

**POLITICAL SCIENCE INTERNSHIPS:  
STUDENT GUIDE AND RESOURCE MANUAL**

**COURSE PACKET FOR**

**POLS 5100**

**POLS 5101**

**POLS 5102**

**POLS 5110**

**POLS 5111**

**POLS 5112**

**POLS 5120**

**POLS 5121**

**POLS 5122**

**POLS 5130**

**POLS 5131**

**POLS 5132**

Department of Political Science  
The University of Georgia  
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## **THE INTERNSHIP: AN INTRODUCTION**

### **The Internship's Role in the Political Science Program of Study**

The internship semester is an important part of the undergraduate program in Political Science at the University of Georgia. The primary purpose of the internship is to provide students with an opportunity to integrate academic knowledge with experiences obtained in an operational setting. The internship experience also develops skills and knowledge needed to pursue a career in a political science field.

Ordinarily, the intern has a supervisor whose duties are cast in the mainstream activities of the organization and whose work represents what the intern might reasonably expect to encounter should he or she pursue a similar career. The supervisor may view the intern as an apprentice who is learning to perform the major tasks associated with the job at hand. In this way, the intern learns the organizational routine and benefits from the experience and expertise of the supervisor. The internship is also an academic learning experience with faculty assigned to supervise student interns' academic work, including an original research project and/or a series of analytical essays.

All internships undertaken for academic credit must be approved by both the host agency and the Department of Political Science. To be eligible for placement, a student must:

- (1) be in good academic standing (UGA GPA  $\geq$  2.0).
- (2) have completed any required pre-requisite course related to the internship sequence. See your advisor for details.

## COMPONENTS OF THE INTERNSHIP

Students register for one to three courses during the internship semester: POLS 5100, 5101 or 5102; POLS 5110, 5111, or 5112; POLS 5120, 5121, or 5122; or POLS 5130, 5131, or 5132. Each course is four semester credit hours.

In calculating final grades:

- 5100/5110/5120/5130 are based on the agency supervisor's evaluation of the student's work performance (Satisfactory/ Unsatisfactory basis)
- 5101/5111/5121/5131 are based on a single research paper/ project (A-F basis)
- 5102/5112/5122/5132 are based on evaluations of a series of analytical essays (A-F basis)

As with all major courses, one must receive a grade of C or above to satisfy the major requirements in political science. If a student receives a grade of C- or lower on any internship course, it will not count towards satisfying the major requirements. Students will not be cleared to register for these courses until their advisor has received a letter of confirmation from the agency where the student plans to intern, verifying the student's placement.

Frequently, confirmations are not received until late in the term preceding the internship semester. Students, therefore, should not be concerned if they are unable to pre-register on the usual schedule. Internship courses are available only with permission of the advisor, and no intern will be closed out of registration who is awaiting confirmation of internship.

As noted earlier, the internship is not simply a work experience. There are well-defined university requirements that constitute the basis for the academic credit you receive when you successfully complete your internship. The following sections detail the nature of, and expectations for, each internship component. As you read through these sections, it should be apparent that the internship can be a very time-consuming experience. Students work in agencies and also meet high academic standards for analytical essays and/or a research paper.

**THE ANALYTICAL ESSAYS (POLS 5102/5112/5122/5132)**  
(Four semester credit hours)

The grade for this course will be based on evaluations of 6 essays. The requirements for all essays are described below. Essays must be submitted at specified times during the term as indicated on the calendar of due dates for the internship semester. Faculty supervisors will determine whether essays are to be submitted electronically or in hard copy form. You should keep copies of your essays for your own records.

**Specialized/Professional Essays (3 required)**

The requirements for this set of three essays are described below:

**1. Agency History/Background Essay:** in this essay, students will provide an overview of the agency for which they are interning: its organization, history, purpose, leaders and constituents. This essay should also provide information relevant to professional careers in that agency (positions, educational requirements, salary information, hiring outlook).

You may use any verifiable source to write this paper, including agency web sites, academic materials, and government documents. The purpose of this paper is to provide a strong foundation for understanding the agency where you are interning, including information on its workforce. This paper will allow you to conduct a more thorough informational interview (see below). This essay should be approximately 4-5 pages (double-spaced) in length.

**2. Informational Interview Essay:** in this essay, students will conduct an interview of a professional in your agency (agency supervisor or other). This interview will help you gain an understanding of the agency and profession you may consider entering.

The interview must be conducted in person; email interviews are not acceptable. You may not interview friends and/or family members, even if they are employees in your agency. Any final report submitted without the professor's pre-approval of the interviewee/subject will result in a score of zero for the assignment. You may use a tape recorder during the interview if you wish, but make the person you are interviewing aware that you are using one BEFORE the interview starts and ask if he or she has any objections.

The interview questions below are suggested questions to consider. You should choose a certain number of questions and then ask them exactly as they are written. You may ask "probe" questions (e.g. "Can you tell me more about that?") in addition to the main questions provided. Record and type up interviewee responses to specific questions rather than providing a summary of his or her responses (include the actual interview questions followed by their responses). *All* material submitted MUST be e-copy. Additional questions of interest may be asked thereafter.

Your final write-up includes the questions and responses. You should also include a discussion section that focuses on highlights of the interview, including comments made by the interviewee that you present in the context of what you learned about the agency in your earlier essay. Relating the interview material to your political science coursework and/or other academic sources in a substantial way will earn you a higher grade. Submitting the questions/responses and a minimal discussion of the key points will be sufficient for a satisfactory grade for the assignment, but it will not constitute "excellent" work.

These interviews have many positive aspects and provide excellent opportunities for the future. The experience will allow you to obtain information about a possible career and/or allow you to make a more informed career choice. The interview may provide you with a potential career-related contact. The assignment also provides insight into workplace dynamics, occupational issues, and job realities.

### Interview Questions

1. Name of the professional being interviewed
2. The interviewee's official job title and employment location
3. How long have you been a [job title]?
4. How did you get your job?
5. People enter particular careers for many different reasons. What were some of the reasons you entered this particular career?
6. Was this your first choice as a career? If not, what was?
7. What is a typical workday and typical week in this job?
8. How often do you work past 6:00p.m. and on weekends?
9. What are the most difficult problems/challenges/decisions you face in this job?
10. Of all the individuals you have met in this line of work, what personal attributes do you think are essential to success in your particular job?
11. What do you see as the greatest rewards of your job?
12. What do you like the least about your job?
13. Where do you see yourself in five years?
14. Do you foresee any major changes in this field within the next five years?

**3. Resume/Cover Letter Essay:** In this essay requirement, students will prepare a resume and cover letter in response to a hypothetical job posting (students will find their own, example is below). When preparing the resume and letter, you should follow the guidelines and rubric found in the career center guide (link below, pp.22-23, 28-31, 32-34), the purpose of the assignment is to prepare the student to enter the job market in their chosen field.

<http://career.uga.edu/uploads/documents/UGACareerGuide.pdf>

*Sample job posting:*

<p><b>Title</b></p>	<p><b>Research Analyst II Fiscal Affairs Program National Conference of State Legislatures</b></p> <p><b>Compensation:</b> \$3,486 a month</p>
<p><b>General Description</b></p>	<p>NCSL's Fiscal Affairs Program is seeking a research analyst II to perform legislative research, analysis, writing and program planning. The position is an integral part of the State Fiscal Health Project, a project within the Fiscal Affairs Program at NCSL that covers a broad range of topics including, but not limited to, issues related to state economic development approaches, state budgeting practices and state tax changes. This individual will conduct research, organize meeting logistics, perform outreach to legislators and legislative staff, develop written analyses and respond to information requests from state legislators, legislative staff, the media and others on a variety of fiscal issues. This includes recruiting legislators to attend meetings, summarizing relevant legislation and working on a variety of research and writing projects as well as assisting other fiscal staff with major research projects.</p>
<p><b>Responsibilities and Duties</b></p>	<p><b>Research, Policy Analysis and Writing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collects monitors and analyzes data on legislative actions using a wide range of research skills.</li> <li>• Prepares prompt, concise and accurate written responses to legislative requests for information.</li> <li>• Under supervision plans programs and organizes background materials in closely related subject areas for research projects, meetings, conferences and technical assistance workshops.</li> <li>• Plans, researches and writes for newsletters, issue briefs, short research reports or articles.</li> <li>• Draft documents for the NCSL web site and edit and maintain existing web pages.</li> <li>• Assist in inputting data on legislative changes into online databases.</li> <li>• Performs other fiscal duties as assigned.</li> </ul>



<p><b>Minimum Qualifications</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bachelor's degree. Preference includes at least one year of general policy research, legislative or state government experience.</li> <li>• Skill and competence in a range of research skills and tasks including web-based research, original surveys, in-depth interviews and specialized library resources.</li> <li>• Skill and competence in working cooperatively and professionally with a variety of people, often under pressure.</li> <li>• Attention to detail and the ability to problem solve and think critically is essential.</li> <li>• Is well-organized, efficient, flexible and a team player with a positive attitude.</li> <li>• Skill and competence in a variety of written and oral communications. Final candidates will be given a writing test during the interview process.</li> <li>• Must be able to multitask, work independently and with others, maintain confidentiality and work in a bipartisan manner.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Benefits</b></p>	<p>NCSL offers an outstanding, comprehensive program of benefits to employees and their family at low cost. NCSL covers 90 percent of the monthly premium for health insurance and employees pay 10 percent. Employee only Dental plans are covered 100 percent by NCSL or NCSL will provide a portion of the dependent premium. Other plans such as life insurance (2x annual salary), disability coverage and employee assistance programs are provided at no cost.</p> <p>Employees contribute 5 percent of salary toward the 401(a)-retirement plan and NCSL matches 10 percent of salary after six months with full vesting. In addition, NCSL offers a flexible work-life balance with 35-hour work weeks, three weeks' vacation with five years' experience and optional holidays. NCSL also provides discounted ancillary benefits employees can take advantage of such as in office dry cleaning pick up, pet insurance, 24-hour fitness memberships, bus / train passes, and more!</p>
<p><b>To Apply</b></p>	<p>Interested candidates should send a resume and cover letter highlighting skills and qualifications to: <a href="https://ncsl.applicantpro.com/jobs">https://ncsl.applicantpro.com/jobs</a> no later than <b>Friday, Feb. 16, 2018</b>.</p>

## **General/Academic Essays (2 required)**

Essays 4 and 5 will provide a framework drawn from academic sources that is used to analyze your experience/observation. Essays are structured opportunities for you to analyze observations (direct or indirect) from your internship and, in doing so, examine ideas, issues, concepts and theories from previous course work or academic readings. The essays should include both analytical and descriptive contents, but the strongest essays will be those that provide more developed analyses. Each essay should include the following:

- Identification/discussion of a concept, theory, empirical finding, etc., drawn explicitly from course texts and/or outside academic reference(s).
- A description of the agency experience or observation that brought this topic to mind or how the internship context connects with the topic.
- An analysis of your observation(s)/experience.
- You must use at least two (preferably more) outside academic references per essay and cite appropriately. A title for each essay, properly formatted in-text citations, and end of essay list of references/works cited page that follows APA/ASA/APSA format.

The acceptable length of essays will vary somewhat by topic and individual style of writing. More important is the quality of analysis and composition. An essay which includes sufficient analysis and evidence of critical thinking will require approximately 4-5 double-spaced pages.

Confidentiality is a paramount concern in many agencies, and its considerations may extend to the preparation of essays. If applicable, do not use names or other identifiers of defendants, victims, or authorities in your essays; instead, use pseudonyms of some sort.

On occasion, a supervisor may require agency review of essays before you submit them to your professor or may request that you give the agency a copy of the essays.

A topic does not have to emerge from a first-hand experience or observation; one can be generated by a conversation with agency staff about their experiences, current events, observations or thoughts on political issues or practices.

