, older alumni cohorts responded with the same frequencies as did more recent. As far as numbers tell us anything, we do not have a sample of "hard-core" devotees among the older alumni in contrast to a mixed sample of more recent participants. This is inconclusive, of course, and we should remember we are discussing the two-fifths of the total alumni population who cared enough to reply.

¹A project group, remember, ordinarily contains only six to twenty members, and is isolated somewhat from other groups of Internes during operation.

Membership Activity

Table 29 supports our contention that project Internes, current and alumni alike, are organizational joiners. While we have listed only those kinds of organizations relevant to this evaluation, we note that the median number of organizations of all kinds with which our subjects are affiliated is 3.5. One-third belong to five or six organizations, and among alumni 17 per cent belong to seven or more.

The impressive finding in Table 29 is that our young adults tend increasingly to join socially and politically "meaningful" groups (using the standards common to the ideology of project life). With the exception of intercultural and interracial organizations concerned with solving ethnic problems, where membership is fairly constant regardless of age, there is a crude pattern of an increasing extent of involvement in civic, political, and neighborhood associations from youngest to oldest cohorts.¹

Civic Interests and Activities

Alumni tend to remain highly concerned with public affairs, regardless of age, as Table 30 shows. In chapter iv we saw how summer Internes became somewhat less emotionally concerned with politics or public affairs. Table 30 reveals that alumni maintain a level of personal concern identical with that reported by summer subjects on their pretest. Apparently the short term effect of project interaction is to orient Internes toward comparisons with one another and away from comparisons with other peers. A temporary decrease in political concerns seems to result, only to be heightened again when Internes return to their campuses and home towns.

From norms obtained on the same attitude scales (reported

¹The pattern is in part a result of progressive settlement in adult roles in community settings, a simple function of aging. However, our oldest alumni cohort has a mean age of 25.

in Volunteer Work Camp), we know Internes and alumni tend to hold rather extreme political views. Our interviews and observations of discussions as well as Riecken's findings suggest that project participants are aware of the differences between their attitudes and those held by a majority of their college and community peers. While this is conjectural, let us think of young adults who are in search of peer groups where shared attitudes and agreement are readily available, a search stimulated by repeated experience of being in the minority. The project group provides an ideal vehicle for satisfying this search. As a kind of cultural island where consensus on political beliefs, among other values, is high, the project group may become a place where political intensity is relaxed. For many members there is also the discovery that project peers are more intense politically than peers known in other settings.¹ A combination of relaxation of intensity and disillusionment about one's own high concern produces a temporary reduction in concern.² When the member leaves his project to return home or to college, original discrepancies probably return and the emotional intensity is renewed. The memory of reinforcing consensus and of friends who showed high concern remain as stimuli. Continued

¹All ICS project groups appear to generate a myth of great individual differences; a myth we confronted repeatedly in interviews and in participant observation. In a situation of great homophily, minutiae of differences are perhaps bound to be stressed.

²Peter M. Blau used the same question about concern with public affairs in a study of Cornell University undergraduates in 1950 and again in 1952. He concluded, "Persistent adherence to an unpopular political position in defiance of a major trend puts the burden of proof . . . upon the individual and therefore constrains him to become increasingly concerned with political issues . . . political apathy was the price many students paid for becoming integrated at Cornell." Cf., "Orientation of College Students Toward International Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LIX, No. 3 (November, 1953), 213.

contacts with fellow alumni and repeated project participation are probably also stimulated by this process.

We think this interpretation is supported tentatively by the data in Table 30. Further indirect evidence comes from the temporary reduction in newspaper reading that occurs in project groups. At the opening of the summer projects, 63 per cent of the Internes said they read daily papers regularly; while at the close only 43 per cent reported current regular readership. Overall, 71 per cent of our alumni reported regular newspaper readership, and 90 per cent of the earliest ICS and II cohort made the same claim. One might choose to interpret this decline as a matter of competing demands on time during the project, yet college students in another sample did not appear to have time to read papers regularly, either.¹

If our interpretations are sound,² they illuminate the functions served by project membership: first to relieve individuals of the pressures generated by deviant attitudes and practices and second, to reinforce these attitudes once the individual has returned to the community.

We have been talking about political concern. What about indices of civic activity? Do these tally with the claim of strong concerns? Table 31 shows the proportions of voters among eligible alumni and summer Internes. Generally, the older the alumni, the more likely it is that he will have voted in any kind of election from presidential to local. Studies of voting behavior show that the very youngest citizens, particularly first voters, tend to vote less than older citizens in the

¹Robert A. Dentler, "General Education in Social Science," The Journal of General Education, XII, No. 2 (April, 1959), 117.

²Other supporting evidence comes from our interest measures. For example, 36 per cent of the summer group said they were very interested in national politics. On the post-test this dropped to 30 per cent. In contrast 47 per cent of the alumni were very interested. Similarly for world affairs: Summer subjects dropped from 60 per cent to 55 per cent very interested; 66 per cent of our alumni were very interested.

United States. Thus Table 31 in part simply reflects this universal tendency. However, we are considering only eligible voters; and the age differences between cohorts is extremely slight. In this sense the pattern of increased voting behavior favors our thesis that alumni of projects tend to mature politically with impressive speed. Note that our subjects are higher than the comparable Encampment alumni cohort sampled by Hyman and Wright in their study.

Former Internes not only vote regularly; they also tend to vote Democratic. Among the summer subjects, 36 per cent said they were Democrats or "leaned" toward this preference as compared with 49 per cent of the alumni who recalled themselves as Democrats at the time of project membership. About 56 per cent of the alumni are Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party at present. One-fourth of the summer group were Republicans compared with 16 per cent of the alumni. This pattern of increasing identification with the Democratic Party is upheld among cohorts as well. The older the group, the more pervasive this preference. More than one-fifth of all our young adults said they had "other" political preferences, and a rough hand tabulation indicated that altogether 6 per cent held socialist preferences. About 14 per cent are militant independents.

Social Action

We asked Internes and alumni to list the key social problems confronting their home communities. Among the alumni the most commonly cited problems in both ICS and II were ethnic minority relations; lack of community facilities, particularly educational and welfare; and problems of distorted social values, which we classified as ideological criticisms.¹ Poor political organization, housing shortages and slums, and crime and delinquency were the next most frequent references.

¹The results looked as follows, contrasting alumni with Summer Internes: (See p. 141)

As shown in Table 32, we then asked alumni to list the ways they had been personally active in helping to solve each problem cited. The results are neatly patterned. The frequency of social action increases among both ICS and II alumni from lowest among the youngest to highest among the oldest cohorts. Service-oriented activism, far from eroding with time, becomes more prevalent. Generally, too, action is more common than inaction.

Positions of Community Influence

We asked alumni to check on a circular target where they believed themselves to be located with respect to the center of welfare activities in their communities (see Appendix I). Then we asked them to check where they would like to be located. We repeated this procedure using political affairs as the sphere of activity. The results are summarized in Table 33. We wanted to learn whether our subjects considered themselves to hold informal positions of influence in either of these arenas of community life.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS NAMED AS IMPORTANT

Problems Cited*	Alumni %	Summer % Pre	Summer % Post
Community Facilities	20	21	24
Minority Relations	16	13	10
Ideological Criticisms	11	15	10
Housing, Slums, Health	9	5	8
Economic Difficulties	8	8	8
Crime & Delinquency	8	6	5
Political Organization	5	6	5
Other	5	7	9
No Answer	18	19	20
Total	795	354	354

*Numbers are large because we asked for three problems per person. Here we have aggregated all given responses. While most community facility responses concerned educational, recreational and welfare shortages, others cited physical plant requirements. Minority problems included racial tensions and prejudice. Ideological references involved assertions of apathy, ignorance, materialism, etc. Political organization included such items as local corruption, weak mayor system, and need for a city manager, etc.

Regardless of age or cohort, one-fourth of the alumni located themselves in positions of relative influence in welfare matters. Given the youthfulness of the alumni, this is a surprisingly high proportion. More noteworthy is the fact that from one-half to two-thirds would like to increase their influentiality in welfare spheres. The aspiration is unequivocal; it is extensive enough to lead to increasing influence in future years, we believe.

In sharp contrast, nearly all alumni see themselves as peripheral politically. This self-definition fits the lack of political career aspirations found in our occupational goal data. It also coincides with the social backgrounds of most of these young adults.¹ Far fewer aspire to political influence than to welfare influence; and the proportions who would like political contacts decrease with age.

Conclusion

These findings of the alumni study must be viewed with caution because of the sampling procedures involved and because there is no necessary continuity in time between the behavior of one group of summer Internes and several groups of alumni. It does appear that we are investigating an extremely homogeneous group of young adults, however, with respect to social characteristics, attitudes, reactions to project experiences, career plans, and developing interests and activities. Alumni remain generally in close touch with one another; they go on to engage in similar project work; and their behavior tends

¹In a study of a mid-western community's modes of political participation, Peter H. Rossi and James A. Davis found, "Finally, although there is widespread recognition of the need for 'better' . . . public officials, at the same time, there is a definite and firm rejection of the possibility of personal participation in this sphere. The politician in Mediana is viewed by the businessman as a pariah: a man who does necessary . . . work but who contaminates himself in the process." Industry and Community, National Opinion Research Center Report No. 64, 1957, p. 20.

increasingly to fulfill the expectations embodied in AFSC project ideology; namely, social service, community action, and social and political growth.

Judging from their career plans and their lack of aspiration toward political influence, we believe these young volunteers will not move into positions of power or national leadership during the next quarter century. They are not political organizers; they are not policy-makers of the future, except perhaps in the social service professions. Neither are they militant dissenters or prospective candidates for engagement in vigorous reform movements. They are destined, we believe, to identify increasingly with values of individual autonomy, altruistic service to others on an individual basis,¹ and voluntary participation in civic associations. Nor is this surprising as a prediction; it reflects dominant trends in the thinking of American Friends Service Committee leadership.

The young volunteers will make unusually well informed, reasoning citizens, strongly committed to the values of democratic procedures, to the search for non-violent means of solving social problems, and to belief in the ~~sup~~supreme worth of the individual. We secured no evidence that the Internes in Community Service program is in any way superior or inferior to the Internes in Industry program in contributing to this process.

A Side Note on Religion

We reported earlier that our summer subjects appeared to be exceptionally religious young adults, with all but two in ten of them Protestants or Quakers who claim frequent church attendance. We wondered whether this pattern persisted or changed as Internes entered full adulthood. We expected religious matters to increase in saliency as alumni leave college, marry, have children and settle down. (About 40 per cent of the responding alumni are married, incidentally.)

¹In project group parlance, borrowed from social casework, the establishing of "meaningful one-to-one relationships" is the crucial accomplishment.

Tables 34 and 35 indicate that alumni tend to decrease their religious concerns as they grow older. More than two-thirds remember themselves as frequent church attenders when they were in project groups. But less than half are now frequent attenders, and the proportion of alumni who are currently anti-religious or a-religious increases with distance from the project.

Unlike political concerns, religious involvements do not decrease briefly during projects and then return to or exceed previous intensity. Instead, religious involvement begins to decline during the project period and continues to decline. Our interviews and observations illuminate this change. Many Internes view themselves as children of conventional "middle class parents" whose religious behavior they define as excessively orthodox, superficial, or hypocritical. They view themselves as engaged in a quest for meaningful religious experience and some come to projects for this reason. Many are explicitly curious about what it means to become a Quaker. Table 35 reveals a slight turnover toward increased membership in the Society of Friends.

But project directors are careful not to proselytize, and tolerance for the religious concerns and differences of others is stressed. Moreover, meditation sessions customarily fail to become either regular or meaningful in three out of four project groups. In their eagerness to maintain a non-sectarian character, most projects further de-emphasize religious involvements. The religious exchanges that do occur, judging from observations, contribute to this de-emphasis by amounting to exchanges of uncertainties, doctrinal ambiguities, and expressions of vague religious backgrounds.

For many Internes, religious curiosities decline with absorption into university milieus and adult career roles. Project life represents a temporary point of reconsideration along this path toward increasing indifference toward religion. Because of the nature of the programs, the influences are too

equivocal about religious values to seriously affect this major trend. Of course it remains very possible that as more alumni enter their thirties and become permanently established in families and communities, they will renew their religious concerns or will relive the patterns devised by their parents.

This interpretation is buttressed generally by surveys of religious attitudes of college undergraduates,¹ and by qualitative indications in our interviews. For example, one ICS Interne had this to say:

I've always been very involved in organized religious activities, at home and at college. When I came to this project, I was ripe for a retreat and for rich spiritual experience. I had had a letter from a friend who had been in a superb Alaskan work camp where he had gained this kind of experience, and I wanted to achieve the same development. The contrast between what I've felt here and what he described is terribly frustrating. . . . My problem is that I want to hold on to my faith and I'm increasingly less certain of my position. In college last year, I had many friends among a very liberal Methodist group which increased my confusion, and I want to work this matter through. . . . Here at the project, I resent the verbal expressions of Christian belief: they seem so hollow. Some of the girls are just your average phoney Christians.

These remarks convey the reactions of several highly involved, conventionally religious Internes who felt oppressed by the secular character of their project groups. Note however that the comments indicate the reaction is against secular pressures which are already well mobilized in this individual.

A final quotation from an Interne who entered ICS with a very high concern for religion proves informative:

Four of the members are renegade, anti-clerical Methodists, I would say. This has been a problem for me. X is Jewish, but not religiously so--but he likes to retain the ethnic heritage. For instance, we had the problem at Christmas of trying to decide whether we should get out some kind of a Christmas card and also to whom we should send these cards. I felt we needed to include Christ on the card, and we could reach no consensus. So we sent individual Christmas cards.

¹Robert A. Dentler, Religious Attitudes of Undergraduates: Harvard and Dickinson College Surveys, 1958, mimeographed.

. . . I feel much more secure about these religious differences now than I did when the year started. . . . Our tolerance has increased. I'm not as doubtful religiously myself as I was. . . . I can't understand or appreciate Quaker meditation, but I like to tolerate its practice by others here. . . . Differences in our religious forms provided stresses but these were surmounted. We tried to have meditation every morning for a couple of months, but only two or three ever attend now.

TABLE 28

RANGE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN FORMER INTERNES

Talked To or Written	Per Cent					
	ICS		51-53 Cohort	II		Total
	51-55 Cohort	55-57 Cohort		53-55 Cohort	55-57 Cohort	
No Alumni	13	2	30	23	7	15
1 to 6	70	60	62	64	32	57
7 to 12	11	25	4	4	20	13
13 or More	7	15	--	4	39	12
No Answer	--	6	4	6	2	3
Total	47	53	53	53	59	265

TABLE 29

RELEVANT CURRENT ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS
OF FORMER INTERNES

Program & Cohort	Kind of Organization Per Cent					
	N	Civic	Political	Neighborhood Improvement	Interracial & Intercultural	None of These
All '58 Subjects	118	7	11	10	52	44
ICS 55-57	53	19	23	19	72	21
ICS 51-55	47	30	32	21	51	17
II 55-57	59	14	26	15	70	24
II 53-55	53	8	25	11	72	23
II 51-53	53	19	36	19	66	23

TABLE 30

REPORTED CONCERN WITH PUBLIC AFFAIRS OR POLITICS*

Group	N	Yes	No	No Answer
Summer Subj's	118	69% (Pre) 55% (Post)	31% (Pre) 45% (Post)	-- --
Total Alumni	265	72%	27%	1%
ICS 55-57	53	70%	30%	--
ICS 51-55	47	70%	30%	--
II 55-57	59	73%	27%	--
II 53-55	53	74%	24%	2%
II 51-53	53	72%	26%	2%

*Question: Do you ever get as worked up or aroused over something that happens in public affairs or politics as you do about something that happens in your personal life?

TABLE 31

PROPORTIONS VOTING AMONG THOSE ELIGIBLE*

Group	Election				Total
	'56 Presid'tl	'56 Congress'l	Last State	Last Local	
1958 Summer	.74 (19)	.72 (18)	.53 (17)	.37 (19)	.59 (73)
ICS 55-57	.95 (22)	.91 (22)	.68 (19)	.37 (19)	.74 (82)
ICS 51-55	.93 (43)	.88 (42)	.69 (35)	.58 (36)	.78 (156)
II 55-57	.78 (23)	.71 (21)	.55 (20)	.52 (23)	.64 (87)
II 53-55	.86 (36)	.81 (36)	.79 (29)	.64 (33)	.77 (135)
II 51-53	.91 (44)	.87 (40)	.82 (34)	.76 (34)	.85 (152)
Alumni Total	.89	.85	.72	.67	.78
Encamp- ment for Citizen- ship Alumni (1949-51)	.80 (35)	.68 (60)	.66 (56)	.61 (57)	.67 (208)

* () = Number eligible per cell.

TABLE 32

CURRENT COMMUNITY ACTION OF ALUMNI^a

Sample	N	Clearly Active ^b	Clearly Inactive
ICS	100	33%	38%
51-55	47	40%	30%
55-57	53	26%	45%
II	165	38%	29%
51-53	53	45%	28%
53-55	53	40%	23%
55-57	59	29%	34%
Total	N:	95 36%	85 32%

^aQuestion: For each of the (local community) problems you listed . . . list the ways in which you have been personally involved in community action to help solve them . . .

^bActive meant replies mentioning behavior actually designed to influence events or change conditions. Coding judgments were carefully cross-checked by two coders to insure reliability.

