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What Happens Before Full-Time Employment?
Internships as a Mechanism of Anticipatory Socialization

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What Happens Before Full-Time Employment?
Internships as a Mechanism of Anticipatory Socialization

by

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Acknowledgements

I vividly remember sitting in David Olson’s corner office, his bookshelves lined with public speaking videos, light coming through the window on a warm fall day. I was a senior at Southwestern with a marketing internship at a restaurant management company. Being a foodie, I was thrilled about the position at the start, but the internship unfortunately provided a great deal of critical fodder during my monthly meetings with David, my faculty internship advisor. “Have you considered graduate school?” he asked. Indeed, I had given a cursory thought to pursuing a graduate degree. So many of the courses I had taken at Southwestern—communication (with Jay Baglia, Christine Kiesinger, and Bob Bednar), Spanish (Katy Ross), and psychology (Traci “Dr. G” Giuliano)—sparked my interest. I remember David punching away at his tube computer, and then motioning me over to look at the disparity in pay between undergraduate salaries out of college in comparison to MBA graduates. This information may have easily persuaded other college students, but I was less intrigued. My face, which has never been able to hide my emotions, must have communicated my lack of excitement. Then he asked, “What about organizational communication?” I never would have guessed that 20-minute meeting would have led me to UT, where I worked on both my Masters and Ph.D. in a subject I have grown to love. I would have never made it throughout my time as a graduate student without the encouragement of the Southwestern faculty, along with three other groups of people who I would like to acknowledge here.

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What Happens Before Full-Time Employment?
Internships as a Mechanism of Anticipatory Socialization

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Every day, people seek organizations to join, work in companies, and leave firms; thus, scholars consider socialization a key construct in organizational communication and management. Research explains the socialization process in four stages—anticipatory socialization, encounter, metamorphosis, and exit—yet studies have paid disproportionate attention to "experiences after entry" (Bauer & Green, 1994, p. 221). This study sheds light on an understudied stage by examining the consequences of anticipatory socialization. Research has demonstrated the importance of prior experiences in the socialization process (e.g., Gibson & Papa, 2000), but scholars have yet to explore *internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization* that prepares people for full-time employment.

Whereas less than 3% of students held internships in 1980, 84% of current undergraduates have participated in internships (Kamenetz, 2006), and the number of post-college internships has increased from 5% in 1995 to 20% in 2002 ("Internships for all ages," 2007). Despite this growth, scholars have yet to theoretically explore internships as a prior experience that fosters socialization. Some studies have used socialization as a framework to study how people adapt to internships, but this research has explored socialization *within* internships instead of as anticipatory socialization for future employment.

To fill this gap, I collected qualitative and quantitative data over 15 months: before people's internships, after their internships, and upon full-time employment. Results from interview, observation, and questionnaire data suggest that participants learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations during their internships, but more importantly, internships may provide *more realistic* anticipatory socialization than other means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages). This study helps us reconsider the role that anticipatory socialization plays in work. Whereas previous research has described anticipatory socialization as a beneficial endeavor for prospective employees (Phillips, 1998), this study shows an unfavorable side of prior experiences. Internships showed interns and organizations exactly what full-time employment would be like, dissuading most interns or organizations (78%) to continue their relationship. Whereas traditional means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages) provide just enough of an introduction, internships may provide such an in-depth preview that they make applicants and organizations less desirable.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> *When a brand-new employee enters an organization to begin work, it is somewhat like a late arrival joining a party where he knows only a few people. The party has been in progress for some time. The people already present have established certain sets of comfortable relationships. Suddenly, the invited newcomer is thrust into their midst. He is an unknown quantity to many of them. They, in turn, are largely strangers to him. Each side, but particularly the newcomer—who must adapt to a number of people, while they need adjust only to him—feels some sense of ambiguity…. From the individual's point of view it is a time of stress, anxiety, and hope.*
>
> –Porter, Lawler, & Hackman, 1975, p. 172-173

In this quote, Porter and colleagues (1975) describe what happens when people encounter organizations or vocations, and this vignette epitomizes how socialization theory and research typically conceptualize new employees. The authors paint a portrait that suggests socialization begins upon entry, sparking those first day jitters. Newcomers roam the unfamiliar office halls, searching for the few faces they vaguely remember from their interview. They feel like outsiders—confused and alone.

This dissertation shifts our understanding of newcomers by considering how internships socialize people to organizations and vocations prior to entry. As a testament to the stark contrast between Porter and colleagues' (1975) description of a newcomer and the unique perspective this study offers, consider a second vignette from Sabrina, a new employee with internship experience:

> *I don't want to sound cocky, but you kind of are because you have been here before: "I know what I'm doing; let's just get this started. I don't need [orientation]; let's just go." So I think we have that…. We are just chomping at the bit to go. Whereas people who did not have an internship may have appreciated the information we learned during orientation a little bit more…. I*

> *talked to Robert a lot, who did not intern here. His first week was so stressful because he had to mesh with a new team; he had to get used to Midwestern Financial's culture; he had to learn the entire business. When you are coming in brand new, you have all of these things thrown at you at one time. He was so flustered. I felt so bad for him. We were just waiting to get our projects. We were waiting to go…. But just trying to get all of that down and getting used to everything at once, I think was very difficult for him.*
>
> –Sabrina, former intern and new employee at
> Midwestern Financial[1]

To use Porter and colleagues' (1975) analogy, Sabrina was a new employee or a late arrival joining a party; however, Sabrina had already seen what the party was like. In returning to the party, she knew what to wear, she saw few strangers, and she was excited to join the event rather than stressed about fitting in. The goal of this dissertation is to understand prior experiences, such as Sabrina's, at a deeper level and examine the consequences of anticipatory socialization. By investigating internships, this study changes our understanding of anticipatory socialization, the time before people enter organizations, and challenges scholars' current beliefs of encounter as a time of uncertainty and surprise.

Study Rationale

This study centers around the process of organizational and vocational socialization, the "social and psychological adjustment of men [sic] to their work settings" (Van Maanen, 1975a, p. 67). Socialization describes how people move from organizational outsiders to effective employees as they join, participate in, and leave organizations. Scholars often describe the socialization process in various stages—

---

[1] I use pseudonyms for all company and participant names.

anticipatory socialization, encounter, metamorphosis, and exit—to explain this transition from stranger to insider. Although “most socialization models depict the socialization process as evolving over time… considerable emphasis [is] placed on experiences after entry” (Bauer & Green, 1994, p. 221).

Specifically, research has shown that socialization experiences after entry 1) facilitate learning and adapting, 2) encourage organizational identification, and 3) lead to success in new environments. Although these elements of socialization may manifest prior to entry, research has yet to fully explore what constitutes socialization that occurs in *anticipatory* socialization. Past research has shown that prior experiences, like recruitment activities and even the messages we receive as children, socialize us into organizations and occupations (e.g., Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2011; Gabor, 2013; Hylmo, 2006; Levine & Hoffner, 2006; Lucas, 2011; Myers, Jahn, Gailliard, & Stoltzfus, 2011). However, we know little about how internships—a prevailing practice for most college-educated people entering the workforce today—contribute to organizational and vocational socialization. Empirical research surrounding internships has explored socialization only *within* internships (i.e., viewing the internship as a microcosm of the entire socialization process) (Garavan & Murphy, 2001; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986). People complete internships, however, to train and prepare for full-time jobs. In this way, internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization for future employment. This dissertation investigates how and to what extent internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization, rather than just their own microcosm of socialization.

In this way, internships change our idea of socialization in general and anticipatory socialization in particular.

To explore internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization, I conducted a longitudinal, mixed-method study. I collected interviews, observations, and questionnaires to investigate how internships to understand socialization and examine the consequences of anticipatory socialization. I collected data at three time points: before people's internships, after their internships, and when people began working full-time. Findings from these qualitative and quantitative data have important implications for socialization research.

Theoretical Significance

This study shows that socialization significantly increased after an internship, but more importantly, internships may provide *more realistic* anticipatory socialization than other means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages). When participants began their internships, they all could foresee themselves working for that company or in that occupation in the future. Internships, however, allowed participants drawn-out, truthful anticipatory socialization experiences, giving participants and organizations the opportunity to move past uncertainties, first impressions, and expectations. For some, this extended socialization helped reinforce the fit between participants and organizations; yet for most participants, prolonged anticipatory socialization revealed the mismatch between interns and companies. Of the 49 interns who participated in the study at times 1 and 2, only 11 of those interns (22%) continued to work full-time in the same firm.

In contrast to current research that largely describes the benefits of anticipatory socialization, this study of internships shows an unfavorable side of the process. Whereas other means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages) provide just enough of an introduction to people and organizations and strengthen the bond between both parties, internships may provide such an in-depth preview that these prior experiences detour applicants and organizations from making future employment commitments. This realistic anticipatory socialization also affected interns' identification, because learning extensively about employment in an organization or vocation influenced people's identification when they did or did not foresee themselves working full-time for organizations.

In addition to helping us reconsider the role that anticipatory socialization plays in work, this study makes contributions to at least four areas of organizational communication theory and research. First, results of this study challenge classic assumptions about organizational entry as a time of stress and anxiety. This research acknowledges the large degree of socialization that happens during internships and alters scholars' conceptualizations of what it means to be a "newcomer." In the past, "researchers contend that newcomers think and act differently than more experienced members" (Rollag, 2004, p. 853); however, this research shows that new hires with internship experience in the same role or organization may behave just as confidently and efficiently as tenured employees.

Second, this study broadens the socialization literature by changing our understanding of what happens in anticipatory socialization. This dissertation explains how people learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations during internships, which extends organizational communication literature beyond the narrow scope of full-time employment and provides a more complete picture of prior experiences. Furthermore, this study acknowledges similarities and differences between anticipatory socialization, the first stage of socialization, and encounter and metamorphosis, the middle stages of socialization.

Third, this study contributes to the organizational identification literature by showing how the process of identification functions differently during internships than full-time, paid employment. My findings show how identification fluctuated over the three time points at which I collected data—before people's internships, after their internships, and when people began working full-time—but not in ways that traditional identification literature might indicate. Moreover, interns experienced identification differently than the temporary employees literature suggests. This dissertation demonstrates how organizations create identity tensions that dissipate upon permanent employment.

Fourth, this research integrates organizational and vocational socialization, building on past research that treats these two areas of socialization as separate. This study shows how organizational and vocational experiences work together to socialize people, and suggests the importance of examining both areas of socialization together. Full-time employees may begin working with little organizational knowledge but extensive vocational experience. On the other hand, newcomers may feel like organizational insiders but feel completely lost in their new role. By looking at the impact of internships, this research offers new insight into the various effects of both organizational and vocational socialization.

Dissertation Outline

Following this introduction, I review the socialization literature, present two hypotheses, and pose three research questions in Chapter 2, and then I explain the methodology used to collect and analyze data for this study Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I review the study's findings, which explain a) internships as a breeding ground for socialization, 2) contradictory factors in the process of intern identification, and 3) the varying effects of organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization. Lastly, Chapter 5 presents theoretical and practical contributions of this study, along with limitations and future directions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Defining Socialization

Scholars have defined organizational socialization as the primary process by which people "learn the ropes" of an organization and adapt to new roles within it (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 211). Through socialization, people adjust to occupational practices and gain the "social knowledge essential for assuming an organizational role and for participating as an organizational member" (Louis, 1980, p. 229-230). Today, socialization has remained one of the most vibrant areas of research in the organizational communication discipline (Kramer & Miller, 2013), and even after 40 years of inquiry, this topic still entices new scholars with questions that remain unanswered. This study addresses one of the understudied areas of socialization that has captivated scholars for decades—what happens prior to entry—by investigating how internships affect people's knowledge about and success in organizations and vocations.

Management scholars, including Schein (1968, 1971), Feldman (1976, 1981), and Van Maanen (e.g., Van Maanen & Barley, 1982; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) established the basis for organizational and vocational socialization research in the field of management. Drawing on this foundational work, Jablin (1984, 1987, 2001) brought the study of socialization to organizational communication, focusing on the role that communication plays in socialization process. As the field of socialization expanded across various disciplines, some scholars used consistent terminology and others created new, often conflicting concepts. Here, I use "socialization," which is the predominant interdisciplinary term (Berkelaar, 2013; Kramer & Miller, 2013; Waldeck & Myers, 2007). I have selected the label socialization over assimilation, another common phrase, for at least three reasons.

First, I prefer the term socialization because researchers describe assimilation with conflicting definitions. Some scholars (e.g., Jablin & Krone, 1987; Kramer & Miller, 1999) have considered assimilation a synonym for the entire socialization process, preferring the term assimilation because the expression accounts for socialization and individualization (assimilation = socialization + individualization) (e.g., Jablin, 1982; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Instead of using the term to describe the entire socialization process, other scholars, on the other hand, have used assimilation to refer to certain stages of the process. This contrasting definition equates assimilation with encounter and metamorphosis (the middle stages of the socialization process, as I will discuss later). In his 1987 *Handbook of Organizational Communication* chapter, Jablin listed the encounter and metamorphosis stages under the heading "assimilation," which, as many scholars have noted (see Clair, 1999; Turner, 1999), has confused readers. As Turner (1999, p. 383) contended:

> Jablin's title, "Organizational Entry, Assimilation, and Exit," implies that you enter an organization, assimilation happens, and then you leave. However, the section headings of his article describe somewhat different distinctions: anticipatory socialization (with sub-categories vocational and organizational anticipatory socialization), organizational assimilation (with sub-categories encounter, metamorphosis, and communication-related outcomes) and exit. According to this typology, anticipatory socialization is something separate from assimilation and contains no individualization component. Drawing upon other theorists, Jablin later includes anticipatory socialization as one of the three basic phases of assimilation.

In short, because scholars use assimilation in different ways, I avoid this phrase here.

Second, I prefer the term socialization because of the negative connotation of the word assimilation. “When I think of the term assimilate,” Turner (1999, p. 384) remarked, “I get images of the Borg on Star Trek. One gets taken into the larger whole and becomes part of the Collective.” Because the primary meaning (i.e., Webster, 1976) of assimilation referred to the cultural absorption of minorities into the dominant culture, organizational communication scholars have argued that the phrase has similarly privileged organizations’ interests to change people so that they “fit into the organization” (Pribble, 1990, p. 255). As Bullis (1999, p. 369) explained, assimilation carries “baggage” because it assumes one group is completely controlling or absorbing another, rather than distributing agency amongst organizations and people.

Third, I prefer the term socialization because scholars have rarely adopted the phrase assimilation to label the process of learning about and becoming part of an occupation. Typically, assimilation has alluded only to the individual-organizational relationship, whereas socialization has described both organizational and vocational socialization (Jablin, 1987, 2001). Because this study investigates both organizational and vocational socialization, I find the term socialization more appropriate for my research than assimilation.

In conclusion, I refer to socialization as the process involving (a) an organization shaping people to meet its needs, and (b) people shaping an organization to meet their needs (Kramer, 2010; Turner, 1999). In addition to seeing socialization as a reciprocal process, the literature has suggested that socialization occurs in a series of stages.

