

# CHAPTER 1

## An Introduction to Political Science Internships

### THE ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCIENCE INTERNSHIPS

In 1965, seven distinguished political scientists led an APSA-sponsored conference in Las Croabas, Puerto Rico, an event devoted exclusively to political internships. The title of Harold D. Lasswell's paper, "The Professional and Public Service Potential of Internship Programs," hinted at the discipline's communion with practical politics, while fellow panelist Donald G. Herzberg struck a wry tone with his contribution, "The Care and Feeding of Interns." Considering the earlier results of a 1949 survey by Reed and Reed (1950) that identified only one political science internship in existence and their prediction that internships were "not likely to play any considerable part in the preparation of students for participation in politics" (50), the conference signaled a turning point in the profession and helped galvanize the development of pedagogical resources around political science internships.<sup>1</sup>

Drawing on these elemental works and data from five internship programs, Bernard Hennessy followed with a foundational framework for designing, delivering, and assessing undergraduate and graduate-level internships in his monograph, *Political Internships: Theory, Practice, and Evaluation* (1970). Lauding APSA's Congressional Fellowship Program as one of several examples of how research and job experience could be merged successfully and with purpose,<sup>2</sup> he laid out the case for experiential education in terms that have remained remarkably stable over time. For instance, his advice for providing regular, expert supervision is echoed in the pages of this volume, as is his assertion that political internships must include "the opportunity for the systematic and continuous examination of the experience in relation to generalizations of political science" (9).

What Hennessy helped clarify was that laboring outside a theoretical frame and without critical reflection is simply work or volunteering, regardless of whether it is carried out on Capitol Hill, in state houses, or any other setting. Presence in a political office is not a sufficient condition for earning political science credit, argued Hennessy: "It goes without saying, it is not enough merely to call an experience an internship to make it so" (1970, 9). These arguments have provided generations of political scientists justification for healthy skepticism about the purposes, deployment, and outcomes of for-credit internships, which is often expressed as a fear of creeping vocationalism in academia (Alexander 1982, 128; DiMaggio 2018). Their suspicions are often validated by woeful stories of interns who spent months doing mundane chores in exchange for a line on their résumés, and these reports contribute to a sense that internships are lively and engaging but lack intellectual rigor (Arum and Roska 2011). In the extreme, internships across the board are regarded as an improper substitute for classroom learning.

On the other hand, Hennessy's arguments have supplied a rationale for structuring robust, educational internship programs, and as research on internships has broadened, so too have views about the purposes, nature, and desirable outcomes of experiential learning.<sup>3</sup> Rooted in the practice of apprenticeship through which masters convey knowledge, enable trainees to develop specialized skills, and socialize them into the norms and customs of their trade (Garnett and Donovan 2002, 3), internships have become affixed to the educational landscape not only because they help facilitate the transition from school to workplace, but also because they ground abstract learning in the realities of organizational life (Gabris and Mitchell 1989).<sup>4</sup>

Scholarship about internships has grown steadily over the past few decades, much of it focused on the efficacy of specific practices and experiential learning outcomes. Studies across all major academic disciplines have examined direct and indirect consequences of internships, probing individual-level impacts on academic performance and macro-level outcomes such as liberal education's ability to prepare students for civic life and leadership. In the 1970s, public administration scholars organized internship-themed symposia that sparked new waves of research in that field (Benavides, Dicke, and Holt 2013).<sup>5</sup> In political science, the APSA-sponsored Wahlke Task Force in 1991 recommended that all students be afforded the opportunity to engage in one or more kinds of "real-life" political situations off campus, with internships leading the list of suggested practices (Wahlke 1991). Professional organizations such as the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE), the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS), Campus Compact, and the National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE) have amplified and extended similar evidence-based conclusions. Experiential learning has been of interest to the Association for American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), whose data-driven observations and focus on deep learning have helped postsecondary educators reorient liberal education curricula to prepare students for the highly fluid and demanding social, economic, personal, and civic challenges they will confront post-graduation.