TABLE 33

SELF-PERCEIVED LOCATIONS OF ALUMNI IN SPHERES
OF COMMUNITY WELFARE AND POLITICS

	Group			
	ICS		II	
	55-57	51-55	55-57	51-55
Sphere of Welfare Activity				
Inner Circles	24%	26%	28%	24%
Would like to be in Inner Circles	76%	74%	76%	72%
Sphere of Politics				
Inner Circles	6%	2%	3%	1%
Would like to be in Inner Circles	59%	30%	44%	32%
N:	53	47	59	106

TABLE 34

ALUMNI CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Group	Per Cent of Frequent Attenders (1 to 4 times monthly)		
	N	In Project Year	Now
ICS	100	65%	51%
55-57	53	60%	55%
51-55	47	70%	47%
II	165	73%	57%
55-57	59	76%	68%
51-55	106	73%	57%
Total	265	71%	57%

Note: Equivalent per cent for Summer Subjects were ICS:
71%, II: 66%

TABLE 35

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES BY COHORTS

Group	N	Per Cent					Other
		Quaker	Other Protestant	Jewish	Catholic	Anti- or A Relig.	
ICS 1958 Summer	53	2	79	2	--	11	6
ICS Alumni in Project Yr.	100	15	59	9	--	11	6
ICS Alumni Now	100	20	46	8	--	18	8
II 1958 Summer	30	10	57	3	--	20	10
II Alumni in Project Yr.	165	18	62	7	2	8	2
II Alumni Now	165	21	52	6	2	13	7

CHAPTER VII

ACCOUNTING FOR ATTITUDE CHANGE: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED FACTORS

Introduction

This chapter explores a series of factors that appear to be influential in determining the effectiveness of project life in changing attitudes, among other outcomes. Attention is focused upon our summer sample of internes to the neglect of the alumni because of the limitations of our research design.

Our theoretical orientation is much like that developed by Riecken, Hyman and Wright. We view the young volunteers who enter any of the work programs as tending toward strong initial sympathy with the policies of the American Friends Service Committee and as predisposed to increasing identification with project values during the course of the two month experience.

For the reasons we outlined in chapter i, we have placed primary emphasis on the role of interpersonal relations within individual project groups as the source of this tendency to internalize Service Committee values. With Riecken, we believe that young adults will internalize the attitudes embodied in the norms of their project groups; and that to the extent the group incorporates desired standards, individuals will tend to change to conform with these.

The advantage of our materials is that they allow comparisons to be drawn between ten separate project groups. This chapter aims principally at exploring differences between the composition, social organization, and environments of the

groups, as these relate to attitude change. Secondary attention is given to accounting for differences between individuals.

Group Composition

While project groups do not differ greatly from one another in terms of the background characteristics of members, we found relative differences in group sex ratio, age, size, and heterogeneity were of importance in accounting for why some groups change more favorably than others. (See Table 36.)

Sex Ratio: Groups with higher proportions of women members tend to change most favorably. This significant association is in very small part an artifact of sex differences in attitude changes. Women tend to enter projects with slightly less favorable attitudes than men, though the difference is insignificant.

Groups with higher proportions of women also exhibit significantly greater personal involvement in project life, as well as significantly greater initial concern with public affairs.¹ There are several reasons why groups with more women members tend to prove more responsive to the benefits of project experience, and we shall consider these briefly. It should be emphasized that this is a group effect rather than a matter of significant differences between individuals by sex, however. The following quotation suggests some of the underlying forces:

This summer is a chance to put into practice some of the ideals I've had for a long time but have never been able to do anything about. I'll never be able to do anything about the problems of people unless I have a chance to live with them and work with them. I'm pleased, too, to have the experience of living with a small group and learning to get along. After all, this is the first time I've had a chance

¹ISU Group Seven changed more favorably than any other single group. It included four women and no men. This biases the group correlations being considered, but other groups fit the trend as well. Removing Group Seven from the rank order, the correlation between amount of favorable change and sex ratio drops from .50 to .32, but remains positive.

to know people from outside the middle west and from outside the United States. I'm learning to be independent here more than I did at college--I'm learning to think. And I've gotten to know fascinating families in the neighborhood of the settlement house here. I play with the neighborhood children whenever I get a chance and I've visited their homes. Most of them are Mexicans who just recently came to the big city. Some of the families are broken; none have much money. One mother tried to teach me Spanish one night.

This quotation was taken from an interview with an Interne in Industry. Note its close parallels with comments made by an Interne in Community Service in the same city:

I like working directly with the kids themselves. They represent a new age group for me. I spend my mornings visiting their homes, where I come to know the mothers. I've become a helper to many mothers and, depending on the family, I get to become a close friend or at least a good acquaintance. Getting to know these families is of great value to me. I've been fascinated to discover the loneliness as well as the openness of the mothers. Most of the mothers think I'm professionally trained in social work and they assume all sorts of things about my capabilities. The families--most of them are Mexican, but there are all kinds--are fascinatingly different from one another.

The first girl worked for the summer in a clothing warehouse, putting tags on little girls' dresses. The dozen co-workers in the warehouse represented half a dozen different ethnic groups. Most of them were women of diverse ages. The young interne interacted closely with this group, her first real exposure to manual laborers, possibly her first exposure to any group outside the sheltered boundaries of the upper middle class. The second quotation comes from a young woman engaged in neighborhood group work.

Regardless of program, the experiences inherent in work project life seem to us to be potentially most beneficial to women. The activities of care, nurturant service, and exposure to independent living are most naturally suited to women. Women can achieve readier contact with children, with neighborhood families, and perhaps with the mentally ill by

virtue of their own culturally prescribed sex role. In turn these contacts are likely to embody greater gratification for women than for many young men. And project group autonomy is comparatively a newer experience for many women than it is for men, sheltered as they have been by more protective customs and mores in their own families and at college. Contrast, for example, the above quotations with the following from a young man in an ICS group:

This summer has helped me decide against going into the ministry. I now realize how much I love an academic atmosphere, and I have to admit I have found it very difficult to get down to working with kids in my neighborhood group.

Another group worker in a different ICS project reflects similar feelings which seem bound up with his sex role:

Personally I'm upset about the problem of controlling and handling the kids--with their behavior problems. Yesterday was a rough day--real bedlam. . . . I was also in charge of coordinating a program for girl scouts, but this was a complete flop. I didn't kill myself in handling that job. . . . I've made some family contacts on behalf of my kids, but it is very hard for me to make contact with their parents. In fact I've only really had an exchange with one mother.

The difference between influence on women and men is not strong enough to be reflected among individuals, although women reported slightly higher morale ratings, indicating relatively higher gratification. But the superior fit between the nature of work projects and the roles played by young women appears to be cumulative. Where the proportion of women to men is greater, increased conformity to the values espoused by the Service Committee is more likely to occur. Women are relatively greater stimulators of group change.

Age: Age is also a relevant factor. The younger the group, the less likely it is to accomplish shifts toward more mature political and social attitudes. The younger the group, the less likely is the group to report high individual involvement in project life. The younger the group, the less

likely it is to report high initial concern with politics.

Age is significantly intercorrelated with sex ratio and group size. In other words, groups with high proportions of young members are more likely to have more male members and to be larger groups. Thus it is an interplay of these compositional elements which tends to reduce positive change in certain groups. At first glance this struck us as surprising. The age range for participants is very narrow and we did not expect the presumably slight differences between twenty and twenty-two year old youths to account for group differences.

Review of our observational reports and interviews for evidence pertaining to the effects of age gave us some important clues, however.¹ For example, here are the comments of a nineteen year old Interne in Community Service:

I'm strictly a non-intellectual, I guess. I'm one of those people who doesn't talk much in the group. I like to listen to the others. When we have speakers come, I'm glad others like to ask questions--I never feel like asking any. . . . I've always lived at home, even when I went to college, and I've never had any experiences like this before. I haven't seen my folks since my father drove me down here. . . . My mother was all for my joining but my father has always been neutral. On the way down here he said, "Just phone me if you don't like it and you want to pull out." But I told him I intended to stick it out--regardless. . . . I'm perfectly happy here. I'm having a wonderful time.

At one point we suspected our evidence indicated a difference between persons experienced in group and camp living and those who were new to it. Tabulations indicated younger members were as likely as older members to have had previous experience, and our group comparisons now suggest strongly that the effects of experience depend upon readiness to learn, which differs even in twenty and twenty-two year olds.

¹It is important to understand that like sex ratio, age differences are not significant on the individual level.

As another example, one eighteen year old discussed his home town and his family life so continuously in one group that other members tried to silence him with teasing. Watching them interact on this issue, our observer felt that older group members did not so much dislike his references to home and family. Rather, they felt he should identify for the present with the project group.

Perhaps the crucial difference between the younger and older internes is a matter of occupational identity or, in clinical terms, greater ego integration among the older members--an integration grounded in crystallized career goals. There is a vivid difference, for example, between the interpretations young internes place on their work experiences and those made by older members. Here as illustration are quotations from interviews with two young people, both in ICS, both working with recreational groups:

Interviewer: Can you tell me about your job?

Young interne: Well--I work with playgrounds at a day camp. The children go from five to eight years, and there's another group of nine to twelve year olds. I supervise their outdoor play. Let's see . . . right now we are setting up a puppet show. . . . I like the children. Their mothers all work. I've always liked to do baby sitting and this is a lot like that, like caring for my little sister.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about your job?

Older interne: I work as a day camp counselor with the X Agency. I've been working with a group of girls to date, and soon I'll be working with a group of eight year old boys. I would describe it as run of the mill group recreation work. It's not an inspiring job and I really prefer to work with teenagers. But the children are by and large interestingly precocious. . . . The camp has two directors. One is very patronizing, strong willed, and undemocratic, and both tend to pre-judge the children, I think. I see the children as slightly over-privileged. They pay in proportion to their family income and most of them are from professional families. The poorest, really, are children of rabbis and social workers [laughs sympathetically]. [She then continued to talk for ten minutes about the values and problems of the job.]

Interviewer: What would you say has been gratifying about the summer, then, if the job has been uninspiring?

Interne: Well, I'm going to have my first teaching job this fall and I've really been glad to have time to read freely this summer as a kind of undisciplined preparation.

Interviewer: What have you read lately?

Interne: The best things have been Point Counterpoint, The Red and the Black, Lady Chatterly's Lover, and Nine Stories by Salinger. I've also had a fine time writing again, now that I'm free from college sources. [She had just graduated in June.]

Like sex differences, age is not important enough a determinant to produce individual differences in amount of attitude change. When a group has a larger proportion of members over twenty-one years of age, however, it seems that the entire group is better able to focus its concerns upon issues relevant to political growth, thereby stimulating greater group gains.

Heterogeneity: The third compositional factor we want to emphasize is heterogeneity. Using the criteria established in chapter iii (see Table 3), we ranked groups from most to least heterogeneous according to their proportions of members who were non-white, non-citizens of the United States, and who had fathers who were neither professionals nor managers. Thus our measure of relative heterogeneity consists of race, ethnicity, and occupational status indicators. The range of our groups on this index is very narrow, however. No group has more than 50 per cent heterogeneity and none has less than 20 per cent.

The larger the proportion of women per group, the greater is the group's heterogeneity. While the sex ratio is highly correlated with favorable attitude change, heterogeneity is not ($R_s = .20$). Heterogeneity is not significantly associated with group size or with age.

We have included it for consideration because of its meaningful relationship to our sociometric measures. Heterogeneity correlates negatively with all of our measures of group solidarity, but most indicatively with consensus ($R_s = -.47$). There is reason to believe that racial ethnic,

and socioeconomic differences do not directly influence group change, but do affect a group's social structure which in turn, influences change. As one would expect, there is a consistent tendency for the more heterogeneous groups to develop less solidarity.

Heterogeneity may have a similar relationship to individual involvement in the life of the group. The two factors are positively associated ($R_s = .53$), and involvement correlates positively with group change. In the more heterogeneous group, it is likely that learning to know and appreciate one another is more difficult, yet the effort expended increases personal involvement with other group members. Thus heterogeneity stimulates accommodative effort and may lead to more meaningful exchanges between members. Homogeneity, on the other hand, fosters greater solidarity but may lead to resistance to change.

It is possible that these are not effects of composition at all, but of fit between the expectations members hold when they enter projects and what they find. Our interviews are shot through with references to group diversity. Internes, virtually without exception, enter projects seeking association with peers from differing backgrounds. Perhaps in those groups where this aim is most fully met, involvement in project life becomes most satisfying.

Group Organization: Structure and Interpersonal Relations

Sociometry is a "method for discovering, describing, and evaluating social status, structure, and development through measuring the extent of acceptance or rejection between individuals in groups."¹ We knew in advance from the difficulties

¹Urie Bronfenbrenner, "A Constant Frame of Reference for Sociometric Research," Sociometry, VI (November, 1943), 353-72.

reported by Henry Riecken that project group norms were frequently opposed to making the social judgments required by sociometric tests. Since Riecken had met with strong resistance on this facet of his field work, we tried to devise questions that would not stimulate this resistance, yet that would give us some meaningful information. For this reason, our questions were not entirely orthodox methodologically. Yet as this chapter will show, we believe three of our tests yielded meaningful results.

We wanted to know the effects of social integration on change. By integration we mean the extent to which each member had direct association with every other member during the summer. We asked the question, "Which members of the project group did you have least social contact with during the summer?" The results from this question give us a crude index of the relative degree of isolation that obtained within each group and, comparatively, between groups. The lower the degree of isolation, we reasoned, the higher the extent of integration. (See Appendix I for index construction.)

Most strikingly, integration is strongly and negatively associated with attitude change! The more isolates a group contains the more likely the group is to exhibit favorable attitude changes. This is no simple function of size, incidentally, for the index we used holds size constant--although there is a generic tendency for larger groups to contain relatively more social isolates. The better integrated a group becomes, the more it tends to resist change, other things being equal. This holds true more for extremes than for moderately integrated groups, however. A graph of the relationship indicates that very well integrated groups tend to change least while those least highly integrated change most, with variations in amounts of change occurring in the center.

Of the ten groups, five had high integration and low change scores and five had low integration and high change scores.

From Chart 6 we see that consensus scores follow fairly closely the same pattern as integration. By consensus we mean the extent of relative ideological harmony achieved within a group, using the question, "Name three members of the project group whose ideas and opinions--as these were exchanged during group meetings and discussions--were most reasonable to you." While the negative relation between change and consensus is one of the most significant we obtained, the pattern is not quite so neat as that revealed on integration. Five of the ten groups obtained low consensus and high change scores, while three had both low consensus and low change.

Both integration and consensus tell us something about the relative holding power or attractiveness of each group. Both are positively and significantly correlated with group morale, for example. The integration index tells us that in groups with a relatively high degree of shared opinions and ideas, a high degree of belongingness was generated which also generated high morale.¹

Ironically, perhaps, groups with the highest attractiveness for their members achieved the least political and social change. How shall we interpret this dramatic contrast? We take our leads from two sources in social psychology, one applied and one theoretical. Herbert Thelen and Watson Dickerman, following a study of eight groups at the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, concluded:

In the light of what happened in these eight groups at the NTL, a group may perhaps be seen as going through four phases as it grows in ability to operate efficiently. In the first phase various members of the group quickly attempt to establish their customary places in the leadership hierarchy. In effect, this may be thought of as an attempt to establish the "peck order" of the group. Next comes a period of frustration and conflict brought about

¹We used two other measures which relate to the notion of belongingness, which confirmed this relationship.

by the leader's steadfast rejection of the concept of peck order. . . . The third phase sees the development of cohesiveness among the members of the group, accompanied by a certain amount of complacency and smugness. This third phase seems to be characterized by a determination to maintain harmony at all costs. Insofar as this effort is successful, it results in an atmosphere of 'sweetness and light,' which, nevertheless, is sufficiently permissive. . . . This phase is unstable. . . . In the fourth phase the members retain the group-centeredness and sensitivities which characterized the third phase, but they develop also a sense of purpose and urgency. . . .¹

It is the first through the third stage in this natural history of group development which arrests our attention. (The fourth strikes us as principally relevant to the kind of group training practiced at the Laboratory.) The first and second stages have been documented in other more theoretical studies.² We think our highly integrated, low change groups are those that achieved an equilibrium in the third stage and simply maintained it through the summer.

We want to illustrate this by contrasting two ICS groups, one very low change and one very high, through use of our qualitative materials. For as Thelen and Dickerson comment, "In a very real sense, the test of whether the preceding experiences of the members of the group has resulted in understanding may well be whether they move out of this stage in which 'we all love one another with qualifications!' . . . Until this moving on to a later state takes place, it is as if the group were operating some elements of phantasy, primarily in regard to its own goals. This phantasy is perilously close to the institutionalization of complacency. . . ."³

¹"Stereotypes and the Growth of Groups," Educational Leadership, VI, No. 5 (February, 1959), 309.

²A. Paul Hare, et. al., eds. Small Groups (New York: Knopf, 1955), pp. 127-31, 424-56.

³Op. cit., p. 314.

Group Three: High integration, low and unfavorable change: While the change and sociometric measures were taken at the close of the summer, this group was visited, observed, and its members interviewed just after the end of the first half of the summer. Some members, as the following remarks suggest, could still recall the earlier stage of group frustration.

During our Fourth of July program we all got along fine as long as we produced a laugh a minute. When the jokes ran out, we all felt very tense somehow. And our first recreation trip to X was terribly hectic. We had a devil of a time planning it in the first place and on the way we couldn't seem to make decisions about anything. Until recently consensus has been impossible at our business meetings. A lot of members would like to have a voting system instead of working out the sense of the meeting. Now, there is really very little exchange of anything meaningful. I feel a spiritual lack. There is so much absorption here in individual dilemmas and concerns that our group life gets little attention. At first I felt very indignant and frustrated because I couldn't cope with this group or change it, but now it just runs off my back.

An interne widely experienced in project work and cooperative living said:

Objectively, this is a good and congenial group of persons. Personally, they leave me cold. Take B for instance; he is a nice easy going guy. I've talked with him personally now and then, but on any serious basis it's really impossible to reach him. Or C. We talk confidently but I don't ever feel close to him--although I'm coming to appreciate him more as the project wears on. P is the saving grace of our group. He has a fine sense of humor; he's expressive and genuine. . . . Of all the project groups I've been in, this is the most congenial. But other groups I've been in have given me lasting friendships while here no one is that close. We have several what I call 'good time kids' in this group, and I like being with them. . . .