### **Tips:**

- jot down an idea/observation when it occurs to you
- locate relevant texts, many of which are available in the library, to develop a list of potential topics prior to the start of the internship
- do not try to include too much in a single essay
- proofread your paper...your grade on this component will be higher if your papers are well-written

- include a works cited page (and cite your references in the body of your essay)

**Final Internship Essay (1 required)**

Essay 6 will be structured like the other two general academic essays (see above), but will address the specific parameters described here.

Using your internship experience, as well as what you've learned thus far in any of your academic coursework, as well as any relevant political science research, please write an essay that answers the following question:

**How do American political actors and institutions interact with one another to affect the behavior of voters, elections, and/or American public policy?**

Note: The same guidelines apply as the other academic essays.

## Caution About Plagiarism

Plagiarism in your academic work will not be tolerated. The definition of plagiarism quoted below is taken from the University of Georgia publication *A Culture of Honesty*. All University of Georgia students should be familiar with the Honor Code and the provisions of *A Culture of Honesty*. Both are accessible on The University of Georgia website. Most instances of plagiarism can be easily avoided with appropriate citations and quotes. Additional useful guidance about how to avoid plagiarism may be found at:

The University of Georgia's Libraries web site, "LibGuides"

<http://guides.libs.uga.edu/content.php?pid=584608>

From *A Culture of Honesty*:

Plagiarism - Submission for academic advancement the words, ideas, opinions or theories of another that are not common knowledge, without appropriate attribution to that other person. Plagiarism includes, but is not limited to, the following acts when performed without appropriate attribution:

1. Directly quoting all or part of another person's written or spoken words without quotation marks, as appropriate to the discipline;
2. Paraphrasing all or part of another person's written or spoken words without notes or documentation within the body of the work;
3. Presenting an idea, theory or formula originated by another person as the original work of the person submitting that work;
4. Repeating information, such as statistics or demographics, which is not common knowledge and which was originally compiled by another person;
5. Purchasing (or receiving in any other manner) a term paper or other assignment that is the work of another person and submitting that term paper or other assignment as the student's own.

## Sample General/Academic Essays

### Example 1

#### **POLS 5112: How Social Media Swayed the 2016 Presidential Election**

For many, social media has become a way to stay connected over long distances. For politicians, it has become a way to advertise their campaigns. For Donald Trump, it is how he won his 2016 presidential election. This paper will explore the idea that despite his brash demeanor throughout his campaign, Donald Trump was able to leverage the power of social media, specifically Twitter, to win the Oval Office.

Although Twitter had been a platform for politicians in previous elections, it was largely overlooked as a campaign strategy until 2016. On Election Day in 2008, the Obama campaign tweeted once to an audience of around one million followers. By contrast, on Election Day in 2012, the Obama campaign disseminated more than 300 tweets to over 27 million followers.<sup>1</sup> This shows just how much social media has grown over the last ten years, but also shows how politicians were beginning to change with the times to use it as a way to reach their voters.

What made Donald Trump especially successful in 2016, however, was his ability to gain national publicity through strategically timed tweets with outlandish content. His campaign resulted in an empire of a social media presence, as he was relentless with continuing to continue selling himself to his base. Researchers Fulgoni, Lipsman, and Davidsen write how the frequency of Donald Trump's tweets was critical to his success. With close to 9 million Twitter followers in June 2016, he was able to persuade voters and create news cycles by tweeting sometimes more than two dozen times daily. In March of 2016, it was estimated that Trump received more than \$2 billion in "free" television coverage in this manner this cycle.<sup>2</sup> Time, however, is only one reason why Donald Trump was able to succeed his opponent in 2016.

In addition to his timing, Donald Trump's content was another element that contributed to his success in 2016. His tweets would attack specific people or groups, saying controversial statements that would make national headlines. In January 2016, a quarter of American adults said they looked to candidates' social media posts for US election information (Mitchell, Holcomb, & Weisel, 2016). In this way, Trump was able to capture the attention of people all across the country and reach tons of voters through social media, one of the only sources of news many paid attention to. When did people stop reading the news? When did sitting down with a mainstream newspaper become such a rare thing to do? Dr. Panetta, a professor at the University of Georgia holds that the short answer is that we've simply gotten lazy. We don't have time anymore to read through pages upon pages of information and then digest it.<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, we want answers and we want them quickly. In 300 characters to be exact. Twitter is a platform where "fast news" can be achieved and unfortunately, people are not always willing to put the time in to read beyond those 300 characters so they become all we know. Joseph Ryoo and Neil Bendle argue in their research, published in the *Journal of Political Marketing*, that "no matter if it is done well or done poorly, social media earns

features in more mainstream media sources. Donald Trump's controversial tweets about the other candidates, debate moderators, and even the Pope, garnered widespread television and newspaper coverage" (Lee and Quealy 2016).<sup>4</sup> Social media became a way for Trump to gain free advertising in national news sources simply by being controversial with his material. It is not rocket science that whenever he would tweet an off putting statement, people on both sides of the aisle would be talking about it during their morning commutes, at the office, or spreading it online. Although it was a downright dirty strategy, it was brilliant from a campaign perspective.

Often times, when people would promote Donald Trump as a political candidate, they would not even know they were doing it. This was especially true with the thousands of political memes that resulted from his rhetoric during and after debates. Dr. Panetta argues that memes played a significant role in helping Donald Trump win the 2016 election.<sup>5</sup> He explains that memes promote a type of "group-think", ethnocentric mentality. They are often broad statements that target a specific idea or concept and can be digested quickly. As consumers of information, memes tap into our emotions. Dr. Panetta argues that they take logos, facts, and create pathos, emotions. In this way, they create an affinity to a certain idea without us even knowing it.<sup>6</sup> Political memes are certainly less intricate than political cartoons, but they seek to function in the same way: playing on people's emotions to elicit a reaction or sway their opinions. If it makes you happy, you are likely to share it. If it makes you angry, you are also likely to share it. Either way, Trump was gaining unprecedented amounts of attention through something as simple as a few words on a picture.

Donald Trump used social media as a way to promote his own image, but he also used it to single handedly tear down the images his opponents. One aspect of Trump's campaign strategy that was especially unique with regard to social media was that he chose not to use surrogates, individuals that would essentially help portray the candidate's opponent as unfit for office. Surrogates function to help preserve the candidate's reputation by having other people attack the other individuals that could threaten the campaign's success. For example, Barack Obama's use of surrogates during his 2008 campaign was why people began to view John McCain as too old and incompetent to run the country.<sup>7</sup> Obviously, Obama would have never said any such thing, as his political image would have been ruined, but Trump was not afraid to do his own dirty work, allowing him more opportunities to be ruthless with his rhetoric.

On this note, some may question why Trump's outlandish statements didn't have the reverse effect. After all, shouldn't hearing such vulgar rhetoric make people more averse to his campaign? The short answer is yes, but it didn't. Many political scientists continue to question this even still. To address this puzzling question, we can again, look to the role of social media. Michael Cornfield, an associate professor of political management at The George Washington University examines why voters did not hold Trump accountable for his comments during the invisible primary and into the nominating stage of his campaign. He writes that although there were people who outwardly disapproved of the rhetoric, "the presence of social media voices enhanced Trump's capacity to succeed with an insurgent marketing strategy, one he would continue into his election as president fifteen months later."<sup>8</sup> Social media functioned much like an advertisement. If seen enough times, it not only starts to become perceived as credible, but also allows for the re-promotion of its content time and time again. Researchers Fulgoni, Lipsman, and Davidsen write about this in their article, specifically about the power of social persuasion. They suggest that it was not so much the rhetoric

itself that influenced voters to vote red, but rather, the promotion of it by their peers or trusted colleagues<sup>9</sup>. Referencing a similar study, they discovered that “much like for Obama in 2008 and 2012, social media enabled initially ‘niche’ candidates, like Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, to gain validation and build supporter bases through social networks because communications from friends are far more persuasive than advertisements coming directly from a brand.”<sup>10</sup> This makes sense, as we are probably more likely to trust the opinions of our peers rather than trust a random statement online. While this does not necessarily address the question of why people bought Trump’s graceless social media presence in 2016, it at least provides a plausible reason for why they could have overlooked some of his controversy.

In all, social media was an incredibly important asset to Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign. Whether it was due to the frequency of his tweets, their controversial nature, or the promotion of his rhetoric by his audience, he was undoubtedly one of the most successful politicians when it came to using social media. It is likely that future presidential candidates will begin to see social media as a campaign strategy more and more. Whether they will be as successful at using it to their advantage remains to be determined.

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**Example 2:**

## The Effect of Negative Campaigning on Electoral Success

POLS 5122

## Introduction

The 2018 Georgia Republican Primary Run-Off has been characterized as decidedly negative by virtually every witness to the election. Political attacks from each side abound, and the attacks are being launched on virtually every platform available: on social media, on television, on radio, and on mailers. And in the opinion of many constituents who call in to Cagle for Georgia, the tone of Cagle's ads are far "too negative" and will either drive voters to support rival candidate Brian Kemp or lead voters to abstain from voting at all.

Indeed, for every competitive election, news media disseminates reports of voters' disgust over the negative tone of campaign advertising. But in spite of the widespread dismay that voters express about negative campaigning, candidates across the country and at all levels of government continue to be devout practitioners of the ages-old mudslinging strategy. While it may be true that voters are largely dismayed by negative campaign ads, it is less certain that voters' dismay translates into any real impact on electoral success or voter turnout.

Campaigns like Cagle's are using negative campaign ads to drive voter turnout and motivate the electorate to participate in the upcoming election. Given that Cagle's campaign has dedicated most of its advertising time to negative ads, it is important to determine what the likely outcome of this strategy is, and whether it will demobilize voters,

drive them to vote for Kemp, or inspire them to vote for Cagle. An analysis of Cagle's strategy, and its potential impact on voter turnout, is particularly necessary given how close the race is between the two candidates.

### Literature Review

There are two broad theories of negative campaign advertising within the body of political science research. The first theory submits that negative campaign advertisements have a demobilizing effect on the electorate. Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1997) developed this theory through experiments which found that voters, when showed a negative ad, claimed they were less likely to vote. They similarly found that voters, when showed a positive ad, claimed they were more likely to vote. As Goldstein and Freedman (2002) write in their summary of the experiment, Ansolabehere and Iyengar concluded that "[the result of negative advertising] is an electorate that is smaller and more polarizing than it would be were campaign advertising more positive in tone," (p. 722). The underlying assumption is that negative campaign ads cause voters to lose faith and trust in government and discourages voters from voting.

The research following Ansolabehere and Iyengar's (1997) experiment found little support for the theory. Finkel and Geer (1998) refuted the theory through their own analysis of presidential campaign advertisements from 1960-1992, finding that "attack advertising does not influence either overall turnout rates or individual self-reported votes," (p. 573). Other scholars like Lau et al. (1999) similarly found in their own meta-analysis, that "negative political ads appear to be no more effective than positive ads and do not seem to have especially detrimental effects on the political system" (p. 851). The studies which examined real-life trends, then, did not tend to find a correlation between negative

advertisements and voter demobilization or electoral success.

Since Ansolabehere and Iyengar's flagship research was published, many scholars have pointed out that their methods – and the methods of other scholars from the late 90s – are largely flawed. Most significantly, scholars have argued that these studies do a poor job of accounting for and measuring ad exposure in the real world, which is an important variable since advertising exposure is often targeted geographically and with varied intensity. In response to these identified flaws in the research, later studies began to control for the effects of advertising's targeted nature with more precise research design. The second theory of negative advertising developed as scholars began to address these flaws.

The second theory of negative advertising submits that negative advertising has a mobilizing effect on the electorate. Many authors have explored this theory, beginning in the early 2000s. Freedman and Goldstein (1999, 2002) conducted two studies, focusing on both state-level elections and presidential elections. The authors find “unambiguous evidence that exposure to negative campaign ads actually stimulates voter turnout,” (Goldstein and Freedman, 2002, p. 721). The reason for such simulation, according to these and other authors, is that negative advertising may alert voters to social or moral threats, or because it may indicate the closeness of a race. As Martin (2004) summarizes in his own study of presidential ads, “negative campaigns stimulate problem awareness, stimulate anxiety about candidates, and make people perceive races as closer” (p. 557).