Socialization Stages

Seminal works (e.g., Feldman, 1976; Jablin, 1987, 2001; Porter et al., 1975; Van Maanen, 1975a) have relied upon developmental models to study the socialization process. Although critics have faulted these traditional conceptualizations of socialization for their simplistic and linear nature, as well as their emphasis on the organization and not the individual (e.g., Bullis, 1993; Clair, 1996), researchers have continued using stage models to present a general framework of an individual's progression from "outsider" to "insider." These developmental models have used different names for each stage, but most models have included three stages: (1) anticipatory socialization, (2) encounter, and (3) metamorphosis (Feldman, 1976; Jablin, 1987; Van Maanen, 1975a). More recently, Jablin (2001) added a fourth stage, exit, to describe the process of organizational disengagement.

Anticipatory socialization. The socialization process begins with anticipatory socialization, which involves people "forming expectations about jobs—transmitting, receiving, and evaluating information with prospective employers—and making decisions about employment" (Feldman, 1976, p. 434). Whereas Feldman (1976) and Porter and colleagues (1975) discussed both organizational and occupational learning in the same stage, Jablin (1987, 2001) separated anticipatory socialization into (a) organizational anticipatory socialization and (b) vocational anticipatory socialization.

Organizational anticipatory socialization. The first type of anticipatory socialization has accounted for people's relationships with organizations they are considering joining. During organizational anticipatory socialization, "job seekers and employers acquire and use information that affects their respective application/ recruitment and employment decisions and expectations about one another" (Jablin, 2001, p. 755). Feldman (1976) identified two components of organizational anticipatory socialization: realism and congruence.

Realism entails prospective members accurately understanding what organizational life is like (Feldman, 1976), and people often gain realistic expectations by seeking organizational information during recruitment (Feldman, 1976). Research demonstrates the importance of forming realistic expectations. In Feldman's (1976, p. 443) study of 118 hospital employees, realism was significantly correlated with role definition, meaning that "employees who feel that they have incomplete or incorrect information will have a much more difficult time sorting out what exactly they are supposed to be doing." When anticipatory members develop unrealistic expectations, they may experience surprises (either positive or negative) upon encounter (Louis, 1980).

Congruence refers to "the extent to which the organization's resources and individual needs and skills are mutually satisfying" (Feldman, 1976, p. 435). Research has shown that congruence predicts a person's success in the organization. For example, people who felt well suited for their jobs were more likely to establish new interpersonal relationships, clarify their roles, and advance in the organization than people without job congruence (Feldman, 1976). Similarly, Stumpf and Hartman's (1984) longitudinal study confirmed that congruence directly affected work performance and job-unit influence. In addition to developing realistic expectations and assessing congruence with organizations, people also experience anticipatory socialization with vocations.

Vocational anticipatory socialization. Vocational anticipatory socialization explains how people learn about communication processes in particular occupations (Jablin, 2001) and how they understand the "motives, sentiments, and behavioral patterns of the occupational culture" (Van Maanen, 1975b, p. 220). Vocational anticipatory socialization includes messages people receive about specific roles (e.g., Kramer, 2010; Myers, 1994), work in general (e.g., Clair, 1996; Lair & Wieland, 2012), and careers—an "overarching structure that brings together jobs, work, and occupations" (Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2012, p. 2).

Studies have suggested that people are socialized into vocations through messages from family, educational institutions, part-time employment, peers and friends, as well as the media (Buzzanell et al., 2011; Jablin, 1985; Levine & Hoffner, 2006; Lucas, 2011; Vangelisti, 1988). Most of the vocational anticipatory socialization research in organizational communication has centered on young participants "from childhood to young adulthood" (Jablin, 2001, p. 734). For example, Greenberger, Steinberg, Ruggiero (1982) studied high school students' part-time employment experiences. In addition, Myers et al. (2011) explored middle and high school students' vocational anticipatory socialization to math and science. Their work demonstrated that five elements (culture/SES, gender, vocational messages, experience, and personal factors) influenced career interests in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

In sum, anticipatory socialization encompasses what people learn about organizations and occupations "pre-arrival" (Porter et al., 1975, p. 163). Following organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization, people enter the organization or occupation. This next stage, encounter, describes people's experiences as newcomers.

Encounter. Encounter describes newcomers' experiences during the first few days, weeks, or months of membership, and most scholars have focused their research on this stage of the socialization process. In their review of socialization literature, Kramer and Miller (2013, p. 530) suggested that studies concentrate on the encounter stage "due to its inherent interest and practicality. Everyone has been an organizational newcomer, and most organizations want to be more successful in moving outsiders to insiders."

Scholars who study newcomers have focused on organizational attempts to integrate employees as well as people's proactive efforts to fit into the organization. For example, Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) classic work on the tactics of organizational socialization described how management (consciously or unconsciously) teaches newcomers about the organization and particular roles. Miller and Jablin's (1991) conceptual piece on newcomer information seeking, on the other hand, described people's proactive attempts to reduce their uncertainty upon entry. The authors proposed that newcomers use various strategies (e.g., overt questions, disguising conversations) to acquire role-related information. Specifically, people use different information-seeking methods during encounter depending on their level of uncertainty, social costs, information sources, and information content.

Encounter "ends" when people no longer feel new. Rather than setting a specific time limit on encounter (or any stage for that matter), scholars have described the passage from newcomer to full member as a psychological adjustment (Kramer, 2010). Scholars have used the term “metamorphosis” to describe this next passage or change.

Metamorphosis. Metamorphosis refers to the process of transformation, and people enter this stage when they feel comfortable in their organization or occupation. Kramer (2010) explained metamorphosis in three parts: culture, relationship, and transition. First, full members recognize the culture of the organization and their vocation, including artifacts, other members, language or stories, norms, and rituals (Pacanowsky & O’Donnell-Truijillo, 1983). Second, as people become insiders, they establish relationships with supervisors, peers, workgroups, mentors, and networks in the organization or vocation. Third, metamorphosis entails “acquisition and change” (Porter et al., 1975, p. 165). Kramer (2010) referred to this aspect of metamorphosis as transition, meaning that roles are constantly fluctuating (e.g., job promotions). That is until, of course, people leave the organization.

Exit. Research on organizational exit has divided the stage into two distinct types: voluntary (planned) and involuntary (unplanned) exit (Jablin, 2001). Scholars have focused little attention on exit, perhaps because Jablin added this final stage in his more recent work. Various researchers theorized models of the disengagement process (Davis & Myers, 2012; Ebaugh, 1988; Jablin, 2001), with each one emphasizing the role of communication during exit. In addition, research has explored people’s motivations for voluntary exit (Lee, Mitchell, Wise, & Fireman, 1996).

As evidenced by the literature on organizational exit, socialization research has not reached saturation. Studies often neglect the peripheral stages of anticipatory socialization and exit (Jablin, 2001), paying disproportionate attention to the middle stages of the socialization process. The research investigating the heart of the socialization literature—encounter and metamorphosis—has demonstrated at least three key elements of socialization.

Elements of Socialization

Many scholars have researched the middle stages of socialization, attempting to uncover precisely what happens during the encounter and metamorphosis stages. This research has explored a variety of topics—from newcomers adjusting to organizations (e.g., Morrison, 1993b) to organizational insiders engaging in communication to reduce job uncertainty (e.g., Waldeck, Seibold, & Flanagin, 2004)—but throughout this work, studies have shown that several key elements constitute the socialization process. Specifically, socialization during the encounter and metamorphosis stages 1) facilitates learning and adapting, 2) encourages organizational identification, and 3) leads to success in new environments.

Learning and adapting. Ample research has demonstrated that people learn (acquire information) and adapt (change in response to environment) during encounter and metamorphosis. Scholars have explored the dimensions of learning and adapting as well as the communication sources surrounding the socialization process.

Dimensions of learning and adapting. Kramer (2010) summarized seven socialization studies that presented various dimensions of how newcomers learn and adapt (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Dimensions of Learning and Adapting (adapted from Kramer, 2010)

Chao et al. (1994)	Louis (1982)	Miller & Jablin (1991)	Morrison (1995)	Myers & Oetzel (2003)	Nelson & Quick (1991)	Ostroff & Kozlowski (1992)
Performance proficiency	Task/ procedures	Referent	Technical/task Referent	Job competency	Tasks	Task
Organization goals/values	Image/identity	Relational	Culture/ normative	Role negotiation	Roles	Role
Organization history	Workplace frame	Appraisal	Organization information	Organization acculturation	Make sense of experiences	Culture/norms
Politics	Power/players		Political/power	Supervisor familiarity	Relationships	Group
People/ relationships	Task/social networks		Relationships	Involvement	Performance	
Language	Local language		Appraisal	Recognition	Isolation	

Although scholars have presented the dimensions with different labels, Kramer (2010) noted four underlying themes of this work. First, people learn about and adapt to their tasks, which includes “knowing what tasks are expected, the norms for completing those tasks, and the evaluation criteria for the tasks” (Kramer, 2010, p. 77). Feldman’s (1981, p. 313) foundational work clearly acknowledged a task-related dimension of socialization: “No matter how motivated the employee, without enough job skills there is little chance of success.” Subsequent research confirmed Feldman’s observation. For example, Chao, O’Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, and Gardner (1994) analyzed data from 594 professionals over three years to determine the facets of organizational socialization. Their study led to six elements of socialization, including performance proficiency or the “extent to which the individual has learned the tasks involved on the job” (Chao et al., 1994, p. 731).

Second, newcomers engage in relational learning and adapting—getting to know their workgroup and developing relationships with others (Kramer, 2010). Relationships include (but are not limited to) peers, supervisors, and staff members. Myers and Oetzel (2003), for example, interviewed people across six different industries to explore the dimensions of socialization, and their research included a relational dimension. The authors gave several examples of this dimension, “familiarity with others,” in their work:

> Familiarity with others included getting to know coworkers, making friends with coworkers, feeling comfortable with coworkers, feeling and expressing a general friendliness, learning how to interact with coworkers, speaking up at meetings, demonstrating a willingness to interact with coworkers, deriving emotional support from organizational members, and generally feeling a sense of community. (p. 443, emphasis removed)

Perhaps because this dimension is so involved, later work separated “familiarity with others” into two parts: “familiarity with coworkers” and “familiarity with supervisors” (Gailliard, Myers & Seibold, 2010).

Third, newcomers learn about and adapt to the organization, which explains how people understand the organization’s history and adapt to behavioral norms. Several studies found evidence of this dimension, such as Morrison (1995), who examined how newcomers passively and actively acquire information. Her study found that people obtain knowledge about the organization in general and about the organization’s culture.

Fourth, people learn about politics and power in the organization. Kramer (2010, p. 77) defined this dimension as “more specific than organizational uncertainties, these involve understanding who is influential, who to talk to in order to get things done, and who to show proper dereference to in order to gain advantage and create opportunities.” Louis (1982, p. 76) appropriately labeled this dimension “mapping the relevant players,” explaining how newcomers must learn names, faces, and roles as well as adapt to informal power sources.

In sum, research has demonstrated that newcomers learn about and adapt to four dimensions of employment—tasks, relationships, organizations, politics and power—during encounter and metamorphosis. In addition to discussing what people learn, studies have also shown the sources through which newcomers learn and adapt.

Sources of learning and adapting. Beyond summarizing these dimensions, Kramer (2010) reviewed literature surrounding the sources that newcomers use to learn and adapt, and he presented his findings in a useful table (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Sources of Learning and Adapting (adapted from Kramer, 2010)

Louis, Posner, & Powell (1983)	Miller & Jablin (1991)	Morrison (1993b)	Nelson & Quick (1991)	Ostroff & Kozlowski (1992)	Teboul (1994)
Peers	Peers	Co-workers	Peers	Peers	Co-workers
Supervisors	Supervisors	Supervisors	Supervisors	Supervisors	Supervisors
Senior co-workers	Other members	Newcomers	Secretary/staff	Mentors	Subordinates
	Written materials	Impersonal		Manuals	Friends
	Clients/customers	Outside sources		Trying	Partner
	Task			Watching	Family

Studies have confirmed that most people turn to coworkers and supervisors as primary sources of information during encounter (e.g., Barge & Schleuter, 2004). In addition, some research has shown that newcomers turn to written materials, such as manuals, to help them adapt to their role (Miller & Jablin 1991; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992) as well as friends, relational partners, and family to deal with their uncertainty (Teboul, 1994). Ostroff and Kozlowski (1992) surveyed new employees from a range of organizations and found that individuals were also learning and adapting through observation (watching how others did things) and trial and error.

Organizational identification. In addition to studies that show how people learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations, research has highlighted identification as another key element of the socialization process. In fact, Kramer and Miller (2013) claimed social identity as "an emerging approach for the study of socialization" (Kramer & Miller, 2013, p. 529), and Waldeck and Myers (2007) noted the reciprocal relationship between socialization and organizational identification in their review of the socialization literature. Identification remains a central component of organizational membership because a large part of our identity comes from the organizations we join (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Foote (1951, p. 21) wrote that "one has no identity apart from society; one has no individuality apart from identity." In other words, we need others to form a self. Social identity theory posits that our perceived identity comes from the social categories to which we belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and employers serve as a dominant social category for many people's identity. As renowned literary theorist Kenneth Burke (1937/1959, p. 264) observed, "In America, it is *natural* for a man to identify himself with the business corporation he serves." When organizations become part of our identity, we experience organizational identification.

Scholars have defined organizational identification as a "perception of oneness with or belongingness to an organization" (Mael & Ashforth, 1992, p. 104) in which people incorporate characteristics of the organization into their self-concepts (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). Identification involves communication because identities develop through social interactions (Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998). For the most part, people benefit from a strong sense of identification, because when people identify, they feel more integrated at work than people who do not identify (Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007). Organizations benefit from identified employees because researched has linked identification to participation in organizational functions (Mael & Ashforth, 1992), organizational citizenship behaviors (Dukerich, Golden & Shortell, 2002), as well as instrumental and interpersonal cooperation, and work-related efforts (Bartel, 2001). To be clear, organizational identification is distinct from professional (or role) identification, which is a separate body of literature outside the scope of this study (see Ashcraft, 2007; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Becker & Carper, 1956; Pratt, Rock, & Kaufmann, 2001).

Success in new environments. Lastly, socialization research during the encounter and metamorphosis stages has looked at the effect of socialization. Research deems socialization as effective when newcomers are successful in their new environment, but scholars hold disparate views of what "success" entails. Some scholars (e.g., Chao et al., 1994; Myers & Oetzel, 2003; Waldeck & Myers, 2007) simply view success as having learned about and adapted to the dimensions presented above. For example, Kramer and Miller (2013) concluded that early role success consisted of four broad areas—task learning and performance, relationship development, organizational knowledge, and positive affect—which closely align with Kramer's (2010) four dimensions of learning and adapting.

Other scholars, however, have subscribed to behavioral outcomes of socialization, including role orientation (custodial, creative, or rebellious), role conflict, role ambiguity, commitment, job satisfaction, and intention to quit (e.g., Feldman, 1976; Jones, 1986; Schein, 1990). Kramer and Miller (2013, p. 538) contended that, of all these variables, the most "critical outcome that has continued to be measured is newcomers' role clarity (i.e., role ambiguity and role conflict)." In their theory of information seeking strategies, Miller and Jablin (1991) also identified role ambiguity and role conflict as the sole outcome of their model, noting role clarity as one of the essential purposes of acquiring information. Adding support to this claim, Kammeyer-Mueller and Wangerg (2003) demonstrated role clarity as a proximal outcome of socialization, which influenced more distal outcomes (organizational commitment, work withdrawal, and turnover). So although newcomer success may manifest in a variety of behaviors, research has suggested role clarity as a primary indicator of socialization effectiveness.