Another young woman responded to similar factors in a different way:

I think some people, maybe most of them, came here expecting a lot of social intimacy. Personally this makes me mad. I don't like to feel that people are poking into my

private life. I want to have the right to have private feelings and to act privately. I confide with Z and Y but out of personal choice.

These quotations should be aligned with excerpts from our field reports:

When I returned from a private retreat to the hills to record some notes, I found C and K sunning themselves in the back yard of the cabin. It was a delightful sunbathing and smooching session, which did not let up as I strolled past. It was natural and unembarrassed. . . . This surprised only because the week end trip had been billed as a religious retreat. . . . The first conflict on the week end began over who should sleep where in the several cabins. Somehow the debate hung unresolved where it began, with a series of conflicting claims. The director inquired occasionally during the afternoon and early evening what the decision was going to be, but the only responses he got were indifferent shrugs and offers to sleep 'just anywhere, really.' . . . There was much easy cooperation about getting supper as well as much humorous horseplay between the sexes, with mock clinches and mock expressions of romantic love. The tone of the first day was strongly recreational. It felt as if we were at a festive resort. An evening discussion of religious backgrounds was scheduled for 7 p.m., but it began at 8:15, and then very sluggishly.

By 10:30 the religious discussion, which never did go full circle, had been abandoned to the pleasures of an evening snack. A game of fourhanded pinochle sprang up between the director and three girls, and the group as a whole broke into small cliques which chatted aimlessly and happily. In the kitchen, the leader of the religious discussion mentioned to me that this was the deepest personal exchange that had occurred to date in the project. He was clearly very pleased.

Food and its preparation and housekeeping are extremely important in this group, compared to others I have observed. Sunday dinner at the 'religious retreat' was prepared with great gusto. Handpicked blackberries, mountains of ice cream, turkey and the Thanksgiving works. This induced good cheer and light conversation during the meal, but after it internes went off in pairs or alone to read the Sunday funnies and paperback novels. . . . Aside from four conversations I deliberately stimulated, I found no 'serious talk' going on anywhere throughout the week end. There was great bonhomie however.

The above were among notes recorded during a week end retreat. More striking perhaps are the following comments drawn from the very first half-hour of contact with the group:

This group has a difficult time making decisions. They are not truly comfortable with one another. Somehow the group tenses emotionally quite readily and not only strains toward agreement but strains toward discussion preparatory to agreement as well. Inter-sex relations appear to be a focal conflict in the group; I've already seen frustration and jealousy played out in sharp joking. Some of the girls are extremely good looking; others are plain.

Clearly this group was observed and its members interviewed at a time when movement was occurring that might be thought of as transition from stage two of conflict to stage three of congenial complacency. The co-directors were aware of this, though not in these terms. One said in a joint interview,

This group is a real puzzle. It's not like the other projects we have run. Everyone is beginning to get along beautifully, and we all seem to be having a better and better time, but there's not any depth or seriousness of purpose.

These comments from members echo the particular "stereotypes" Thelen and Dickerson find characteristic of their third stage:

The goal of the group is cohesiveness, not productivity. . . . Group-centered behavior is essentially a kind of polite behavior which avoids upsetting the group. Each individual must curb his impulses in such a way that conflict does not become open. . . . The leader is essentially a laissez faire chairman. . . . Our most important goal is satisfaction for each individual. . . .

Group Four: Low integration, low consensus, and very favorable change: Group Four was visited at the same point during the summer as Group Three, about the half-way point. The bulk of our evidence is drawn from a two and a half hour interview with an extremely sensitive and insightful young woman interne, a preprofessional social worker:

This is not a groupy group, although there are definite leaders among us. There are four college graduates, two of them who have already had full time teaching jobs,

There are many members, especially these older more experienced ones, who have very definite ideas and goals, and so there is a problem here in getting enough followers as well as a problem in building a group spirit. Most of us came to this group with a good sense of who we are and what we want, where I think in many projects members are trying to find a kind of group identity.

There are two subgroups of girls. One of them includes girls who want very much to date. There's been little or no dating within our group so far, but these girls have a good time arranging things with the fraternity across the street. The other subgroup of girls is older . . . we're very close, the four of us. The boys don't break into any cliques, really. They get along very well and they seem very mature to me compared to other projects I've been in.

In our meetings we have high differences of opinion on every issue at first, there is such diversity of backgrounds, and then we just fight the issues out. Sometimes on specific issues the dissenters just won't come along, and we always respect this and never force them.

Leadership is curiously divided. Our only Quaker member was very important at first. We all tried to take our norms from him, but then I began to lead in matters of job and social work agency issues. H seems to lead the way on educational programming, and D--our only Negro boy--takes the leadership in racial matters. We even have what I would call the group philosopher--one of the girls, and a girl who cares most about religious affairs.

This group faced at least four unusual challenges during the first half of the summer. An old fashioned Klu Klux Klan style cross burning occurred on the project house lawn early in the summer, directed chiefly against the Negro landlord of the house, but in part against the ICS project itself. Complications stemming only in part from this dramatic event obliged the group to move to new quarters. A decision was reached by democratic procedure to move into a comparatively drab and spartan settlement house, although more comfortable alternatives were available.¹

Both the cross-burning (which touched off conflicts with the landlord) and the decision to move were deeply

¹This is how the new quarters were perceived in advance. Later they were defined by the group as "objectively" more comfortable!

influential events out of which a sense of group purpose was generated. The third event was a member who left the group after the first month. As one interne put it:

He had never been away from home before and he came from an extremely close-knit family. We gave him tremendous support. We all talked it out openly. We wanted very much for him to stay, and somehow this unified the group. We began to feel proud that as a group with only one real Quaker, we could still apply the Quaker philosophy. P--the boy who left--was very different in many ways from the rest of the group, but we were able finally to joke with him about this and he finally decided to stay with us at all costs. Finally his mother forced him to return home.

The fourth challenge was a deviant member. A vegetarian, his meals had to be prepared separately by the internes on kitchen duty at each meal. As one interne reported it, and our observations suggest this is an understatement rather than an exaggeration,

We just didn't know how to cope with K at first. What do you say if someone comes to Sunday dinner in his undershirt? We have been firm in setting down certain manners he must observe; otherwise, we have let him be as different as he wishes to be. It was very hard at first. He not only had to have special dishes, but he never liked the way they were fixed and he even smashed a bowl of food once at the table. We have worked to make it clear to him that he is an accepted member of the group, and we have never rejected him. He has adapted somewhat and he is even conforming more now--on the surface. We are frankly sort of proud of how we have been able to handle this and other problems.

Finally, a general interpretation made by an older, more mature interne:

We have not become as unified as we want to. Our jobs tend to pull us apart, since we can't be together till 8 in the evening or on week ends. Some of the older members came here for the job experience more than for group living, really. . . . We have often discussed the question of unity, and airing the question has intensified our concern with it. There is a group climate coming out slowly, I think.

Other sociometric factors associated with change: Like Riecken, we found dating to be a salient feature of project group life. As he wrote,

Perhaps the most persistent problem that occurs in developing and maintaining solidarity in a work camp is the frequently encountered tendency for heterosexual-pair friendships to develop. Such relationships, regardless of their sexual content as such, tend to become stable and exclusive, and for this reason are usually viewed as a threat to group-wide solidarity.¹

Riecken went on to observe that pairing occurs more frequently in large than in small work camps, a hunch strongly confirmed in our study by the high positive association between size and in-project dating ($R_s = .78$). He concludes that,

Heterosexual pairing and clique formation tend to produce severe strains in work camps because they are opposed to powerful forces, both structural and ideological, in the direction of group-wide, familial solidarity.²

Our evidence confirms this impression. We obtained a significant negative correlation between group inclusiveness (one measure of solidarity) and dating activity, and a negative correlation between group morale and dating. Dating is most likely to occur in groups with proportionately younger members, and we agree with Riecken that "Pairing seems to represent inadequate 'socialization' in terms of the familial kind of solidarity that is considered appropriate for a work camp."

Yet while dating or pairing interferes with the achievement of solidarity and therefore of morale, it does not bear in a simple or direct fashion upon the task of achieving group change, as Riecken also noted about work camps. Dating and attitude change display a curvilinear relationship,³ as shown

¹Volunteer Work Camp, op. cit., p. 70.

²Ibid.

³Incidentally, this is a fourth order polynomial. Curiously, curves of this order were obtained on an extensive sequence of minor variables in relation to attitude change. As Snedecor has pointed out, "A stupendous amount of time has been wasted in ill-advised curve fitting. Only when the end in view is clear should the task be undertaken. . . ." Statistical Methods (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1956), p. 470.

in Chart 7. One finding is unmistakable in this graph. In groups where dating was proportionately very frequent, attitude change was neither favorable nor unfavorable but comparatively static. Where dating occupied only one-third or less of a group's members, however, extent of change varied from unfavorable to highly favorable.

What we have called social inclusiveness in Table 36 refers to the extent to which a group's members include all other members within the range of their social preferences. We asked the question, "Which three members of your group would you most like to spend an evening conversing with?" Groups with high inclusiveness were those which included proportionately the greatest number of members among those actually chosen in response to this question. While inclusiveness bears no relationship to attitude change, it is strongly associated with size, morale and with dating. Highly inclusive groups were smaller, more likely to have high morale, and to have less in-project dating.

This is further evidence that dating tends to damage the solidarity of groups, although the relation is probably reciprocal. Dating or pairing tends to spring up where solidarity is not easy to achieve, especially in groups of fifteen or more members, just as frequent pairing in itself tends to fragment the group into small sub-groups. It would be a mistake however to attend to this process as directly relevant to the political and social growth of members. Like dating, inclusiveness has no direct influence upon change, just as morale itself is not a direct determinant of change.

Initial Political Concern and Involvement

In our chapter on the alumni, we speculated about political concern as an expression of felt discrepancies between our young volunteers and their college and community peers. We were strengthened in this impression by the relationships

obtained in Table 36 between pre-test concern and other factors. The general motives internes bring with them upon entering projects do not appear to affect changes, but there are initial attitudes which prove relevant to the kinds of changes that occur in certain members.

The idea here is that of the relation between the initial pool of attitudes out of which change or stability is generated in each group. Groups with the highest proportions of politically concerned members at the start of the summer, for example, are much more likely than groups with low proportions to achieve favorable attitude changes.

In part this relationship is an artifact of age and sex ratios, and thus probably of other demographic factors. But it has some independent relevance as well. Some groups begin with a membership to whom political and social issues are very salient. Groups with a large number of such members have a greater readiness to learn from the summer experiences, and this readiness is transmitted to or affects less concerned group members.

We can see how initially high concern may generate group changes by predisposing the group early in the summer to incorporation of information gained in educational meetings and during informal discussions. In the same vein, the groups in which initial concern is high tend to be those in which higher proportions of members report having become "very much involved personally" in the life of the project by the close of the summer. Again, this is more likely to occur in groups containing more women than men and more older members. Personal involvement is also positively associated with favorable changes in attitudes.

Aspects of Environment

The differences from project to project in environmental setting are not amenable to quantification. Each setting is extremely unique and the uniqueness stems from so great a

variety of elements that parameters are impossible to establish. One cannot even be certain of what to look for in exploring differences, and yet we can be sure that the setting within which a project is located helps to determine its level of effectiveness.¹ We have already explored aspects of the environments of one high change and one low change group. Here we extend this qualitative evaluation, armed only with the advantage of knowing which groups changed most and which least favorably.

ISU Group Eight showed the most unfavorable attitude changes. This project appears to have suffered from two noteworthy environmental disadvantages. First, the group was housed away from its employing institution in a neighborhood which had no apparent relevance to the life of the group. Members thus worked at the mental hospital during the day but did not otherwise participate in the informal life of the institution and its personnel, except for two evenings when social visits were made with staff and patients.²

Secondly, Group Eight endured extremely hot weather throughout the summer. While most of them worked in air conditioned buildings during the day, their project house was not artificially cooled. This may be highly pertinent insofar as the members were drawn from regions where climatic conditions

¹It matters for example whether a group is located in the heart of a metropolis or in an outlying suburb, yet each group is tied to a unique neighborhood within the larger urban or rural context and we know of no way to make simple systematic comparisons between the ten unique neighborhood settings. It also matters whether a project's living quarters are overcrowded or spacious, yet there is evidence that a large amount of basic floor space and a small group may yet be combined into a condition of overcrowding, for some of the old homes used are badly designed or provide more than enough dormitory space for one sex and too little for the other. These are but examples of the complications involved in assessing environments.

²This may be related to the extremely unfavorable reversal this group exhibited on the Civil Liberties Scale. The one ISU group to change very favorably on this scale was the one that seems to have been most closely bound to the inner environment of the institution.

were markedly more favorable. Of course, it is hard for social scientists to credit much of anything to the weather, but highly extreme conditions are bound to be pertinent. They did not adversely affect the morale or solidarity of this group, however.

ISU Group Ten ranked eighth among the groups in amount of favorable change. Like Group Eight, this project was located away from its employing institution. And this distance from the life of the hospital was reinforced by a work schedule in which these young adults worked from three to eleven p.m. daily, leaving them very little time for effective group activities. While the project house was located in an urban neighborhood, the schedule and the location of work made this a fairly insignificant benefit.

Another way of conveying our impression of the relevance of the environment is to note that among the four ISU projects, two changed favorably and two did not. The two effective groups were located within their employing institutions; the two ineffective groups were not. The two effective groups also took their meals with institutional personnel, while the ineffective groups ate cooperatively prepared meals in their off-grounds houses. These may be coincidental conditions, of course, and they may even be irrelevant. We do know that the two effective groups also reported higher personal involvement in the life of the projects, and we believe this resulted in part from their on-the-scene location.

Individual Factors: Their Impact on Change

So far everything we have attended to has had to do with group influences on social and political growth. We also investigated certain individual differences and the roles they play in affecting maturity in projects. For, if group effects are unusually powerful they should be reflected at the level of individual project members. Indeed this is one way of

evaluating the strength of group factors. Then too, there are certain kinds of forces leading to growth which have little to do with social interaction, and while we cannot attend fully to the importance of individual backgrounds and personality differences, we should explore this vein briefly at least.¹

Sociometric Status: Table 37 shows some of the relationships we found between individual sociometric status and attitude changes. These are pleasing because they represent a larger series of tables which though not always significant, nevertheless follow the same patterns.

¹Some of the tables presented at the end of this chapter concern such individual factors. It is essential to understand that they were selected from among a great many tabulations of individual factors because of the statistical significance of the relationships shown. This is a dangerous if all too common practice. It means that we have located but a few significant factors and have discarded innumerable insignificant ones. This is dangerous because out of any 100 cross-tabulations, five at least are very likely to appear significant, yet the overall trends may contradict the apparent importance of these factors.

A moment ago, for instance, we argued that women were better suited in many ways for project participation and stood to gain more. This is a reasonable argument at the level of group differences; yet when we inspected sex differences in attitude changes we found them to be very consistently insignificant. Race and ethnic differences are similarly of no importance in accounting for the kinds of individuals who are most likely to benefit from project life.

This situation is very much like the ones encountered by Henry Riecken in Volunteer Work Camp, and by Herbert Hyman and Charles Wright in Youth in Transition. While neither explored individual differences intensively, the work they did do led to few returns. Hyman and Wright found that ethnic differences accounted for very little over the range of relevant variables. Riecken found occasional sex differences, with women members exhibiting greater authoritarianism and conservatism initially than men, but even this effect was limited to a few scales and of small magnitude.

We shall not discuss further what we did not find, and we have given warning that in the field study tradition, what we are reporting represent the best fish caught on the expedition.

The pattern is simply that of a positive association between choice status and favorable change. Table 37, for example, reveals that internes who are highly integrated members of their project groups are much more likely to become more non-violent over time. (The bases for categorizing individual choice status are described in Appendix I.) While 50 per cent of the least well integrated members become more pacifistic, 57 per cent of the most well integrated improved, and 67 per cent of those with average status changed favorably.

This holds true for choice status on consensus as well. Persons chosen most frequently as members whom others felt they agreed with most during discussions and business meetings were those who tended most frequently to become more pacifistic. Table 37 demonstrates the same trend, not only on other choice criteria but on authoritarianism as well.

There is another general pattern that bears emphasis. With few exceptions, members who achieved average choice statuses reflected the highest proportions of changes--always within a few percentage points of the highest status members, however.

Together, these patterns lead to three striking conclusions. First, they give us our best evidence that the attitude scales, some of them at least, were relevant to the standards of project groups. The standards imbedded in the authoritarianism and non-violence scales were among those around which the project groups tended to organize--around which individuals made social comparisons and evaluations of one another.¹

¹These patterns hold for the scales on political escapism, civil liberties, and democracy, but not for urban savvy, race relations savvy, and political economic conservatism. It is worth noting that the last three scales represent something other than group norms.

Secondly, the group members most susceptible to these group standards were those who occupied the role positions of followers. In other words, project groups induce forces toward conformity with general Service Committee values. Their impact is sufficient to influence members differentially on the basis of their positions in the group. Least integrated, ideologically least influential, and least included members show least frequent tendencies toward change. And, as other studies have found, highest status individuals come to embody the norms almost but not quite as uniformly as do followers, because sociometric leadership provides a license to deviate slightly (even from standards leaders themselves have done most to formulate). A simpler way of expressing this is to note that project groups organize around certain standards endorsed by the Friends, and these standards have their greatest impact upon the average participants.

Our third conclusion is that the least solidary groups changed most favorably, yet the least chosen individuals tend to change least frequently. There is, in other words, a contrast between group and individual differences. Mild social stress seems to stimulate group development, but individual neglect has no such effect. Thus in groups with relatively larger proportions of social isolates, as in groups where consensus was less readily achieved, group change was greatest. To some extent, this occurs at the cost of isolated and ideologically deviant members.