Even so, other scholars have found that negative advertising is curvilinear in nature, and that excessive negative advertising, or mudslinging, has a demobilizing effect. As Lau and Pomper (2001) find, and as Martin (2004) summarizes: “both sets of authors

argued that mudslinging or unusually high levels of negativity have distinct effects because citizens respond differently to what they perceive to be legitimate criticisms versus personal attacks,” (p. 547).

Nonetheless, Lau et al. (2007) revisited the literature on negative advertising, conducting a second meta-analysis which drew roughly inconclusive results. Although Lau et al. find an “overriding lack of evidence that negative campaigning itself works as it is supposed to” (p. 1183), they do note that trends in recent research tend to suggest that negative advertisements are slightly more likely to increase voter turnout than not. However, the authors also conclude that “negative campaigning does have some negative systemic consequences, including lower trust in government, a lessened sense of political efficacy, and possibly a darker public mood” (p. 1186).

## Discussion

In summary, scholars have not agreed on the true efficacy of negative political advertisements. And although more recent literature indicates that negative political strategies do tend to increase turnout among supporters in both experimental lab settings and in historical analyses, increase in turnout appears to be marginal. Moreover, the marginal gains from negative advertising can apparently be nullified if the electorate perceives the attacks to be unfounded or excessive “mudslinging,” indicating that there is limited opportunity to gain electoral support through negative campaign strategy. Finally, many authors argue that even if negative political advertisements *do* have a net positive impact for the attacker, the attacks do more harm than good to the democratic process, by lowering trust in government and depressing political efficacy.

Many political advisors in Georgia politics, and certainly those advising both Cagle

and Kemp for the current Republican Run-Off Election, believe that negative advertising is the best way to mobilize the electorate and turn out voters. Cagle tends to question Kemp's competence and trustworthiness, while Kemp tends to question Cagle's honesty and independence from moneyed interests. And although voters are certainly dismayed at the constant attacks being launched from either side, it seems that all of the attacks are still being received as generally credible – that is, the candidates have not yet resorted to personal attacks and outright mudslinging.

The findings of the literature, then, seem to be broadly playing out in the Georgia gubernatorial race. Some constituents are disgruntled by the attacks, and they call the campaign headquarters to request a cleaner campaign strategy. Some constituents are outraged by the actions uncovered in the attacks, and they take to Twitter to express their anger at Kemp. Still others have expressed their unwillingness to vote at all thanks to the attacks from both sides, betraying their lack of faith in state government.

So long as the attacks from either side do not stray into mudslinging, it seems that both Cagle and Kemp will be maintaining the status quo, with neither more likely to persuade voters to their camp or drive them to the other candidate through negative ads. But since negative ads are most likely to depress overall turnout, running a negative ad campaign could have profound implications during an extraordinarily close election such as this, since Kemp's base is generally regarded as more energized and since Cagle needs a high turnout on July 24 to remain competitive in the race. Overall, running a negative ad campaign with an electoral base of less energized supporters seems risky, but if Cagle defeats Kemp in the Run-Off Election, the success may speak to the efficacy of high-dollar, high-intensity negative advertisements after all.

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**Example 3:****POLS 5132****The Impact of Accountability Courts in America**

Accountability courts are a recent change to our traditional criminal justice system that we have had in our country in the past. These courts specialize in the rehabilitation of a non-violent criminal rather than simply crime and punishment. Rehabilitation through these courts do not apply to everyone, only the criminals who root cause of their criminal behavior can be fixed, such as a drug addiction or mental health issue. Unfortunately, other criminals are not driven by something that can be fixed in Accountability court. The three main accountability courts implemented today are HELP court (previously called Mental Health court), Veterans court, and Drug court. The goal of these specialized courts is to decrease the rate of people who end up incarcerated again and again, and to ultimately focus on the individual as a whole and their needs, whether it be rehabilitation from a drug addiction, building back relationships in their lives that have been ruined, or giving a person with a mental illness the proper care they need. Georgia adapted its own Accountability Court Program in 2012 in order to reduce recidivism and also as a solution to the overcrowded prison population. In general, the individuals in the accountability court programs are monitored and mentored by specialists in drug abuse or mental health, and attend weekly meetings with a group, as well as attend hearings in front of a judge to check their progress and deal with any violations of the program if necessary. These nontraditional courts have become increasingly popular throughout our country, and the results seen from these programs explain why (Accountability Court Program, [cjcc.georgia.gov](http://cjcc.georgia.gov)).

HELP court (Health Empowerment Linkage and Possibilities), or mental health court, was designed to help rehabilitate people with mental illnesses while at the same time making sure they keep the community safe. This type of court has dramatically become more popular, where there was only one or two in 1997 and now there are about 250. Though certain details of mental health courts vary from each jurisdiction, the common goal is to remove these people from the criminal justice system and place them in community treatment programs. In order to get into the program an individual must be recommended to the mental health court staff by someone who has worked on their case. If they can meet the requirements, such as being a non-violent offender, and agree to the conditions then they are able to participate in the program. Once in the program, they are released back into the community under the supervision of the professionals in the field and under judicial supervision as well (Steadman, Redlich, & Callihan, "Effects of Mental Health Courts on Arrests and Jail Days", 2011).

A journal published in 2011 describes a research project studying four different locations of HELP courts and the effect they have on the community around them. The two major variables the study focused on were arrests and jail days to see if the mental health courts “work without compromising public safety.” Incarceration days were observed during an 18 month period within the HELP court groups and separate groups of people who went through the traditional crime and punishment criminal justice system, without the accountability court system. For the HELP court participants the number of days incarcerated was very small, from 73 days pre 18 month period to 82 days post 18 month period. However, in the group of criminals not in the HELP court system the number of incarcerated days went up from 74 to 152 days, which is a 105% increase. With arrests during those 18 months that were surveys the mental health group was 49% likely to be rearrested while the alternative group was 58% likely to be rearrested. The recidivism rates were lower in the



HELP court participants than the other sample of people, and in San Francisco particularly the HELP court individuals were 5 times less likely to be incarcerated than the alternative group. This study shows a pretty clear advantage to having HELP courts established in order to rehabilitate the criminal as well as lower the recidivism rate which keeps the community safer at the same time (Steadman, Redlich, & Callihan, "Effects of Mental Health Courts on Arrests and Jail Days", 2011). HELP courts are only one of the examples of accountability courts that have seen major effects on the ever changing criminal justice system in our country.

Veterans court supports a growing need in our country to provide a unique system of rehabilitation to the men and women who have served in our military. Veterans take up about 12% of our prison systems, so there is a need for reformation within this area of criminal justice. This particular accountability court is unique because they are dealing with this very specific group of people that have many of the same problems to overcome. Once they come home, a lot of veterans deal with mental issues such as PTSD or depression as well as substance abuse problems, such as alcoholism or the use of illicit drugs. Additionally, there are major social problems to overcome as well, such as homelessness or unemployment. These issues spread across both HELP court and Drug court domains so it is necessary to implement a specific veterans court in order to rehabilitate in the best way possible. To determine if a veteran is eligible for Veterans court they must go through a screening to see if they have a mental illness or a substance abuse problem, or both, and the crime they have committed must be nonviolent. Once in the program veterans are given the treatment or accommodations they need, while under the supervision of the professionals and the judge. One special aspect of veterans court compared to the others is the mentor program that has been involved. It is helpful for veterans to talk to other veterans about what they are going through,

and they have seen substantial results (Russell, Veterans Treatment Court Developing Throughout the Nation).

The case study done in Buffalo, New York in 2008 shows the impact Veterans court has had on some of the first individuals to go through the program a decade ago. The veterans in the program who graduated are clean and sober from drug or alcohol abuse. They are actively taking care of their mental health, and for those who were homeless or lacked employment the program helped them find long term housing and stable employment. Since 2008, dozens of veterans courts have been established throughout our country, helping with the decline of recidivism as well as the rehabilitation of the people who fought for our freedom (Russell, Veterans Treatment Court Developing Throughout the Nation).

Finally, drug courts are a massive help when it comes to helping nonviolent criminals who have a drug or alcohol addiction. This court operates the same way as the other two I have previously mentioned, however this court focuses on substance abuse, and the effect drugs or alcohol have in correlation to crimes. Many times violent crimes involve drugs or alcohol, or a bad decision is made under the influence. Individuals must qualify for the program, and once in the program they are monitored by their supervisors and attend hearings to talk about their progress. They attend weekly meetings with their group as well as take drug tests to make sure they are sober during the program. These courts are an alternative to incarceration and help to keep the prisons less crowded if possible. In a multiple site analysis, it was concluded that drug courts reduce the crime rate by 7% to 14%. A study of multiple California drug court programs showed that the re-arrest rate for people not in the drug court program was 41% while graduates of the drug court program had only a 17% re-arrest rate. Another additional bonus of drug courts is the amount of money saved in the long run. While these courts do cost money to operate, the money saved by

these courts is well worth the price. In California, the average cost of putting one individual through the program is \$3,000, but the amount of money saved per person in the long run is around \$11,000 (Huddleston, C. W., Marlowe, D., & Casebolt, R. (2008). *Painting the Current Picture: A National Report Card on Drug Courts and Other Problem Solving Programs in the United States*).

Accountability courts are reshaping our criminal justice system for the better. These courts are effectively attacking the problem of recidivism in our country, and by all accounts producing hopeful statistics. These rehabilitative courts are proving that the traditional crime and punishment tactic is outdated, and simply does not work as well when it comes to criminals driven by a drug addiction or mental illness. With rehabilitation being the main concern of these programs, they are looking at the criminal holistically which not only provides better results for the individual, but better results for the community around them. Crime rates are dropping and people are healing due to the power of these courts. As the number of Accountability courts continues to climb in America we can only hope to see the same encouraging results as we have seen thus far, and continue in the fight to reduce recidivism and make society a safer place altogether.

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## **THE RESEARCH PAPER (POL5 5101/5111/5121/5131)** (Four semester credit hours)

### **Description and Purpose**

The internship research paper requires that you undertake an original research project and then submit a paper that reports and interprets your findings. This paper also includes information on your research design, with special attention to reviewing existing scholarship. Students identify a reasonably focused research question, secure an appropriate set of observations and measures related to that question, and analyze the data systematically to shed light on the hypothesis. Most interns address a topic directly related to the activities of their host agency and often acquire data for analysis from a source in the agency. Research topics are as varied as the types of agencies in which students intern, but there are common key requirements detailed more fully below. Given the complex and substantial requirements for a research project, interns must plan ahead and consult with both the faculty advisor and on-site agency supervisor.

### **General Instructions**

**Selecting a topic.** The first task in preparation of the research paper is selection of a general topic. Several factors will influence this selection, primarily the type of agency in which you are interning. As soon as you begin work in the agency, consult your agency supervisor and give some thought to the issues the agency addresses that relate to a potential research topic. You will want to discuss the research paper requirement with your agency supervisor early on in your internship, not only for ideas, but to see what types of data might be available through the agency. You should keep your agency supervisor apprised of your topic as it develops to ensure that it is acceptable to the agency and that you are authorized to use agency data sources.

Another source to assist you in topic selection is your faculty supervisor. You are required to submit a general research topic, described in a paragraph or two, early in the term with a detailed outline of the paper near the midterm. However, it is advisable that you do not wait until the deadlines; instead, you should begin a dialogue with your faculty supervisor immediately. Your professor can provide valuable feedback and advice, saving you time and effort with false starts.

A final factor to consider in topic selection is your intellectual interests. Researching a question that captures your interest and imagination will result in a higher quality project and paper.

**Developing a plan for research.** Once your general topic has been approved, you should begin a review of the literature. The initial step is to develop a list of scholarly references to identify existing research. In reading through these works, you will see how your question fits in with what has already been done (i.e., whether you will be doing a replication or an extension of previous research). Existing scholarship also provides guidance on how to narrow down your

question, determine what appropriate data are available to address the question, and how you will collect and analyze your data.