In conclusion, extensive research has investigated socialization's role in helping people learn and adapt, develop organizational identification, and succeed in new environments during encounter and metamorphosis. But we know little about the extent to which or the manner in which socialization occurs during one of the underexplored stages—anticipatory socialization. The goal of this dissertation is to expand the stage of anticipatory socialization beyond recruitment and adolescence, where the literature currently focuses, by exploring how internships socialize people to organizations and vocations. I now turn to discuss this first stage in more detail and highlight the gap that this study fills. I begin by reviewing studies in organizational anticipatory socialization, followed by those in vocational anticipatory socialization.

A Deeper Dive into Anticipatory Socialization

Research in Organizational Anticipatory Socialization

Over the years, various studies have explored organizational anticipatory socialization, mostly focusing on management's efforts to disseminate information to prospective members. Research has investigated how four organizational activities, 1) recruitment sources, 2) interviews, 3) realistic job previews, and 4) cybervetting, shape people's behavior.

First, research has explored how recruitment sources shape newcomers' perceptions and performance in organizations. For example, applicants who regarded recruiters as informative, personable, similar, credible, and trustworthy were more likely to accept a job offer than those who did not (Breaugh & Starke, 2000). In addition, studies have demonstrated the effectiveness of informal sources (e.g., employee referrals, direct applications) over formal sources (e.g., newspaper advertisements, employment agencies). Overall, research has shown that informal recruiting sources predict job satisfaction, performance, and turnover better than formal sources (Saks, 1994; Williams, Labig, & Stone, 1993).

Second, the interview process shapes anticipatory members' perceptions of the organization. Jablin (2001) stressed the importance of interviews as an opportunity for recruiters and applicants to share and assess information about one another. Furthermore, Miller and Buzzanell (1996) contended that the second employment interview (the more in-depth, on-site interview that follows screening interviews) functions as an integral part of organizational anticipatory socialization. From the authors' perspective, second interviews "provide more specific information about the job and work conditions, introductions into task and social networks, and links to the organization during college-to-job or job-to-job transitions" (p. 166).

Third, considerable research has demonstrated that job candidates benefit from realistic job previews. Realistic job previews seek to accurately create new hire job expectations, often in the form of an organizational booklet or video. In a meta-analysis of 40 studies in this literature, Phillips (1998) found that applicants who received job-related information had higher performance, satisfaction, and commitment than those who did not, even if the information was unfavorable. The meta-analysis also showed an inverse relationship between realistic job previews and attrition, voluntary turnover, and overall turnover.

Fourth, more recent literature has revealed technology's influence in the recruitment process, because applicants can gather large amounts of information online about organizations prior to interviews (Flanagin & Waldeck, 2004). Also, job seekers and employers now engage in "cybervetting" through search engines and social media, allowing management to uncover hidden or obscure information about applicants

(Berkelaar, 2013, p. 36). This availability of knowledge has allowed managers and "prospective and current organizational members to employ Miller and Jablin's (1991) information-seeking techniques in new, different, and potentially more informative—although not necessarily effective—ways" (Berkelaar, 2013, p. 36).

Throughout these four organizational activities, people and organizations are also assessing person-organization fit—monitoring their compatibility with one another during organizational anticipatory socialization (see Kristof, 1996 for a review). Extensive research has explored how organizational activities (such as the four mentioned above) influence perceptions of fit. For example, Saks and Ashforth's (1997) longitudinal field study investigated the relationship between job information sources and person-organization fit prior to entry. Their research found that applicants who used multiple formal information sources (i.e., the campus recruiter and university placement) attained better perceptions of fit. Similarly, Cable, Aiman-Smith, Mulvey, and Edwards's (2000) study about prior knowledge of organizational values found that people formed more accurate perceptions from formal sources (e.g., company and product information) as opposed to prior experience or word of mouth.

In sum, the organizational anticipatory socialization literature has centered heavily on recruiting employees and establishing person-organization fit. But organizational anticipatory socialization encompasses other prior experiences aside from recruitment (such as personal involvement and internships), and people often learn more than just a mission statement before joining an organization. To fully understand the scope of organizational anticipatory socialization, research must explore what people learn through other prior experiences, since this insight could change what happens during subsequent socialization stages. In addition to the opportunity to extend organizational anticipatory socialization literature, scholars also have ample room to broaden the scope of vocational anticipatory socialization research.

Research in Vocational Anticipatory Socialization

Current vocational anticipatory socialization research has concentrated on children and adolescents, exploring the types of messages young people receive. Buzzanell and colleagues (2011) investigated socialization messages from over 800 children (ages 4-10) across four countries and revealed that vocational anticipatory socialization consists of multiple intersecting processes:

> Many young children are socialized primarily by parents' messages (discursive socialization of the direct, indirect, or ambient form) but also by the things that they enjoyed doing or were given to them (material socialization) and by their own sense of what is realistic and meaningful for them (personal sensemaking socialization). (Buzzanell et al., 2011, p. 160)

Similarly, Lucas (2011) found that families communicate socializing messages about blue-collar work in complex, ambiguous, and even contradictory ways. Importantly, these studies and others (e.g., Saks & Ashforth, 1997) indicated that vocational anticipatory socialization messages occur through a variety of sources and message paths, not just direct memorable messages.

Along with messages as a predominant source of vocational anticipatory socialization, personal experiences also shape career perceptions (Myers et al., 2011; Porter et al., 1975). In their study of adolescents (ages 13-19), Myers and colleagues

(2011, p. 107) demonstrated people’s range of experiences as “one of the most important determinants of future career interests,” but noted that experience is a “factor whose importance has been neglected in many other models.”

Because experience is a key factor in forming career attitudes, additional research should explore experiences beyond adolescence. Unfortunately, almost all vocational anticipatory socialization research has focused on how career perceptions develop at a young age (Buzzanell et al., 2011; Gabor, 2013; Hylmo, 2006; Levine & Hoffner, 2006; Lucas, 2011; Myers et al., 2011). Berkelaar (2013, p. 41) addressed this issue in her review of the socialization literature, calling for research to examine vocational anticipatory socialization throughout life.

> As people change organizational affiliations more frequently as a result of (in)voluntary moves, career changes, relational changes, and other events (Smith & Guarnizo, 2009), researchers need to address potentially new—and often overlapping—role exits and entries in adulthood as well as childhood and adolescence.

Van Maanen’s work may serve as a starting point for additional research that explores vocational anticipatory socialization over time. In his observations of police officers, Van Maanen (1973) determined that people do not choose their career casually and often become attached to the vocation long before they actually join because they are brought into the occupational network by insiders. Likewise, Van Maanen and Barley (1982, p. 65) suggested that a great deal of advanced learning occurs before entry into an occupational community:

> For a would-be member contemplating membership in an occupational community, knowledge must be acquired. Learning, socialization, practicing, training, feedback, testing, memorizing, and so forth are all involved, but the nature of these acquisition and transmission mechanisms varies across communities. What doesn't vary is the fact that recruits must master the substantive core of the occupation.

Although Van Maanen and Barley did not focus on vocational anticipatory socialization in particular, their commentary underscores the importance of extending occupational socialization research by looking at socialization experiences past adolescence. In summary, existing research in organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization highlights a need to further explore people's prior experiences before they join organizations and occupations.

A Focus on Prior Experiences

In general, organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization literature has focused on what people learn during organizational recruitment efforts and adolescence, respectively. However, anticipatory socialization also encompasses the "broader context in which recruitment occurs" (Rynes, 1991, p. 399). Anticipatory socialization includes any experience with or knowledge of the organization, which might involve purchasing its products or services, encountering advertisements, hearing about the organization from family or friends, seeking information online, as well as participating in internships with the organization (Cable et al., 2000; Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Jablin, 2001; Stephens & Dailey, 2012). Importantly, we must expand our purview to account for these additional experiences.

Accounting for this integration prior to entry will likely change our understanding of subsequent stages of the socialization process. Scholars have described organizational entry as a period of “breaking-in” or organizational “encounter” (Jablin, 2001, p. 758) when newcomers experience disillusion or surprise (Louis, 1980). We assume that after a minimum of, say, three to six months, newcomers sufficiently understand the organization and their role, and they transition to “insiders.” However, people with prior organizational or vocational experiences may not experience uncertainty, surprise, and unmet expectations upon entry. Such newcomers would require less sense making and may consider themselves organizational insiders rather quickly.

Indeed, Bauer and Green (1994) suggested that pre-entry experiences might strongly affect newcomer behavior, such that socialization occurs much more rapidly than explained by current models. What happens during organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization, therefore, may influence subsequent stages of the socialization process. If we extend our knowledge of anticipatory socialization, scholars may reconceptualize the encounter and metamorphosis stages. Therefore, this study seeks to extend our understanding of anticipatory socialization by focusing on experiences before encounter and metamorphosis. A handful of studies have demonstrated that prior experiences—outside of organizational recruitment and vocational messages during youth—influence organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization.

Prior experiences and organizational anticipatory socialization. Experiences prior to entry—ranging from hearing an advertisement to having an internship—can foster organizational anticipatory socialization. For example, Gibson and Papa’s (2000, p.

79) study of blue-collar workers showed that children learned “the rites, rituals, values, beliefs, and heroes that comprise the culture of [a manufacturing plant], even before entering the organization” by communicating with family, friends, and neighbors who worked at the plant. The authors termed this absorption of information “organizational osmosis” and noted that employees who experienced organizational osmosis “appear to identify more readily with organizational goals, job tasks, and working conditions of the factory culture, than those without that preexisting knowledge of the organizational culture” (Gibson & Papa, 2000, p. 80). This research demonstrated that prior experiences shape people’s socialization into an organization.

In a similar study, Morgan and colleagues (2004) illustrated how conversations with family socialized people into ARGON, a farming business. A study informant recalled, “I grew up listening to my dad talk about his work. I wanted to work at AGRON for as long as I can remember” (Morgan, Reynolds, Nelson, Johanningmeier, Griffin & Andrade, 2004, p. 375). These experiences—listening to family members’ stories about the farming business—formed people’s impressions and strengthened their desire to join the organization.

Furthermore, Stephens and Dailey (2012, p. 415) found that prior experiences with an organization put people in a “state of readiness,” which influenced how newcomers reacted and interpreted organizational activities. Specifically, their study showed that, among new hires in a university, people who had taken educational courses from the university had more change in identification after orientation than those who had not taken courses. Although Stephens and Dailey (2012) measured the effects of prior experiences on organizational identification, it follows that previous experiences would also contribute to one's socialization. In addition to this work in organizational socialization, research has also stressed the importance of prior experiences in vocational anticipatory socialization.

Prior experiences and vocational anticipatory socialization. Prior experiences not only shape our perceptions of organizations, they also socialize us into occupational cultures. Clair (1996), for instance, made a compelling argument for an alternative view of work socialization. She suggested that our reliance on stage models of socialization "may be useful in understanding socialization *into organizations*, but it fails to provide a full picture of work socialization and promotes an organizationally driven ideology" (p. 265). Her work acknowledged communication as constitutive of socialization, and therefore looked at everyday discourse to uncover vocational choices. In her study of 34 student narratives, Clair (1996) explored how the colloquialism "a real job" functioned to socialize people into work. Her qualitative analysis revealed that a real job embodied the main tenets of capitalism, meaning that real work pays money, requires skills, and offers advancement opportunities. In her discussion, Clair (1996, p. 265) noted how the colloquialism of a real job problematically socializes people to work:

> Stage models argue that one cannot enter into a real job until he or she has participated in unreal jobs, which devalues the work activities of numerous people. Specifically, college students are placed into the anticipatory stage as defined by the traditional stage model… relegating students to an anticipatory stage devalues their present work. (emphasis removed)

By limiting anticipatory socialization to real work, we overlook other “unreal” work (part-time, seasonal, unskilled, or unpaid) that socializes people to vocations.

In addition to Clair’s (1996) treatise on real jobs, studies have explored how other prior experiences, such as school or training programs, socialize people into professions. This research has focused on more formalized occupations, such as policemen, firefighters, and doctors. For example, Van Maanen’s (1973) ethnography of policemen discussed the pre-entry stage of the socialization process. Van Maanen explained that aspiring patrolmen must complete a qualifying exam, a prerequisite that suggests they are entering an elite vocation. Furthermore, policemen considered the classroom academy experience a rite of passage, “permitting them access to the occupation” (p. 21).

Along with policemen, research has shown prior experiences as an important component of vocational anticipatory socialization for firefighters. Myers (2005) interviewed 26 firefighters at Cactus City Fire Department and found that firefighters expected newcomers to socialize themselves prior to entry. Specifically, Myers (2005, p. 373) noted:

> Applicants must engage in intense information seeking and work very hard to socialize themselves prior to entry by preparing for exams, riding along, and spending time at fire stations. Although exam preparation accelerated their job competency, spending time with crews enabled them to feel involved, allowed them the opportunity to get to know others, and gave them social knowledge permitting them to acculturate into the organization and station life. As a result, by the time they are hired, they have already demonstrated their commitment and willingness to assimilate.

Lastly, research in sociology has explored vocational socialization in the context of medical professionals. Bosk’s (1979) ethnography explained how residents learn to become surgeons by working alongside attendees. Other work by Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) investigated the role that medical school plays in socializing doctors into their professional role.

Interestingly, most of this research on prior experiences that socializes people into professions hinges upon occupations in “high reliability organizations,” which Rochlin, La Porte, and Roberts (1987, p. 76) defined as “a small group of organizations… performing daily a number of highly complex technical tasks in which they cannot afford to ‘fail.’” Because these employees “operate under conditions of high danger… member behavior is clearly defined” (Myers, 2005, p. 345), and norms and behaviors remain more formalized.

People outside of these formalized roles, however, might also have prior experiences that socialize them into work. Internships, for example, teach people in various vocations and organizations about what life is like as a full member in that community. Whereas an apprenticeship “tends to be restricted to particular situations involving unique or highly crucial jobs,” (Porter et al., 1975, p. 169), people across a wide range of occupations commonly participate in internships. In this next section, I discuss internships as an ideal prior experience to extend our understanding of organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization.

Internships as Prior Experiences

Internships: Development and current research.

Today, most college students complete internships. Whereas less than 3% of students held internships in 1980, 84% of current undergraduates have participated in internships (Kamenetz, 2006). A national study of 242 business schools found that 92% of schools offered internship programs, making the experience an ostensible “rite of passage for students in recent years” (Coco, 2000, p. 41). Internships benefit jobseekers and hiring organizations, because according to *The Encyclopedia of Human Resource Management*:

> The purpose of an internship is to present students with an invaluable learning experience that will not only present networking opportunities and make it possible for them to practice what they know, but essentially, interns can try it out to see whether a job is a fit. This experience presents both students and employers with relevant information in order to evaluate whether interns are indeed a match to the organizational culture and a good fit in the corporate environment. (DeSormoux, 2012, p. 280)

This definition highlights “students” as interns, but “internship seekers are no longer undergrads alone” (Levin-Epstein, 2011, para. 2). Companies like Goldman Sachs and Sara Lee have hired staff for “returnships,” internships for experienced employees reentering the workforce (Cohen, 2012; Koba, 2013). In a survey of over 2,500 employers, “Nearly one-quarter (23 percent) of employers report that they are seeing experienced workers, those with more than ten years experience, and mature workers, workers age 50 or older, apply for internships at their organizations” (Grasz, 2010, para. 1). Also, research found that over 60% of MBA programs contain an internship component (Dillon, McCaskey, & Blazer, 2011). Thus, not only have internships prevailed in organizations, such programs have drawn diverse applicants.