It is not as simple as concluding that individual gains in social acceptance occur at the expense of group development, but this is a crude approximation. We think this is further evidence of Herbert Thelen's image of the costs of sweetness and light in solidary groups. Where little disagreement occurs, acceptance may run high; but growth becomes less likely. It is probably by coping with peripheral members, with members who do not feel strong attraction to Service Committee standards, that groups come to organize most thoroughly around these

standards. As Oeser observed of work camps in 1940, heavy emphasis on group unity may undermine group growth.¹

Special indicators of effects: Table 38 summarizes a number of findings obtained by dividing internes into groups according to a series of dimensions we expected would prove meaningful. As with demographic factors such as age, sex, and race, these indices failed to differentiate significantly in twenty-two out of thirty tests. Yet there are several trends that occurred which deserve consideration.

Privilege: Assuming that socio-economic background differences should affect the ways in which projects influence members, we divided our summer sample into two classes. The Privileged were those whose fathers were professional and technical workers and/or those whose mothers and fathers were both college educated. The Non-Privileged represent all other participants. It is clear from Table 38 that Privileged internes are more frequently influenced favorably by project experience. Differences between the two classes are not statistically significant save on the civil liberties scale, but the trend is uniform for all five scales.²

Practice: We assumed that there should be some difference in project influence upon individuals who had experienced similar work projects previously and those who had not. We labelled the eighty-one internes who reported having had one or more similar previous experiences, whether with the Friends Service Committee or with other organizations, as Practiced, and

¹Split Wood at Least, as cited in Volunteer Work Camp, op. cit., p. 68.

²It is possible that the differences shown in Table 38 generally reflect no more than initial differences. That is, Non-Privileged internes may have been less authoritarian on the pre-test and therefore have achieved less change because there was less room for movement on the scale. But what we are concerned with here is the question, who changed most relative to others?

the thirty-seven remaining internes as Non-Practiced. Two of the five tests of who changed most frequently were significant and four of the five show a common trend. The fifth test obtained a virtual tie, with 54 per cent of the Practiced members and 51 per cent of the Non-Practiced becoming less escapist politically. The pattern suggests that projects have a greater impact upon Non-Practiced members. Their impact on Practiced members is probably reinforcing but not transformative. This suggests that projects tend to influence young adults most predictably when the venture constitutes a new experience.

Political maturity: Recruits enter projects with differing levels of political experience and interest. Since we have been concerned primarily with political maturation, we assumed that projects should tend to influence individuals differentially on political attitudes in terms of these initial differences. First we devised a crude index of Political Activism.¹

The differences are not significant statistically, but the trend shown in Table 37 is uniform. Internes who were not Activists at the beginning of the summer were more often favorably influenced than were Activists. To test this against different criteria, we used a second index, this time of Political Orientation.² Here the pattern held; differences were statistically significant in two of the five cases. Internes who began with strong political involvements were generally less apt to achieve positive change during the project.

¹Activists were defined as internes who reported belonging to five or more organizations, and/or having been officers in three or more organizations, and/or belonging to civic or political interest groups, and/or who defined themselves as having political influence in their home communities.

²The Politically Oriented were those judged as active in community or national politics, and/or reporting high interest in local politics, and/or high interest in civic organizations, and/or reporting aspirations toward political influence.

These findings relate to the process described in chapter vi. There we noted that many participants are likely to seek out project groups as places where they will find peers who share similar attitudes. Since these individuals find their views defined as extreme in their homes, communities, and campuses, the discovery of like-minded peers within the projects stimulates a temporary relaxation of political intensity. The activists tend to relax for the meanwhile. For participants who enter projects without this concern, one of the impressive influences is the association with more "politicized" peers. For these less active internes, participation amounts to adapting to the political norms held by the activists.

Morale Ratings: In this chapter and in chapter v we have given evidence of the meaningfulness of the ratings internes make of aspects of their experiences. We found for example that groups with relatively lower morale ratings exhibited higher amounts of favorable growth. If this group relationship has power we should expect to locate its influence on the individual plane as well. We have not tested all the available types of morale ratings but have focused on the most reliable one of our three general scores, namely job satisfaction.

Internes who are less satisfied with their jobs, that is, members whose personal ratings fell below the mean score for summer subjects, are more likely to change their attitudes favorably. Of the five tests used, four confirm this finding, three at a level of statistical significance; and one is a tie.

This finding coincides with our group morale findings, but it calls for a different interpretation.¹ The components

¹ Individuals who gave their jobs lower ratings were possibly those who came to projects with higher expectations and while these were not completely fulfilled, these more dedicated internes identified more vigorously with project standards. This interpretation is invalidated in chapter v, however, where we find that high morale associates positively with high initial service and career dedication.

in the rating scale are of a kind that cue the internes to questions of whether their jobs have lived up to their initial expectations--whether their jobs were good training in human relations, good "eye-openers" regarding the realities of adult life, and so forth.

In chapter v we noted that the interne who entered a project without friends and who did not find living arrangements comfortable, and the interne whose father or mother opposed his participation, was most likely to be one who gave below average ratings on our morale questions. Thus internes who adapt to their new situation without aid of college or home town friends; who choose to enter the programs without parental blessing and therefore as a matter of personal decision, find their experiences more frustrating than do other internes. Therefore their morale ratings of their jobs are slightly lower. Their summer has not been as pleasant as it has for others, but the challenge to accommodate, the personal responsibility to make a go of it, seems more productive of attitude improvement than does gratification.

Heterogeneity: We divided internes into two groups. One, the outer core, contained all members who were non-white, and/or citizens of foreign countries, and/or whose fathers were not professional or managerial workers. The inner core contained all other persons. Thus we tried to test for differential effects in terms of relative background homogeneity versus heterogeneity. We found that the two groups do not differ significantly on any of the five scales used in Table 38, yet differences are apparent and uniform. The homogeneous inner core tends to change favorably with greater frequency than does the outer core. Project attitude gains are relatively greater for white upper middle class citizens.

In our group test of effects of relative heterogeneity we find that the factor only indirectly influences attitude gains, probably by stimulating groups toward accommodative interaction. If this hypothesis is true, it is likely that on

an individual plane homogeneous young adults gain more from contact with a diversity of foreign students; that the advantage for growth rests with white upper middle class citizens rather than with the foreign students. Some aspects of this are elaborated in the following section.

The Foreign Students

In chapter iv we separated foreign from citizen participants out of a conviction that many of our attitude scales are "culture-bound" and from preliminary findings that profiles of scores from foreign project members looked substantially different.¹ What can we say however about the apparent effects of the summer experiences on foreign students and volunteers?

First, unlike other groups, the foreign sample of ten members did not make statistically significant changes in attitudes on any of the ten basic scales except Non-Violence (see Table 8). They approached significance on several however, and as a group they did not change unfavorably in any instance.

The foreign group was much more Authoritarian initially. While they improved very slightly, foreign participants were still more Authoritarian on the post-test than our most extreme national group had been on the pre-test. They were initially more escapist politically than American subjects and improved only very slightly. They were also much more apathetic politically, both before and after, than the average citizen. They were far less democratically oriented, both before and after, and exhibited no movement on this scale. True to our understanding of political differences, the foreign group was initially less conservative on political and economic questions than our most "radical" group of citizens. The foreign group did not change on this scale, either.

¹The extremely low correlations between individual foreign pre and post-test scale scores suggests a great deal of instability and thus low reliability as well. See Tables 9, 10, 11, 17, and 18.

Our observations and interviews indicate that very special problems attend effective involvement of foreign participants in project life. For example, here are excerpts from interviews with Internes in both II and ICS:

(II): I am the oldest Interne in the group. This makes it all a little different for me. I am quiet. I have very little to say. Often I do not go out with a small group of Internes on their informal activities because I feel uncomfortable with them when there are only five or six in the little group. I do not feel that way when the whole group does something, though. I am accepted socially--and no one expects me to be garrulous. I have been interested in the Friends' Society for five or six years, and it has been disappointing to find not even two or three Quakers in the group with whom to discuss ideas.

(ICS): I feel older than nearly everyone in the project, really, and that I am in search of things of a different sort. Nearly everyone has been very nice, although the house is so crowded it is very hard to have even the littlest bit of privacy. But there is no discussion that I would call seriously valuable, and I find I know more about being a Quaker than nearly anyone else in the group.

(ICS): This is not the kind of group I would like to be with all the time because I don't like to try to have a good time all of the time. People here are too loose--not interested enough in their work. I myself am interested most of all in my job, yet I learned just the other day that the purpose of this project is to give young people a 'good group experience!'

There is evidence that foreign participants generally find their job assignments of great value. Their real problems stem from conflicts between the expectations they bring and the reality they discover about informal life with a group of young Americans. They seem to expect greater adherence to piety and to the social ethics of the Quakers. They seem to expect greater asceticism and less gregarious hedonism. Or at least in the struggle to accommodate to project group life, these are the features they claim to find stressful. This may have as much to do with age as with nationality. Seven of the ten foreign members were twenty-three years or older.

In Internes in Industry groups, a special problem often confronts non-white foreign students. Although warned in advance of the possibility, they discover it is often much more difficult for them than it is for other group members to secure blue collar positions. Racial and ethnic prejudice combine to bar them from existing job openings. Some even become embittered over the fact that this experience is instructive for the project group as a whole, but in a way that seems to be beneficial at their expense. The tradition in II projects that internes must strive to find their own jobs intensifies this dilemma, since foreign students must on occasion rely on the intervention of the project director to secure some kind of work.

Chart 7

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Two Sociometric Indices

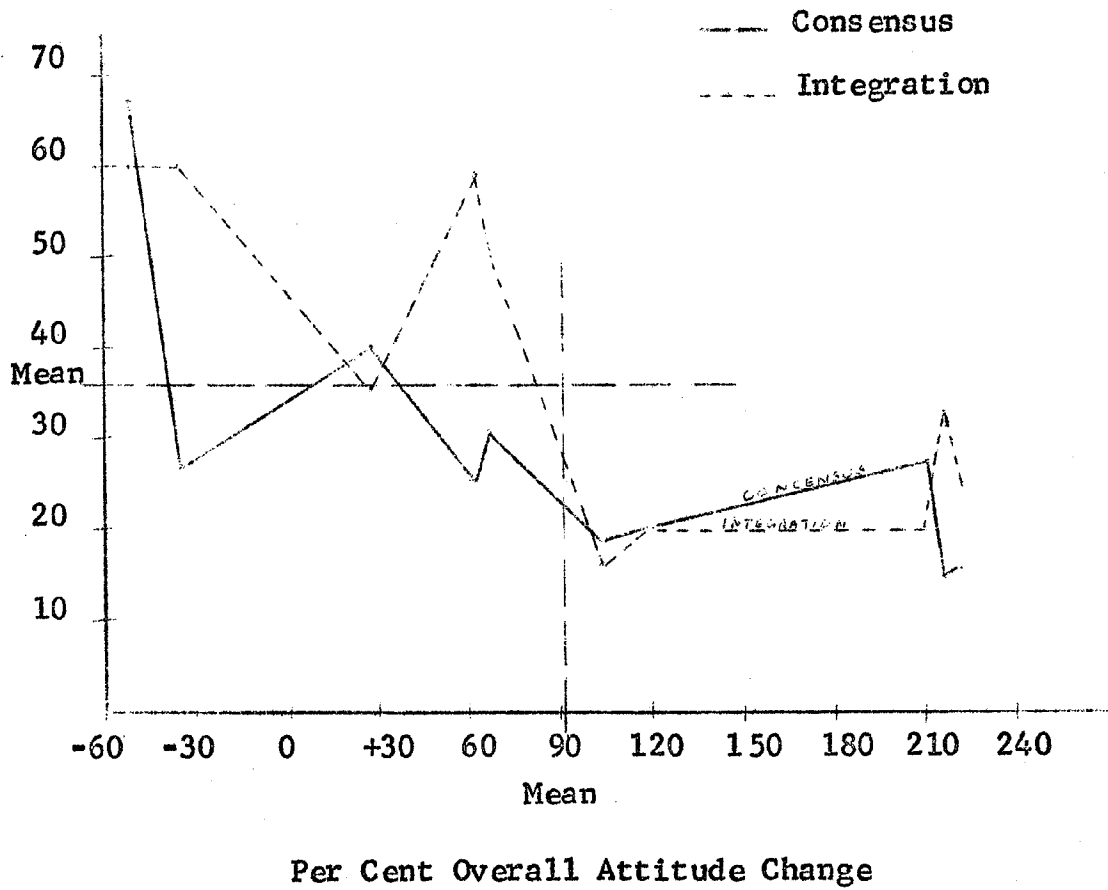
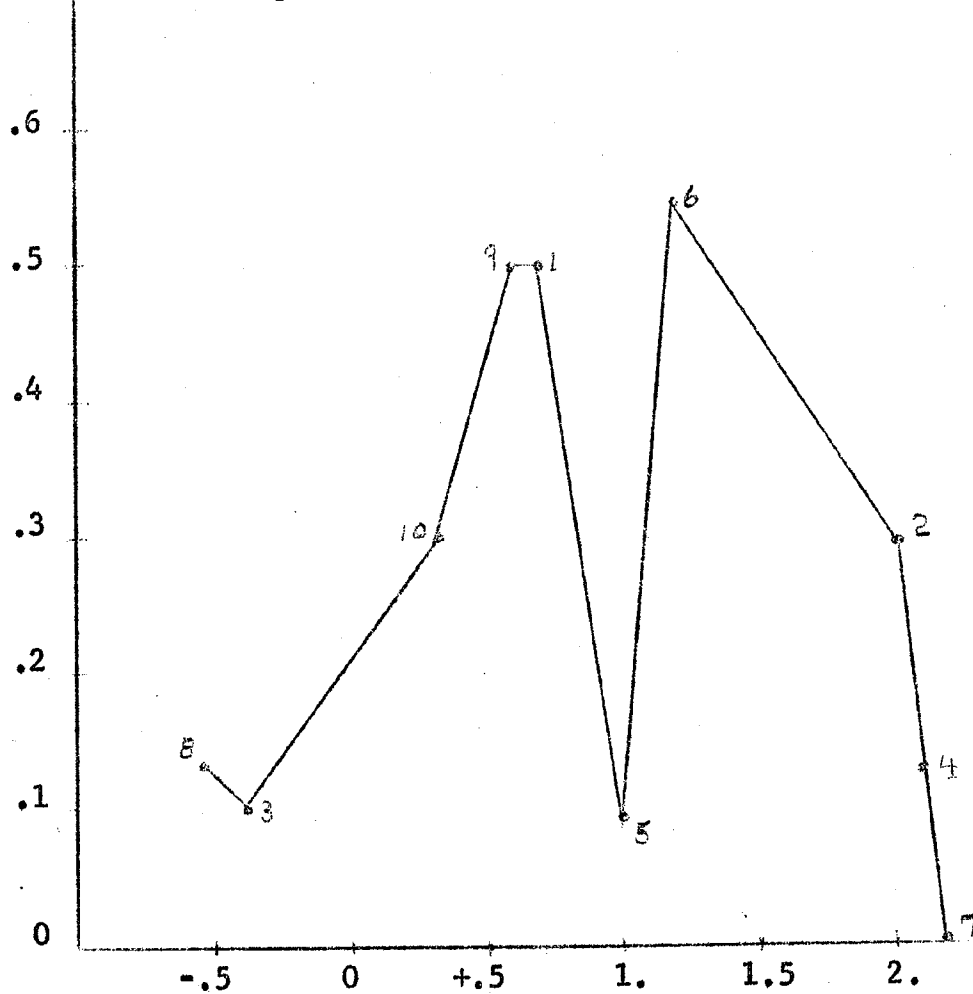


Chart 8

DATING AND ATTITUDE CHANGE
Proportion Per Group Who
Dated Within Group



Per Cent Overall Attitude Change

TABLE 36

RANK ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF SELECTED FACTORS*

Factors	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.Change	.05	.40	.21	.50	-.46	.20	-.64	-.02	-.84	.85	-.08
2.Morale		-.25	.13	0	-.21	.12	.44	.69	-.39	.07	-.31
3.Involvement			-.32	.59	-.47	.53	.03	.15	-.17	.31	-.04
4.Grp Size				-.15	.50	.14	-.24	-.58	-.31	0	.78
5.Sex Ratio					-.59	.67	-.04	-.14	-.26	.41	.19
6.Age						-.14	.35	-.17	.34	-.66	.45
7.Heterogeneity							-.10	-.08	-.47	-.33	.26
8.Integration								.27	.30	-.66	.16
9.Inclusiveness									-.20	.11	-.67
10.Consensus										-.69	-.04
11.Initial Concern											.30
12.Dating											

* Note: Correlations of .56 or more are statistically significant at the .05 level or better. However, we shall consider correlations of .45 or more as relevant to our analysis, as well as positive and negative direction regardless of strength of relationships. The factors consist of relative proportions within the ten 1958 Summer groups, as follows:

1. Change: Most to least amount of favorable attitude change as shown in Summary Effectiveness Index Scores.
2. Morale: Highest to lowest group morale scores.
3. Involvement: Groups ranked from highest to lowest proportions of members reporting very high involvement with project life on post-test.
4. Group Size: Largest to smallest groups.
5. Sex Ratio: Largest to smallest proportion of women per group.
6. Age: Highest to lowest proportion of members 20 years of age and under.
7. Heterogeneity: Highest to lowest proportion of members who are not white, without professional or managerial fathers, and not native born. (See Table 3.)
8. Integration: Sociometric Index. Groups ranked from most to least.
9. Inclusiveness: See 8 above.
10. Consensus: See 8 above.
11. Concern: Proportion of group expressing initial concern about public affairs or politics. From most to least concerned groups.
12. Dating: Proportion of group reporting in-project dating on post-test. From most to least.