Among AAC&U's recent advancements are well-supported conclusions about the benefits of "high-impact educational practices," a category that includes internships (Kuh 2008).<sup>6</sup> In this perspective, undergraduate students must build broad knowledge and strong intellectual skills and develop a grounded sense of civic responsibility; but to achieve the objectives of a liberal education today, they must also acquire global and intercultural competencies, build technological sophistication, hone collaborative problem-solving and transferable skills, and practice and integrate their learning through application (Schneider 2008, 3). Analyzing long-term data from the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE), Kuh and his colleagues (2008; 2013) demonstrate that co-curricular activities such as internships can foster the achievement of these essential learning goals, stronger student engagement, improved retention rates, and higher persistence to graduation rates (a point particularly appealing to higher education administrators).<sup>7</sup> High-impact practices (HIPs) can promote deep learning for *all* types of students, but crucially, historically underserved students tend to benefit *more* from engaging in intentionally-designed, purposeful educational activities than their peers in the majority (Kuh 2008, 17).

That last point is worth reiterating: high-impact practices have been shown to have a disproportionately *positive* effect on students who have historically been underserved in education, even as gains have been demonstrated for all types of students. While HIPs such as internships are not a panacea (cf. Kuh and Kinzie 2018; Seifert et al. 2016), research generally demonstrates that when well-formed, these active, collaborative, educational practices can facilitate measurable student academic gains and contribute to graduates' success in the workforce (Brownell and Swaner 2010; Hesser 2014; Kilgo, Ezell Sheet, and Pascarella 2014; Kuh 2013; McClellan, Kopko, and Gruber 2021).

## WHAT DO WE MEAN BY POLITICAL SCIENCE "INTERNSHIPS"?

Nearly 50 years after Hedlund (1973) wrote about the "growing interest among students and faculty in using practical political involvement as an adjunct to formal classroom teaching" (19), the literature has matured into a thick body of research scrutinizing the scope, strategy, structure, and curriculum of internships. Even so, while internships have nearly become standard experiences for undergraduate political science majors, in practice they are far from standardized across programs and institutions.

According to one national survey, 90% of four-year political science programs assign academic credit for intern experiences compared to fewer than half of community colleges that do so. Among four-year institutions, more than two-thirds do not require concurrent enrollment in a departmental internship course, more than half of all political science departments (56%) do not require a learning contract that spells out expectations for students, and a few programs assign no academic components at all (Gentry and Van Vechten 2018).<sup>8</sup> Variation stems from an array of factors, chiefly among them: what is treated as a "political science" internship; the goals being pursued; what standards of excellence have been established for all stakeholders; how much intention and forethought are put into coupling academic and worksite experiences; the amount of institutional, administrative, and site resources dedi-

cated to supporting internship programs; and interns' attitudes and attributes (Collins, Gibbs, and Schiff 2012; Eyster 2009; Gryski, Johnson, and O'Toole 1987; Hedlund 1973; Hirschfield and Adler 1973; Hindmoor 2010; McClellan, Kopko, and Gruber 2021).

Basic components are common to internships, although an "exact" definition eludes capture. Internships have been loosely defined as supervised discipline- and career-related work experiences that involve active learning, critical reflection, and professional development (Simons et al. 2012). They tend to be defined operationally, as "experiences through which students can apply their academic knowledge in work settings" (NACE 2021), in contexts that are usually related to their career interests (Kuh 2008). NACE emphasizes that they "give students the opportunity to gain valuable applied experience and make connections in professional fields they are considering for career paths, and give employers the opportunity to guide and evaluate talent" (2021, n.p.). The Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS) similarly defines them as "planned, practical, educationally purposeful experiences in professional, work-related settings that relate to or complement students' academic and career goals" (2019, 6). True (2002) suggests that we should define internships as "carefully monitored work or service experience in which a student has intentional learning goals and reflects actively on what she or he is learning throughout the experience" (True 2002, 2).

All of these definitions highlight the importance of constructing knowledge through practice and professional supervision, placing internships at the nexus of classroom and potential career. US courts and the federal government through the Fair Labor Standards Act and Department of Labor have clarified certain legal criteria for a job to be considered an internship rather than employment; generally, interns are not considered employees if they work under close supervision of staff, are provided training as an extension of their education, are not in training for a promised job, and do not displace other paid employees. Furthermore, the employer must not depend on the intern's activities and the experience must benefit the interns primarily (Wage and Hour Division 2018; see Supplemental Internship Resources and also Chapter 3 by Yamada).

NACE (2021) also lists seven criteria for determining whether an internship is "legitimate," the first of which emphasizes the experience as an *extension of the classroom* and as a *learning experience* in which students apply classroom knowledge—not merely as an opportunity to advance the operations of the employer.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the intern must gain transferable skills or knowledge, and the experience must be structured around specified learning goals that are supported with resources, supervision, and feedback by the host employer.