Despite a growing number of people who participate in internships, scholars have yet to theoretically explore internships as a prior experience that may foster socialization. Most of the literature has described internships from an anecdotal, non-empirical perspective. The handful of scholarly research that has investigated internships falls in two main categories: the benefits of internships and internship satisfaction.

Current research on internships: Benefits of internships. Scholars have demonstrated several benefits of internships. To begin, internships educate students and help them decide on a career (Brooks, Cornelius, Greenfield, & Joseph, 1995; Coco, 2000; D'Abate, 2010; Pedro, 1984; Taylor, 1988). For example, Taylor (1988) surveyed 67 college students and found that interns displayed a greater crystallization of their vocational self-concept and work values than people without internship experience. By performing the typical tasks of a career, interns gained knowledge about their abilities and interests in that field.

In addition to helping students decide their future career path, internships also help people after graduation. Research has shown that companies are more likely to offer a job and pay a higher salary to a person with internship experience than a person without internship experience (Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Coco, 2000; Gault, Redington, & Schlager, 2000; Knouse & Fontenot, 2008; Knouse, Tanner, & Harris 1999; Taylor, 1988). D'Abate (2010), who studied alumni 3 to 5 years after graduation, found lasting effects of internships. Once employed, workers with internship experience reported higher job and career satisfaction, faster advancement, and greater organizational commitment than workers without it. Aside from exploring these advantages of internships, additional research focuses on intern satisfaction.

Current research on internships: Intern satisfaction. Even before the ubiquity of internships, McCaffrey (1979) examined sources of intern satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

McCaffrey administered questionnaires to 55 participants during the second week and at the end of their internships. His research discovered that most interns were satisfied with their experiences, and their satisfaction increased over time. Moreover, Feldman and Weitz (1990) also polled participants before and after their internship to identify what factors influenced job attitudes. The authors found that several job design characteristics promoted positive intern experiences, including dealing with others, autonomy, task identity (doing a whole job), and skill variety (see also Hergert, 2009). Similarly, D'Abate, Youndt, and Wenzel (2009) found that job characteristics (such as task significance and feedback) and work environment (in particular, learning opportunities, supervisor support, and organizational satisfaction) predicted internship satisfaction.

In the most recent study exploring intern satisfaction, Narayanan, Olk, and Fukami (2010) addressed the roles of the university and student in determining internship effectiveness. The authors proposed a multistage model and found that "Student satisfaction was the result of three process constructs: project progress feedback, the faculty advisor role, and the student's learning" (p. 74). These results reinforced the authors' conceptualization that an effective internship consists of the three actors—business, university, and students.

In conclusion, most of the research surrounding internships has considered the benefits of internships or internship satisfaction. Of practical importance, these findings help substantiate and improve internships. But what do people actually learn during internships? How are they acquiring knowledge and skills for work in future organizations or vocations? To fully understand the essence of this learning experience, research must explore internships as a mechanism of socialization.

Internships as a mechanism of socialization. A handful of studies have used socialization as a framework to study how people adapt to internships. Scholars have turned to the socialization literature to explain the internship as a socialization experience in and of itself. These studies have illustrated how interns receive and anticipate their internship, begin working, and then settle into their internships. For example, Garavan and Murphy’s (2001) exploratory study followed six interns through co-operative education to show the anticipatory, encounter, and metamorphosis stages of internships. Staton-Spicer and Darling (1986) studied teaching interns from a socialization perspective. The authors interviewed 12 teaching interns and found that teachers became socialized to their internship in an active manner, through communication with others.

In addition to these qualitative studies that explore the socialization of interns, theories of internships have resembled socialization stages (e.g., Inkster & Ross, 1998; Kiser, 2000; Sweitzer & King, 1994). These models described the development of an internship in several steps, such as Kiser’s (2000) model, which included pre-placement, initiation, working, and termination (see Diambra, Cole-Zakrzewski, & Booher, 2004 for comparison of models).

These studies and stage models, however, looked only at how interns adapt during their internship. They explored socialization *within* internships (i.e., viewing the internship as a microcosm of the entire socialization process). But people complete internships to train and prepare for full-time jobs, and in this way, internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization for future employment.

Some scholars have alluded to the potential for internships to socialize people before they begin working full-time in organizations. Specifically, researchers contend that internships reduce newcomers' "reality shock" (Hughes, 1958; Louis, 1980, p. 230) when entering organizations. New employees often experience this shock when their expectations differ from their actual experience in the organization. Importantly, internships may reduce reality shock (Coco, 2000; Taylor, 1988) because they give people a more realistic preview of the vocation or organization (Knouse et al., 1999). As Barnett (2012) explained, people can establish more realistic expectations through internships, which can help their transition to full-time employment. Barnett's (2012, p. 282) qualitative study examined 59 interns' experiences and concluded that internships "allow[ed] students to develop new, more realistic work expectations, thus narrowing the work expectation-reality gap." However, Barnett only interviewed participants at the end of their internship (not upon full-time employment), so readers can only assume that interns' experiences would be helpful in their permanent positions. The current study answers Barnett's (2012, p. 285) call for future research of a "longitudinal study of interns and their experiences as they enter the workforce." Here, I explore internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization for future employment.

Internships as anticipatory socialization. Because internships teach people about a prospective organization, role, or vocation, these experiences serve as anticipatory socialization for full-time employment (Callanan & Benzinger, 2004). According to

Cable and colleagues (2000, p. 1078), “Internships represent anticipatory socialization because individuals are using past experiences to anticipate current organizational practices.” In other words, internships act as an organizational or vocational primer. By law, internships must function to train future employees, preparing people for subsequent work (United States Department of Labor, 2010). As Russo (1998, p. 93) claimed:

> Specific professional training is one component of organizational anticipatory socialization… [because] during this training, [people] develop specific idealized expectations about work and organizations that remain a pervasive standard against which day-to-day activities are compared.

Internships epitomize anticipatory socialization because they prepare and train people for organizational entry.

In this way, internships serve as prior organizational and vocational experiences. Although interns “enter” and work “in” organizations, internships still embody anticipatory socialization (rather than organizational entry or metamorphosis stages) because managers do not regard interns as full-fledged organizational members. Interns anticipate organizational entry, which distinguishes them from other organizational members (who may not be paid or work part-time) but who do not anticipate full membership.

In addition to anticipating joining an organization or vocation, interns differ from other employees and liminal members, such as part-time employees or volunteers, for several reasons. Clearly, interns differ from full-time employees (even though interns may work 40 hours or more a week) because internship positions take place in shorter and less permanent stints than full-time work (Feldman & Weitz, 1990). Interns often work part-time, but unlike temporary or hourly employees, interns anticipate joining a particular vocation or organization full-time in the future, and managers treat (or recruit) interns as such (D'Abate, 2010). Although interns may work without pay, interns differ from volunteers because organizations heavily train and mentor interns (Garavan & Murphy, 2001). Because organizations view interns as hopeful hires (Coco, 2000), they offer interns ample opportunities for vocational and organizational socialization.

But even as internships offer these distinct opportunities, we lack an understanding of how this unique prior experience may foster socialization prior to entry. Research needs to fill this gap in the literature because internships may provide a more realistic picture of organizations and occupations than other activities like recruitment or messages from family and friends. By exploring internships, this study broadens the scope of anticipatory socialization and may influence subsequent stages of the socialization process. As increasing numbers of interns join organizations and occupations, more people will act and feel like "insiders" before entry. Arguably, internships as a prior experience may challenge such classic beliefs about the socialization process. With this rationale, I present my hypotheses and research questions.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

Past research has demonstrated that socialization during the encounter and metamorphosis stages 1) facilitates learning and adapting, 2) encourages organizational identification, and 3) leads to success in new environments. Although these components of socialization may manifest prior to entry, research has yet to investigate how and to what extent internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization. Drawing on these three elements, I first predict that people will learn and adapt during their internships. Second, I expect people's organizational identification to grow throughout their internships. Third, I ask what impact internships will have on full-time employment to better understand how internships, as a form of anticipatory socialization, may influence other stages of the socialization process.

Learning and Adapting during Internships

Although a great deal of work has investigated the dimensions and sources of socialization during encounter and metamorphosis, studies have yet to fully explore this element of socialization prior to entry. The literature on prior organizational experiences, however, suggests that internships likely provide many dimensions and sources of learning and adapting (e.g., Gibson & Papa, 2000; Morgan et al., 2004; Stephens & Dailey, 2012). If internships promote this element of socialization, then interning would increase people's organizational socialization. Myers and Oetzel (2003, p. 447) found that the dimensions of their socialization index were "a good set of measures for assessing people's organizational [socialization] experiences." Thus, I present the following hypothesis, which predicts a significance difference in participants' perceptions of the seven dimensions of socialization before and after their internship:

> H1: People's a) familiarity with coworkers, b) familiarity with supervisors, c) acculturation, d) recognition, e) involvement, f) job competency, and g) role negotiation will significantly increase after an internship.

I do not predict that internships will increase people's vocational anticipatory socialization, since researchers have demonstrated conflicting findings. As I discussed earlier, some studies have shown that internships help people decide on vocations and establish work values (Brooks et al., 1995; Coco, 2000; D'Abate, 2010; Pedro, 1984; Taylor, 1988). Other research, however, has illustrated that internships do not predict job-fit (Callanan & Benzing, 2004), amount of occupational information, or vocational commitment (Brooks et al., 1995). Furthermore, although research has provided a clear picture of how people learn and adapt during encounter and metamorphosis, we lack an understanding of how these (or other) dimensions and sources might be present (or absent) during anticipatory socialization. Therefore, I pose the following research question to explore how internships contribute to organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization.

> RQ1: To what extent and in what manner do internships help people learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations?

This first hypothesis and research question investigates how newcomers learn and adapt during anticipatory socialization, which will broaden the scope of anticipatory socialization by providing a more complete picture of how people come to know organizations and vocations. Although most scholars have contended that the core of socialization involves this learning and adapting (Waldeck & Myers, 2007), others have suggested identity as a central element of socialization (Forward & Scheerhorn, 1996). Thus, in addition to studying how interns learn and adapt to organizations and occupations during their internship, I also explore how internships may foster organizational identification.

Organizational Identification during Internships

Although research has not studied identification during internships in particular, some work sheds light on the role that identification may play prior to entry. For example, Mael and Ashforth (1995) used biodata from Army recruits (i.e., information about the recruits' hobbies, personality, and achievements) to predict organizational identification. The authors found that four biodata factors correlated with organizational identification: rugged/outdoors, solid citizen, team sports/group orientation, and intellectual/achievement orientation. Mael and Ashforth (1995, p. 324) explained that "earlier behavior and experiences, as embodied in biodata, predisposed new recruits to identify with the U.S. Army." Although these specific behaviors may not generalize across other organizations, this research demonstrates how prior experiences shape people's identification prior to entry. This study suggests that participating in internships may strengthen organizational identification. Thus, I present the following hypothesis.

> H2: People's organizational identification will significantly increase after an internship.

Although studies point to the potential of organizational identification forming prior to entry, we still lack an understanding of how this process occurs. In addition to investigating changes in identification, this study also seeks to explain *how* people identify with organizations through anticipatory socialization.

In their review of the literature, Ashforth, Harrison, and Corley (2008) noted their surprise at how few scholars have attempted to capture the process of identification. In an effort to facilitate future research, Ashforth, Harrison, and Corley (2008) proposed a general model of identification, which involves interplay between organizations and full-time, paid employees. The authors suggested that four factors account for the emergence of identification. In the process of identification, people respond to *sensebreaking* and *sensegiving* practices, which break down individuals' old identities and establish new ones. Moreover, people enact and *make sense* of potential identities, as they "learn their identities by projecting them into an environment and observing the consequences" (Weick, 1995, p. 23). During of identification, people also express their identities through retrospective *narratives*.

This model provides a useful starting point for research on the complex process of organizational identification during internships. Currently, our knowledge of what takes place prior to entry captures only static predictors (e.g., biodata), offering a superficial view of identification. This study will add to the literature by investigating what happens below the surface of identification during anticipatory socialization, comparing the process of identification between interns and full-time, paid employees. Therefore, I present the following research question:

> RQ2: How is the process of organizational identification during internships similar to or different from the process of organizational identification for full-time, paid employees?

Internships and Success in Full-Time Employment

Besides exploring how people learn, adapt, and identify during internships, this study examines the effect internships have on full-time employment. Kramer and Miller (2013, p. 541) have urged scholars to explore the effect of prior knowledge on newcomers, because “understanding the similarities and unique aspects of experienced newcomers would lead to a more nuanced understanding of the socialization process.” Thus, in addition to exploring what happens during anticipatory socialization, this study seeks to better understand how prior experiences, like internships, might affect people’s success in their new full-time jobs.

One quantitative study found that former interns reported greater job and career satisfaction, advancement, and organizational commitment than people without internships (D’Abate, 2010). The author warned, however, that the study’s retrospective data collection might have biased her findings, since people tend to claim more responsibility for successes than failures. Thus, scholars have called for a longitudinal approach to discover the effect of internships on full-time employment (Barnett, 2012). Furthermore, we know little about differences that might exist between full-time employees who had an internship at the same company and those who interned at different organizations. Either way, by fostering organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization, internships likely influence organizational encounter. But how do internships, as a mechanism of socialization, influence a person’s success (or failure) in their new environment as a full-fledged member? The third research question seeks to uncover how internships affect full-time employment.

> RQ3: To what extent and in what manner do internships, as a mechanism of socialization, influence people’s experiences upon organizational encounter?

By way of review, Table 2.3 restates these hypotheses and research questions along with their rationale and methods of analysis. With these hypotheses and questions in mind, I now turn to discuss the methodology of this study.

Table 2.3: Rationale and Methods of Analysis for Hypotheses and Research Questions

Hypotheses & Research Questions	Rationale	Method of Analysis
H1: People’s a) familiarity with coworkers, b) familiarity with supervisors, c) acculturation, d) recognition, e) involvement, f) job competency, and g) role negotiation will significantly increase after an internship.	Studies have only explored socialization within internships. Research has not measured whether internships may serve as a form of anticipatory socialization for future employment.	Within Subjects (Repeated Measures) ANOVA
RQ1: To what extent and in what manner do internships help people learn and adapt to organizations and vocations?	Although research has investigated the dimensions and sources of socialization during encounter and metamorphosis, studies have yet to fully explore how people learn and adapt prior to organizational entry.	Thematic Analysis
H2: People’s organizational identification will significantly increase after an internship.	Research has shed light on the role that identification may play prior to entry, but studies have not measured identification during internships in particular.	Within Subjects (Repeated Measures) ANOVA
RQ2: How is the process of organizational identification during internships similar to or different from the process of organizational identification for full-time, paid employees?	Our knowledge of what takes place prior to entry captures only static predictors (e.g., biodata), offering a superficial view of identification. We lack an understanding of how the process of identification occurs during anticipatory socialization.	Thematic Analysis
RQ3: To what extent and in what manner do internships, as a mechanism of socialization, influence people’s experiences upon organizational encounter?	Scholars have called for a longitudinal approach to discover the effect of internships on full-time employment.	Thematic Analysis

Chapter 3: Method

Study Overview

I chose a longitudinal approach to investigate how internships foster socialization by 1) facilitating learning and adapting, 2) encouraging organizational identification, and 3) fostering success in full-time employment. Over a period of fifteen months, I collected data at three time points—before people's internships (time 1), after their internships (time 2), and when people began working full-time (time 3). I chose to explore people's experiences over time so that I could fully capture the scope of organizational anticipatory socialization and its effect on subsequent socialization stages. Although past research has demonstrated these three elements of socialization during encounter and metamorphosis, scholars have yet to fully explain how and to what extent socialization occurs during internships. Thus, I collected both qualitative and quantitative data to develop a more robust understanding of how internships contribute to organizational and vocational socialization.