TABLE 37

SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE STATUS OF INDIVIDUALS
BY PER CENT FAVORABLE ATTITUDE CHANGE

Sociometric Index	N	Per Cent Favorable Change	
		Authoritarianism	Non-Violence
<u>Integration</u>	(118)		
High	(49)	74	57
Medium	(21)	76	67
Low	(48)	54	50
		$\chi^2 = 7.69,$	$\chi^2 = 6.07,$
		$p < .05$	$p < .05$
<u>Consensus</u>	(118)		
High	(47)	64	64
Medium	(25)	68	68
Low	(46)	47	41
		$\chi^2 = 6.65,$	$\chi^2 = 5.71,$
		$p < .05$	$p < .10$
<u>Mean Status on Four Measures</u>	(118)		
High	(52)	75	65
Medium	(22)	54	64
Low	(44)	59	41
		$\chi^2 = 4.10,$	$\chi^2 = 6.54,$
		$p < .20$	$p < .05$

TABLE 38

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Per Cent Achieving Favorable Change on Attitude Scales						
N	Dimension	F	NV	PE	C.L.	Demo
68	Privileged	72	59	56	34	57
50	Non-Privileged	58	52	50	22*	42
81	Practiced	64	54	54	25	47
37	Non-Practiced	70*	59	51	38	57
66	Political Activism	61	51	50	26	45
53	Non-Activism	73	56	58	33	56
65	High Job Satis- faction	66	51	46	26	43
53	Low Job Satis- faction	66	56	62*	68*	58*
65	Pol Orientation	61	46	55	32	40
53	Non-Pol Orient	70	68*	51	25	60*
	Inner Core	71	61	60	32	56
	Outer Core	59	48	43	24	41

*Diff. Sig. on χ^2 test by .05 or better.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The general aim of this study was to answer this question: How effective are three American Friends Service Committee programs--Internes in Community Service, Internes in Industry, and Institutional Service Units--in influencing the political and social maturity of their participants? In this chapter we review the findings in an effort to answer this question by addressing a series of more specific questions implied by the general problem.

This study was deliberately assigned to an outside agency. Members of the research group are not familiar with the limitations within which policy decisions must be made. Nevertheless we feel an obligation to point out some of the ways in which our findings might be used to strengthen the domestic work programs. Thus in this chapter we hazard a number of suggestions we hope will be considered by policy makers within the Service Committee. If the suggestions do no more than open a door to thinking about the programs, their worth will be established.

Positive Influence in General

Without regard to differences between programs, we found that participants become significantly less authoritarian, more knowledgeable about urban problems, and more realistic about political action. The programs are so organized as to encourage internes toward greater individual flexibility,

higher tolerance of ambiguity, increased ability to engage in the solution of political problems, and improved understanding about certain social problems. These influences occur even though the individuals who volunteer to serve are initially highly non-authoritarian and realistic about politics.

In the same way, participants become significantly more convinced of the ability of groups to influence the direction of local and national politics. They become significantly more interested in local politics and public affairs and in the activities of civic organizations. They also become more extensively disposed toward active involvement in welfare programs in their home communities.

More than one in four summer project members claimed that participation had stimulated favorable changes in their educational plans; most of them were dedicated to spending more college time in the study of the social sciences and human relations. About one-third of the internes increased their interest in entering professional careers in one of the social service occupations. There occurred a marked general interest on the post-test in joining relevant social action and service associations. And a case problem revealed a significant increase in disposition to "take action" in a situation where a hypothetical community lacked essential social services.

There are several apparent "setbacks" resulting from participation, to which we have given repeated attention. Most noteworthy was the finding that most internes come to projects with a high emotional concern about politics or public affairs. At the close of projects, a significant proportion reduce this level of concern. Those who began with lower concern tend to become more concerned, but this is a comparatively minor pattern.

We concluded that many young adults are stimulated to enter projects in part because they seek peers who share their fairly extreme social and political attitudes. Moreover, their

attitudes appear extreme because of the contrast between them and those held by peers at home and on campus. High emotional concern seems to us a function of this home and campus situation. Once association with project group peers begins, attitudes are reinforced but intensity relaxes with the discovery that one's views are not so extreme after all. From the alumni findings, we concluded that the intensity probably returns after internes re-enter their homes and college settings. For those with initially low concern, intensity increases with discovery in the project of significant peers who appear more concerned politically.

The second "setback" is that a majority of participants became less persuaded of the political potency of individual citizens as a result of their project experiences. It is hard to know whether this is an unfavorable trend, however. Internes appeared extremely optimistic on this scale initially. It is possible that they simply became more realistic about the potency of individuals, or that this drop is merely a feature of the same relaxation of emotional intensity, or both.

There is, finally, some reduction in interest in church activities as a result of project experience. Where two-thirds of the internes are very much interested in church activities initially, less than 60 per cent report the same interest level at the close of the summer. Moreover this trend is amplified among alumni. In chapter v we interpreted this as part of the secularization college students undergo in our society generally, and, in the short term, as disenchantment with religion because of frustrations about meditation in projects and project de-emphasis of spiritual as against secular service goals. We obtained no evidence that project life is directly germane to the religious life, favorable or otherwise, of participants.

Program Differences in Effectiveness

While greater overall change occurred among ICS participants than among the II or ISU members, we cannot

conclude that any one program is more or less desirably influential than another. Differences in the content of programs has some effect, so that one program induces important changes on two scales but not on others, and so forth.

As we showed in chapter iv, the greatest differences occur between project groups. One ICS group showed unfavorable change and one ISU group showed the greatest favorable change achieved among the ten groups.

TABLE 39

MEAN PER CENT IMPROVEMENT PER ATTITUDE SCALE^a

Program	Scale									
	F	NV	PE	D	CL	Tol	A/A	Race	Urb	Mean
ICS	8 ^b	6 ^b	7	13	27	31 ^b	4	8 ^b	6 ^b	12
II	7 ^b	9	13 ^b	5	34 ^b	16	12	12 ^b	6 ^b	12
ISU	10 ^b	7	10 ^b	2	-9 ^b	1	35	5	9 ^b	8

^aIndex of Effectiveness. See chap. iv.

^bMagnitude of Change Significant at .10 level or better. Cf., Table 8, chap iv.

Table 39 summarizes the differences between the three programs in relative magnitudes of favorable attitude change on nine attitude scales. ICS members changed significantly and favorably on five of the nine scales. On Civil Liberties, moreover, they approached significance very closely and showed great proportionate improvement, given their high initial scores. II members paralleled this achievement very closely, changing significantly on five of the nine scales, and closely approaching significance on a sixth, Non-violence.

Whatever differences obtain between programs spring from contrasts between ISU and the other two. ISU members actually became significantly less supportive of civil liberties,

a trend we related to their exposure to the security traditions of custodial institutions such as mental hospitals. Even with this contrast, there are greater similarities than differences in effects between the programs.

TABLE 40
INTER-PROGRAM COMPARISONS, MEAN SCORES

Program Sample	Scale*									
	F		NV		D		CL		A/A	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
ICS	41	37	21	19	49	48	2.0	1.7	1.49	1.37
Riecken Work Camp	41	39	16	15	50	46				
Hyman Citizen- chip	45	41					2.4	1.8	?	1.90

*Scores rounded, on F, NV, and D.

Table 40 summarizes the essential known differences between the effects of the ICS program and those of the programs studied by Riecken, Hyman and Wright. Differences in techniques prevented more extensive quantitative comparisons. It is obvious that the work campers are extremely similar to our summer internes. This is the case, incidentally, even where II and ISU subjects are included. Riecken's campers differ only in having been initially more pacifistic.

Hyman and Wright's group is less comparable. Their subjects were initially more authoritarian, more apathetic,¹

¹While Hyman and Wright do not report their pre-test mean for Action/Apathy, they do give the post-test mean and they mention their subjects became less apathetic over time--thus warranting our inference.

and less libertarian, although the magnitude of change is much like that we discovered. There is no basis whatever, whether from these data or from more qualitative considerations, to allow the conclusion that one program is more or less effective than another.

There is considerable basis, however, for concluding that the successful impact of all three action programs derives chiefly from informal voluntary association with a group of peers organized under standards of democratic relations, high interpersonal tolerance and shared attitudes of political liberalism.

Some Specific Questions Answered

We raised three specific questions as sub-parts of our general problem. At this point we should assess each of these. First we wanted to learn whether internes become more intelligently concerned about urban social problems. All three kinds of projects changed significantly toward better scores on our Urban Savvy scale. (The ISU groups improved most, paradoxically, but this was due to lower initial levels of knowledge about the city.) The alumni scores further strengthen this finding. ICS alumni in particular proved extremely knowledgeable. There is also little question of the relative superiority of ICS over II and ISU in providing conditions for learning about urban problems. Ignoring initial level of understanding in ICS members (which was very high), favorable change was greatest on the Urban Savvy scale in this program. And ICS Group Three, generally an unsuccessful project group, achieved well in this respect. The superiority may be attributed to differences in job assignments. ICS tasks more than any other, throw at least a proportion of participants into direct contact with city politics and social problems.

Our Race Relations Savvy scale is also pertinent to this question. Here we found that all groups save one ISU improved

somewhat. However, the most significant extent of favorable change occurred in II projects, not ICS. This (we infer) resulted from relatively greater heterogeneity within II groups and from exposure to the rich sources of blue collar, ethnic diversity on the job.

Other evidence supporting the conclusion that the programs do help internes become more intelligently concerned about urban problems has already been described in the general section above.

The second specific question we raised was, do internes learn something about ways of meeting modern social problems? Our answer assumes that the kinds of political and social solutions endorsed by the American Friends Service Committee are to guide our evaluation.

ICS members become significantly more non-violent, as we have shown, and this scale embodies principles of pacifistic means for resolving conflicts. They become more realistic politically, meaning they are less disposed to avoid, ignore or underestimate the importance of organized political action and the responsibilities of citizenship. They are initially extremely tolerant and libertarian politically and their activism is too high to allow measurement of favorable change, given the limits of the scale.

Without question, these dispositions, all of them involving a grasp of good approaches to problem solving, are reinforced by participation. While ICS groups changed most extensively on the Democracy scale, no program achieved statistically significant change on what we took as our most meaningful indicator on this question of learning ways to solve problems.

Again, internes were extremely democratic in orientation to begin with. The alumni findings show that this perspective is maintained over time. Yet informal group relations during

projects are so crucial that they may act to strengthen democratic principles or to weaken them temporarily.¹

Our general summary sheds additional light on the question of improved grasp of solutions to social problems. It may be that our finding of temporary relaxation of high emotional concern about public affairs can be interpreted as relevant to an increase in intelligent concern. Although the emotional intensity "returns" to characterize alumni attitudes, there is nonetheless a kind of transmutation of emotional intensity into a series of action orientations. Internes become better informed and more fully disposed to affiliate with existing civic and service associations. They are more prepared to channel their energies.

This is, incidentally, consonant with Riecken's psychological findings about work campers. The experience of engaging repeatedly in discussions of practical social problems, of attending peace vigils and pressure group assemblies, appears from interview testimony to make these activities less peculiar and dramatic for the individual. These become routine activities. There is a likelihood of gradual discovery of the machinery for social action.²

¹We think the Democracy Scale is a particularly relevant and reliable instrument. Yet it does not appear consonant with other scale findings. It is negatively associated with overall positive group change ($R_s = -.11$), and unlike other scales, favorable change was greatest in younger groups. Groups with highest proportions of members 20 years old and younger changed most favorably ($R_s = .51$). Most impressive is the finding that the higher the group morale rating, the lower the group change toward greater democratism ($R_s = -.68$). Apparently groups characterized by higher social conflict are more likely to internalize standards of democratic process than are more readily solidary groups. Democracy correlates negatively but insignificantly with our three primary Sociometric Scales.

²The qualitative evidence persuades us that ICS volunteers in community organization assignments are most likely to experience this growth, particularly those volunteers who share in social research on human problems such as housing shortages, urban renewal, race tensions, and alcoholism. But the number of individuals so assigned was too small to allow systematic testing.

Our third specific question was whether internes become more involved in social service activity and in other kinds of community leadership. On the summer subjects, our only evidence comes from the finding that many internes want to join worthwhile service organizations, and that significant increases occurred in high interest in civic organizations and local politics. The real test of this question, we think, must be made from the alumni questionnaires. We found that alumni are endemic joiners of service groups, civic associations, and the like. Three out of four are highly concerned with public affairs, and they are unusually regular voters in elections. Moreover, alumni tend to become more active in working on community problems in their home towns as they get older. They are surprisingly influential in local welfare circles, given their youthfulness, and most of them aspire to greater influence in this sphere--though not in politics.

In this connection, we should emphasize our conviction from the evidence that former internes are unlikely to become members of future local, state, or national political elites. Their primary future contributions, we believe, will lie in professional service work and in volunteer efforts in civic associations and interest groups. There were no noteworthy differences on any dimension between ICS and II alumni.

The evidence therefore supports the following evaluative conclusion about the general effectiveness of the three domestic work programs:

1. Internes become more intelligently concerned about urban social problems.
2. Internes definitely learn not only how to identify problems more accurately; they also learn something about non-violent techniques for the solution of problems.
3. While it is too early to determine whether our summer subjects will become progressively more involved in the assumption of community leadership, the evidence suggests that

as a result of program participation they become more disposed toward assuming such responsibility; and the alumni findings show that progressive involvement of this kind is characteristic of former participants.

Accounting for Favorable Change

We have shown that three domestic work programs of the AFSC achieved closely similar levels of effectiveness in stimulating favorable attitude changes among participants; and that this effectiveness appears generally similar to that achieved by volunteer work camps and the Encampment for Citizenship.

One useful policy implication in this evaluation of effectiveness is that program content, particularly didactic differences, appear to be of little importance in influencing attitude growth. Favorable change in ICS is practically identical in magnitude and nature to change in work camps, for example. Moreover the important differences are those that obtain between project groups, and much of the effort of this study has been directed to documenting this finding.

Riecken concluded, in a section entitled, "Why Does Work Camping Change Attitudes and Personality Characteristics?"

We propose that the degree of change in a given attitude will be proportional to the degree to which it is institutionalized in the group--i.e., the degree to which the appropriate behavior is defined and sanctions against violation are strong. This will depend on . . . (1) the explicit ideology of the group . . . (2) relevance to action in the particular action situation . . . (3) the nature of interpersonal relationships obtaining in the group.¹

Because he did not study the work camps individually but rather used a single sample of subjects drawn from several camps, Riecken was unable to test these interpretations systematically (although his qualitative evidence is convincing).

¹Op. cit., p. 164.

In any event we are impressed by his emphasis upon informal social process within work groups as the primary source of change.

Hyman and Wright devoted twenty pages to "An Analysis of Factors Responsible for Changes During Encampment." They limited this investigation to three aspects: the relative importance of didactic work versus informal group life; the influence of disruptive personal experiences during the encampment (such as fatigue and frustration); and differential change among ethnic subgroups. They concluded,

The didactic program nowhere manifests itself as the dynamic for changes . . . tests of communal life are negative . . . (Regarding disruptive experience) the differences are negligible, but almost never does the disrupted group exhibit more change in the desired direction. . . . The role of ethnicity is negligible. . . .¹

Their important achievement with regard to accounting for why change occurs rests in their brief empirical analysis of reference group identification. They were able to demonstrate that certain of the Encampment subjects came individually to identify with certain standards and ideals endorsed by the program directorate. They showed that this process underlies the changing attitude scale scores.

What all three investigators did not address extensively is the problem of assessing the factors that contribute most directly to the development of favorable attitude changes. Reference group identification, internalization of work camp ideology, and the impact of a climate of attitudes summarize their interpretive frameworks. One has still, however, to determine where these factors proved most effective and where least.

By exploring differences between project groups, we have been able to account for a portion of the variance that exists from group to group in magnitude of social and political growth.

¹Op. cit., V-2-11.

To accomplish this, we attended to a number of group and individual factors, primarily to differences in group composition, sociometric structure, and several aspects of the "set" of members in each group. We shall not summarize all our findings here; instead we choose to emphasize those that may have greatest relevance to policy formation.

Among the factors of composition that influence change, we found sex balance, age, and background heterogeneity to be most important. We found that groups with higher proportions of women change most favorably. Members of dominantly female groups also reported greater personal involvement in the life of the project on our After Questionnaire, and involvement correlates positively with amount of favorable change. Similarly, dominantly female groups reported higher initial concern about politics and public affairs, and high initial concern correlates very significantly with magnitude of favorable change. We presented evidence to show that domestic work projects are intrinsically better designed to contribute to the growth of women than to men, even though individual young women do not differ significantly from men in achieving changes. This is a group effect.

We also found that the more youthful the group, the less likely it is to achieve changes; and the less personal involvement occurs. Relative youthfulness is also highly and negatively associated with low initial concern about public affairs.

Heterogeneity was defined on the basis of race, nationality, and father's occupation. Relative heterogeneity has no direct association with favorable attitude change, but high background heterogeneity is more likely than homogeneity to stimulate accommodative efforts in project groups. In the process of working relatively hard to learn to live together, more heterogeneous groups stimulate greater personal involvement of members which in turn contributes to favorable changes.

Our sociometric findings amount to a finding of what Herbert Thelen, the group dynamicist, has called "the

institutionalization of complacency." The higher a group's relative social integration, the lower the group's amount of attitude change. The higher a group's relative degree of consensus, the lower its likelihood of favorable attitude change. Both findings are contingent on the fact that all Quaker work projects develop rather strong integration, consensus and general solidarity. We are concerned only with relative differences.

When we link these facts with the finding that groups with higher solidarity tend to have high morale, the idea of institutionalized complacency becomes apparent. Groups which find themselves challenged or mildly frustrated by internal differences or by environmental circumstances are the groups which are relatively most likely to achieve desired changes. To put the matter differently, groups that become preoccupied with unity and social acceptance also tend toward complacency. Their members are less likely to be stimulated to take on new social and political attitudes.