Education and research tend to be the primary *goals* of all internships. For students of political science, training in public service or simply competent citizenship may be secondary objectives (Hennessy 1970; Hirschfield and Adler 1973), meaning that interns can develop civic awareness, self-efficacy, and political identity through their participation in community-based settings—all of which may be important to a political science intern.<sup>10</sup> Whenever academic credit is awarded, students' learning *is* the central purpose, and Hennessy noted a half-century ago that this fact should be regarded as "the without which nothing" (1970, 22): the *sine qua non* of internships.

The extended classroom enables students to pursue other secondary educational objectives, particularly those related to developing personal and professional capacities, including (but not limited to): cognitive complexity; a sense of civic responsibility and ethics; teamwork; networks and interpersonal skills; workplace competencies; self-understanding; academic portfolios informed by experience; and improved chances for long-term career success (Alexander 1982; CAS 2019). For some undergraduates and certainly graduate students in policy subfields or public administration, making a temporary position permanent may be the primary aim—one that has been encouraged by the Federal Internship Improvement Act of 2011, a law directing federal agencies that have internship programs to hire internship coordinators and facilitate the noncompetitive transition of interns into federal employment, an effort formalized through the federal Pathways Program (Benavides, Dicke, and Holt 2013).<sup>11</sup>

How well internships fulfill their educational purposes tends to be a function of their design, institutional support, and structure, manifest in the standards established at the beginning to the assessments delivered at the end (Sweitzer and King 2019). Furthermore, if "quality" refers to how well students learn through their internship placements, then overall quality is also highly contingent on the values, resources, and performance of major stakeholders: institutions, faculty mentors or internship directors, students, and internship site partners. Variations among these actors guarantee that not all

internships can or will yield the same outcomes, but as the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS) notes, “Setting standards for internship programs establishes benchmarks for administrators, faculty, and staff members that identify a quality internship and an effective learning experience” (3, 2019). To enable learning by doing, internship program standards need to address the degree of faculty or staff guidance, on-site supervision, types of feedback mechanisms, and also set expectations for student self-study and reflection (CAS 2019). In short, stakeholders should agree on what a quality internship entails.

These imperatives provide stable footings for internship programs. But what kinds of placements merit academic credit in political science? In practice, the power to decide whether a particular field experience is folded into the definition of a political science internship may ultimately lie with faculty internship coordinators who have the authority to approve students’ plans. Conceptually, however, there is implicit agreement in the literature that *experiential learning concerned primarily with public affairs and public goods, rather than private gain and private goods, lies at the heart of political science internships*. Political science internships deal primarily with *matters related to governance that have an impact on the common welfare, not profit-making*.<sup>12</sup> In them, students regularly *confront concepts that are core to political science*: power, equality, representation, democracy, fairness, liberty, collective action, and agency, among others.

Placements directly associated with politics, policy, and government certainly satisfy these general criteria, but organizations and firms of all types potentially could qualify. Working in the marketing department of a business would not normally justify political science credit at even a basic level, but a position in its government advocacy unit logically would. On the other hand, it’s entirely possible that a student could do research or “fieldwork” to test political science-related hypotheses while being embedded in a marketing department of a for-profit business.<sup>13</sup> The distinction resides in the substantive nature of the work: even when placed in a private law firm, for instance, interns directly engage politically- or civically-oriented institutions such as laws and courts whose industry is fundamentally concerned with governance (and self-governance).<sup>14</sup> By this measure, students of politics—and not just political science majors—can capitalize on the transformative effects of internships in which they grapple with the theoretical tensions, dilemmas, and thorny problems that confront political communities in local, regional, state, national, international, or supranational contexts.

## TOWARDS BEST PRACTICES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE INTERNSHIPS

In an age of declining college enrollment and persistent achievement gaps, educational practices that could neutralize—if not help reverse—trends such as these demand sustained attention. As this discussion and the chapters in this volume indicate, internships are not a cure-all for what ails higher education, but experiential learning promises significant returns on investments made with intentionality and purpose.

Situated within a discipline-specific frame, this book responds to a peremptory, perennial question: “How do we create educational contexts and practices that help students *of politics, government, and public affairs* improve?” Moreover, “How do we effectively raise the levels of accomplishment for all, with special attention to those whose life circumstances—first generation, low income—may put them at particular educational risk?” (Schneider 2008, 7). Across the discipline, how might we do these things more systematically to achieve preferred outcomes?