I allowed my research interests to guide my multi-methodological approach (Weathington, Cunningham, Pittenger, 2010). In my study, I posed exploratory research questions (e.g., "To what extent and in what manner…"), which called for qualitative inquiry (Charmaz, 2006). Also, because a great deal of my research aimed at "description and explanation more than measurement and prediction," qualitative methods were appropriate (Fitch, 1994, p. 32). In addition, the two hypotheses predicted various effects of internships over time, and quantitative methods allowed me to systematically study this change and development (Miller et al., 2011). Using both qualitative methods (via interviews and observation) and quantitative methods (via questionnaires) allowed for methodological triangulation, following Denzin and Lincoln's (1994, p. 2) advice that the combination of multiple methods "adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation." Overall, a mixed-method approach helped provide a more complete picture of internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization for future employment. Now that I have provided an overview of this study, I will explain the participants and the data I gathered.

Participants

I recruited participants from a) an internship course at a university and b) Midwestern Financial, a financial services firm. I asked people from these two groups to participate in the study so that I could capture a range of internship experiences, including paid and unpaid internships, full- and part-time internships, and cohort (group of interns) and individual internship experiences. Participants in the internship course represented a variety of internship experiences and industries, whereas Midwestern Financial interns were all paid, full-time interns in a cohort. Thus, I was not comparing participants from these two groups, rather, I sought participants from these two groups to cast a wide net of participant experiences. To ensure that I accurately represented internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization, at the start of the study I asked all participants (in the internship course and those at Midwestern Financial) if they could foresee themselves working in their organization as full-time employees, and all participants agreed. Below, I describe participants in the internship course and at Midwestern Financial in more detail.

Internship Course

I recruited interns who were enrolled in a summer Communication Studies internship course at a large university in the Southwestern United States to participate in the study before their internships (time 1, May 2012) and after their internships (time 2, August 2012). To be enrolled in this pass/fail course, students had to be working as full- or part-time interns during the summer session. Students in the course interned in various industries, including advertising, law, banking, event planning, and nonprofits. The course required students to write weekly reports and three concept papers, and, for this study, the course also asked students to complete two interviews and answer two questionnaires (at the beginning and end of their internships). At the beginning of the course, I met with students face-to-face and explained how they would participate in the interviews and fill out questionnaires for the class.

At time 1, 20 students from the internship course (91% response rate) completed questionnaires, and I interviewed these same people, plus one additional intern (*n* = 21; 95% response rate) before their internship began (or in a couple of cases, a few days after their internship began). At time 2, 20 students from the internship course (91% response rate) completed questionnaires, and I interviewed these same people, plus one additional intern (*n* = 21; 95% response rate) in their last two weeks of their internship or after their internship was over. Table 3.1 summarizes the number of questionnaires and interviews I collected from participants in the internship course at times 1 and 2.

Table 3.1: Internship Course Participants' Response Rates

	Time 1		Time 2	
	n	Response Rate	*n*	Response Rate
Questionnaire	20	91%	20	91%
Interview	21	95%	21	95%

Midwestern Financial

I also recruited interns who were working at Midwestern Financial to participate in the study before their internships (time 1, May 2012) and after their internships (time 2, August 2012). Midwestern Financial was a US-based financial services firm that offered credit cards, banking services, and loans to over 50 million customers. Midwestern Financial employed over 10,000 individuals worldwide, and the bulk of those employees (about 3,000 people) worked at its headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Interns at Midwestern Financial were part of a leadership program with five business tracks (Analytics, Business Technology, Finance, Marketing, and Operations), and the organization recruited promising undergraduates and graduate students from local schools. Table 3.2 describes the required degree for each of the five business tracks.

Table 3.2: Midwestern Financial's Leadership Program Tracks and Hiring Levels

Track	Hiring Level
Analytics	Graduate
Business Technology	Undergraduate
Finance	Graduate
Marketing	Undergraduate
Operations	Undergraduate and Graduate

I drafted an email (see Appendix A), which a Midwestern Financial manager forwarded to 25 summer interns, asking the interns to volunteer for a University research study before their internships (time 1, May 2012) and after their internships (time 2, August 2012). At time 1, 18 Midwestern Financial interns completed a questionnaire (72% response rate), and I interviewed 12 of those same interns (48% response rate) within the first few weeks of beginning their internship. At time 2, 22 Midwestern Financial interns completed a questionnaire (88% response rate), and I interviewed 12 of those same interns (48% response rate) in their last two weeks of their internship.

I also collected data at Midwestern Financial at time 3 (organizational encounter) to continue the longitudinal nature of the study and to measure the effect of internships on full-time employment. (I did not include a time 3 with the interns in the University course because I was unable to track them after they left the course). I recruited all the new full-time employees at Midwestern Financial to participate in the study at time 3 (regardless of where they interned). Again, a Midwestern Financial manager forwarded an email that I wrote to 34 new full-time employees, which asked them to volunteer for a University research study. At time 3, 21 full-time employees at Midwestern Financial (62% response rate) responded to the final questionnaire, and I interviewed each of them after their fourth week of work. Because only 21 people participated in Time 3, I did not use this quantitative data in my analysis. I chose to conduct time 3 interviews after four weeks because, at that time, participants had completed two weeks of training and two weeks of working in their role, so they would be able to reflect on their experiences as a full-time employee, but they would still be newcomers. About half (*n* = 9) of the time 3 participants had interned at Midwestern Financial, and the other 12 participants had interned at other organizations before working full-time at Midwestern Financial. This mix between new full-time employees who had interned at the same organization and those who interned at other companies helped me to compare the effects of a range of internships upon organizational encounter. Table 3.3 summarizes the number of questionnaires and interviews I collected from participants at Midwestern Financial at times 1, 2, and 3. Next, I explain the qualitative and quantitative data I collected in more detail.

Table 3.3: Midwestern Financial Participants' Response Rates

	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3	
	n	Response Rate	*n*	Response Rate	*n*	Response Rate
Questionnaire	18	72%	22	88%	21	62%
Interview	12	48%	12	48%	21	62%

Qualitative Data

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with interns at Midwestern Financial and interns taking the internship course at the beginning of their internships (time 1) and after their internships (time 2). Then, I interviewed full-time employees at Midwestern Financial after they began their new permanent jobs (time 3). I interviewed Midwestern Financial participants in closed-door conference rooms. I interviewed participants in the internship course on the phone, which was not ideal, but this method served as the "next best thing to being there" (Weiss, 1994, p. 59) because students enrolled in the internship course were distributed throughout the United States.

In the open-ended interviews, I followed a protocol of questions that asked respondents to express their opinions or attitudes, though I allowed flexibility for probes (Charmaz, 2006) and followed up with questions to help respondents extend information and fill in detail (Weiss, 1994). I created an interview guide (see Appendix B) with certain areas to cover in the interview so that I could grasp key topics (e.g., background, socialization, identification) “at a glance,” and then I developed specific questions that corresponded with each area (Weiss, 1994, p. 48). During my interviews, I glanced occasionally at the interview protocol for reference, but I avoided looking too closely at questions, which would have interrupted the flow of the interview (Weiss, 1994). I audio recorded each interview, which lasted approximately 50 minutes, and later transcribed the interviews for analysis, resulting in 671 single-spaced pages of text (294 pages at time 1, 163 pages at time 2, and 214 pages at time 3).

Observations

To supplement these interviews, I observed participants across multiple contexts. First, I observed Midwestern Financial interns at key events in the beginning and end of their internship program. At the start of the summer (time 1), I attended a welcome party and a three-day orientation for interns. Because there were two waves of incoming interns, I visited two different orientation sessions, one in May and another in June. At the end of the summer (time 2), Midwestern Financial interns presented their projects to managers and senior leaders on their team, and I also observed three of these presentations. Second, I attended a two-week intensive training for new full-time employees at Midwestern Financial (time 3). During this training, new employees received an overview of the financial services industry, watched presentations of business unit summaries, heard advice from executive vice presidents of the company, and engaged in networking and teambuilding exercises.

Throughout my observations, I took fieldnotes of what I learned throughout my experiences and activities (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Later, I typed these notes into

68 single-spaced pages of text, which helped add back any missing content from my notes (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). To gain background information and examine what kind of material Midwestern Financial provided to interns and full-time employees, I also read relevant documents (e.g., orientation handbooks, presentation materials) to "understand how such documents are constructed, read, and interpreted my members" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 139).

My Role as a Qualitative Researcher

Throughout my interviews and observations, I remained conscious of my role as a researcher and took steps to establish validity, defined as "how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 124-125). To begin, I used triangulation as a validity procedure, not only in that I gathered both quantitative and qualitative data, but also via my use of multiple qualitative methods (e.g., interviews, observations, documents) and sources of information (e.g., persons, times, places) to make sense of my data (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Miles et al., 2013).

Moreover, I was aware that respondents may have presented their responses in a positive light because I asked people for their opinions, attitudes, and evaluations (Weiss, 1994). I made sure to develop rapport with participants (a "prerequisite to gaining solid data," according to Charmaz, 2006, p. 19) so they would feel free to disagree or express negative thoughts. Scholars have also noted that oftentimes participants feel compelled to present themselves or their organization in favorable ways (Kvale, 1996; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), and I recognized this could particularly be an issue when interviewing interns who were vying for full-time positions. Participants may have been concerned that I would report their comments (e.g., “orientation was boring”) to organizational leaders (Adler & Adler, 2002), which might have affected their likelihood of receiving a full-time position at the company. Thus, I assured participants that their responses would not be directly shared with their employer, gave them the opportunity to create their own pseudonyms to ensure anonymity, and explained that I would be the only one to hear the audio recording. At Midwestern Financial, I held interviews in private conference rooms, since context and situation affect interviews (Weiss, 1994), and I explained that I would only share participants’ opinions with management as a whole, with no specific names. During observations, I also distanced myself from Midwestern Financial human resources staff and managers of the leadership program to avoid participants seeing me as part of the organization. I was also aware that my personality and appearance (as a young female who dressed similar to interns) served as factors in my fieldwork (Punch, 1994), because these aspects might have made it easier for me to fit in with interns.

Qualitative Analysis

I analyzed qualitative data using grounded theory with three major steps (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)[2]. First, I engaged in open coding, assigning text to initial emergent categories using the constant comparative method:

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[2] Like many scholars who use grounded theory, I explain my coding process as somewhat orderly and sequential, despite the fact that this approach is “not entirely a linear process” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 58) and that I was “not rigidly confined to one procedure at a time or to undertaking them in any particular order” (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 173).

> As the researcher moves along with analysis, each incident in the data is compared with other incidents for similarities and differences. Incidents found to be conceptually similar are grouped together under a higher-level descriptive concept. (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 73)

In this initial step of “moving beyond concrete statements in the data to making analytic interpretations” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43), I read through every transcript, coding all instances when participants talked about learning about and adapting to the organization, their identification, and their successes (or blunders) upon full-time employment. I attached codes to data “chunks” of varying size (Miles et al., 2013, p. 71) by comparing events/actions/interactions with others for similarities and differences, grouping them together to form categories, and giving conceptual labels to each code (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I categorized some comments under multiple codes, such as the phrase “They go by OPCE for short. That’s... how everything was presented on signatures for their emails,” which I coded as “learning jargon” and “learning by email.” From this process, I generated 55 open codes relevant to my conceptual framework.

Beginning with this first coding step, I also wrote memos, an “integral part of doing grounded theory,” according to Corbin and Strauss (1990, p. 10). When writing memos, I noted my thoughts about comparisons and connections between codes, which helped to elevate the abstraction of my ideas (Charmaz, 2006). I also wrote memos to help “relieve the conflict” in my thinking (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 107), as the following short memo demonstrates:

> Interestingly, interns are quite similar to temporary employees (e.g., hourly, seasonal, no benefits), and the identification literature suggests that temporary workers are given fewer opportunities for identification. Yet this quote is a great example of how internships offer *more* opportunities for identification. This may offer a unique distinction between internships and temporary workers in terms of their ability to foster identification with an organization.

As scholars have encouraged, I wrote memos, ranging from a paragraph to page-length treatments, throughout the research process, from data collection, coding, and drawing conclusions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Miles et al., 2013).

Second, I conducted axial coding, which involved “integrating categories and their properties” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 106). Here, I looked for connections between categories and collapsed codes into broader themes that spanned categories. For example, I combined the initial categories of “internet,” “social media,” and “email” into the axial code “technology.” As I consolidated categories, they became more theoretical and more abstract (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This phase of coding resulted in 15 axial codes.

Third, I reviewed the research questions guiding my study and further collapsed these 15 axial codes through selective coding, “the process by which *all* categories are unified around a ‘core category…’ [which] represents the central phenomenon of the study (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 14). In this step, I used constant comparison to relate 15 axial codes into three, more abstract core categories. The first core category addressed the first research question, “learning and adapting during internships,” and encompassed the dimensions (four axial codes) and sources (four axial codes) of learning about and adapting to organizations and vocations. The second core category addressed the second research question regarding the “process of identification” and included five axial codes.

The third core category sought to answer the third research question about the “impact on full-time employment,” which encompassed two axial codes. Once I identified these three core categories, I reexamined the data’s fit/misfit to ensure the best explanation of these research questions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In addition to collecting qualitative data and using grounded theory to analyze participants’ responses, I also gathered quantitative data from interns and full-time employees.

Quantitative Data

I collected quantitative data from these same participants’ to measure the change in specific variables (organizational socialization and identification) over time. I emailed participants a link to take 3 identical online questionnaires, allowing them two weeks to respond at each time point. The professor of the internship course awarded students a pass/fail grade for their participation, and Midwestern Financial provided an iPad drawing and $20 gift cards to interns who completed both time 1 and time 2 questionnaires (but gave no incentive at time 3).

Measures

To begin, I collected demographic information as control variables, including age, sex, education, business division, office size, work status (full- or part-time), and salary (paid or unpaid). Table 3.4 summarizes descriptive statistics for these demographic variables.

Table 3.4: Descriptive Statistics of Participants' Demographic Variables

Demographic Variables	
Age	*M = 23 (SD = 4.5)*
Sex	
Male	44%
Female	56%
Education	
Completed Sophomore Year	< 2%
Completed Junior Year	65%
Completed College Degree	26%
Completed Some Graduate School	3%
Completed Graduate Degree	5%
Business Division	
Finance	< 2%
Marketing	66%
Operations	31%
Other	< 2%
Office Size	*M = 1534 (SD = 1281)*
Work Status	
Full-Time	69%
Part-Time	31%
Salary	
Paid	83%
Unpaid	17%

N = 66

I also used two measures that had been validated in previous studies: organizational socialization and organizational identification. Participants answered items on 5-point, Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Appendix C lists specific questionnaire items (no items were reverse coded).