This central interpretation is supported at the individual level. High social choice status and middle-level status correlates significantly with individual change. Thus the least solidary groups changed most favorably, while the least chosen members within groups changed least.

In groups where little rejection, isolation or disagreement occurs among members, solidarity is strong but attitude gains become less likely. This is amplified by our finding that individuals who change most favorably tend significantly to give lower morale ratings to their experiences.

We also explored briefly certain differential effects on individuals, regardless of program or project group. Two kinds of evidence revealed that white upper middle class participants tend significantly to be those who gain most from project life: an index of background privilege yielded this finding, as did our index of background heterogeneity. Similarly, we found that projects have their greatest favorable impact on persons

who are participating for the first time in such an enterprise, and upon those who are less active in politics and community affairs prior to entry. Finally we found that foreign student participants are not affected significantly by their experience, or else their gains are made on dimensions we failed to tap with our "culture-bound" scales.

One dimension of project groups that could not be tapped quantitatively but which is of great importance is that of environmental situation. Our interviews, observations, and morale rating scales, all support the conclusion that groups tend to gain most where their environment is relatively less "comfortable" and more challenging. Among the observable ingredients in the most effective environments are slight overcrowding in the project house, exposure to neighborhood life in the immediate surrounds and access to other institutional or community action groups. Some sense of hardship about living conditions is also conducive to attitude growth, as are circumstantial challenges to ideal such as the cross burning incident cited in chapter vii.

Comfortable environments appear to be most conducive to group solidarity and high morale. Incidentally the factors we found to associate most clearly with high morale were parental approval of participation and entry into projects together with college and home town friends. In this respect we believe we have isolated a cluster of interrelated forces. Where a group is composed of members whose parents approve and whose friends are sharing in the venture, and where this group experiences a comfortable, only very mildly challenging environment, the group is likely to become highly integrated and to define its experiences as essentially like those encountered at home and in the college dormitory or fraternity house.

Where internes enter groups without parental support and without former social contacts with other participants, and where they confront some environmental stress and challenge, growth is more likely to occur. We interpret this to mean that

gains are greatest where a project group is organized and located most consistently as a kind of cultural island;¹ where the experience is most likely to be labelled by the group as memorably unique. We do not find this interpretation surprising. Learning of new attitudes is most likely to occur when discrepancies develop; when expectations are not too readily fulfilled; when accommodative effort is necessary.

Some Policy Recommendations

Group Solidarity: O.A. Oeser and Henry Riecken both concluded their studies of work camps by recommending that solidarity should not be a primary objective of work projects. We have reconfirmed this point of view and wish to emphasize its strong relevance to domestic work programs of all kinds. Group unity may have value in itself; it may reinforce the impact of project experience; it may be in other cases a by-product of group endeavor. But there are forms of solidarity which reduce a group's chance of influencing its members constructively, and these forms emerge from spontaneous informal processes. Group leaders cannot, if they choose to stress solidarity, control the direction it will take. In view of this, we suggest that other goals should receive greater emphasis.

Dating and Pairing: Riecken concluded that dating and "pairing off" were not the genuine hindrances to group achievement that they were often supposed to be. He noted that these phenomena often introduce severe strains upon group life, however. We confirmed both of his interpretations, and therefore suggest that dating has no direct bearing upon a group's capacity for growth.

¹This takes for granted that exposure to surrounds and to other action groups is desirable and a part of the island arrangement. The island is to be set off, not from its urban surrounds, but from close contiguity with home, family, and college settings.

Group Composition: We know that decisions in recruiting and assigning internes are limited by the needs of the collaborating welfare agencies and institutions, by the kinds of young adults most likely to cue to publicity about the programs, and by selection criteria established by the AFSC itself. In chapter iii we also considered a number of forces within the recruitment process which act informally to predetermine who will apply. There may be other exigencies which we are unable to take into account. In view of these conditions we have tried to recommend actions that seem to us feasible, with the awareness that even some of these may be ruled out by unknown limitations or value preferences.

Though groups with high proportions of women members gain most attitudinally, this is a group rather than an individual consideration. The policy of coeducational groups is demonstrably worth maintaining. It may be expected that men will gain most from membership in groups with a sizeable component of women members.

If possible, an effort should be made to recruit larger numbers of young volunteers who are twenty-one years of age or older, in preference to what appears a trend toward increasing recruitment of college freshmen and sophomores. Young project members gain most when assigned to groups in which the larger proportion of members are somewhat older, as do the older internes themselves.

An effort has always been made by the directorate to recruit as large a proportion of internes as possible from a great diversity of ethnic, geographical, and socioeconomic backgrounds. We think our data support the pragmatic worth of this policy, on the ground that homogeneous white upper middle class citizens benefit from this contact.¹

¹Regional unit discussions seem often to revolve around this issue of the kinds of young adults that should be recruited. We attended one discussion where the question was whether high school graduates who did not go on to college could somehow

In this regard, our evidence suggests that the efforts of official recruiters, primarily of AFSC college secretaries, have reached those young adults already most familiar with the programs; many have already participated in similar AFSC activities. Other college students tend to hear about the programs from their friends and relatives. Conceivably, recruitment practices could be reorganized, assuming that greater diversity is desired.

While every group needs some members who already "know the ropes," and who embody the norms of democratic group relations and non-violence, it would also seem possible to limit the recruitment of internes who have served in one or more work projects and to focus recruitment efforts upon newcomers.

Foreign Participants: The domestic work programs do not appear to be well suited to the needs of foreign participants, in spite of the benefits American nationals derive from contact with them. We suggest that this question deserves extensive inquiry. One avenue for empirical investigation would be to question foreign alumni, at least a portion of whom left usable addresses on record.

Environmental Setting: We have indicated the impossibility at this stage of testing systematically the ingredients of the ideal project setting. We know that this factor more than any other is also subject to considerations beyond the control of the AFSC. But the following suggestions are well enough grounded in empirical findings to deserve consideration.

be included within ICS and II. Another informal discussion concerned the question of whether "ICS is getting too middle class?" To some extent, the social diversity of internes constitutes a functional myth. Supporters and participants want to think of their membership as highly diverse or richly conglomerate. While no project group is ever as diversified as its members would like to think, we strongly believe that both the myth and efforts by the directorate to approximate it in reality are of great worth.

Project housing should be located as close to the work setting as possible. This is particularly relevant to Institutional Service Units which, when located outside the employing institution, appear to suffer undesirable effects. It is also pertinent to Internes in Community Service; the group that changed least favorably among the four sampled was the one least adequately exposed to a true urban milieu. Another project gained greatly by moving from a less to a more thoroughly metropolitan location. This suggestion, incidentally, has been a recurrent one in reports made by directors and regional officers.

Housing should also be so located that intergroup contacts are easily and naturally established. Association with ethnic subcultures, lower class peers, and civic associations (other than Society of Friends acquaintances and supporters) would seem most relevant. In ISU projects, these contacts may be provided by housing each group within the institution. In II groups, links may be and often are made with settlement houses and similar service organizations. The concept we are recommending is that of a cultural island equipped with bridges to relevant human associations. Project environments should differ markedly from home and campus milieus. Where the contrast is clear and strong, more adaptive dispositions are likely to be stimulated.

On some occasions, regional offices have viewed the prospect of a project as a potential task force of young volunteers who may be employed to help resolve a pressing social problem. While this view is dramatically engaging, we believe it gravely exceeds the range of ends to which projects may be directed. Projects may be more realistically conceived of as groups designed to encourage the growth of members. Naturally, the group may be expected to contribute something by way of concrete service during its existence. But if group development is given chief priority, then the environment should be

selected principally for this reason. By implication, this means the work schedules of members must be of a kind that allow free evenings and week ends for the pursuit of group objectives. Our evidence suggests that some conflict in work shifts is in no way harmful. Indeed, caution must be taken not to attempt to so pre-design the group setting as to make it excessively convenient and comfortable. But groups in which three shifts compete and conflict, or ones assigned to night shifts only, cannot be expected to develop effective group standards.

Environmentalism versus Clinician: We were repeatedly fascinated to find project directors and some regional officers vigorously committed to clinical psychological or case worker orientations. In our judgement, these perspectives can entail undesirable consequences for group development. By viewing a project group as a temporary assembly of uniquely complex personalities, and by defining individual behavior on the project as adjustive or maladjustive, we think leaders may neglect the larger potentialities of the venture.

The clinical orientation often extends to assessments of the social and political maturity of internes, and the resources of leadership are sometimes devoted to determining whether internes are well motivated or "sufficiently" concerned." The latent function of this perspective is defensive. A group of adults may protect themselves from project failure by characterizing a group's members as immature, inadequately motivated, or poorly oriented.

Certainly these perspectives do have relevance and validity. There is little question that counselling of internes by directors will be necessary. But we would encourage directors to give priority to managerial organization of the project environment. Assessments of motives and maturity are destined to ignore the contrasts between the capacities of internes and the modal characteristics of their campus peers. We have demonstrated the sense in which internes are unusually

well motivated. We have also noted the forces, including screening by the program directorate, which combine to select competent young adults. Whether they develop effectively will depend on both controllable and uncontrollable events. In the following recommendations we have chosen to speak of ways in which the adult directorate at all levels may attend to the controllable elements. What cannot be manipulated--given AFSC standards--are the individual factors and the interpersonal relations of members.

Work Assignments: In ICS we discovered young volunteers assigned to group work, usually with children, who were not interested in this kind of work, but who appeared to be able to take on research and administrative responsibilities in community organizations. These members took seriously the major purposes of ICS projects as these are set forth in orientation and publicity materials.¹

Therefore, we suggest a tightening of the criteria against which work assignments are selected. We believe there are an excess of assignments to playgroup leader positions, particularly with agencies serving the children of white middle class families. While such assignments are ideally suited for some internes, others constitute expediences devised to accommodate more participants and to strengthen relations with private agencies.

¹The things most internes expect to gain from their jobs are roughly as follows: direct experience in coping with some of the pressing problems faced by city dwellers; direct experience with the operations of urban service organizations; and instructive exposure to means for resolving urban problems. It is our conviction that few group work assignments fulfill these reasonable expectations. Those that do involve work with settlement house groups, street corner youth projects and related delinquency control experiments, and neighborhood recreation programs in ethnic subcommunities where contact with mothers and whole families becomes a routine feature of the job.

Among those we interviewed the internes who were happiest with their jobs were the very few who had been assigned research functions as interviewers, questionnaire administrators, and assistants to social scientists, psychiatrists, or research oriented social workers. The apparent special worth of these positions is that they give the young volunteer a direct opportunity to see city life and human problems and to see them in a frame of reference that implies something may be "done" about the problems.

Project directors agreed with this in conversations, but usually pointed out that most internes lack the maturity requisite to good performance. Yet the evidence suggests that all but a few job failures had lack of adequate agency supervision at their base. This means to us that the critical challenge is not the fit of the interne to the position but locating jobs in creative agencies.

The same suggestion applies to II. Some industrial jobs are too automatic, mundane, and socially isolated to provide good exposure to the world of the industrial laborer. While one could claim these features are generic to industrial employment and should thus be experienced, we find this a romantic stance. Given good or average employment conditions jobs where continuous association with other laborers is possible are most desirable.

In ISU, institutional assignments which give some opportunity for creative autonomy, such as the chance to arrange recreation for patients or the chance to develop relationships with one or more patients, are definitely superior to routine ward attendant assignments. Again we encourage participation in research as a way to achieve sound work assignments.

Formal Regulations: We suggest that there are times when the non-directive approach to leadership is effective and times when it is not. Riecken's discussion of styles of directorship seems to fit the domestic work program situation

beautifully.¹ We suggest that the few formal regulations that exist should be conveyed very forthrightly to internes during their first three days on a project. These could be settled upon firmly in advance of the projects. Three concerns came to our attention repeatedly. They were the drinking of alcoholic beverages, boundaries between the sexes, and the nature of the didactic program (including meditation).

Assuming that past policies are maintained, internes will accommodate most rapidly to their new situation when its existing normative structure is promptly articulated. Where they learn promptly that drinking is not allowed, that each sex has spheres of physical and social privacy that cannot be invaded (bathrooms and dormitory sleeping rooms, for example), and that projects "always" involve educational, recreational, and meditative programs, they are freed to elaborate their own standards in the many remaining spheres of conduct.²

Meditation: We have noted that meditation programs fail more often than they succeed. One concomitant of failure, we believe, is democratic discussion in business meetings of whether and how to hold meditations. Early non-directive discussion of this issue simply stimulates indecision and reaction against an unknown experience on the part of many non-Quaker internes, we believe.

We suggest that if meditation is formally desired by the directorate as a feature of project life, its practice should be specified in orientation literature and the time and

¹Op. cit., pp. 168-71. "If he is to be a democratic leader, the director must be the servant, not the master, of the work camp. . . . (But) his position requires him often to take the initiative in moving others to take action. . . . It is not easy to maintain this intricate balance."

²"A work-camp director must take special pains to see that campers understand how much autonomy they have . . . in this connection a real dilemma exists for the work-camp director, for he is indeed responsible to an agency besides the group." Op. cit., p. 169.

place should be announced by the director at the opening of the project. It should not be announced as an experiment but as an expected practice, with the provision that attendance is voluntary. Later in the course of the project, consensus about the program may be explored.

Committee and Business Meetings: On several projects we observed a strong tendency for committee work to proliferate endlessly. The effects of this division of responsibilities were usually to undermine the policy-making functions of general business meetings and to generate factionalism between committees and the group as a whole.

One way of resolving this problem would be to limit the number of committees to House Management and Education - Action, having all internes volunteer for membership on one or the other committee, and retaining all other functions as the business of the group as a whole. As part of this scheme, business meetings should be fixed in number and limited in duration in advance. We encourage exploration of solutions to the problem because it has great bearing on how internes come to identify with democratic procedures.

Paper work of directors: Directors are characteristically over-burdened compared with internes. This makes it hard for them to view themselves as co-equals from within the group and as effective public relations officers in the larger community. They appeared to suffer from an excess of paperwork (commonly known as the plague to service agency functionaries), and from proliferation of role expectations in general--particularly those of the camp counsellor variety. In our opinion, the most effective director we observed had found many ways of distributing the paperwork among the participants. It occurred to us that these devices could be systematized by the directorate.

Expectations of directors: Although most directors are experienced in working with young adults before they take on project roles, some are not and others seem to us to have

reinforced distorted impressions of the nature of project life. The distortions center primarily around what some directors expect the young volunteers to hold as attitudes and career orientations.

We suggest tentatively that the directorate may wish to secure a documentary film that would portray the main features and dilemmas of each of the three programs. Such a film could be developed cheaply by using participants who are experienced photographers and by careful editing of a series of "takes" from several projects, supplemented by sound tape commentaries made by a panel of directors. We hope that the "reality-testing" possibilities of such a film are self-evident.

Postscript

We were aware during the course of analysis of our data that Herbert Hyman was engaged in replicating and elaborating his study of the Encampment for Citizenship. While his new materials were not then developed to the point where they could be considered in relation to our findings, we did learn from personal communication with Dr. Hyman that his latest work includes comparisons between two concurrent encampments, providing an opportunity for analysis of sources of change. Portions of his most recent research will be considered in Robert Dentler's forthcoming doctoral dissertation, Attitude Change in Work Groups: Composition, Solidarity and Environment as Sources of Change.

One of Herbert Hyman's most intriguing recent findings was that disruptive experiences during the encampment, contrary to the findings in his and Charles Wright's original evaluation, appear to be conducive to favorable attitude changes in individuals. This we take as further confirmation of our findings that relative discomfort, social as well as environmental, contributes to favorable group growth in Service Committee work projects.

APPENDIX I

12 June 1958

Dear Project Director:

You have just received, or will receive, in the mail a packet of questionnaires prepared by the National Opinion Research Center. These are especially designed to obtain information on participants in Summer 1958 project programs of the American Friends Service Committee, to be used as part of a larger study which has the endorsement and active support of the Service Committee. You very probably received some announcements regarding our research during the course of the Pendle Hill meetings.

We would deeply appreciate your assistance in the administering of these questionnaires within the next two to three days. Below is a series of instructions we believe will prove sufficient to allow you to complete this task with ease and efficiency:

1. Administer the questionnaire to all participants at a single group session. They should take roughly one hour to complete.
2. Inform the participants that the questions asked are part of a larger study being conducted by the University of Chicago of several American Friends Service Committee projects; that their assistance, it is hoped, will eventually contribute toward strengthening and maintaining the project programs. Their answers will not be seen by anyone outside the professional staff of survey researchers but will be used in developing a final summary report to the A.F.S.C. Thus, participants should understand that the information they provide will be regarded as confidential.
3. Also inform the group that while you are obliged to pick up the completed questionnaires, this is necessary in order to mail them to the University and that you will not scan or examine the contents.
4. Ask the group to do their best to answer every question asked, since complete schedules are essential for sound analysis.
5. When the group has completed the questionnaires, collect them, place them in the return folder enclosed with the original packet, and drop them in a mail-box. Please be sure to return all twenty-five questionnaires, including those you have not used.

Again, we thank you very much for your assistance in this regard, and we will do our best in the future to forward to you a copy of the report from this study.

Very sincerely,

Robert A. Dentler
Robert A. Dentler
Study Director

RAD/abc

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COPY

AFSC Letterhead

July 2, 1958

Dear Friend:

The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago is conducting an extensive study of the Interne in Community Service Program of the American Friends Service Committee. Toward this end, the Center also needs detailed information on aspects of the Interne in Industry projects.

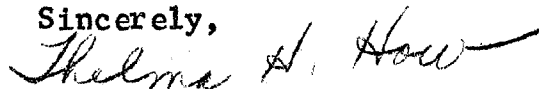
We ask your full support and cooperation in this matter, as we are confident that you share our strong wish to strengthen the quality of the project programs in the future in every way possible.