**Observation strategy: collecting data.** Under no circumstances should you begin data collection or analysis until your professor has approved a detailed outline of the project. If you need to begin those activities prior to midterm, when the outline is formally due, you should get in touch with your faculty supervisor who may require you to submit the outline for review earlier in the term.

If your internship research will involve collection of data from human subjects (e.g., surveys, interviews), please advise your faculty supervisor early in the semester since this can be a time-consuming process. You must have the approval of the UGA Institutional Review Board before beginning data collection. If you attempt to conduct a survey or interview without prior approval from the IRB, you are at risk of receiving a failing grade for the paper.

Although most agencies will have observations/data available for a student-intern to use for this project, some agencies may not provide data sources. If you find that to be the case, you should contact your faculty supervisor early on so that s/he can assist you in identifying sources of data in the public domain.

**Data analysis and paper drafts.** Once you have received the necessary approvals noted above, you should proceed with data collection, analysis, and interpretation. You will have access to SPSS through VLAB during the internship. SPSS is available to interns via the UGA Virtual Lab at: <http://eits.uga.edu/support/vlab>. SPSS also hosts a web site where students can lease the software for six months: <https://www.onthehub.com/spss/>

Because a number of technical/formatting issues may present obstacles at this stage, you should give yourself sufficient time to analyze the data. The organization of the paper, clarity in writing style, grammar, spelling, and use of proper citation format will also affect your grade.

As with the analytical essays, your faculty supervisor will determine whether your assignments are to be submitted electronically and/or “hard copy.” There is no specific length requirement for the paper, though a typical length would be 20-25 pages, including appendices and citations.

**Citations.** When appropriate, you should cite references using a standard citation system uniformly throughout the body of the paper and in a reference list at the end of the paper. You may follow any standard citation system used in social science journals: American Sociological Association (ASA), American Psychological Association (APA), American Political Science Association (APSA), or any comparable citation style from the social sciences. Interns should review information on the UGA Libraries website regarding citation styles to ensure that the research paper meets the required standards. <http://www.libs.uga.edu/ref/citation.html>

## **Paper Format**

A suggested format and approximate page length of the research paper is outlined below. Please keep in mind that this is a general guideline; your faculty supervisor has the last word on paper format.

### **1. Statement of the Problem, Issue, or Research Question (1-2 pages)**

You should briefly state the issue, question, or problem to be addressed, along with its importance and relevance (i.e. why is this important today?). You should briefly note how research may help to address the question/issue/problem, as well as orient the reader so they will know what it is you intend to do in the study.

### **2. Review of Prior Research (5-8 pages)**

A thorough search and review of relevant literature on your topic will build an important foundation for your research project. If there is a vast body of previous research, you will need to synthesize as much as possible and focus on points of major importance. Conversely, if there is little previous research on the topic, you will need to exercise some creative thought to place your specific topic within a broader framework. Your professor, along with reference librarians, are helpful resources for effectively using search engines to identify scholarly research related to your topic. It is best to focus on academic sources and avoid studies or websites that are not peer-reviewed. Textbooks are generally not considered the best references for a research paper, although they are often helpful in identifying other relevant scholarship. The bulk of your review should be articles in peer-reviewed research journals, research monographs, or scholarly book-length treatments on your topic. Students should integrate what they have found on previous scholarship and assess the implications of the reviewed studies on their own research question.

### **3. Research Methodology (3-7 pages)**

As the paper transitions from the literature review to a discussion of the research design, students are expected to draw on their research methods courses. Recognizing that there is a wide variety of socially scientific qualitative and quantitative approaches, the method employed will depend on your research question and the type of data available to you.

Some students will collect primary data through surveys (using self-administered questionnaires or interviews) or field observation; however, since these approaches require the extra step of Institutional Review Board approval, many students prefer to utilize some type of data available to them either in the form of agency records or other archival data. Students may perform explanatory research, test hypotheses or employ quasi-experimental designs, while others will evaluate the effectiveness of a program or policy.

Determining what method or design is appropriate to the research question and data available is something you should consult with your professor about during the topic selection and research outline stages. Again, do this well before carrying out any data collection or analysis.

The following list summarizes essential elements which should be considered and included in the methodology section of the paper as appropriate:

- (a) Concepts, hypotheses, and expectations. All research projects will require that the student identify key theoretical constructs/concepts and outline their expectations with respect to the research question or problem. In some instances, students will be engaged in a project where they will clearly state causal hypotheses to be tested.
- (b) Operationalization. For each concept, the student should provide an operational definition that conveys an empirical manifestation of the key concepts.
- (c) Measurement. For each variable, the paper should provide specifics on how the values are to be measured. Consider issues of validity and reliability in your measurements. If you are doing a replication or adopting existing measurements, cite the appropriate literature.
- (d) Observation strategy. What will be the source for your data? How will you access these data? Examples of archival data include hardcopy or computer files available at internship agencies. Examples of secondary data include the UCR and NCVS. Secondary data are typically available for download as excel or SPSS datasets through ICPSR or other web sites maintained by governmental agencies. Please consult your faculty supervisor for additional guidance.
- (e) Data collection procedure. Describe the method you used to gather your data. If you do a survey, include a copy of the questionnaire in an appendix and discuss any pertinent issues of measurement not already mentioned. If you did field observation, were you a participant/observer? How did you record the data? If you collected data from agency records or archives, include a codebook that lays out your variables and how they were measured. For any collection procedure, describe the conditions under which you collected the data and any shortcomings in the data collection procedures. If you analyzed secondary data, describe the same regarding how the original data were collected.
- (f) Processing and analysis of data. What data analysis techniques did you use? When deciding on a plan for data analysis, keep in mind that the strongest research projects will be those that maximize their ability to account empirically for the phenomena of interest. Using statistical tools and software (such as SPSS) is therefore an important step in your research.

#### **4. Presentation of Findings (3-5 pages)**

In this section you will present your data analysis and discuss your findings. Your methods of data analysis will shape the write up of your results, including any statistical tests. Were your expectations supported? Have you discovered anything significant that was not anticipated by



the design of the study? In the next section, you will discuss findings in a broader context, including why your results did/did not support what others have found.

## 5. Conclusions (2-3 pages)

In this conclusion, discuss what contribution this study has made to our understanding of the issue or problem of concern. Were your expectations supported? Did your study corroborate other findings? What types of generalizations can you draw about the problem based on your research? What are the limitations of your study? What should scholars investigate on this topic in the future?

### Plan ahead

The academic component of your internship is substantial. You will have to spend a considerable amount of time after the regular working day and/or on weekends to successfully complete the essays and research paper. However, you should not feel overwhelmed by the challenge of forcefully dealing with each and every point on the suggested paper format. The paper is intended to be a major learning experience, equivalent to a senior thesis. Do not hesitate to ask for assistance and to start on your academic requirements early.

Remember to have your research methods textbooks and notes handy to consult when designing your research project and analyzing and interpreting your data. Should you have failed to keep the text, numerous social science research methods texts are available in the library. It would be best to consult your professor for a recommendation if needed, but a few are listed below, along with a general student writer's manual which you might find helpful:

Babbie, Earl. *The Practice of Social Research*, Belmont CA: Wadsworth/Centage

Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava and David Nachmias. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, New York: Worth Publishers

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, Joseph M. Williams, Joseph Bizup, and William T. Fitzgerald. *The Craft of Research*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Henry E. Brady, and David Collier, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<https://politicalscienceguide.com/research/methods-and-analysis/analyzing-quantitative-data/statistics/>

On the following pages, you will find examples of internship papers that were judged to be among the best. Since these papers may have followed a different rubric, you should follow guidelines in the manual and directives from your faculty supervisor concerning paper

preparation. In addition to reviewing these papers, you should be aware that the presence of a flaw in an example paper does not excuse you to make the same mistake in yours. In reformatting these scans from pdfs to word, some errors are inevitable.

## Example 1:

POLS STUDENT

POLS 5131

Dr. Teena Wilhem

### The Power of the Vice Presidency

The Office of the Vice President is a fascinating and strange role in government with varied roles and powers throughout time. The Vice President has the responsibility to serve in both the executive branch as well as the legislative branch, which allows them a great amount of influence in the government of the United States. However, through the earlier years of the position, the Vice President only served in case the President died while in office. The Vice President also served as the tie breaking vote in the Senate when needed. However, we rarely think of tie breaking when we think of the modern Vice President. The roles and duties of the Vice President have transformed and grown with time as the Executive Office has grown bigger and the President's own powers have grown.

For this paper, I plan to research the ways the powers of the Vice President have grown and transformed through time, becoming more specific in certain administrations. Seeing that the modern Vice President has evolved into the closest advisor to the President on both domestic and foreign policy and especially for the current administration, how the Vice President has served as a liaison between congress and the President, it shows that the Vice President has a role greater than what was initially intended in the constitution.

The possibility of a co-President seems more and more likely in modern politics. The Vice Presidents of the past few administrations have shown more independence and autonomy in duties. We have seen this especially with Dick Cheney and Mike Pence. Each of them was able to spearhead initiatives on foreign policy independently based on the individual skills each brought with them to the White House. Not only that, but each have been able to sit on different Presidential Commissions, travel in Special Envoys for several foreign visits, and of course, have their own established office within the White House that is separate to the White House Office: The Office of the Vice President. In this paper, I will explore the ways

that the role of the Vice President has become greater and study specific Vice Presidents who set precedent and used initiative on their behalf to grow the scope of power that their position has.

### **PRIOR RESEARCH:**

In conducting research, several things stood out to me in regard to what makes a Vice President powerful or more popular. Are they the same? Not exactly, but popularity in the public's eye can prove that a Vice President has some influence on the public, and thus, may be seen as a powerful figure in the eyes of them and the President. In a journal article titled "The Polls" by Jeremy Cohen, the author investigates how favorability plays a role for the Vice President and its relationship with the President's favorability. This article focuses mainly on Vice President Al Gore using 8 polling companies from 1993 to 2000, highlighting the periods of time where there was scandal with the President. The results of something like this gives insight into public opinion of the role of Vice President.

What can be seen in the data that Cohen gathered is that the public saw Al Gore as a separate leader to Bill Clinton, not a cohesive "co-president". Cohen says, "In contrast to the negative fallout of the Lewinsky scandal of Bill Clinton, this episode lifted Gore's favorability rating with the public by 3.8%... public assessment of the Vice President is more complex than merely being a reflection of opinion about the President" (page 33). Essentially, the public, as early as the 1990's, have seen the Vice President as a separate leader, looking to him in times of shoddy leadership of the President, as seen in Cohen's research. Already, we can see that the public's notion of the Vice President in the 2000's is somewhat of an alternative to the President, a position more powerful and significant than someone that stands beside the President on all issues.

On the topic of Vice President Gore, an article called "President Gore's Foreign Policy" [by Jeremy Heilbrunn speaks on the ways that Gore used the Vice Presidency to convince the American Public he should be the next President in the 2000 Presidential Election. This article supports the fact that in many cases, the Vice President acted separate to President Bill Clinton, taking credit or certain initiatives and shining in the public light more so than the President.](#)

It describes mostly how foreign policy may shape the 2000 election and shows that Clinton gave his Vice President autonomy in his office to spearhead foreign policy initiatives. Heilbrunn says in the article,

“Clinton and Gore’s most ambitious move was when [Gore] met with the Russian Prime Minister Sergei Kiriyenko to announce the Joint Program called the Nuclear Cities Initiative” (paragraph 5). The article even calls him “Gore the Hawk” on issues of foreign policy, crediting him for the cruise-missile attacks in Iraq in response to assassination attempts towards President Bush, seen as a popular Patriotic move by the public.

Clinton gave his Vice President the power to make large, significant decisions on matters of foreign policy. Either due to his popularity in the administration during scandal, the President’s own weaknesses, or the hopes of keeping the Presidency in Democratic control lead the President to give his Vice President this much power. This research shows what a powerful and influential Vice President does: he leads real change and initiatives and calls the shots for certain decisions. Of course, Vice President Gore called the shots on things he could control as approved by the President. His autonomy was ultimately limited to the President’s agenda.