The first measure assessed participants' organizational socialization before and after their internships with Gailliard, Myers, and Seibold's (2010) Organizational Assimilation Index. Gailliard and colleagues' (2010) index measures socialization via seven dimensions: familiarity with coworkers (three-item scale), familiarity with supervisors (three-item scale), acculturation (four-item scale), recognition (four-item scale), involvement (three-item scale), job competency (four-item scale), and role negotiation (three-item scale), and the authors have validated these scales through exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (α = .79 to .95).

In this study, the familiarity with coworkers scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 63% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.49, *SD* = .69, *N* = 37, and a Cronbach's α = .68 at time 1. At time 2, the familiarity with coworkers scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 71% of the variance, and had a *M* = 4.07, *SD* = .60, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .78. The familiarity with supervisors scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 84% of the variance, and had a *M* = 2.94, *SD* = 1.12, *N* = 37, and a Cronbach's α = .92 at time 1. At time 2, the familiarity with supervisors scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 81% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.71, *SD* = .91, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .87. The acculturation scale in this study reflected a single factor, accounted for 55% of the variance, and had a *M* = 4.34, *SD* = .48, *N* = 38, and a

Cronbach's α = .75 at time 1. At time 2, the acculturation scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 81% of the variance, and had a *M* = 4.45, *SD* = .51, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .85. The recognition scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 88% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.70, *SD* = .99, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .94 at time 1. At time 2, the recognition scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 76% of the variance, and had a *M* = 4.17, *SD* = .67, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .87. The involvement scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 73% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.68, *SD* = .88, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .81 at time 1. At time 2, the involvement scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 78% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.92, *SD* = .88, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .86. The job competency scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 59% of the variance, and had a *M* = 2.80, *SD* = .87, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .77 at time 1. At time 2, the job competency scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 78% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.41, *SD* = .81, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .72. In this study, the role negotiation scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 76% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.23, *SD* = .85, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .85 at time 1. At time 2, the role negotiation scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 69% of the variance, and had a *M* = 3.66, *SD* = .68, *N* = 38, and a Cronbach's α = .77.

The second measure assessed participants' perception of organizational identification with a modification of Cheney's (1982) Organizational Identification Questionnaire. This shorter, four-item version of the identification instrument produced reliabilities ranging from .75 to .96 in previous studies (Scott & Fontenot, 1999; Scott &

Stephens, 2009; Stephens & Dailey, 2012). In this study, the identification scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 68% of the variance, and had a $M = 4.00$, $SD = .61$, $N = 38$, and a Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$ at time 1. At time 2, the identification scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 66% of the variance, and had a $M = 3.91$, $SD = .69$, $N = 38$, and a Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 summarize reliabilities and descriptive statistics from both the socialization and identification measures.

In this chapter, I have described various details about my study, including the research site, timeline, participants, and the qualitative and quantitative methods I used. My findings, which I discuss in the following chapter, demonstrate the importance of internships as a unique prior experience that affects organizational encounter in distinct ways.

Chapter 4: Findings

Data collected from interviews, observations, and questionnaires revealed a complex relationship between anticipatory socialization, interns' organizational identification, and success in full-time employment. This study sought to understand how and to what extent internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization, rather than just function as a microcosm of socialization. In general, quantitative and qualitative data suggested that participants learned about and adapted to organizations and vocations during their internships, but organizational and individual factors created tensions that inhibited interns from fully incorporating organizations into their identities. In other words, interns experienced socialization, but not organizational identification. Upon full-time employment, participants' internship experiences influenced newcomers' experiences in distinct ways—new employees who had interned at Midwestern Financial gained an upper hand from their organizational socialization, whereas participants who interned at other organizations reaped benefits from vocational socialization upon encounter. Before explaining these findings in detail, I will explain the data screening process I used for quantitative data.

Preliminary Analyses

Before analyzing quantitative data, I screened the data for outliers and normality. First, I examined *z*-scores to check for univariate outliers. None of the *z*-scores held absolute values greater than 3.29 and examination of the histograms revealed continuity, so I concluded that no outliers existed in the data (Field, 2009). I also checked for the presence of multivariate outliers by computing the Mahalonobis distance (D^2) of each case, which is a multidimensional version of a *z*-score. The largest D^2 in the data was .01, which is well above the .001 significance threshold of a multivariate outlier (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2006), so I concluded that none of the cases were outliers.

Second, to check that the distribution of scores was approximately normal, I looked at the values of skewness and kurtosis. Inspection of the data and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests did indicate some violations of the normality assumption, but *F* tests are robust to departures from normality when the data do not demonstrate platykurtosis (which was the case with this data) (Olson, 1976). Based on these acceptable kurtosis values and evidence of moderate non-normality, I did not transform the variables.

In addition to screening the data, I also conducted preliminary analysis to ensure that each scale was measuring one factor. I did not use any scales as a combined measure, so I conducted a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation for each of the seven socialization scales and the organizational identification scale. I used the Kaiser criterion to choose the number of factors for each scale, which states that a factor's eigenvalue should be greater than 1 (Kaiser, 1960).

For the familiarity with coworkers scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 63% of the variance at time 1 and 71% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .70 or above at both times, and the Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded $\alpha = .68$ at time 1 and $\alpha = .78$ at time 2.

For the familiarity with supervisors scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 84% of the variance at time 1 and 81% of the variance at time 2, and the factor loadings for each item were .86 or above at both times. The Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .92 at time 1 and α = .87 at time 2.

For the acculturation scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 55% of the variance at time 1 and 81% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .79 or above at both times, and the Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .75 at time 1 and α = .85 at time 2.

For the recognition scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 88% of the variance at time 1 and 76% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .85 or above at both times, and the Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .94 at time 1 and α = .87 at time 2.

For the involvement scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 73% of the variance at time 1 and 78% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .81 or above at both times, and the Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .81 at time 1 and α = .86 at time 2.

For the job competency scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 59% of the variance at time 1. The factor loadings for each item were .59 or above at time 1. The Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .77. At time 2, however, two factors emerged, and the reliability of the scale was very low (α = .52). Specifically, items 18 and 19 loaded on a separate factor, and reliability statistics showed that if those items were dropped, the scale reliability would have also improved. Thus, I removed item 18, "I can do others' jobs, if I am needed" and item 19, "I have figured out efficient ways to do my work," from both time 1 and 2 job competency scales. Deleting these two items greatly improved the scale and factor structure at time 2 (all items loaded on one factor, which explained 78% of the variance), and the resulting reliability at time 2 yielded a α = .72. I justified this decision not only through the statistical analyses, but it was also conceptually realistic to assume that those items are likely less relevant when a person is in an internship position as opposed to a full-time job.

For the role negotiation scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 76% of the variance at time 1 and 69% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .77 or above at both times. The Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .85 at time 1 and α = .77 at time 2.

For the identification scale, all items loaded onto a single factor that explained 68% of the variance at time 1 and 66% of the variance at time 2. The factor loadings for each item were .57 or above at both times. The Cronbach's alpha measure of internal reliability yielded α = .82 at time 1 and α = .84 at time 2. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 summarize reliabilities, descriptive statistics, and skewness and kurtosis results from this data.

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics of Scales at Time 1

					Skewness		Kurtosis	
	N	α	*M*	*SD*	Statistic	*SE*	Statistic	*SE*
Familiarity w/Coworkers	37	.68	3.49	.69	-.34	.39	-.28	.76
Familiarity w/Supervisors	37	.92	2.94	1.12	-.09	.39	-1.03	.76
Acculturation	38	.75	4.34	.48	-.58	.38	.09	.75
Recognition	38	.94	3.70	.99	-1.60	.38	2.76	.75
Involvement	38	.81	3.68	.88	-.55	.38	.78	.75
Job Competency	38	.77	2.80	.87	.25	.38	-.35	.75
Role Negotiation	38	.85	3.23	.85	.22	.38	.26	.75
Identification	38	.82	4.00	0.61	-0.36	0.38	-0.26	0.75

Table 4.2: Descriptive Statistics of Scales at Time 2

					Skewness		Kurtosis	
	N	α	*M*	*SD*	Statistic	*SE*	Statistic	*SE*
Familiarity w/Coworkers	38	.78	4.07	.60	-.48	.38	.29	.75
Familiarity w/Supervisors	38	.87	3.71	.91	-1.07	.38	1.03	.75
Acculturation	38	.85	4.45	.51	-.22	.38	-1.14	.75
Recognition	38	.87	4.17	.67	-.62	.38	.27	.75
Involvement	38	.86	3.92	.88	-1.00	.38	1.08	.75
Job Competency	38	.72	3.41	.81	-.28	.38	.95	.75
Role Negotiation	38	.77	3.66	.68	.35	.38	-.40	.75
Identification	38	.84	3.91	.69	-.74	.38	1.31	.75

Now that I have explained these preliminary analyses, I will discuss my findings in more detail. First, I explain how participants learned about and adapted to organizations and vocations during their internships. This section addresses Hypothesis 1, which I answered through quantitative analysis, and Research Question 1, which I addressed with qualitative analysis. Second, I explain the identity tensions people experienced throughout their internships. This section addresses Hypothesis 2, which I answered through quantitative analysis, and Research Question 2, which I addressed with qualitative analysis. In the third and final section of the findings, I discuss Research Question 3, the impacts that internships have on full-time employment, which emerged through qualitative analysis.

Internships: A Breeding Ground for Socialization

Internships and Organizational Socialization

Hypothesis 1 predicted that people's organizational socialization, comprised of their familiarity with coworkers, familiarity with supervisors, acculturation, recognition, involvement, job competency, and role negotiation, would increase after an internship. After screening and preparing the quantitative data, I conducted within-subjects, repeated measures ANOVAs to test each part of Hypothesis 1. Internships had a significant effect on people's familiarity with coworkers, $F(1, 36) = 17.97$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .33$, power = .99; familiarity with supervisors, $F(1, 36) = 8.45$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .19$, power = .81; recognition, $F(1, 37) = 6.01$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, power = .67; job competency, $F(1, 37) = 20.12$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .35$, power = .99; and role negotiation, $F(1, 37) = 11.48$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .24$, power = .91. However, internships did not have a significant effect on acculturation, $F(1, 37) = 1.55$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, power = .23 or involvement, $F(1, 37) = 1.68$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, power = .24. In sum, people's familiarity with coworkers, familiarity with supervisors, recognition, job competency, and role negotiation significantly increased after their internship. People began their internships with relatively high acculturation and involvement, which did not significantly increase after their internship. Table 4.3 summarizes each socialization dimension before and after participants' internships. For significant relationships, effect sizes were small to moderate, and all partial *eta* squared (η^2) values met the .14 cutoff criteria (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.3: Comparisons of Dimensions of Socialization Across Time

	Time 1		Time 2				
Dimension of Organizational Socialization	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*F*	Partial η^2	Power
Familiarity w/ Coworkers	3.49	.69	4.05	.58	17.97***	.33	.99
Familiarity w/ Supervisors	2.94	1.12	3.68	.91	8.45**	.19	.81
Acculturation	4.34	.48	4.45	.51	1.55	.04	.23
Recognition	3.70	.99	4.17	.67	6.01*	.14	.67
Involvement	3.68	.88	3.92	.88	1.68	.04	.24
Job Competency	2.82	.87	3.41	.81	20.18***	.35	.99
Role Negotiation	3.23	.85	3.66	.68	11.48**	.24	.91

*** $p < .001$
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$

In sum, these quantitative results showed the effect of internships on people’s socialization. Qualitative data also suggested that internships increased participant’s organizational and vocational socialization, which I discuss next. I present the findings for Research Question 1 in two sections. First, I discuss how individuals experienced socialization during their internships by describing the four dimensions of anticipatory socialization. Next, I illustrate the four sources through which interns learned about and adjusted to organizations and vocations.

Dimensions of Learning and Adapting during Internships

Culture. Interns learned about and settled into organizational and occupational cultures in four ways. First, people *observed and enacted behavior* in the organization. Participants mentioned seeing and hearing about how people typically acted, thought, dressed, and communicated in and outside of work. Before starting her internship at a fashion magazine, Cameron learned what people wore to work by looking at pictures of magazine events online, and Stefan watched a video during his on-site visit that “showed some cool footage of them playing volleyball and stuff they did for fun.” People also absorbed acceptable and unacceptable behavior by interning in the organization. At Midwestern Financial, Maria soon learned about “Midwestern Financial time,” which made it admissible to arrive five minutes late to meetings. In addition to knowing acceptable behaviors, interns also adapted their behavior to fit norms, which demonstrated their socialization. For example, Tiffany observed that “Everyone gets to the office and prepares their coffee and their breakfast” and adapted to this norm by noting, “I have actually started bringing my breakfast.”

Second, interns *adopted jargon* of their organizations and vocations during anticipatory socialization. Some participants absorbed organization- or industry-specific language through researching the company. Christian, for instance, learned that the four letters in the company's name stood for the four founders. Interning in the organization helped people adopt jargon, too. As Jennifer explained:

> When they gave me my job description, I would tell people… but I had no idea what I was saying…. [Then my manager] took me to all of his meetings and most of it went right over my head because it is unbelievable the amount of acronyms and abbreviations that you have to get down. But now I can hear myself speaking the lingo sometimes... I had this moment when I was explaining to my parents the promotion that I've helped with—I kept using the acronyms and they were lost without them. I had to back up and explain myself.

Almost unconsciously, participants picked up and began using jargon, which demonstrates that they not only learned about the company, but their language shift indicated that they adapted to the organization as well.

Third, participants *accepted policies* during their internships. Policies included the norms of how things were done and included stated as well as unstated rules in the organization. During career fairs and interviews, interns heard about informal hierarchies, including who to contact to get things accomplished, as well as norms about office routines. Cameron remembered:

> During my interview they were telling me my office at work would be right outside of [the CEO's] office, so they were saying "You know, she's always around, she's always watching, and so we have to try to keep our voices down low."

Through interning in the organization, people also learned which rules could be broken and implicit policies that had to be followed. Interns became aware of some procedures, like answering the phone, by making mistakes. As Jacqueline recalled, “You do it wrong once or twice and then you learn really quickly.” After learning organizational rules, interns adapted their behavior to fit policies. Allison, for instance, found it hard to acclimate to working full days with a structured schedule:

> The biggest thing is just getting used to waking up early and getting sleep and getting used to that new schedule coming from college. It’s definitely an adjustment… working 9 o’clock to 6 o’clock, a full day.

Interns adapted to policies by following rules and being aware when they broke protocol. Jennifer explained:

> Day one of orientation, they said, “No pictures inside. You must have approval to take pictures,” and I was nervous because I had asked someone to take a picture of me with my badge so I could send it to my parents on my iPhone. So I had this mental panic attack that I had already broken the rules.

Learning and adapting to policies helped interns fit in (or feel deviant) and contributed to their organizational and vocational socialization.

Fourth, participants learned about and adapted to the organization’s mission and *assumed values*. Prior to their internship, almost all the participants read about their organization’s values via online material, which frequently included pictures and employee quotes that corresponded with the company’s principles. News articles also confirmed espoused values, as Franklin said in the following example:

> *Franklin*: I did Google "Midwestern Financial" to look for recent news articles, just to see if there is anything I probably should know that has happened in the last couple days…. There was something about student loans and something about home loans, new acquisitions they're trying to get.
>
> *Interviewer*: What impressions did that give you about the company?
>
> *Franklin*: That they were innovative, which is one of the values. So it showed me they were sticking to their values, and not just putting out "these are our values" kind of thing.