The National Opinion Research Center will soon mail to you a questionnaire that covers aspects of your individual background, your experiences as an interne, and your opinions on many social issues. No one at any level within the American Friends Service Committee will see your questionnaire or any of your answers. The information you provide will go directly to the University of Chicago, where it will be combined with information gained from interviews with individuals and program leaders, and first hand observations of the program groups currently working in the field.

But the information you can supply through the questionnaire, which will be reported to us in a statistical summary evaluation, is particularly essential because the crucial test of the quality of any program rests with the long term growth and experiences of its alumni.

Thank you very much for your contribution to our shared obligations.

Sincerely,



Thelma H. How, Director
U.S. Projects Program

THH/dc

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COPY

NORC Letterhead

25 June 1958

Dear Former A.F.S.C. Interne:

The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, as an impartial and independent agency, has been commissioned to complete a study of certain programs sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Enclosed is an endorsement by the Service Committee Projects director.

The success of a sound study depends heavily on reports coming from those who have participated directly in the programs. We therefore ask your full cooperation in helping us.

We enclose a questionnaire to be completed by you, which we ask you to fill out in the light of your experience in Internes in Community Service (I.C.S.).

Since other programs are being studied, and since some individuals have participated in more than one of these, we are inquiring about your experiences in the above program to the exclusion of any others. If you served as an Interne in Industry (I.I.I.) but not as an I.C.S., use I.I.I.

Your questionnaire will come directly to the University of Chicago by mail and will not be seen by anyone within the American Friends' Service Committee, field staffs, or related personnel. In short, your answers will remain strictly confidential and will never be identified to anyone outside the professional research staff. Only a statistical report summarizing the groups' views will be made available to other individuals and organizations.

Please do not discuss these questions with your friends or your family until you have completed answering them, as we want your personal opinions. It is most essential that we get your frank, unvarnished point of view. Please therefore, do not simply say "nice" things or "unpleasant" things about your experience.

We deeply appreciate your essential help in this study, as its success depends on everyone's opinions being included. When you complete the questionnaire, simply place it in the enclosed return envelope and mail it.

Thank you very much for your help.

Very sincerely,

Robert A. Dentler
Robert A. Dentler
Study Director

QUESTIONNAIRES

Here an attempt is made to give the reader a clear impression of the questions used in the three questionnaires. Because of the duplication of many items, we do not include here the questionnaires intact. We have instead listed all questions on the following pages, indicating, for each, of whom it was asked and when. The first few pages list questions asked of the Alumni and also used, for the most part, on the Summer "Before" questionnaire. After that are items which appeared on all three questionnaires, and then those asked both after the Summer projects and of the Alumni. Finally we include a section of attitude items which were part of all three questionnaires.

Where different forms of the same question were used on different questionnaires, the various forms are given under the same number, with proper identification of each. Precoded categories are generally not repeated in this case, but should be understood to have been included in the questionnaires in appropriate form. In general, where the precoded answer was a simple Yes-No categorization, it has been omitted here.

In the following list, questions which were asked of Alumni are preceded by the symbol "A1," and those asked of the Summer groups by "B" (Before) and/or "A" (After). When a question was used on more than one questionnaire, it may have any combination of these three symbols.

AL B 1. Who (or what circumstance) encouraged you to apply to the American Friends Service Committee to participate in the project program?

A1 B 2. Why did [do] you want the experience of serving in this project?

A1 B 3. How old are you now?

A1 4. How old were you when you served with the AFSC?

A1 B 5. Did your position [Will your service] satisfy any of the following outside requirements?

Alternative service for Conscientious Objectors
College course credit
Occupational requisites for a specific future
career or position
Other (SPECIFY)

A1 B 6. List any other programs similar to the AFSC program in which you have participated, and give the dates of each (e.g., volunteer work camp, religious conference, summer camp counsellor):

A1 B 7. Did you have friends who applied to AFSC at the same time you did?
IF YES: Did your friends enter the program, too?

A1 B 8. What is your family status at present?

Married (Give year of marriage)
(Give number of children)
Single
Divorced or Separated
Widowed

A1 B 9. [If you can remember] What was the attitude of each of your parents toward your entering this program?

	Father	Mother
Strongly favored		
Favored idea		
Neutral		
Did not favor		
Strongly opposed		
Other		

A1 10a). In what city did you serve?
B In what city is your project located?

A1 B b). Had [Have] you ever been to that city before?

B c). IF YES: Would you say that you knew the place in advance of your present stay there:

Quite well
Fairly well
Only slightly
Not at all

A1 B 11. What town or city do you regard as your "home town?"

A1 12. How many communities had you lived in before your period of service?

B How many communities have you lived in before your present period of service?

B 13. List the places by their proper names that you have lived in for six months or longer: (CHECK YOUR PRESENT "HOME TOWN")

A1 14. Mark a "T" for how you "leaned" in national politics when you were a project member, and mark a "N" (for now) for how you "lean" at present:

B Check how you "lean" in national politics at present:

I'm a Democrat
 I usually lean toward the Democratic candidates
 I usually split my ballot 50-50
 I usually lean toward the Republican candidates
 I'm a Republican
 Other (SPECIFY):

A1 B 15. Your church preference:

Now	When in Project	
		Protestant--IF YES: Are you or were you a Quaker?
		Jewish
		Catholic
		Other (SPECIFY):

A1 B 16. Frequency of church attendance:

Now	Before in Project	
		Every week
		One to three times a month
		Less than once a month
		Never

A1 17. Dating: Check the most accurate estimate of your dating activities for two periods, the year just before you were a project member, and the year immediately after you were a project member:

B Dating: Check the most accurate estimate of your dating activities during the last six months:

No dating
 Yes, about once a month
 Once every two or three weeks
 About once a week
 About twice a week
 Three or more times a week

A1 B 18. What is (or was) your father's occupation? (Be specific as you can; for example, "Owns dairy farm in Kansas," or "Tool and die maker in airplane factory.")

- A1 B 19. How much formal education did you, your father, and your mother have?

Self	Mother	Father	
			Some grade school
			Finished grade school
			Some high school
			Finished high school
			Some college
			Completed BA or B.S. or equivalent
			Attended graduate or professional school after college
			Don't know

- A1 20. What was your occupational goal when you first began your project service, and how definite was your goal?

B What is your present occupational goal, and how definite is your goal?

- A1 21. Describe your job history since that time, and include a precise statement of your present occupation:

B List the jobs you have held:

- A1 B 22. Colleges, and professional schools attended:

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Degrees, if any</u>
--------------------	--------------	------------------------

- A1 B 23. What was [is] your major field as an undergraduate?

Physical science (physics, chemistry, biology, engineering, mathematics, etc.)

Humanities (literature, languages, history, philosophy)

Social science (psychology, sociology, economics, political science, etc.)

Applied (social work, journalism, speech, etc.)

Other (SPECIFY):

- A1 B 24. Sex:

Male

Female

- A1 B 25. Race: (for statistical purposes only)

White

Non-white

- A1 B 26. Citizenship:

U.S. citizen by birth

U.S. citizen, naturalized

Not U.S. citizen

A1 B 27. (FOR MEN ONLY) Were you ever registered with Selective Service?

Yes--IF YES: What was [is] your classification while on AFSC project?

No--IF NO: Are you a deliberate non-registrant?

A1 B A 28. Your full name*:

*Although you will not be identified in any way in the research report, and your questionnaire will be treated as confidential, it is vitally important, for purposes of sampling, to have the name of every participant in the study.

A1 B 29. Thinking back to recent elections, do you recall whether or not you happened to vote in any of the following: (Exclude primaries)

	1956 Presidential Election	1956 Congressional Election	Last state Election	Last local Election
Yes, voted				
No, but was eligible				
Was not eligible				
Cannot recall				

A1 B 30. Have you ever run for, been elected, or appointed to any political office(s)?

IF YES: What office(s)?

A1 B 31. [Since leaving the program] Have you ever had occasion to address the public in any of the following ways:

Public speech
Radio
Television
Magazine or newspaper writing
No

A1 32. Suppose the circles below represented the activities that go on in your present community--specifically, social welfare and political activities. How far out from the center of these activities are you? (Mark with an "X")



Social
Welfare



Political
(campus or
larger sphere)

In the above circles, place an "L" where you would like to be with respect to the same activities.

- B 33. Suppose the circles below represented the activities that go on in your college--specifically, cultural-intellectual and political activities. How far out from the center of these activities are you? (Mark with an "X")



Cultural-
Intellectual



Political
(campus or
larger
sphere)

In the above circles, place an "L" where you would like or desire to be with respect to the same activities.

- A1 B 34. Here is a list of organizations and clubs people can belong to. In Column A check any to which you now belong. In Column B check those to which you once belonged. In Column C check those in which you've been an officer.

	Column A I now belong	Column B I once belonged	Column C Have been an officer
Business groups			
Church groups			
Veterans' groups			
Labor union(s)			
P.T.A.			
Professional societies, groups			
Youth councils or clubs			
Student organizations			
Civic groups (e.g., League of Women Voters)			
Political groups			
Neighborhood improvement ass'ns or block groups			
Interracial or inter-cultural groups			
Farm organizations			
Other			

- A1 35. About how many friends or associates from your project days have you talked with or written to during the past year?

A1 36. Just how long did you serve?

A1 37. Did you withdraw or resign from the program before its completion?

IF YES: Explain the reasons for your departure.

A1 B 38. Do you regularly read any daily newspaper?

A Have you regularly read a daily newspaper (this summer)?

A1 B 39. How many books have you read in the last two months?

A How many books have you read since joining the project?

A1 A40. Please describe as precisely as you can the job you performed while serving as a project member. Include the title of the job, the name of the employing organization, and a sentence about your duties. If you held more than one position during your service, please include all here:

A1 A 41. What would you have rather had as a job assignment during your project service?

A1 42. Did your experience as a project member influence your occupation choice(s)? Explain:

A Explain how your experience as a project member influenced your future occupational plans (including marriage, if relevant):

A 43. Has your present summer experience changed your college plans (course work, shift of schools, etc.) in any way? Explain:

A 44. List any groups or organizations which you think you would like to join, or have joined, during the course of the project, as a result of your summer experiences:

A1 45. Would you recommend the AFSC project program to a younger friend, student, or acquaintance?

A1 IF YES: How many persons have you recommended the programs to thus far?

A1 46. Did you date while you were a project member?

A Did you "date" this summer?

No

Yes, once or twice

Once every two or three weeks

About once a week
 About twice a week
 Three or more times a week

A 47. If you did date, was it with individual(s):

In the project group only
 In the project group for the most part
 Both inside and outside the project group
 Outside the project group for the most part
 Who in no instance were project group members

A 48. Did you develop a rather "steady" dating relationship with an individual?

No
 Yes, inside the project group
 Yes, outside the project group membership

A 49. Did you need to earn and save money this summer for future expenditures?

A 50. List the name(s) of your roommate(s) during the early weeks of the project:

A 51. Who within the group worked fairly closely with you on your job(s) during this summer?

A 52. Which members of the project group did you have least social contact with during the summer?

A 53. Which three members of your project group would you most like to spend an evening conversing with?

A 54. Name the three members of the project group whose ideas and opinions--as these were exchanged during group meetings and discussions--were most reasonable to you:

A 55. How personally involved in the life of the project group would you say you felt?

Very deeply involved
 Fairly deeply involved
 Mildly involved
 Only slightly involved
 Not at all involved

- A 56. Did the project group change significantly, in your opinion, in the degree of commonly shared values over the period of the summer? (Mark "X" on the line.)

Change toward
more agreement

No change

Change toward
more disagreement

- A 57. Did the extent of project group unity change significantly during the summer? (Mark "X" on the line.)

Change toward
greater unity

No change

Change toward
less unity

- A1 58. This set of questions concerns your individual role in your project group and your present role (in church, civic, or professional groups). Give two answers, therefore, to each question:

B This set of questions concerns your individual role in groups to which you belong in school or at work:

A This set of questions concerns your individual role in your project group:

	As project member?			At present		
	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?
Do you think of yourself as a group member whose efforts for the group are valued and appreciated by other members?						
Are you considered by other members as one who plays an important part in the group?						
Do you expect to be one of the most popular members of groups to which you belong?						
Are you considered by other members as having a likeable personality?						
Are you considered by others as one who often initiates ideas or solves group problems?						

A1 BA 59. How would you rate your interest in the following areas?

	Very interested	Fairly interested	Not too interested	Disin- terested
Local politics				
Civic organizations				
National politics				
World affairs				
Church activities				

60. Assume you have lived for six months in a county-seat community of 20,000 and you learn through informal conversation that the community has no social worker or welfare agencies other than a branch of the State Department of Public Assistance.

A1 BA What would be your reaction to this information?

A1 B If you would want to take action to get welfare services, list three steps--excluding study of the problem--you would take:

A1 BA 61. What would you say were the three most important problems facing your home community today?

A1 B 62. For each of the problems you listed above [Q. 61], list the ways in which you personally have been involved in community action to help solve them, e.g., as an official, circulating petitions, serving on committees, talking with friends, contributing money, etc.:

A1 B 63. Do you ever get as worked up or aroused about something that happens in public affairs or politics as you do about something that happens in your personal life?

A Did you ever get as worked up or aroused about something that happened in public affairs or politics (this summer) as you did about something that happened in your personal life?

A1 A 64. Here is a check-list of your evaluations of the quality of the GROUP with which you lived during the program:

Your view of the group's quality as:

	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Other
An educational or learning group					
A means for expressing Quaker beliefs and social philosophy					
A source of lasting friends					
A human service group					
A source of relaxation and fun					
A group through which one might resolve some personal problems					

A1 A 65. Here is a check-list of certain features of every Group Program. Rate the quality of each feature in terms of the Group you were in:

	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Other
Program orientation					
Cooperative living					
Educational exchange					
Provision of individual privacy					
Provision of food and shelter					
Recreational program					
Quality of group leadership					
Group meditation					
Counselling and guidance					

A1 A 66. Here is a check-list of your view of the job you held: (If you held more than one job, rate the most meaningful one.*)

Your view of quality of the job:

	Excellent	Fair	Average	Poor	Other
As an "eye-opener" into realities of America					
As a dedicated venture into social service					
As a source of knowledge about the world of work					
As a testing-ground for your personal capabilities					
As a way of putting your beliefs into action					
As a series of satisfying personal experiences					
As training in human relations and human problem solving					

* If you held several jobs: which job did you use on the above question?

Scoring the Attitude Scales

The entire battery of attitude statements (with the exception of the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale) was administered twice to the 1958 Summer Internes, and once to the Alumni. Each scale includes from three to fifteen statements, and the scale score is the sum of item scores. The first attitude section of the questionnaire was preceded by the following statement:

The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. Many points of view have been included, and you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3; or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| +1: I agree a little | -1: I disagree a little |
| +2: I agree pretty much | -2: I disagree pretty much |
| +3: I agree very much | -3: I disagree very much |

The scoring for the first six attitude scales is described here. To eliminate negative numbers, four was added to each answer in coding. A score of 4 was assigned in cases where more than one answer was given, or the item was left unanswered. Thus the conversions were

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Answer</u>	<u>Score</u>
+1	5	-1	3
+2	6	-2	2
+3	7	-3	1

No Answer = 4

Most of the statements are "negative" so that a low score would be expected from the least authoritarian, most democratic or most nonviolent subject. Where the statement was "positive" the sign of the answer was reversed in coding. These cases are indicated by an asterisk (*).

Item numbers used here are those from the Before questionnaire.

AUTHORITARIANISM

This scale was scored as explained above. The theoretical range is from 11 to 77, a low score indicating a less authoritarian person.

3. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
4. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
7. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
8. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
12. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.

13. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up, they ought to get over them and settle down.
14. Some leisure is necessary, but it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.
18. It is essential for learning or effective work that our teachers or bosses outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.
21. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it but to keep busy with other things.
22. When you come right down to it, it's human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's own profit.
- *23. Generally speaking, the less government we have, the better off we will be.

POLITICAL ESCAPISM

This scale was scored as explained on p. 228. The theoretical range is 6 to 42. A low score indicates less escapism.

5. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win.
10. A good many local elections are not important enough to bother with.
11. Some of the petitions which have been circulated should not be allowed by the government.
17. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person can't really understand what's going on.
19. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.
20. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

RACE SAVVY

This scale was scored as explained on p. . Five to 35 is its theoretical range, and a high score represents more "savvy."

12. Race prejudice consists of certain preconceived attitudes about a racial group.
13. During periods of economic stress, race prejudice becomes more acute.
17. A racially or ethnically prejudiced person is in a sense mentally sick.
18. A substantial number of labor unions either bar Negroes from membership or relegate them to an inferior status.
19. There is no uniform pattern of race relations in the South.

DEMOCRACY

Scoring for this scale is explained on p. 228 . A low score in its 15 to 105 range indicates a more democratic person.

1. Usually it is not feasible for all members of a group to take an equal interest and share in the activities of the group.
3. Almost any job that can be done by a committee can be done better by having one individual responsible for it.
6. In case of disagreement within a group the judgment of the leader should be final.
9. The best criterion for judging any technique for dealing with other people is in terms of how efficiently it will get the job done.
11. There are often occasions when an individual who is a part of a working group should do what he thinks is right regardless of what the group has decided to do.
14. In most practical situations, the more experienced members of a group should assume responsibility for the group discussion.
17. Sometimes one can be too open-minded about the possible solutions to a problem that faces a group.
19. In a group that really wants to get something done, the leader should exercise friendly but firm authority.
22. Discipline should be the responsibility of the leader of a group.