Most prior research on the topic relates the Vice President back to foreign policy. “Review: The Presidency and the Executive Branch” is a journal article that depicts the growing foreign policy role of the Vice President, using examples like Nixon and Mondale to show this pattern. The article depicts how George H.W. Bush as Vice President was sent on multiple trips and was the major player in Soviet and Central American policies during the Reagan Administration. It explains how this was a strategic move. The choosing of H.W. Bush as the Vice President played on his prior experience as UN Ambassador and his involvement with China to frame his role within the Reagan administration. In this respect, the Vice President became more powerful because of what the individual in the position brings.

On the opposite end, the role of the Vice President is what the President allows it to be. In the journal article, “The Rising Power of the Modern Vice Presidency”, the author specifically credits the Jimmy Carter White House for creating a more powerful Vice President position. The author writes, “Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale created a new model for the Vice Presidency that, for the first time, made the Vice President a central, across the board figure in the executive branch on an ongoing basis and established a new set of Vice Presidential resources and expectations permananelty transformed the office for the benefit of their successors” (page 377).

The memorandum created by both President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale in

1976 creates the foundation of the modern Vice Presidency. This framework is significant as it will serve to show me if Vice Presidents have expanded on the powers and roles created in the 1976 memorandum.

There are three ideals in the memorandum that establishes the ways in which Vice Presidents in the future would conduct their business as second in command. Additionally, the continuation of the this standard of the Vice President of subsequent leaders in the position will show me that the power and influence of the role has remained the same, with no notable changes through time.

The first ideal would be that the Vice President will no longer serve as a waiting Presidential Successor. Instead, the role of Vice President from there forth would be a role of a constantly participating member of the administration. The Vice President will be an across the board advisor on all issues. It will not be contingent, but a present and continuing advisor, perhaps the President's most valued advisor, through their time as Vice President. This has certainly become an established norm in the Executive Branch. When election season approaches, most people critique Vice Presidential picks by the standard of being a close advisor to the President.

The second ideal would be that the role of Vice President would be an executive role, or at least, the most significant part of the Vice President's position is the part in the Executive Branch. The Vice President' role of being "President of the Senate" was largely considered a ceremonial position for the Carter White House. Walter Mondale agreed that the bulk of his time would be spent on behalf of the President, not breaking ties in the Senate or acting as some leader or liaison of the senate. This was correct. In looking at data posted by the CQ Almanac on tie breaking votes for the Vice President, Walter Mondale only had 1 tie breaker in 4 years, with the next Vice President, George H W Bush having 7 in 8 years, and the following, Dan Quayle, having 0 tie breaking votes in the 4 year administration he served in. Some Vice Presidents never conduct as tie breaking vote, so this is certainly a role that requires little attention but has lots of power in deciding policy.

Lastly, it was outlined in the memorandum that the Vice President serves the President. Walter Mondale worked for Jimmy Carter, not for himself or the Office of the Vice President. The Vice President may act as an independent trouble-shooter, like when Mondale was tasked at fixing discriminatory practices in South Africa and Rhodesia or developing labor support for the Chrysler bailout. But the Vice President

must never lose sight of the fact he is an advisor, not a decider, but an influencer of the President on issues and policy. There may be some autonomy given to different Vice President's, but it should be known that it is the President giving the Vice this power.

This article highlights the fact the President at the time, Jimmy Carter, was the principle actor in providing a set of guidelines to give Mondale this power as a sort of almost equivalent to the President yet explicitly subordinate to his wishes and command. However, this article provides us with a standard with noting the change and direction that other Vice President's take in their position. From this memorandum, we can decide these three things. Has the Vice President acted as an ongoing advisor to the President? All since Vice President Mondale certainly have. Has the Vice President spent most of his time in the executive branch instead of worrying about being President of the Senate? Yes, all have. The most important question: has the Vice President been an influencer, not a decider? Has the Vice President worked on behalf of the President, not himself? This is up for debate with some former Vice Presidents, which may show a growth in Vice Presidential power.

The President delegating power to the Vice President and the Vice President filling in gaps of leadership that the President lacks is two different things, and the latter described an influential leader. The article "The Role of the Vice President during the Crisis in the Persian Gulf" shows that, at times, the Vice President's new found power stems from the fact that the President lacks certain capabilities. The research in this article provided an interesting insight in to the Vice Presidents varying amount of power and influence in the White House. This article focuses exactly on what Vice President Quayle was able to accomplish in his role for the Crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The author mentions how Vice President Quayle became one of the biggest decision makers during the Persian Gulf crisis. The article is long and shows the perspective of the Vice President's role in both President Bush and VP Quayle's perspective. The article makes it clear that for both, they were required to work under the agenda of their president, and they were never the ones choosing policy in the White House, thanks to the framework of Carter's memorandum. However, during the crisis specifically, Quayle was deemed the spokesperson of the administration to the American people. He took lead serving as the diplomatic representative for the White House to Congress during the crisis and was credited with calling the

shots in the midst of the situation. The article shows a powerful Vice President that was not in charge of policy but lead the message of the WH and was able to make the decisions necessary for success of the President. The root of this new found power had to deal with the fact that Bush fell to stress and was unable to lead coherent, clear communication between himself and the public. Quayle was better at this and took initiative to providing his leadership in a time of need, which was noted by the public and the President. In times like these, the Vice President's powers are made greater out of necessity. Quayle was not directed by the President to do

Research on Vice Presidential Power has mostly revolved around one individual: Dick Cheney. "The Contemporary Presidency: Cheney, Vice Presidential Power, and the War on Terror", a journal article by Joel Goldstein is a detailed account of how Cheney used his autonomy and discretion to become the most influential Vice President to date, essentially running the White House foreign policy especially in regard to the War on Terror. In describing ways that Vice President Cheney made his role more powerful, Goldstein writes, "Cheney... did not have to first establish credibility with the President and his inner circle...Cheney began with an established relationship with President Bush... and was able to asset himself early on where lasting patterns of conduct are formed" (page 305).

Goldstein also credit Bush's leadership style in giving Cheney more power. President Bush more enjoyed the public politics, leaving policy talks to his Vice President. The author also said that Vice President Cheney's prior experience made his time finding his feet in the White House much easier. Goldstein said, "Cheney knew how policy got made in the White House and on Capitol Hill... and how new initiatives got stopped. Others were prepared to defer to Cheney because of his vast experience" (page 108), President Bush being included to those who deferred his decision, his power, and guidance to Vice President Dick Cheney.

The author, however, mentioned that the most probably reason that Vice President Cheney amassed so much power and influence in the White House was the lack of real oversight. The power of Vice President Cheney, "depended in large part on the absence of less formal but conventional restraints on the Vice President's conduct that had persisted" (page 105). Essentially, if the President is not controlling the things the Vice President is doing, such as in this case, who is? The lack of real oversight for the Vice



President, apart from his President, allows him to do as he pleases in the dark. If the President does not check the Vice President's power, there seems to be few that will.

### **Research Method**

The method in seeing how the role of the Vice President, and thus, his power, has changed will be based on the standard developed by the 1976 Memorandum that President Jimmy Carter enacted for his Vice President. To see if the role has evolved, I will see what Vice President's since Vice President Walter Mondale checks the main three boxes that the memorandum establishes, but mostly looking at the third point that speaks on whether the Vice President is working for his superior, the President, or doing things on his own accord. A Vice President that sets his own agenda is powerful, but one that follows all three points as they were written in 1976 keeps the power of the Vice Presidency at the established level.

The first point says the Vice President will serve as an advisor to the President on an ongoing basis. I believe all Vice Presidents have worked in that capacity, so I will not look into ways that any Vice President has neglected their position to be an advisor. In fact, a Vice President that does not act as an advisor would be a weak one, missing out on the opportunity to influence policy and decisions. The second point is that the role of the Vice President serves the Executive branch more so than being the President of the Senate. Again, per the CQ Almanac, the modern Vice Presidency does not put an emphasis on tie breaking voted with Vice President Biden having done 0 in 8 years and Pence having done 13 in the his short time as Vice President. It should be noted that tie breaking votes and the number of them vary on divided government and really does not show the power of the Vice Presidency.

Most importantly, in seeing how the Vice President acts in regard to the wishes of the President, it can give us insight into how different Vice Presidents used their power and influence while in the office. A Vice President that does as he wishes instead of what the President has asked of him could be seen as a bad teammate or a zealous Vice President, not necessarily a powerful. On the other side, a Vice President that is spearheading initiatives behind the President's back or a Vice President able to convince his President to follow his lead would be considered a powerful Vice.

The amount of institutional responsibilities could serve as a factor as well, but since a Vice President given many insignificant responsibilities, like campaigning or visiting schools, is does not increase the

significance of the Vice Presidency. I plan to study examples of Vice Presidents that were important responsibilities and tasks to do in regard to foreign and domestic policy. I plan to investigate Presidential Commissions that Vice Presidents served on, what Vice Presidents went on Special Envoy trips, and to what extent and how effective different Vice Presidents were as special advisors to the President.

### **Findings:**

The first real example of a powerful Vice President is with Walter Mondale, where his role as a Vice President was “executive” by the memorandum mentioned earlier. The role that Vice President Mondale had in the Carter White House shows that his role was beginning to serve a greater part in future administrations. As Joel Goldstein’s book “The Modern American Vice Presidency: The Transformation of a Political Institution” says, Vice President Mondale was a key figure in helping President Carter pick Cabinet Members. Specifically, Mondale used his experience in Congress, something Carter did not have, to directly influence the President in choosing the Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Education (page 174).

In addition to that, Mondale was a driving force in different policy points that the President felt he was experienced in. Goldstein also wrote on how Vice President Mondale was making decisions in regard to production of bombers and advised the President on messaging for tax revision (page 174). Vice President Mondale embraced a larger role in the executive branch than the Vice President’s before him, symbolizing an undoubted rise in power for the Vice President to serve as somewhat of a co-President in the executive branch.

Mondale did use his experience in Congress to establish relationships between the legislative branch and the executive branch. President Carter also used Mondale as an international ambassador to the administration, sending him on 14 trips as a Special Envoy in 35 countries (page 174). In Harold Reylea’s report for the Congressional Research Service, he said that according to President Carter, Mondale was, “the only person that I have with both substantive knowledge and political stature to whom I can turn over a major assignment” (page 24), mentioning they would meet every day for hours at a time.

Another example of a Vice President that was a powerful policy advisor in his position would be Al Gore. Gore was assigned many duties in his time as Vice President, whether it be participating in Cabinet or National Security meetings. President Clinton hit the ground running upon being inaugurated and trusted his

Vice President with leading an important task. In 1993, President Clinton gave his Vice President autonomy in serving as the head of the National Performance Task Force to reduce government spending (Reylea, page 19). This is a big step from simply serving as a close presidential advisor. In doing this, President Clinton showed confidence in Gore's leadership and allowed the Vice President to call shots and make effective change in the fiscal world of the government, which is a powerful precedent set for future Vice President's and their newly accepted role in influencing government spending.

While Walter Mondale was a close advisor in the executive branch, Vice President Gore served almost as a second leader or co-president as he was given much more autonomy and freedom to lead on his own behalf. Reylea's report lists off many different initiatives that the Vice President was involved in independently from the President. President Clinton asked Gore to work with immigration policy, to lead crime prevention programs through the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 and help develop commerce strategy in the 1990's (page 19). Gore served on boards like the US and Russia Joint Commission on Energy and Space and the President's Community Enterprise Board.

What President Clinton could not do himself, he seemed to pass to Vice President Gore to lead with his own discretion. This growth in power was exclusively in the Executive branch and was under the lead and direction of the President and his wished. Vice President Gore had a hands-on approach in the 8 years he was in the position which allowed him more influence in policy than any Vice President before him, showing that the Vice Presidency was growing in power and the socially accepted norms of the position were beginning to shift as well. The power and autonomy given to Vice President Al Gore was enough to prepare him for the role of President, and the razor thin margin by which he lost showed that the American public saw his has a powerful and influential officer deserving of the Presidency.