One reply—the one Kuh and his associates offered—is that “if the essential learning outcomes are goals, then our curricular, cocurricular, and pedagogical practices need to be recognized as the means to achieving these larger educational ends” (Schneider 2008, 7). Collegiate interns, therefore, are obligated to critically explore the relationships among factual knowledge, concepts, theory, models, and real-world applications, and they need guidance to do so methodically (CAS 2019). Stated differently, for-credit internships should fit into a well-defined program of study with explicit standards and which enables the articulation of relevant and realistic learning goals, all of which are periodically reviewed.

This book leverages that approach by bringing together experts and evidence to illuminate how students, faculty, and internship providers can get the most out of an internship, even when their motives or goals differ. Not surprisingly, many students—and their parents—consider internships an es-

sential step in career preparation that will enable them to rise above their peers in a competitive labor market (Grant-Smith and McDonald 2016). Internship providers or employers, on the other hand, often want interns in order to supplement their staff or eventually fill entry-level positions; some desire to “give back” or “pay it forward” by orienting newcomers to the workplace and equipping them for careers. When fortified with the right resources, faculty can help these stakeholders align their objectives within an educational framework and advance their objectives cooperatively.

This edited volume is designed to address different types of needs. Although theory frames our inquiry, practicality is our guide. Some readers may be trying to establish an internship program in their department from scratch. Others may be looking to shore up existing programs with more resources or justify their expansion. Still others may want to transform an existing internship curriculum into a more meaningful experience for all types of students. In this book, chapter authors describe and evaluate different pedagogical strategies and practical techniques for designing, administering, delivering, and assessing undergraduate political science internship programs, basing their recommendations on different kinds of evidence: qualitative and quantitative data, tried and tested methods, and an extensive literature that spans academic disciplines.

Because all of our authors have direct experience with internship programs, some for many decades, their reflections and observations necessarily shape their views about what works in different contexts. In all cases, to minimize errors arising from human judgment and bias,<sup>15</sup> contributors have braced their expert conclusions with results from course evaluations, surveys, interviews, and secondary data analysis.<sup>16</sup> Even so, “the old-fashioned but still essential metric of faculty members’ considered judgment” (Schneider 2008, 7) which is reinforced by assessments that remain in the background, adds to our shared understanding about how to “do internships” best.

Most of the chapters fall into what Gryski, Johnson and O’Toole (1987) called “evaluation research”: they focus mainly on process—the “design, administration, and operation of internship programs and how to structure and manage them” (Benavides, Dicke, and Holt 2013, 330)—rather than on the empirical analysis of outcomes. We recognize the continuing need for studies that can improve upon existing knowledge through further explorations of the empirical relationships among intern characteristics and academic success, learning outcomes, intern achievement levels, institutional practices, persistence, graduation rates, career fulfillment, and so on, a point we revisit in the conclusion.

In our collective effort to identify best practices in internships, a search that is never complete, we also hope the messages in this book empower faculty to contribute to the creation of sustainable internship programs that also advance and protect faculty’s own wellbeing. Faculty often shoulder the uncompensated work of internships that is administratively cumbersome and which institutions support with miserly restraint. Virtually all our contributors either explicitly or implicitly advocate for institutional investments that will put internship programs on solid academic footings, not only for the sake of students, but also faculty. They delineate roles for their colleges and universities, APSA, and others to play in this endeavor, and identify the tools to deliver better outcomes. The resources in the supplemental materials section (“Supplemental Internship Resources”) are intended to ease the burden of reinventing the wheel with respect to creating materials, articulating goals, and assessing outcomes, among other tasks. Some of these materials can and should be directed to students who choose to do internships without the close guidance of a faculty mentor or who undertake them apart from an internship course.