Organizations visually displayed their mission and value statements as well. Through interning, participants saw the company's mission in action by seeing certain decisions made or resources allocated to various espoused values. Furthermore, adapting to organizations' values strengthened interns' socialization. Stefan, for example, accepted his company's "work hard, play hard" mentality.

Organization. Whereas the first dimension referred to more implicit, cultural knowledge, the second dimension involved people learning about and adapting to the organization itself. This dimension entailed socialization in terms of more explicit organizational information, which occurred in four ways. First, participants *followed facts* about the organization during their internship, including the organization's main functions, the organization's history, and basic organizational processes. Again, some of this background knowledge came from being a customer of the organization, which kept participants abreast of organizational undertakings. In addition, participants sought information about the company (e.g., history, financial performance) during their job search so they could demonstrate fit during their interview. Bianca remembered: "When I knew I was interviewing, I obviously did my research [and learned] that they won an antitrust lawsuit and changed 97% of retailers.” In addition to job fairs and interviews, certain organizations held on-campus information sessions to teach participants about the organization and various roles in it. Furthermore, interning gave participants comprehensive knowledge of the organization, such as company goals, past initiatives, and insider news about the firm. As Lisa noted:

> Before I was researching the company as a whole, through Google or LinkedIn or Facebook, that kind of thing. Now, I research more in depth about the company through the blog posts or different links on the website as opposed to a broad overview of the company.... When I was researching the company [before]… I just needed to know about the company as a whole before I start diving deeper into the nitty-gritty of everything.

Following organizational facts strengthened interns’ socialization because it helped interns see fit between themselves and the company. As Michael explained:

> Well first off I wanted to see their financial performance, for me that was to know if I was a good fit. I wanted to know if they are making money and whether or not they would be able to pay in the future…. Glassdoor reviews, employee reviews that you just find online, those helped me decide whether or not I was a good fit.

Second, participants *embraced the industry position* of the organization during their anticipatory socialization. Prior to their internship, participants learned how the company ranked among competitors or in their industry. Dane, for example, knew that his TV station was “considered a top 25 or 30 market in the country, out of 210.” In addition to knowing these objective rankings, participants also learned about the reputation of the organization and how it compared with other companies in the industry. Some of these perceptions were negative. Bianca, for example, said that “Some of the people from [my college]… made it seem like Midwestern Financial wasn't as good as some of the more well-respected financial or investor-type banks." Interning with the organization deepened interns' understanding of competitors and the organization's position. As Holly noted:

> I learned that it was almost controversial that they named the entire tower [after my company] because there are tons of businesses. This is a huge building, but they named it after the law firm, which is interesting because none of the other law firms in [the area] have [a building named after them], like [competitor] which is down the road.

Upon knowing their organization's position in the industry, interns adapted accordingly. For example, participants who interned at prestigious companies felt proud (or even thought they were bragging) to say the name of their organization when talking about their internships to friends. Thus, embracing the organization's reputation contributed to interns' socialization.

Third, participants *absorbed the structure* of the organization during their internship, which included the hierarchy of the company and details about the various departments, like how different business units worked with one another. One participant, Arjun, emailed employees in 12 different departments prior to beginning his internship to better understand the company's structure:

> I was trying to understand the structure of the company so that when I came for the interview I could be more specific in my questions. So I was asking everyone how their work ties together and who controls it and what happens where.

Internships gave participants a much better understanding of what each department did and the function of various groups in the company. Oftentimes, interns shadowed in other departments or attended events to learn the purpose of different departments. For Mason, learning the organizational structure was a priority; his "manager printed out the [slide] deck of all the chains of command" to show "this is who you will be working with, this is your team, this is the head of our team, this is our team's boss, you know, etcetera." Upon learning the organization's makeup, interns adapted to the organizational structure to perform work. Jeremy, for example, had to adjust to the hierarchy at Midwestern Financial, where he had to work slower and take "little steps at a time." Jeremy commented that the structure of the organization "surprised me a lot. I thought it would be faster." Bianca also found it hard to adapt to her company's bureaucratic structure. She explained: "I got annoyed because I couldn't go down to legal and knock on their door. I had to fill out a form for a 5-minute question. I just wanted to go downstairs and knock the door. But legal especially doesn't take kindly to that." Thus, learning about and adapting to the bureaucracy of organizations was part of interns' socialization.

Fourth, participants *understood clients* or vendors during their internship, which was an essential part of client-centered organizations. When seeking internships, many participants learned about the organization's customers through the organization's website or heard about the company's partners during the interview process. For example, Margaret was excited to join her advertising agency that had "some pretty prestigious clients." Interns understood the importance of organizations' customers, such as Angela, who read that her organization was "number one in customer loyalty." Also, many interns became socialized to clients or vendors through working with them. In addition to learning about vendors, interns also adapted to these outside partners, which demonstrated interns' socialization. Christian's advertising agency, for example, assigned Christian to manage one client that she built a relationship with throughout the summer. Because she became familiar with the client, she would approach her work with the consideration, "What in the long run is going to be more valuable for this project for this client?" Christian also mentioned that she would tailor her email communication to the client. Getting to know and adjusting to idiosyncrasies of various vendors socialized participants.

Members. Throughout anticipatory socialization, interns learned about and became close with two main groups of members in the organization: coworkers and supervisors. Interns *befriended coworkers* as they came to know characteristics about their peers in general (e.g., the employees are nice) and more specifically (e.g., Mary is nice). Most interns knew someone who already worked at the organization or had a mutual acquaintance with someone in the company. For instance, Gordon said that he "had met some of the guys through my dad," who worked in the same industry and was close friends with the Chairman of the Board. Moreover, participants commonly searched online for pictures or background information about their interviewers and became familiar with future coworkers during on-site visits. During her interview, Bianca thought that employees were all "on Zoloft or Prozac. Not literally, but they are like the happiest people ever." A few participants had negative experiences with coworkers and felt a lack of integration, which contributed to their socialization in a negative way. Zack, for example, was worried he might not get offered the internship, because he did not mesh with employees during his interview:

> She was just a tough interviewer. She was a foreign lady and very quantitative. She was really math and stats based, and she was really on my case about my math career and college. [I thought] I did not do too well.

Interning in the organization gave people a deeper understanding of coworkers, as they interacted with employees and learned about peoples’ reputations. Oftentimes, organizations assigned veteran employees to mentor interns and arranged special events for interns, solely for the purpose of informally interacting with others. Coworkers helped socialize interns by befriending them and helping them feel like they fit into the organization. Many participants mentioned this transition from “coworker” to “peer” in their work relationships. Lisa talked about how becoming friends with her coworkers, which contributed to her socialization:

> It allowed for the environment to be more comfortable. You have the ability to talk to your coworkers about what you are doing and what is going on outside of work. The thing that I really noticed about this office was that work is work, but friendships and your personal life are very important, too. So having the opportunity to share personal stories or worries, like one of them had a fight with her husband, it was just an opportunity for us to connect on a different level…. I think it really helped build relationships and ease some tension.

Interns felt socialized through learning about and integrating with coworkers because making friends helped them feel part of the community.

Participants also *related to supervisors* in a similar way to learning about and connecting to coworkers. Eliza noted that, at an internship fair, one recruiter prepared her for her future boss, Renee:

> They were able to give me a lot of really good pointers on, you know, just talking with Renee more and what she was like…. The girl who I met at the career fair had interned at Radio ATX before she was hired, so she knew Renee really well. And she was like, "Well, she's this tiny little woman. She's really intense so be prepared. She will just shoot questions right at you. She'll be really straight-forward. But don't be afraid to use examples from school"…. It made me feel a lot more comfortable.

Upon interning in the organization, people became more familiar with their supervisors, learning about their work preferences, idiosyncratic communication styles, pet peeves, and personal lives. Margaret discovered, for example, that her boss was "scatterbrained." After learning about their managers, interns could adapt to their supervisors and build relationships with their superiors, which strengthened interns' socialization. Bianca explained how her relationship with her manager, Trista, developed into a friendship during her internship, which helped Bianca in her role:

> Trista just did a great job of taking me in. She will come by my desk and be like "Coffee? Coffee?"…. We would talk about our personal lives, which has been nice for me…. We would have lunch and have that too. That's also helped us I think sit down [and get work done]. When we were taking on the role of creative services, we spent an hour drafting up our own banner ads and copy. I feel like we are at that level together.

Not all participants, however, had strong relationships with their supervisors. Maria, discussed how it was difficult to know her manager during her internship:

> My manager's name is Katherine and she meets with me every other week for 30 minutes. We don't have a very close relationship. This is a very busy time in her life. She is working on the TI project a lot. She has had to cancel some of our meetings because her schedule is completely packed…. Obviously 30 minutes every other week isn't that much to get to know someone.

For better or for worse, participants' relationships with their managers contributed to interns' socialization.

Vocation. The last dimension of anticipatory socialization included learning about and adapting to vocations, which occurred in four ways. First, interns *gained job competence* and adapted to organizational roles. Job competence consisted of knowing information about certain positions, including daily activities (meetings, updating spreadsheets, running errands, etc.), skills or knowledge required for the job, and best practices. Participants obtained knowledge of roles through job descriptions, interviews, talking with past and current employees, and reading about their work. In searching for role information prior to his internship, Michael found his department's Director through an online search: "He had a Twitter feed and he is always posting articles that are relevant. I was like, thank God, I'm going to know exactly what he wants me to know." During internships, coworkers trained participants on their jobs, which boosted vocational knowledge. Interns also used templates or viewed completed projects to gain proficiency in their role and attended meetings to learn about and adapt to their work. For example, in his work at a public relations firm, Lawton explained that "particularly with media clippings, if there is a certain format for a publication, I will pull up one that has been done previously just to see an example." Once participants learned what certain roles entailed, they had to adapt their behavior to perform those jobs. Sometimes, this behavior was different from interns' expectations. As Dane explained:

> I thought that when [sports broadcasters] got there, everything was prepared for them, and all they had to do was read off the Teleprompter. But as I learned from working, there is a lot more work that goes into it. You have to write a script, you have to be knowledgeable about everything you are reporting on and stuff like that…. There is a lot more that is done behind the scenes that people don't see.

Adapting to different jobs helped socialize interns and prepare them for a future role in that vocation. Stafan, for example, realized that marketing "is definitely not like *Mad Men* every day" and he had to complete considerable "repetitive work." Holly believed that her internship at a law firm would "help with a lot of the apprehension I would have if I was starting my first day as a clerk somewhere." Gaining competence and adapting to roles socialized participants into their vocation.

Second, participants *became involved* in their vocation, which entailed contributing and taking on extra work to learn and become familiar with different jobs. Because they were seeking full-time employment, participants went above and beyond during their internship, seeking additional ways to learn and contribute to their role. Many participants even expressed interest in doing work before their internship began to prepare themselves or get a head start on their projects. During their internships, many participants used the phrase "The more you put into it, the more you get out of it" to describe their rationale for over-involving themselves, even if they were not getting paid. Similarly, Christian said, "I think that is really important as an intern, being really involved and taking every opportunity you can." When interns became involved, they felt socialized. Eliza commented on how working hard helped her integrate into her role:

> Even when you're tired and your legs hurt, and you're sunburnt, [you have] to still be willing to work five more hours, you know? And if you have to stay late a couple hours, to be willing to do it, because it's hard work, and it's a long day and working takes a lot out of you…. And if your boss says, "Put this sign together," even if you've never done it before, to figure it out, and do it with a smile. And you enjoy it, which I do. I'm really enjoying it. So I guess I am a good fit because I don't mind working really, really hard when it comes down to it.

Eliza felt like she fit with her vocation because she adapted to different work scenarios and enjoyed doing her role despite various challenges. Too much involvement also socialized interns into vocations, but in a more negative way. When asked if there was anything from her internship that discouraged her from a marketing profession, Lisa said, "I can see how you could constantly be thinking about it. And that's one thing I'm trying to avoid when I have a job…. I could see how marketing could definitely carry over into your personal life. That scares me a little." Thus, becoming involved helped socialize interns to their vocation, for better or for worse.

Third, participants *negotiated roles* during their internships, often referring to the "balance" they sought to achieve between personal and organizational goals. Because internships are intended for training and learning purposes, some recruiters asked participants what jobs they wanted to do during their internships. Role negotiation was particularly prominent when the company had never had an intern fill a certain role before. For example, Carla explained how she and her manager negotiated the position:

> I was like, “I’m a communication major so I want to be able to have something to do with that in an internship”…. She definitely wanted me to feel like I was open to do that. But then also I have other responsibilities that aren’t exactly what I want to do. So, it’s a balance for sure.

During their internship, some participants felt as if they could freely ask for projects that sparked their interest, and their title as “intern” gave them more leeway than full-time employees to negotiate their job task because interns were considered vocational trainees. Others, like Jennifer, noted they were able to find more efficient methods than tenured employees and develop their role because they had “fresh eyes.” This negotiation helped interns feel integrated into their work because participants were “making an impact” on the organization while simultaneously gaining valuable experience their future jobs.

Fourth, participants *felt recognized* in their vocation. By feeling valued and that their work was important, interns felt accepted and acclimated to various roles. Angela claimed that during her interview, “I learned that Midwestern Financial loves its interns. They put us in a hotel and shuttled us back and forth.” Moreover, when participants completed meaningful work, they knew they would learn something about their vocation and felt connected to their role. Thus, participants were inclined to accept internships when the position entailed “real work” rather than “busy work” (e.g., filing, making coffee) that interns stereotypically perform. Interning in the organization also allowed for recognition, as interns felt like they were making a contribution. As Jennifer commented:

> [With] the amount of responsibility… I really feel like I am making a difference. I’m helping my manager. When I leave, I will have things to show for it…. Not only am I seeing it, but I’m having a say in it. And my opinions are valid…. They trust my judgment.

Furthermore, participants felt valued when organizational members offered positive feedback or displayed interns' work to others. For example, Dane, a sports broadcasting intern, saw that his media clip made it on TV, which fostered his socialization into the vocation because it made him feel like a "real" sports journalist.

In sum, participants' knowledge and adjustment to the organization during anticipatory socialization centered around four dimensions: culture, organization, members, and vocation. I turn now to explain the means through which participants learned about these dimensions.

Sources of Learning and Adapting during Internships

Technology. Interns predominantly used three technologies to learn about and adapt to their organization and vocation. First, participants used the *Internet* to learn about and adapt to the company. Interns browsed the organization's website, used search engines and Wikipedia to find information, and perused news articles. Participants also visited company review sites like Glassdoor to read experienced employees' ratings of organizations and salary information, which informed interns about the earning potential for different jobs. One participant commented on the content of such employee reviews:

> A lot of them are positive, but they're truthful. They are like, "It's an awesome place to work;" "It's casual;" "The commute is a pain in the butt, but other than that, it's a nice place." And other people are like, "Awesome benefits;" "You get a really awesome work-life balance;" "You don't get paid as much as some of the industry leaders, but it's a good company to work for."

Internet searches ranged from being broad, like the organization's name, to very specific, such as searching for specific terms in their job description. For example, Tiffany explained how she used the Internet for information about her law firm:

> I looked on their website just to see what they were all about and learn what their firm mainly deals with. What kind of cases, what kind of litigation…. I wanted to know what I was getting myself into. And if they have questions about the firm and what they did I didn't want to sound completely ignorant.

Although participants used the Internet less frequently after they began interning in the organization than before, some interns still mentioned using the Internet as a source for information during their internships, particularly when they did not want to "bother" managers or coworkers.