Vice President Dick Cheney served as the peak of the Vice Presidency's power and could be argued as the most powerful and influential Vice President in U.S. History. When it comes to the amount of initiatives and boards he was involved in and how he was able to so strongly influence the administration's policies shows how powerful Dick Cheney was as Vice President. More so, he directly expanded Presidential powers through court cases and tested his abilities as Vice President to the greatest extent, usually bypassing his President.

In Jack Lechelt's book "The Vice Presidency in Foreign Policy", the author mentions the fact that Cheney had been a Washington insider his whole career, and that his grab for power started before the election results were called. Cheney lead the transition team for Bush before the election was even called, hiring cabinet chiefs and assistants all throughout the executive branch. (page 249). Cheney interviewed people for high ranking cabinet positions, picking people he knew for things like Secretary of Defense and Attorney General, and heavily influenced President Bush to pick his choices for these positions (page 250). Vice President Dick Cheney essentially picked the administration that would work under President Bush, which is unprecedented power and influence coming from a Vice President. The cabinet and employees of the White House, essentially cherry picked by Cheney, would allow him more power in influence among the different offices in the White House.

In the book, Lechelt points out that many Vice Presidents had tried to sit on the National Security Principals Committee, but the first to successfully sit in on it was Vice President Cheney. Vice President Cheney sat in on interagency meetings to speak on National Security policy, participating in on almost every meeting. (page 255). Furthermore, during 9/11, Vice President Cheney took advantage of being the highest in command present at the White House that day. Vice President Cheney considered himself a co-president or something greater during the attacks, recommending the President not return to the White House, and telling the President that the Air Force should strike down any commercial jetliners that may have been hijacked, a command that seems to be above the Vice President's powers (page 256). In fact, from that day on, Vice President Cheney lead National Security efforts never before seen with any Vice President, even using his position as an advisor to influence the President to start a war on terror with the help of people he recommended be hired, like Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld.

Lechelt detailed the extent to which Cheney used his position to impose unprecedented powers on matters he had no control on. Vice President Cheney seemed to single handedly lead efforts in the administration to invade Afghanistan and Iraq, use unethical interrogation practices on suspected terrorists, and essentially do everything that the Vice President felt was necessary in a post 9/11 world (page 256-257). This alone shows that Vice President Cheney was more powerful in his position than any of his predecessors were and it would be argued that he was more powerful than any of his successors may be.

The founders certainly never expected the Vice President to plan and execute battle or national security initiatives. The Vice Presidency of Dick Cheney shows that the office has, at one point in history, been more powerful than initially instructed in the constitution and, additionally, more powerful than what was laid out in the 1976 memorandum.

**Conclusion:**

The role of the Vice President has undoubtedly grown since the initial inception of the position. The founders did not anticipate for a Vice President to ever serve as the master architect for a war on terror in the future. The founders probably never expected for the Vice President to have his own dedicated staff and office in the White House complete with security advisors, directors for legislative affairs, and massive travel teams. The Vice Presidency is more powerful than other in the modern day, although, the power certainly wanes between administrations and specifically comes from the President's discretion in giving his Vice President more power.

While the power of the Vice Presidency has certainly grown, the age of Vice President Cheney ushered in an era of a more checked Vice President. The Vice Presidents after Cheney, Biden and Pence, have nowhere near the influence as Cheney did. These two follow the roles of the traditional Modern Vice President: a dedicated executive position that does as the President asks of him, not what they individually believe would be beneficial for the nation. However, Vice President set a precedent for the Vice Presidency and the Executive Branch altogether that would leave the office and branch more powerful than ever through the Supreme Court Case *Cheney v. United States District Court for the District of Columbia*.

In the case, some organizations said the Energy Policy Committee, headed by Vice President Cheney, was violating the law in keeping their meetings and documents private to the public while lobbyists were present (Oyez, paragraph 1). Vice President Cheney tried to dismiss the case saying, "that it violated the Constitutional separation of powers by requiring judicial oversight of internal executive branch deliberations" (Oyez, paragraph 2). The court refused, eventually coming in front of the Supreme Court where they ruled 7-2 in favor of Vice President Cheney saying that, "deciding in favor of the Administration, held that the court of appeals should have considered the separation-of-power issue" (Public Citizen, paragraph 2).

More than focusing on lobbyists in private Executive meetings, the case was in the Supreme Court because Vice President Cheney claimed that the district court's refusal to dismiss the case was erroneous and also violated separation of powers. The decision made the executive branch more powerful, and in turn, made the Vice Presidency more powerful as it allowed Cheney to keep his meetings private while also showing that the United States District Court for the District of Columbia could not bring up a case that affects the separation of powers.

In comparing the Cheney and Biden Vice Presidency, I conclude that the power of the Vice President wanes with different leadership and circumstance. I say this because Joe Biden had nowhere near as much power as a Vice President as Dick Cheney had. While there has not been many scholarly articles written on Joe Biden's tenure in the office, an article from Politico writer Carol Lee, published in 2008, Biden spokesperson says, "...[Biden] has said previously that Vice President Cheney had an overly expansive view of the vice president, almost created like a shadow government inside the White House" adding that, "Vice President-elect Biden has a very strong view that the vice president's role is to be an adviser to the president and to be a member of the president's team, and that's how he's going to be in the job" (paragraph 5).

While Vice President Biden seemed to endorse a strict interpretation of the 1976 Memorandum of the office of the Vice President, I decided to see if he stuck to what his campaign said in 2008. In an article from 2017 from Washington Post writer Joel Goldstein, it seems as though Biden served as a loyal advisor that almost never went past the President. Goldstein said, "[Biden] also advanced the development of the vice presidency by further entrenching the basic model Carter and Mondale created...Biden's service affirmed the old idea that the President sets policy for the executive branch...Whereas a vice president like Cheney had occasionally operated more independently, Biden followed the President's course, even after he disagreed with the President in private" (paragraph 8-9).

This seems to confirm that the ultra-powerful Cheney model was not something that Biden was interested in, nor was the President that he followed. In comparing these two figures, we can see that power is left to two factors: what the President allows and what the ambition of the Vice President. Vice President Biden sought to follow the President and had no ambitions for the Presidency afterwards, which allowed him

to follow the model of the Mondale Vice Presidency to a T. In this case, the power of the Vice President had diminished since the administration prior.

The current Vice President, Mike Pence, has not had much time in office, but we can already see the amount of autonomy in his position. Vice President Pence leads efforts to change leadership in Venezuela continuously meeting with Interim President Juan Guaido and making speeches on the subject to the United Nations on a global stage. The Vice President also is part of the National Space Council, and personally challenged NASA to send man on the moon again in 5 years. These are two significant policy points, as they are popular on an international and national level, with both holding high public opinion poll numbers.

The fact that Vice President Pence has been tasked with heading both initiatives, it gives him power on a national level and on an international one. This give Pence a greater amount of power than Biden, who mostly followed the President rather than going off and leading efforts on his own behalf. Vice President Pence has personally proposed sanction on Venezuela, met with Juan Guaido, and even spoke at the United Nations demanding that the Ambassador to Venezuela tell his leader to peacefully transfer power for the freedom of the Venezuelan people. Additionally, the National Space Council was reintroduced by Vice President Pence and serves to advance the mission of American excellence and plays on the popularity of space travel and research that has recently emerged. President Trump has allowed Pence enough autonomy and power to lead efforts that are completely under his leadership. It may be a case where Pence is leading where Trump cannot, but either way, this Vice Presidency is more powerful than the last without succeeding Cheney's tenure as the most powerful.

The Vice President's power is dependent on personal leadership strategy of the individual in the office alongside what the President will allow. With President Bush allowing a zealous and opportunistic Cheney maximum autonomy in his White House allowed for the most powerful Vice President in our history. In observing the current Vice President, Pence has autonomy controlled by President Trump, who has made it clear that his leadership comes before that of Vice President Pence. The power of the position has grown due to some institutional changes within the Executive branch, but the amount of power and influence will always change with different people occupying the role of Vice President. Overall, yes, the office is more

powerful than it was initially intended to be. However, Cheney marks the peak of Vice Presidential power, which has remained more or less the same since the Mondale Vice Presidency with waning amounts dependent on the ambition of the President and his Vice.

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**Example 2:**

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POLS 5101  
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Factors that Control Voting Behaviors of Representatives

180 Georgia House of Representative members. 180 Districts represented. These House Representative's come together for 3 months out of the year to introduce, research, and vote on bills that they believe to not only be effective for the constituents from their district, but also beneficial to the state of Georgia as a whole. In determining whether or not to vote for a bill however, there are many factors that play into what bills members do and don't support, and ultimately where their vote will land at the end of the day. Many people do not understand the debates, discussions, and process that goes into the actual voting process. After 3 months observing legislative session in the state of Georgia, there is a lot to be observed. The interactions between the House members, their attitudes, the way they speak, talk, and act in order to get their agendas accomplished.

During my time interning at the Georgia State Capitol, I heard Representative's start many sentences with "It's a good policy, but". If it's a good policy, then what possible "but" could there be? Isn't that what we're here for, to create better policies, better laws, for our state? It seems like the easiest answer to the question would be yes but so many of those "but's" were followed with reason after reason as to why he or she just could not vote for that bill. The pattern I saw most however, was most of those "but's" being followed by reasons that had almost nothing to do with actual policies and politics. There was definitely a pattern to be seen when it came to observing Representative's voting behaviors, but it wasn't always easily observed just by tracking their YES's and NO's. Sociological and Psychological factors. Factors such as constituent support as well as campaigns, elections, and re-elections. All these factors played into the YES and NO votes on each bill.

No matter who you look at or what political party they associate with, there is one very evident pattern to be seen between all Representatives. Although each vote may not always reflect some Representatives ideals, principles, and values, their votes always reflect their agenda. Because so many of their votes appear to be agenda based, I began to further observe that not every vote made, necessarily aligns with the political ideologies that many of these men and women ran their campaigns on originally, or even claim to hold. The difficulty we see most often in attempting to answer the question of why Representatives vote the way they do is looking at it from a surface level. Because there are so many various factors that play into voting behaviors and decision making of any elected officials, it's important to consider all these factors, decide which ones are most influential, and break them down in order to determine what really makes Representative's vote the way they do.

Previous research evaluating voting behaviors of elected officials have largely focused on prior time periods and an evaluation of differences between how isolating demographic factors can affect the biggest differences that we see between liberal-conservative positions. The group of people that an official is trying to appeal to, can have a drastic effect on the way that their voting changes and adapts. So much of the political game that so many officials play relates back to their constituents and their desire to please them, not only for moral conscious purposes, but in hopes of reelection. Poole and Rosenthal (1984) isolated this factor by evaluating two Senators, from the same state and same political party and then two Senators from the same state but different political parties. Poole and Rosenthal used data from the United States Senate from 1959 to 1980, examining elections, votes, and political parties, to analyze any sort of consistent pattern to support their hypothesis. Their conclusion? What could be expected; their data collection and observations suggested that each party represents an extreme support coalition in the state. Not only did Poole and Rosenthal conclude that voting behaviors play a larger role in short term elections and reelections than long term, but the biggest result, reflected that Senators party ideologies and thus voting behaviors could be widely attributed to demographic factors when looking for significant trends.