This book makes at least one thing clear: despite the pessimistic prediction in 1950 that the demise of internships was imminent, they are here to stay. Societal norms and competitive labor markets almost certainly guarantee it, while the promise of thrilling, hands-on, co-curricular experiences also ensures their continued appeal for undergraduates. Internship opportunities continue to expand, taking form in new virtual spaces and for more specialized purposes, yet the discipline continues to grapple with how best to deliver academic credit-worthy experiential learning for all students. This book responds to those dilemmas with strategies that are firmly embedded in quantitative and qualitative evidence and a wealth of experience, supplying a robust set of practical, pedagogical tools that will help faculty, site supervisors, and students at every stage and in various aspects of an internship program—moving us closer to collectively achieving best practices in political science internships.<sup>17</sup>

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## ENDNOTES

1. Hirschfield and Adler (1973) write that of 83 works listed in a "Bibliography of Major Publications on Intern Programs and Participant Observation" published in 1970 [by R. Hedlund], "only 10 relate directly either to the organization or theory of internships," and that seven of those were papers presented at the Las Croabas conference, which was co-sponsored by APSA and the Ford Foundation (13). In addition to those named in the text above, the other five were: Everett Cataldo, "An Appraisal of the Congressional Fellowship Program"; Bernard C. Hennessy, "The Nature and Scope of College Political Internship Programs: Survey and Commentary"; James A. Robinson, "Participant Observation, Political Internships and Research"; John G. Stewart, "The Intern Crisis: Some Thoughts on the Overextension of a Good Thing," and Sidney Wise, "The Administration of an Internship Program" (see footnote 5).

2. APSA's Congressional Fellowship Program (CFP) was established in 1953 and is designed for political scientists (not undergraduates). See: <https://www.apsanet.org/cfp>.
3. In this volume, the terms *internship*, *experiential learning*, and *experiential education* are used interchangeably. Experiential education, we note for the record, can include other types of activities such as student teaching, simulations, or study abroad, but we use it to refer to internships exclusively.
4. The term "internship" became popular in the legal and medical fields, as young lawyers and doctors received practical training under expert supervision. In the 1930s, professional schools and departments of public administration had adapted the model to imbue public servants with expertise in bureaucratic processes (Hennessy 1973, 6-7). Prior to this, Hennessy writes (in Chapter 1, Footnote 1) that "Jane Dahlberg reports that the internship for training in public administration began in the The New York Bureau of Municipal Research in 1911, and public administration internships began in universities as early as 1914. Letter to the author, March 14, 1968" (ibid., 124).
5. Benavides, Dicke, and Holt (2013) write that scholars of public administration began to look for "tangible evidence" to support the effectiveness of internships, and two symposia were published in 1979: one by the *Public Administration Review* titled, "Internships in Public Administration," and the other by the *Southern Review of Public Administration*—currently *Public Administration Quarterly*—called "Public Service Internships: The Continuing Evolution." Benavides, Dicke and Holt concluded: "Collectively, both symposiums showed the educational value of internships. They are of historical significance because it was the first time that the public administration profession looked at internships as a pedagogical teaching technique meriting symposium status. Few if any other teaching pedagogies have reached such a level" (2013, 328).
6. The widely-tested teaching and learning practices that have been shown to increase student success (variously operationalized, as in "persistence to graduation," for example) are: first-year seminars and experiences; common intellectual experiences (such as common courses); learning communities; writing-intensive courses; collaborative assignments and projects; undergraduate research; study abroad; service learning or community-based learning; internships; and capstone courses and integrative projects (Kuh 2008). Recently, ePortfolios have been added to this list (see: "High Impact Practices," AAC&U, Accessed July 20, 2021. <https://www.aacu.org/resources/high-impact-practices>).
7. Kuh et al. (2008) make a strong case for persistence as a demonstrable outcome of HIPs, but Johnson and Stage (2018) question the overall effects of high-impact practices on graduation rates. Using primary and secondary data from 101 institutions, they investigated whether offering high-impact practices as required for all students, required for some students, or as optional was related to an institution's four or six-year graduation rate, and they found "limited" relationships between HIPs and graduation rates.
8. A two-wave national survey about internships was conducted in 2015-16; response rates were 20.5% for the 2015 survey of four-year institutions, and 6.7% for the 2016 community colleges iteration (172 respondents, combined). Among 102 four-year institutions, 67.6% reportedly did not offer an internship class (n=73) although five institutions required a campus-wide course, one required an "independent study," and one required students to take a course for which the responsibility was shared by six campuses. Among all universities, 90.3% gave political science credit for internships; among 51 community colleges, only 43.5% did (n=20). PhD-granting institutions were most likely to require an academic component such as a term paper (95.5%, n=21); 90.7% of MA-granting institutions required assignments (n=39); and 84.3% of liberal arts institutions did so (n=43); and only 40.8% of community colleges did (n=20). Overall, less than 2% of four-year institutions required no academic components (n=2), compared to 20.4% of community colleges (n=10). Whether internship class was required did not vary much by institutional type (Gentry and Van Vechten 2018). In a 2018 APSA Community College Faculty Survey, 39.7% (n=112) reported that their institution offered internships for credit. That survey was administered to 2,634 faculty in the US; 298 responded to the online survey between March 26 and May 2, 2018, for a response rate of 11.2%.
9. Spelled out on its website (<https://www.naceweb.org/about-us/advocacy/position-statements/position-statement-us-internships/>), the NACE criteria are:
  1. The experience must be an extension of the classroom: a learning experience that provides for applying the knowledge gained in the classroom. It must not be simply to advance the operations of the employer or be the work that a regular employee would routinely perform.
  2. The skills or knowledge learned must be transferable to other employment settings.
  3. The experience has a defined beginning and end, and a job description with desired qualifications.
  4. There are clearly defined learning objectives/goals related to the professional goals of the student's academic coursework.
  5. There is supervision by a professional with expertise and educational and/or professional back-