- 25. It is sometimes necessary to use autocratic methods to obtain democratic objectives.
- 27. It is not always feasible to try to be consistent with one's ideals in everyday behavior.
- 29. Striving to put one's ideals into practice is a luxury that only a few can afford.
- 30. Generally there comes a time when democratic group methods must be abandoned in order to solve practical problems.
- *31. In a democratic group, regardless of how one feels, he should not withdraw his support from the group.
- 32. Sometimes it is necessary to ignore the views of a few people in order to reach a decision in a group.

NONVIOLENCE

The scoring method described on p. 228 was used for this scale. The theoretical low of 7 represents a nonviolent point of view; the high score is 49.

- 4. There are some situations which just can't be resolved by peaceful means.
- *8. There is no conceivable justification for war.
- 12. There are some good arguments in favor of war.
- *16. Every one of us ought to refuse to take part in any way in any war.
- 20. Under some conditions, war is necessary to maintain justice.
- 24. War and courage have accomplished more important things than pacifism and good will.
- 28. The policy of passive resistance to coercion is unrealistic and futile.

POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM

The scoring method described on p. was used for this scale. The score ranges between 10 and 70. Only statements 21 and 26 of this group appeared on the Alumni questionnaire.

- *2. It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.

- *5. The government should own and operate all public utilities (railroad, gas, electricity, etc.).
- 7. Men like Henry Ford or J.P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young men to admire and imitate.
- *10. The only way to eliminate poverty is to make certain basic changes in our political and economic systems.
- *13. In a new tax program it is essential not to reduce the income taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals.
- 15. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need money for eating and living.
- *16. There should be some upper limit, such as \$25,000 per year, on how much any individual can earn.
- 21. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.
- *23. Most of the present attempts to curb and limit unions would in the long run do more harm than good.
- 26. The businessman and manufacturer are probably more important to society than the artist and the professor.

Note

The following four scales were answered in the same manner as the above items (+1 thru 3) but in coding they were dichotomized into "Agree" and "Disagree," and weights assigned as indicated in each case. In any future evaluation research using these scales we would recommend using the full scale range in coding.

TOLERANCE

The theoretical range for this scale is 0 to 15. A high score indicates greater tolerance. Weights were given as indicated.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>NA</u>
1. An admitted Communist should be put in jail.	0	1	y
2. A book against churches and religion should be removed from the public library if someone in the community suggests this.	0	1	y

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>NA</u>
6. A person who wants to make a speech in my community favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries should be allowed to speak.	4	0	y
9. A person who wants to make a speech in my community against churches and religion should be allowed to speak.	1	0	y
15. A book favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries should be removed from the public library if someone in the community suggests this.	0	4	y
16. I would stop buying the soap advertised on a radio program which had an admitted Communist as the singer, if someone suggested this to me.	0	4	y

ABSOLUTISM

The score on this scale ranges theoretically from 0 to 12. A low score indicates a less absolutist position. (We did not report the findings on this scale in the text because it seemed to have little meaning.)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>NA</u>
1. Slum housing is the cause of most juvenile delinquency.	2	0	1
2. Lack of education is the cause of most race prejudice.	2	0	1
5. Biased news coverage is mainly due to the pressure of advertisers.	2	0	1
7. Class distinctions would disappear if economic opportunities were made more nearly equal.	2	0	1
9. A community-wide mass media campaign could really sell the public on the goals of the United Nations.	2	0	1
11. Popular taste would be raised tremendously if the producers of radio and television had some decent programming.	2	0	1

CIVIL LIBERTIES

With a range of 0 to 10, the more libertarian point of view has the lowest score.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>NA</u>
3. In some cases, the police should be allowed to search a person or his home even though they do not have a warrant.	2	0	1
4. Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.	0	2	1
6. If a person is accused of a crime, he should always have the right to know who is accusing him.	0	2	1
8. In some criminal cases, a trial by jury is an unnecessary expense and shouldn't be given.	2	0	1
10. The right of some working groups to call a strike should be abolished, as it is a threat to democracy and not in the general interest of society.	2	0	1

ACTION/APATHY

A low score of 0 represents action-orientation and a high of 6 stands for a more apathetic point of view.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>NA</u>
14. Sending letters to Congressmen has little influence on legislation.	2	0	1
15. If a person is uncertain how to vote, it is better if he does not vote.	2	0	1
16. The average citizen is justified in remaining aloof from dirty politics that may exist in his community.	2	0	1

INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL POTENCY

The five items below were weighted as shown, and the sum of the weights was used as the Individual Potency Score. A score of 10 was coded as X, and a No Answer as y. A high score (10 maximum) indicates a strong belief in individual political potency.

2. In general, do you think that the individual citizen can do a great deal, only a moderate amount, or hardly anything at all about the following matters: (Check with an "X".)

	A great deal	A moder- ate amount	Hardly any- thing
Prevention of war	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in national government	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in local government	2	1	0
Improvement of housing	2	1	0
Improvement of race relations	2	1	0

GROUP POLITICAL POTENCY

The five items listed in the Individual Political Potency index were used again here, and weighted in the same way. Again, a high score points to a view of groups as highly potent politically.

3. Look over the items again under Question 2 directly above, and check what you think organized groups of people can do in these matters. (Check with a "G" in the appropriate boxes above.)

URBAN SAVVY

On this scale, subjects were asked simply to agree or disagree with the statements. Possible scores ranged from 0 to 23, a high score indicating greater "savvy."

2. Below is a series of questions about city or urban conditions in the contemporary United States. Circle A if you tend to agree with the statement; Circle D if you tend to disagree with it; and Circle ? if you do not know or cannot make up your mind.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>?</u>
1) Disease rates in general for such large cities as Chicago and San Francisco tend to be lower than rural disease rates.	1	0	y
2) There is proportionately more substandard housing in rural than in urban America.	4	0	y
3) Large cities in the U.S. are strongholds of the Democratic party.	4	0	y
4) About one-fifth of the total population of the U.S. lives in housing appraised as substandard.	1	0	y
5) Locating of industry in residential areas commonly has a blighting effect on property.	4	0	y
6) Human relationships in city slums are often as healthy emotionally as human relationships in rural areas.	4	0	y
7) Farmers and villagers have long and effectively resisted giving city people their proportionate share of political representation in state legislatures.	4	0	y
8) Crime rates in certain rural sections of the U.S. are higher than the crimes in such cities as Chicago and San Francisco.	1	0	y

"CLASS A" COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES*

Amherst	Goucher
Antioch	Grinnell
Bard	Hamilton
Barnard	Harvard
Beloit	Haverford
Bennington	Hiram
Berea	Hope
Bluffton	Illinois, Univ. of
Boston Univ.	Iowa Wesleyan
Brandeis Univ.	Johns Hopkins Univ.
Brigham Young Univ.	Julliard
Brown Univ.	Kalamazoo
Bucknell	Lake Forest
Butler Univ.	Lawrence
Bryn Mawr	Lebanon Valley
California Inst. Tech.	Louisiana State Univ.
California, Univ. of	Marietta
Carleton	Maryland, Univ. of
Carnegie	Massachusetts State
Catholic Univ.	Massachusetts, Univ. of
Central (Missouri)	Miami Univ. (Ohio)
Charleston	Michigan State Univ.
Chicago, Univ. of	Michigan, Univ. of
Claremont	Middlebury
Clark Univ.	Minnesota, Univ. of
Colby	Missouri, Univ. of
Colgate	Montana State
Colorado	Mt. Holyoke
Columbia Univ.	Muskingum
Connecticut	Nebraska, Univ. of
Connecticut, Univ. of	Nebraska Wesleyan
Cornell (Iowa)	New York Univ.
Cornell Univ. (N.Y.)	Northeastern
Denver, Univ. of	Northwestern
DePauw Univ.	Notre Dame
Drake	Oberlin
Drew Univ.	Ohio State Univ.
Drury	Oregon State
Duke Univ.	Oregon, Univ. of
Earlham	Penn State Univ.
Emporia	Pennsylvania, Univ. of
Eureka	Pittsburgh
Fisk Univ.	Pomona
Florida Southern	Princeton
Franklin & Marshall	Purdue
Georgetown Univ.	Redlands

"CLASS A" COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES--Continued

Reed	Trinity (Hartford)
Rennsalaer	Tufts
Rice Institute	Tulane
Rochester, Univ. of	Tuskegee
Rutgers	Union College
Scripps	Utah State Agricultural
Simpson	Vanderbilt Univ.
Smith	Vassar
South Dakota School of Mines	Wabash
Southern Methodist Univ.	Washington, Univ. of
Southwestern	Wayne Univ.
Stanford Univ.	Weslyan (Conn.)
St. Lawrence Univ.	Western Reserve
St. Louis Univ.	West Virginia Weslyan
St. Olaf	Westminster (Missouri)
Swarthmore	Willamette Univ.
Syracuse	Wisconsin, Univ. of
Texas, Univ. of	Wooster
	Yale Univ.

* A list devised from formal reports and informal sources of institutions reputed to be most productive of scholarship and to maintain very high undergraduate standards of excellence. It was prepared in advance of codification of the questionnaires. We cannot over-emphasize its arbitrary character.

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOMETRIC INDICES

The "After" Questionnaire Items:

1. Which three members of your project group would you most like to spend an evening conversing with?
2. List the name(s) of your roommate(s) during the early weeks of the project.
3. Who within the group worked fairly closely with you on your job(s) during the summer?
4. Which members of the project group did you have least social contact with during the summer?
5. Name the three members of the project groups whose ideas and opinions--as these were exchanged during group meetings and discussions--were most reasonable to you.

The Individual Choice Status Scores:

- A. Inclusiveness Index. $\frac{\text{No. Persons Choosing } i \text{ on Quex 1}}{N - 1}$
- B. Consensus Index. $\frac{\text{No. Persons Choosing } i \text{ on Quex 5}}{N - 1}$
- *C. Integration Index. $\frac{1 - \text{No. Persons Choosing } i \text{ on Quex 4}}{N - 1}$
- D. Work Group Integration Index. $\frac{\text{No. Persons Choosing } i \text{ on Quex 3}}{N - 1}$
- E. Mean Choice Status Index. $\frac{\text{Sum Scores A} + \text{B} + \text{C} + \text{D}}{4}$

The Group Indices:

- F. Inclusiveness Index. $\frac{\text{No. Mutual Pair Choices on Quex 1}}{dN/2}$
- G. Consensus Index. $\frac{\text{No. Mutual Pair Choices on Quex 5}}{dN/2}$

* H. Integration Index. $1/\text{No. of Isolates in Group Reported on Quex 4.}$

*With arbitrary adjustment for cases with no isolate reports, as follows: rank scores, assign to no isolate case value some integer higher than highest empirical value.

Indices derived from Charles H. Proctor and C.P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data." In Marie Jahoda, et al., editors, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Dryden, 1951), pp. 561-85.

APPENDIX II

TABLE A-1

COMPARISONS OF INCLUDED AND EXCLUDED SUMMER SUBJECTS¹

Groups	N		Age: 17-22		Sex: Male	
	Included	Excluded	Included	Excluded	Included	Excluded
ICS 1	16	---	13	---	6	---
2	10	---	9	---	2	---
3	10	1	8	1	3	1
4	17	---	15	---	8	---
Total	53	1	45	1	19	1
II 5	12	3	8	1	7	1
6	18	3	16	1	8	2
Total	30	6	24	2	15	3
ISU 7	4	---	3	---	---	---
8	7	---	6	---	4	---
9	14	---	11	---	7	---
10	10	1	8	1	6	---
Total	35	1	28	1	17	---
TOTAL	118	8	97	4	51	4

¹"Excluded" here refers only to the eight "Before-only" participants, who did not respond to the After questionnaire. The above information is not available for the 8 participants who filled out only the After questionnaire, so they are not dealt with here.

TABLE A-2
OCCUPATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS' FATHERS

Father's Occupation	ICS				II				ISU	
	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	Only %
Professional, technical	17	32.1	42	42.0	13	43.3	81	49.1	14	40.0
Farmers, Farm Managers	4	7.5	7	7.0	3	10.0	10	6.1	3	8.6
Managers, Officials, Proprietors	19	35.8	29	29.0	8	26.7	35	21.2	9	25.7
Clerical, etc.	3	5.7	1	1.0	2	6.7	1	.6	---	
Sales Workers	2	3.8	1	1.0	1	3.3	9	5.4	---	
Craftsmen, Foremen	3	5.7	8	8.0	---		15	9.1	3	8.6
Operatives	3	5.7	7	7.0	2	6.7	5	3.0	3	8.6
Household, Service Workers	---		1	1.0	---		4	2.4	2	5.7
Farm Laborers & Foremen	---		---		---		---		---	
Other Laborers	---		---		---		1	.6	---	
NA, Vague	2	3.8	4	4.0	1	3.3	4	2.4	1	2.8
Total	53	100.0	100	100.0	30	100.0	165	99.9	35	100.0
Father's Occupation	53	100.0	100	100.0	30	100.0	165	99.9	35	100.0
Professional, technical, managers, officials, proprietors	36	67.9	71	71.0	21	70.0	116	70.3	23	65.7
All Others	17	32.1	29	29.0	9	30.0	49	29.7	12	34.3

TABLE A-3

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES OF PARTICIPANTS
BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND PROGRAM

	ICS				II				ISU	
	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	Only %
Frequent Church Attendees	41	77.4	65	65.0	20	66.7	122	73.9	26	74.3
Quakers	1	2.4	11	16.9	2	10.0	28	23.0	2	7.7
Other Protes- tants	37	90.2	48	73.8	15	75.0	86	70.5	21	80.8
Jews	--	--	1	1.5	--	--	1	.8	--	--
Others	1	2.4	3	4.6	2	10.0	6	4.9	1	3.8
Anti-Re- ligious, A-Reli- gious	2	4.9	2	3.1	1	5.0	1	.8	2	7.7
Infrequent Church Attendees	12	22.6	35	35.0	10	33.3	43	26.1	9	25.7
Quakers	--	--	4	11.4	1	10.0	5	11.6	1	11.1
Other Protes- tants	5	41.7	11	31.4	2	20.0	17	39.5	3	33.3
Jews	1	8.3	8	22.8	1	10.0	9	20.9	3	33.3
Others	2	16.7	3	8.6	1	10.0	4	9.3	--	--
Anti-Re- ligious, A-Reli- gious	4	33.3	9	25.7	5	50.0	8	18.6	2	22.2
Total	53	100.0	100	100.0	30	100.0	165	100.0	35	100.0

TABLE A-4

POLITICAL PREFERENCES OF PARTICIPANTS BY
CONCERN WITH PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND PROGRAM

	ICS				II				ISU	
	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	Only %
Those Con- cerned With Pub- lic Af- fairs	39	73.6	70	70.0	21	70.0	120	72.7	22	62.8
Democratic Leaning	16	41.0	33	47.1	11	52.4	64	53.3	8	36.4
Republican Leaning	11	28.2	18	25.7	5	23.8	26	21.7	4	18.2
Indepen- dent, Un- decided, NA, Other	12	30.8	19	27.1	5	23.8	30	25.0	10	45.4
Those Not Concerned With Pub- lic Af- fairs	14	26.4	30	30.0	9	30.0	45	27.3	13	37.1
Democratic Leaning	2	14.3	17	56.7	1	11.1	17	57.8	5	38.5
Republican Leaning	5	35.7	6	20.0	3	33.3	17	37.8	5	38.5
Indepen- dent, Un- decided, NA, Other	7	50.0	7	23.3	5	55.5	11	24.4	3	23.1
Total	53	100.0	100	100.0	30	100.0	165	100.0	35	99.9

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TABLE A-5

EDUCATION OF PARTICIPANTS BY MAJOR FIELD AND PROGRAM

	ICS				II				ISU	
	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer #	%	Alumni #	%	Summer Only #	%
College Student or Graduate	50	94.3	62	62.0	28	93.3	87	52.7	33	94.3
Physical Science Major	1	1.9	4	4.0	7	23.3	14	8.5	5	14.3
Humanities	14	26.4	16	16.0	10	33.3	21	12.7	5	14.3
Social Science	19	35.8	30	30.0	7	23.3	36	21.8	16	45.7
Applied Field	14	26.4	8	8.0	3	10.0	13	7.9	5	14.3
Other, NA	2	3.8	4	4.0	1	3.3	3	1.8	2	5.7
Graduate Student	3	5.7	38	38.0	2	6.7	73	44.2	2	5.7
Physical Science	2	3.8	1	1.0	--	--	14	8.5	--	--
Humanities	1	1.9	8	8.0	--	--	23	13.9	--	--
Social Science	--	--	19	19.0	--	--	28	16.9	2	5.7
Applied Field	--	--	5	5.0	2	6.7	6	3.6	--	--
Other, NA	--	--	5	5.0	--	--	2	1.2	--	--
Total	53	100.0	100	100.0	30	100.0	160 ¹	96.9	35	100.0

¹Excludes 5 No Answers on the question of educational level.

TABLE A-6
 AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE SCORE
 CHANGES BY SEX

	Improve	No Change	Decline	Total
Men	33	4	14	51
Women	45	2	20	67
Total	78	6	34	118

$\chi^2 = 1.51, 2 \text{ d.f.}, p < .50$

TABLE A-7
 DEMOCRACY SCALE SCORE
 CHANGES BY SEX

	Improve	No Change	Decline	Total
Men	17	21	13	51
Women	19	35	13	67
Total	36	56	25	118

$\chi^2 = 1.43, 2 \text{ d.f.}, p < .50$

TABLE A-8
RACE RELATIONS SAVVY SCALE SCORE
CHANGES BY RACE¹

	Improved	Other	Total
White	49	48	97
Non-White	8	13	21
Total	57	61	118

$$x^2 = .64, p < .50$$

¹Number no changers too few to test, lumped with decliners.

TABLE A-9
AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE SCORE
CHANGES BY RACE¹

	Improved	Other	Total
White	64	33	97
Non-White	14	7	21
Total	78	40	118

$$x^2 = .10, p < .80$$

¹Number no changers too small for x^2 test, lumped with other.

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