While Poole and Rosenthal's observations focused largely on demographic factors and the role they play in voting behaviors of elected officials, it's also important to analyze the voting behaviors of voters in American politics. A large factor affecting the way elected officials choose to vote on bills and new policy, is influenced by the thought of

who they are voting for, their constituents. By analyzing any type of pattern between the voting behaviors of constituents and their party affiliation, the voting behaviors of elected officials becomes more distinct. Larry Bartels does just this, and through his research, notes the decrease in voters with strong party affiliation over the past quarter century. He recalls one influential political journalist as noting “the most important phenomenon of American politics in the past quarter century has been the rise of independent voters” (Smith 1988). No longer are voters strongly identifying with one major party as they once did. Despite this decline however, Bartels’ argues that partisan loyalties in the American public have rebounded significantly since the mid 1970’s, especially among those who actually turn out to vote. He notes that as the gap between Democrats and Republicans widens, so does the impact of partisanship in elections, especially Presidential elections. Rather than “partisans using their identification less and less as a cue in voting behavior” (Wattenberg 1998), Bartels’ analysis suggests that “partisan loyalties had at least as much impact on voting behavior at the presidential level in the 1980’s and even more in the 1990’s and will only increase in the 2000’s” (Bartels 2000, 249).

Bartels’ idea to analyze the amount of voter’s that choose to vote along their party lines and the decrease in strong party affiliation that we once saw in American politics plays an important role in my research as I also noted the voter as one of the key components in what influences Representatives to vote the way they do. Bartels’ notes the decrease in party affiliation by voters and I believe that I likewise through my research will see a decreases in party affiliation voting by Representatives as well. Because each Representative has the opportunity to connect with the constituents from their district on a more personal level, they are more likely to vote in such a way that will appear most pleasing and affective to the people in their district. Although some voting that occurs will still be based on party affiliation, I believe the desire to please constituents as well as the hope of re-election will out way many of the more “political” factors that may influence a Representatives votes. I predict that much like Bartels’ observed with the voters, I will begin to see Representatives votes straying farther and farther from party affiliations.

It is important to observe and consider factors that influence voting behaviors of elected officials because they better help us understand the ins and outs of politics as a whole. So much of politics and voting happens behind closed doors. Despite voting records, legislative sessions, and most committee meetings being public record and available to

the public at almost any time, there is still so much that goes on behind closed doors. So much conversation shared between members, between members and their constituents, between members and lobbyists., and most importantly between members and those higher up than them. All of these factors along with many others play a significant role in understanding why elected officials vote the way they do. To say that “because he is a Republican, he surely will vote conservatively” and “because he is a Democrat, he surely will vote more liberally” would be all too easy. Although these political ideologies are the basis for which most voting occurs, it is again only the surface of what really goes on in the House. In order to truly understand politics and what is going on under that Gold Dome in Atlanta, you must first understand the “game” that is being played.

When we truly begin to look deeper into voting behaviors and begin to decipher just why these men and women vote the way they do, the question then arises of just how important political ideologies are in terms of voting. One step further than this, the question can be asked, how often do elected officials voting behaviors align with their political ideologies? In this study, I plan to observe and answer just that. I will observe Georgia House of Representative members, and begin unraveling the voting behaviors of individual Representatives, considering what factors play most into why they vote the way they do, how strongly their political party and party ideology plays a role in their voting, and from there observe these factors in action. I will look at 15 bills specifically, each with very distinct language classifying them as either more conservative or more liberal, taking down my own notes of how I may suspect Representatives to vote based on their political ideologies, and then observing how they actually voted in the end. I will observe both Republicans Democrats, eventually showing their trends on separate charts, in order to truly show the trend of voting behaviors and answering the question of how often do elected officials (in this case House Representative’s) voting align with their political party ideologies.

Bartels Modern American Politics involves much more than simple party affiliation and a simple, distinction of two parties. A large amount of analysis on political figures involves looking further and analyzing the political figures involved to be able to fully recognize a pattern in behaviors. With this being said, there are many voting behaviors to be observed in American politics but for this study, I will be analyzing Georgia House Representatives. This study will include qualitative data to focus on behaviors and factors relating strictly to the Representatives such as

ideology, beliefs, etc. that may affect their voting. Quantitative data will be used to determine a pattern between the voting and the Representatives. This will be done by looking at bills and analyzing the policies, determining where they fall between liberal-conservative position. By looking at bill policies, noticing a significant pattern in voting behaviors for Representatives will be much easier. It is important to acknowledging all possible factors that play into why Representatives vote the way they do, in order to determine a significant pattern of voting behavior and answer the question of why Representatives vote the way they do. From this study, I expect to find a direct correlation between Representatives voting behaviors and the outside factors they experience while in office.

To gather data for my research, I looked at the patterns of voting on bills from the 2019 Legislative session. I gathered a sample size large enough to show a significant trend, some bills that were distinctly either conservative or liberal, and others that fell somewhere in between. It was important to use bills with both distinct language as well as bills that were more controversial and could go either way to be able to analyze times when a Representative might vote for or against a certain bill based on outside factors and influences, rather than just party-line voting. Bills such as HB 373 or HB 507, is the types of bills that really has no distinct language in it as far as having a political preference or being classified as more conservative or liberal. This is the type of bill that has effects on a small area only and there are many bills like it that come through House that affect either only one district, or only a small fraction of the state. This is the type of bill where we see both Republican and Democrat votes coming together. Whether it is agreed or disagreed upon by Representatives, their vote has nothing to do with political ideologies or changes. Instead it is an agenda based vote. Perhaps their agenda was encouraged by logrolling, political bargaining of votes in exchange for each other support on a piece of legislation. Although it may not always be seen by the outside eye, this political logrolling occurs all too often in politics and is a large factor in the voting behaviors of Representatives.

There are many sources of data that I chose to use for this research. Some of my data, more concrete than others. So much of observing voting behaviors I discovered could not come from only tracking the number of times a representative voted YES or NO on a bill. Although this information is helpful in determining the true pattern and observing an increase or decrease in party affiliated voting. To understand these bills and the language in them, determine how a Representative may vote based on their party affiliation, and to then record their actual votes, I used

the Georgia House of Representatives website. This website is updated daily and gives a free, public record of all bills that are introduced on the House floor, even if they never come to a vote. It is important for my research to use this website because here I am not only able to see bills and voting records, but I am able to see specific Representatives party affiliation and their votes on each bill that I choose.

My experiment also allowed for a large amount of my observations to be done simply by observing the Representatives. This means listening to constituents that contacted Representatives offices and staying informed about the types of local issues they cared about, as well as reading newspaper articles, such as the Atlanta Journal Constitution, to make sure I was as up to date on current state issues as well. Being aware of the extremity of certain situations going on in the state, helped me better understand the importance of bills when determining which ones I wanted to select for this experiment. It was also important to understand what issues were larger scale issues and which were more local in regards to a representative in order to observe a real pattern as to when their party affiliation may stray in the event that voting a certain way may directly affect their own district.

As I began to gather my data to test my hypothesis in hopes of finding a pattern between party affiliation and Representatives voting behaviors, I first began doing field observations, analyzing data, interactions, committee meetings, debates, and any information I could during my days at the Capitol. Each day the Representatives begin with session, where morning orders are made, Representatives have a chance to make announcements, and finally bills are discussed and voted on. After session ends for the day however, besides the occasional committee meeting, Representatives are free to go back to their offices and virtually do as they please. I began to recognize that a large amount of the free time that these Representatives had however was not spent by themselves, but rather with their staff and with their colleagues. It quickly became evident to me that the discussions that went on between Representatives behind closed doors, had much more influence on their voting behaviors than any amount of policy could.

I was not only an observer however while gaining information to support my theory of effects on voting behaviors, I was also a participant. As a Legislative Aid to a Representative, I was able to interacting with other Representatives myself, to hear their thoughts and opinions on matters. I also had the opportunity of interacting with

constituents from my Representatives district. As I hypothesized, a large amount of influence on voting behaviors of Representatives comes from their constituents. Constant calls, emails, town hall meetings, and office visits with men and women from their district, urging them to vote a certain way, support a certain bill, or just wanting their voices to be heard. For my Representative in particular, the relationship that he shared with his constituents was very important to him while he was in office. Striving to be as transparent as possible with the people of his district while also trying to make sure his votes made his district proud, was very evident through observing conversations and being apart of them as well. I was trained quickly to have responses ready in regards to certain issues or policies that may come up from a constituent, however the most important rule of all was to make sure the constituent felt heard. Whether my Representative agreed or disagreed with the constituent, the relationship that was to be had between them was most important. This was not only the case for my Rep. but many others as well. Because House districts are broken up into such small areas, the interactions between the Rep.'s and the people of the district becomes much more important. The relationship they hold with their constituents can either make or break their political careers and for many, it became clear that re-election was very high up on their list of priorities while in office. Doing whatever it takes to make sure those who voted for them are pleased, in hopes of them voting again.

For the last part of my study, because I chose to really test my theory on a larger scale, I had to gather factual data. I began to read and analyze bills from the Georgia House of Representatives website. I chose fifteen bills to analyze for my research, Table 1 shows each of these bills official House or Senate Bill number. Next, I recorded the bill number, and whether the bill was conservative, liberal, or neither based on the language of the bill and its policies in Table 2. I used 5 bills that showed strong evidence of being more liberal, 5 that were more conservative, and 5 that could be either or the language was somewhat unclear. I believed it was important to include bills that were neither liberal or conservative that the vote may not necessarily matter either way, because it would help show a trend in my data. As well, I believe by looking at the votes on these bills I was better able to determine the affects of outside factors on voting behaviors and whether or not part affiliation always played a role in the voting behaviors of these Representatives. Then, I recorded whether or not I believed the Representative would vote yes or no, based on their party affiliation and factors that I hypothesized would paly a role in their voting behavior. The last column in my chart recorded the actual votes from both Republicans and Democrats for each bill, to compare to how I thought they might



vote. I believe that a table chart was the best way to show this trend because it shows the information clearly and simply.

	Bills Chosen
#1	HB 160
#2	HB 316
#3	HB 323
#4	HB 290
#5	HB 374
#6	HB 197
#7	HB 481
#8	SB 32
#9	SB 77
#10	HB 346
#11	HB 322
#12	SB 72
#13	HB 501
#14	HB 284
#15	HB 285

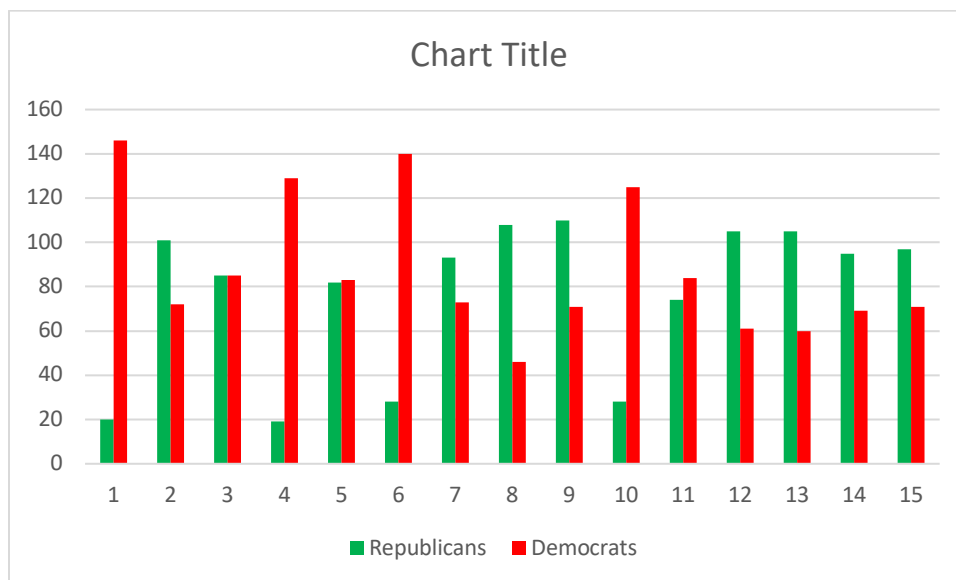
**Table 1**

	Conservative or Liberal	How should Rep. vote	How should Dem. vote	Actual Votes
Bills				
1	Liberal	NO	Yes	146 D 20 R
2	Conservative	Yes	No	72 D 101 R
3	Neither	Yes	Yes	85 D 85 R
4	Liberal	No	Yes	129 D 19 R
5	Neither	Either	No	83 D 82 R
6	Liberal	No	Yes	140 D 28 R
7	Conservative	Yes	Ni	73 D 93 R
8	Neither	Either	Either	46 D 108 R
9	Neither	Yes	Either	71 D 110 R
10	Liberal	No	Yes	125 D 28 R
11	Liberal	No	Yes	84 D 74 R
12	Conservative	Yes	No	61 D 105 R
13	Neither	No	Either	60 D 105 R
14	Conservative	Yes	Ni	69 D 95 R
15	Conservative	Yes	No	71 D 97 R

**Table 2**

To better understand the data however and to best test my hypothesis, I then used bar graph shown in Table 3, with bills 1-15 on the Y axis and the number of votes received on the X. In green I recorded the Republican votes for each bill, and the Democrats in Red. I used this method to finally show a clear comparison of Republican to Democratic

votes on the same bills and then using Table 1 to refer back to, in order to determine just how often their voting behaviors aligned with their party votes.