- ground in the field of the experience.
6. There is routine feedback by the experienced supervisor.
  7. There are resources, equipment, and facilities provided by the host employer that support learning objectives/goals.
10. Although some scholars consider internships a form of civic engagement, they are conceptually and practically distinct. Internships are not necessarily connected to civic learning (Smith, Nowacek, and Bernstein 2017), although they can be structured to foster civic engagement and learning.
  11. In 2010 President Obama signed Executive Order 13562, "Recruiting and Hiring Students and Recent Graduates," as a means to establish procedures that would help the federal government more easily recruit college graduates into the federal workforce. He then signed the Federal Internship Improvement Act on December 31, 2011; it "requires government agencies that have internship programs to create an internship coordinator position and publish information about available internships on their websites." The act also facilitates the noncompetitive transition of an individual with an internship into a career with the federal government. According to a study in 2007 by the Partnership for Public Service, the federal government hired only about 6.6% of its interns, *and* the private sector hired half of its interns" (Benavides, Dicke, and Holt 2013, 325-26). More about the Pathways program can be found on the Office of Personnel Management's website for students and recent graduates: <https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/hiring-information/students-recent-graduates/#url=Overview>.
  12. One could also say that they have implications for the common welfare, not private conditions. As this discussion shows, there is no "perfect" or singular definition of a political science internship, partly because there is no perfect, singular definition of political science (although one could argue that there is agreement at a general level). For example, on its website, APSA (2021) alludes to a definition of the profession where it states that political science "promotes scholarly understanding of political ideas, norms, behaviors, and institutions to inform public choices about government, governance, and public policy." In this text, we consider most *public affairs* internships to be political science internships and use the terms interchangeably, although arguably they are distinct yet overlapping. Again, the nature of the work is key for defining what qualifies as a political science internship: for example, a placement with a public health agency could fall into the public affairs category, but would be considered "political science" only if the intern were engaging the core concepts of the discipline regularly (and at least implicitly) through their work.
  13. Highly specified research (such as using marketing department data to test political science concepts) tends not to occupy undergraduates, but students located in rural areas (or who otherwise have limited internship options) might find pathways to an internship by conducting research that is interdisciplinary.
  14. Hennessy (1973) dwells on this point at length, explaining that post-World War II, political scientists who generally were focused on policy "urged the collection and codification of data" that could be gathered in the field, such as through federal agencies, and there was general acknowledgement that the "science" of politics had to be an empirical, replicable, and largely quantitative science" (7). Pure behavioralists, however, tended to view policy analysis (and activism) as value-laden and therefore liable to compromise the objectivity of the scientific enterprise. Some scholars with a "flair for politics who were also scholars" recognized internships as a device through which these concerns could be reconciled. Thus, E. E. Schattschneider and Victoria Schuck, among others, began to experiment with placing students with politicians and supervising their activities (8).
  15. For an extended discussion of the pitfalls associated with an overreliance on observation, see Kahneman, Slovic, and Tversky (1982).
  16. This is to say that most of our contributors have access to years' worth of supervisor evaluations, student surveys, reports, and other institution-specific data which inform their conclusions, but only protected information that has been approved by an institutional review board is included in this publication.
  17. With modest recognition of the continuing need for comparative, longitudinal data to establish causal relationships, we stop short of asserting that the recommendations described in this text constitute a definitive set of "best" practices for delivering internships (for a straightforward discussion of the necessary and sufficient conditions for justifying the term "best practices," see Bretschneider, Marc-Aurele, Jr., and Wu 2005).