**Table 3**

Some limitations of my data collection when recording both Democratic and Republican votes was the inability to truly know why a Representative voted the way they did. Just because the language in the bill was more conservative or liberal, did not necessarily mean that was the only factor that came into play when it came to their voting. That is why I believed it was important to discuss all the factors that affect voting behaviors for Representatives because there are many times when these factors come into play despite the party affiliation of the Representative. I believe many factors that influence Representatives and elected officials as a whole are the reason why we continue to see party affiliated voting decreasing in modern politics. The line drawn between Republicans and Democrats and what is liberal and conservative is no longer as clear as it once was. It was important for me to note this limitation in my data and research as I was making a final conclusion relating back to my original question of why Representatives vote the way they do.

Another limitation I felt it was important to consider was my sample size. Although there are 180 Representatives in the state of Georgia to represent the 180 districts in the state, not every vote I chose equaled up to 180 members voting. There are many different reasons that a Representative may not vote on particular day. There are

illnesses, excused absences, perhaps the Representative was out of the room at the time of the vote, and there is also the right of the Representative to be excused from a particular vote granted by the Speaker of the House at any given time. Because these factors also come into play when voting, in my sample size, none of the votes, Democrats and Republicans put together equaled up to 180. It was important for me to note and consider this in my research because it limits the ability for my results to be all inclusive and reflect the behaviors of all 180 members.

Using these three graphs, I was able to better analyze a trend between Republican and Democrats in relationship to party line voting. By referring back to Table 2, while also looking at the comparison on Table 3, I was able to see a strong trend suggesting what I, along with many other political scientists and political journalists already believed; that party affiliation does play a role in voting. For the fifteen bills I chose, it appeared that the number of Republican votes increased on the more Conservative bills, and decreased on the ones that were more liberal and vice versa. This part of the observation was to be expected and did not come as a shock when I began recording the data in each table. However, the appearance of bills in my data that were neither conservative OR liberal, was where the two graphs stood apart the most. This is where I was able to analyze the affects of outside factors on Representatives voting behaviors. Although these bills may not have necessarily included language making them more conservative or liberal, by analyzing the language in them, I was able to form a somewhat strong idea of how a Republican or Democrat may vote, based on other party-affiliated factors. The analysis of my data became interesting at this point when I was able to then see whether or not my predictions for each vote were correct. By recording the votes in table 2 and the final data in table 3, I began to see that my predictions were no longer as accurate and I attributed these results to the the sociological, psychological, and constituent-based factors that I previously mentioned. This was an important part of my data to include because without it, I do not believe there was a real pattern to be shown. A large part of my research and data and results could have been based strictly on predictions, but by adding in bills that could go either way, I was better able to get a more concrete idea of the influence these factors have on voting behaviors, to ultimately determine why Representatives vote the way they do.

Through my research, I was surprised to discover the amount of Representatives that did not vote strictly in line with their party-affiliation. Although this was to be expected, it became more evident through my research and

observations that outer influences play a much stronger roll in the way Representative's vote than we may be aware of. Sometimes these outer influences and factors were able to cause a Representative to vote completely opposite of what others in their same political party did, and that was the most surprising fact at all. It's somewhat easy for us just to assume that because a Representative's name on a ballot has an R or D next to it that we can predict their voting. However, this couldn't be further from the truth. There is no rule that says Democrats must vote this way and Republicans must vote that way, and yet that is a part about politics that it seems most people don't understand. There are no rules when it comes to voting yes or no, and sometimes outside factors like personal beliefs, ethics, and the desire to do something good for the people of your district, can be more powerful in the game of politics than the policies themselves.

After my observations, I was able to conclude that there is not just one simple answer as to why Representatives vote the way they do. There are many factors that go into play when it comes to voting yes or no on a bill or showing support for it. There is a large part of society that leads us to believe politics should be seen as black or white, that you're either conservative or liberal, Republican or Democrat. Through my research and data analysis however, I was surprised to find that almost no part of politics is this simple or clear. Because there are so many moving factors that play their part when it comes to voting, there is almost no way to generalize a reasoning behind why votes are made the way they are. On any given day a representative may vote yes on a bill that a week later he may vote no on. The simplest of factors, the rewording of language of a bill, can change a no vote to a yes, and vice versa. There is not one true answer to why Representatives vote the way they do except that each vote is carefully made. My research suggests that Representatives use both party affiliation and sociological, psychological, and constituent-based factors when voting on any bill, whether it obviously align with their party or not.

During my time at the Georgia State Capitol and through my observations and research, I was able to observe many different factors that play into the voting behaviors of Representatives and concluded that unlike many political scientists and political journalists have concluded, they (Representatives) continue to stray further away from a set standard of voting. Many of the results that I found were in line with the results I had predicted prior to my research. I believed that I would be able to find some sort of distinct pattern when it comes to representatives voting behaviors.

Although they continue to stray further from party line voting, Representative's votes still fall in a certain line and their party affiliation is still evident through their voting. No longer can votes be predicted simply based off party affiliation and political ideology to determine how a Representative may vote. Simply because a Representative identifies as Republican or Democrat, does not mean their voting may always reflect that.

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## **THE AGENCY EXPERIENCE (POLS 5100/5110/5120/5130)**

(Four semester credit hours)

### **Description and Purpose**

The primary component of the internship is the agency experience itself. This experiential learning component should offer an opportunity for you to observe the agency's organization from an insider's perspective, to interact with agency personnel and clients, and to participate in some of the work of the agency. All of these things may assist you in assessing your career options, while allowing you to compare and contrast academic knowledge about the field of politics with its application in the real world.

In addition, students benefit from their introduction into a network of professionals and practitioners. Therefore, you will want to make every effort to leave a positive impression on your supervisors and others with whom you interact in the agency setting. This impression is important not only to your image, but also to the Department of Political Science itself. The program has developed an excellent reputation over 30+ years, thanks in large part to the quality representation provided by student interns. Our faculty continue to hold very high expectations and aspirations for students and anticipate that each intern will conduct him/herself in a professional manner.

To facilitate meeting these expectations, the following pages include tips and advice about appropriate and inappropriate behaviors. It is important that dress, language, and demeanor be professional and appropriate to the agency setting at all times. If you are ever uncertain or confused about what is appropriate or expected, seek clarification from your agency supervisor and/or your faculty supervisor. Remember, your faculty supervisor will assign the satisfactory or unsatisfactory (S/U) grade on your agency performance based primarily on evaluations that will be submitted by your agency supervisor during the internship.

Our program has enjoyed substantial success with the internship program over the years. This has been due to tremendous agency cooperation, diligent faculty supervision, and enthusiastic student response. If you have any questions prior to the beginning of or during the semester, phone or e-mail your faculty supervisor. We are looking forward to working with you and hope you have an exciting internship experience!

## TIPS FOR A SUCCESSFUL AGENCY EXPERIENCE

Although in most cases you will not be paid for your internship duties, the internship should still be approached as if you are in a paid position in your field. You are there primarily in the role of learner, but part of your function is also to be of assistance to the agency wherever possible. The tips listed below should help you maximize your internship experience.

1. Call the agency the week prior to starting your internship to confirm start date and time, dress code, parking arrangements, etc. If at any time your agency supervisor changes, or you are reassigned to a different person, make sure you notify the internship coordinator.
2. Be on time every day and report to the person or unit to whom you were directed to report. If that individual is not present or available, make your presence known to someone else in the office. Do not plan to leave the office early unless someone in authority has given you permission to do so. Learn and follow all agency policies and procedures.
3. Do not abuse your position in the agency by requesting unnecessary days off, time off to run personal errands, etc. If you are sick or must be late to work, be sure to call and notify the appropriate person in the agency in a timely manner.
4. Do not use the office phones, computers, or other office supplies or facilities for personal (including academic) purposes, unless you have been granted permission to do so. Keep any necessary personal calls you do make infrequent, short, and to the point so as not to hamper the work of the agency.
5. Remember, as part of your work you **may or may not** have access to information that is confidential. Be sure you consult with your agency supervisor to determine what types of information you have legitimate access to, what information is off-limits to you, and procedures for protecting confidentiality.
6. A certain amount of clerical work (typing, filing, answering phones, making copies), comes with any position. It is appropriate for you to occasionally carry out such tasks. It is only when you are asked to do these things far more than others in the agency, to the point that you are not being exposed to the full range of functions of the agency, that you should be concerned and let the internship coordinator know.
7. Try to approach your internship experience **proactively**. Some agencies utilize several interns each semester and it's possible to be overlooked regarding work assignments. Ask questions of agency personnel; ask what you can do to be useful if you have time on your hands. Also, request certain experiences if you think they are within your capabilities and would enhance your learning experience.
8. Remember that you are not a regular employee. Some tasks and activities, particularly those that are dangerous or require considerable expertise, will be beyond the scope of an intern's capabilities. Generally, agency personnel are aware of this and will inform you accordingly. However, if you feel that you are being asked to do something you believe is beyond your



capabilities, or is putting you at inappropriate risk, please let your faculty supervisor or the intern coordinator know as soon as possible.

## APPENDIX A RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FACULTY SUPERVISOR

The faculty supervisor assumes general responsibility for the supervision of students during their internship. Her or his responsibilities begin after the student has secured an internship placement. The duties of the faculty supervisor include:

### **1. Assisting students in preparing for the internship.**

Once an internship acceptance has been secured, the student is assigned to a faculty supervisor. Students are encouraged to arrange an informal meeting with the faculty supervisor to discuss mutual expectations of the internship, particularly if the student has not previously enrolled in a class with that faculty member. The faculty supervisor is prepared to provide guidance to the student regarding significant facets of the internship. These include the use of agency personnel as a resource during the internship, strategies for integrating individual interests with those of the agency, and suggestions for materials the student may wish to read prior to actually beginning the internship.

### **2. Outlining evaluative criteria for internship essays and the research paper.**

The faculty supervisor is responsible for evaluating and grading all academic work completed during the internship. While there are minimum standards expected for all essays and research papers, the faculty supervisor should also explain any additional relevant criteria as well as the process to be used for providing evaluative feedback on academic work.

### **3. Monitoring student activities during the internship.**

Through written and verbal communications with both the student and the agency supervisor, the faculty supervisor plays an important role in helping the student make the most of his/her internship experience as well as in assisting the agency in the goal of providing the student with a meaningful internship. It is the responsibility of the faculty supervisor, therefore, to be available to both the student and agency representatives in addressing problems related to student conduct and performance during the internship.

### **4. Submitting final grades for the internship.**

The faculty supervisor will submit grades (A-F) for the analytical essays and the research paper. The faculty supervisor will submit a grade (S/U) for the agency performance course based on the agency supervisor's evaluation of the student's performance of duties within the agency.

In sum, the faculty supervisor is the representative of the Department of Political Science to the student and to the sponsoring agency during the course of the internship. All questions related to expectations regarding student performance should be directed to the faculty supervisor first, and subsequently to your academic advisor if necessary. Students are expected to stay in regular communication with the faculty supervisor over the course of their internship semester.