Second, participants used *social media* to learn and adapt. Similar to the Internet, social media were prominently used during the job seeking and the application processes. Participants, such as Lisa, admitted to "stalking" future coworkers and supervisors on social media sites like LinkedIn and Facebook to gather background information and peruse pictures of people. In addition, many interns followed the organization or employees on Twitter. During their internship, participants continued to connect with coworkers through social media and used Twitter to find work-related information. Ananya indicated that by following a coworker on Twitter, she was able to better learn about and adapt to her organization and vocation: "Actually the research person on my team has a research Twitter feed, so I have joined that.... It's mostly company stuff. For the most part, it's like articles that are related to our department." Participants also adapted to social media by including their internship positions on their social media (e.g., LinkedIn) profiles. Thus, social media served as a source of socialization.

Third, people used *email* to learn about and settle into the organization and their vocation. Prior to beginning their internship, participants used email frequently to communicate with current employees. Participants used email strategically, looking at who was copied on the email chain and then searching for additional information about those future coworkers and supervisors. As a case in point, Michael explained:

> Whoever was CC'd on emails, I first tried to find their title to figure out how important they were. And then if you can find out any personal interests about them, that's always [good], especially if you're applying for a job because you can tailor what you are saying to what they are going to want to hear, in terms of culture.

Upon interning in the company, participants continued to use email to gain knowledge about their jobs and the organization as a whole. Employees frequently sent work requests or instructions to interns through email, too.

People. Participants learned about and adapted to the organization and their roles from directly interacting with other people. I identified two main groups of people as sources of anticipatory socialization. First, interns mentioned the importance of past and current *employees* as a source of knowledge. An employee reached out to Zack, for example, to tell him about the internship:

> Actually, one of the current [full-time employees] went to [my college]… she was like, "What are you doing this summer? We have a cool internship I think you'd be interested in. I think you're a good fit. You'd make $15 an hour and your housing is paid for. And you get a project to run with all summer. So it is a pretty cool opportunity… I think you should apply."

Again, participants met employees during the recruitment process, who served as a predominant source of information for job seekers. During their internship, interns also affirmed their reliance on employees for information. In many cases, tenured employees would train interns or offer information through informal conversations.

Second, participants relied on *friends and family* as a source of information. Interns often turned to family members or friends to learn about their prospective employer or role. Although participants used this source less frequently once they began interning in the organization than before, a handful of participants still mentioned using friends and family to gain knowledge and acclimate to the company or an occupation. For instance, Maria, still relied on a friend for information and with help adapting to norms:

> I actually met one girl named Laura when I was abroad in Barcelona. She actually interned here the previous summer…. I keep in touch with her when I have questions with dealing with people who are way above me in management …. It was good to see how she dealt with those situations.

Thus, friends and family served as a source of socialization because they helped interns fit into their organizations and roles.

Recruitment and orientation. The third source of knowledge participants received came from recruitment and orientation efforts led by the organization. First, interns used the *interview* as a large source of information, which included all campus recruiting (e.g., career fairs, on-campus events), phone interviews, and on-site visits. As Dane explained, “When I interviewed, they pretty much told me what I was going to do, what they expected of me, so I knew it I was getting myself into.” Whereas some interviews provided interns with helpful information, a handful of participants reported having “bad interviews” that hindered their socialization. Tiffany said that her internship got started on the wrong foot because:

> I actually ended up interviewing with one of the lawyers that I wasn’t supposed to because the one that is in charge of the internship program was in a meeting. I don’t know if this guy just didn’t know how to interview properly or maybe he never interviewed anyone, but he didn’t have my resume ready and he didn’t seem prepared. It sort of seemed disrespectful but he did not take me seriously. He just blew through my resume—thankfully I had an extra copy with me—and he just looked at the bullet points, didn’t really let me elaborate on anything, and he was like, “Alright, it was nice meeting you.” It lasted maybe three minutes.

Michael had a similar experience to Tiffany and noted that he “was a little disappointed” that his organization didn’t consider his interview a priority, since “They were clearly looking at my resume for the first time when they sat down with me.”

Second, participants relied on *orientation* as an information source. Mason, for example, said that “During orientation, one of the first things he covered were their values.” In some organizations, human resources staff led orientation or training sessions, which initially gave interns a different portrayal of the organization or their team. As Jennifer commented:

> The first day I was really unimpressed with the person that gave us the orientation. That was really scary to me. Because I was worried that that’s what my summer would be like. He just belabored points…. [But then] I have been really, really impressed with a lot of people [who have] exceeded my expectations in terms of experience level and intelligence and ability to communicate.

Therefore, although recruitment and orientation were sources of learning and adapting, they may not have contributed to accurate perceptions.

Observation. Lastly, many participants learned about and adapted to organizations and vocations through observation. Participants made observations in three ways. First, people observed the organization's physical *space*. Many interns mentioned how the organization's neighborhood (downtown vs. suburbs), physical layout, and décor taught them about the organization and helped them adapt to the company. After interning in the organization, participants learned the function of various spaces and became accustomed to using them. Artifacts took on meaning, as Margaret recounted:

> There are these little alien figurines that I have seen lying around. I didn't know what they were. There was even one on my desk. But I figured out when we had a new hire about a month ago, someone was asking where the box of them was because they give them to every new employee when they start.

Second, interns learned about and adapted to the organization and their vocation through materials they were given throughout their role, such as *job binders and prior work*. Some organizations gave participants employee handbooks to read before their internship. The public relations firm where Lawton interned, for example, provided him a handbook that contained "basic information about what they expect from an intern, like professional behavior." During their internships, participants observed prior work that had been done and used materials that their coworkers had created in the past as a guide to successful work and behavior. Cameron, for instance, followed a "binder that has the list of email responses, which help guide you along just so you know what to say. If it's a basic general question like, 'Why should I have to submit a $250 PayPal fee?' or something like that, there is a response." Cameron turned to the binder as a source to learn about and adapt to her role.

Third, *experiences* before and during internships helped participants become familiar with organizations and vocations. Experiences prior to interning included consuming the organization's goods and services, or seeing advertisements about the company. For example, Jeremy thought it was important that he order one of his company's products before his internship:

> I really wanted to figure out… how is it? Do I think it could be improved? Because I didn't really want to get here and someone be like, how can we make the process better, and I don't know because I don't have the [product]. So I thought it was important to at least get one and then look at the tools they had for customers. How easy is it to use?

Moreover, interning in the organization provided participants with intimate experiences from which to learn. Participants became socialized through observing their surroundings (e.g., work practices, meetings, and the organization itself) and physically doing work in the organization. Jacqueline noted that after she knew "where everything was around the office and the order for doing things, I just felt like I belonged there more."

In conclusion, interns learned about and adapted to their organization and vocation in several ways. Table 4.4 summarizes these four dimensions and four sources of learning and adapting. Next, I move to discuss the second element of socialization, organizational identification, and the hypothesis and research question that explored identification during internships.

Table 4.4: Dimensions and Sources of Learning and Adapting during Internships

Dimensions				Sources			
Culture	Organization	Members	Vocation	Technology	People	Recruitment & Orientation	Observation
Observed & Enacted Behavior	Followed Facts	Befriended Coworkers	Gained Job Competence	Internet	Employees	Interview	Space
Adopted Jargon	Embraced Industry Position	Related to Supervisors	Became Involved	Social Media	Family & Friends	Orientation	Job Binders & Prior Work
Accepted Policies	Absorbed Structure		Negotiated Roles	Email			Experiences
Assumed Values	Understood Clients		Felt Recognized				

Contradictory Factors in the Process of Intern Identification

Internships and Organizational Identification

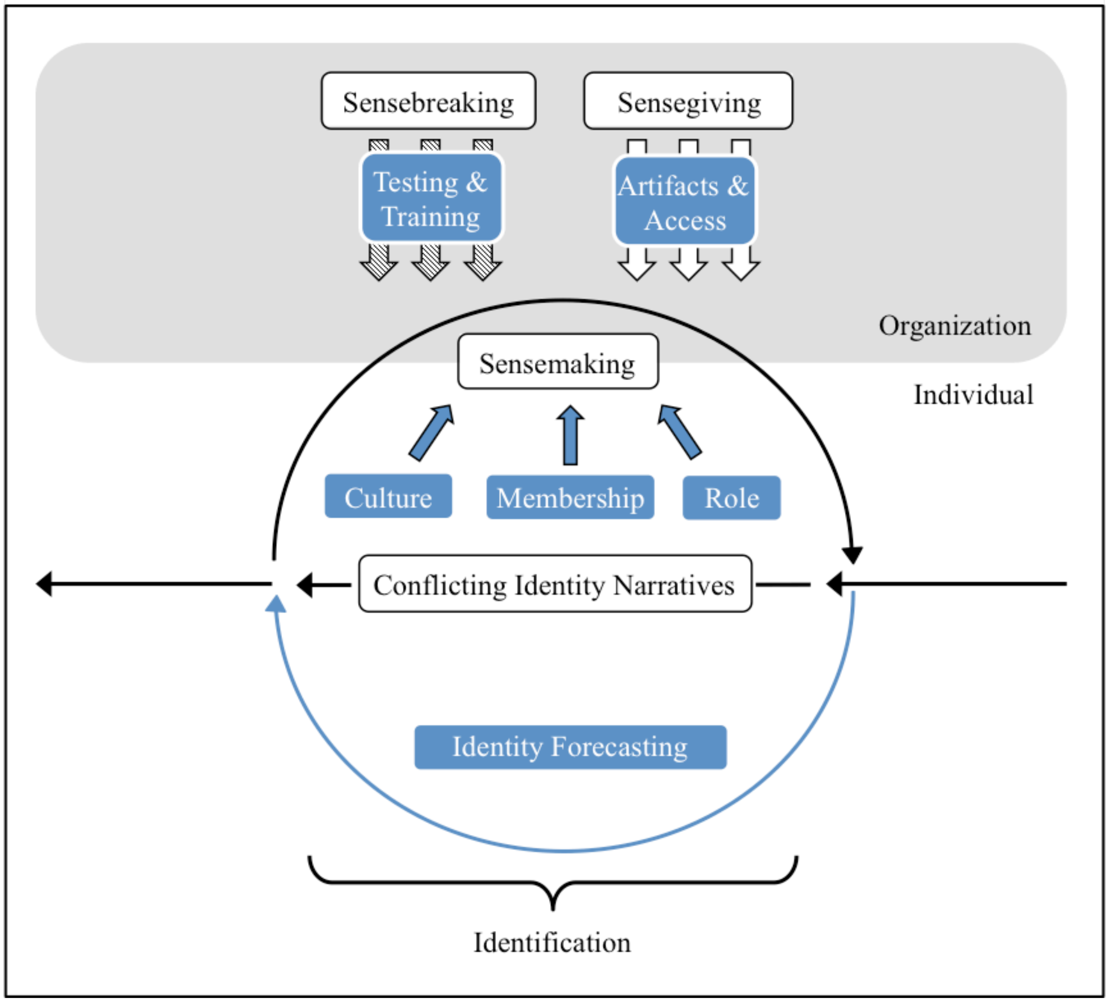
Hypothesis 2 predicted that organizational identification would significantly increase after an internship. I conducted a within-subjects, repeated measures ANOVA to test this hypothesis. Internships *did not* have a significant effect on organizational identification, $F(1, 37) = .49$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, power = .11. Although the low power in this analysis might have made it difficult to detect a true effect, the mean of organizational identification actually decreased over time, which does not support the direction of the proposed hypothesis. Participants felt a stronger sense of identification before their internship ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .61$) than after their internship ($M = 3.90$, $SD = .70$). Qualitative data, which I discuss next, explain why participants may have reported lower levels of identification after their internships.

The Process of Identification During Internships

Interns learned about and adapted to organizations and occupations during their internship; however, participants did not experience large improvements in organizational identification. In other words, internships socialized participants (by gaining knowledge and changing to fit organizations and vocations), but interns did not go as far as to incorporate organizations into their identity (considering themselves as “one” with the company).

Qualitative data revealed *conflicting identity narratives*, caused by tensions in organizational and individual factors that simultaneously encouraged and inhibited identification. Organizational *sensegiving* and individual *sensemaking* practices encouraged identity narratives of intern identification, but organizational *sensebreaking* and individual *identity forecasting* (projecting your identity into the future and foreseeing yourself as part/not part of that organization) inhibited intern identification. Ashforth and colleagues' (2008) presented four of these factors (identity narratives, sensegiving, sensemaking, and sensebreaking) in their model of how identifications formed, but these factors operated differently in the process of internships than full-time, paid employment. Also, identity forecasting is a factor that was unique to the process of identification during internships. Figure 4.1 displays the original Ashforth et al. (2008) model, along with the unique contribution of the factors in blue. Next, I explain how these factors—conflicting identity narratives, sensegiving, sensemaking, sensebreaking, and identity forecasting—worked against one another to create conflicting identifications during internships.

Figure 4.1: Process of Identification During Internships


Sensebreaking
Sensegiving
Testing & Training
Artifacts & Access
Organization
Sensemaking
Individual
Culture
Membership
Role
Conflicting Identity Narratives
Identity Forecasting
Identification

Conflicting identity narratives. The “heart” of identification lies in the cognition and value one places on membership (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 328). Communicating one’s identity—I am a part of this organization, and this organization is important to me—remains a key feature of identification (Scott et al., 1998). Data revealed conflicting identity narratives, in that some participants considered themselves part of the organization whereas others did not.

Some interns felt like they were part of their organizations and even began constructing their identity before they began their internship. Arjun “had the feeling, okay, I’m here for the summer” and felt like a member when he received his offer letter. Constructing identity narratives was complex, however, because people realized they were not actually “in” the organization yet. Christian, for example, explained that she felt like part of the company “in a way. Just in the mere fact that I have a position there. But, I mean, I guess I don’t feel like an integral part of it though. I just kind of feel like, okay, I’m a little piece of it. But very, very, very, very little. Like a crumb or something.” Similarly, Margaret waited to add her organization to her LinkedIn profile until “right after I started. Something about putting that I’ve interned there before I actually step in the office seems creepy.” Several weeks passed before other participants considered themselves members. When asked about her identity in the organization, Lisa constructed this narrative:

> I honestly feel like the first time I felt like a member is now… my fourth week. The first three weeks I was still trying to fit in, I was really nervous, and my friend was still interning there are so I kind of had her to lean on for comfort. But now that she is gone, I am on my own. I think this week is the first time I feel like I am part of the company.

Participants’ confirmed their identification with the organization by sharing identity narratives with others. Tiffany felt “honored” and thought it was “cool to say that you work at a law firm. And I like being a part of that atmosphere. I like being a part of the legal community.” Thus, some identity narratives displayed and reinforced participants’ organizational identification.

Other narratives, however, communicated an *absence* of organizational identification. Jeremy did not feel like he belonged because he had “an outsider’s point of view.” Moreover, Zack believed that interns were not members of the organization. When asked if he felt part of Midwestern Financial, Zack said, “I still don’t feel like I do [belong]…. I feel like as an intern, you do not really actually feel like you’re part of the place.” Tiffany held similar views, noting that she could not truly be part of the legal community as an intern:

> I think I’m in the process of joining the community. I think in order to be truly a part of the community, you have to be an attorney yourself…. But, I like how they are preparing us. John, one of the head lawyers, is really passionate about the fact that he wants us to know that we are getting ourselves into…. That is why he is putting on this internship. He is mentoring us to be a part of this community one day.

Thus, interns held contrasting identity narratives—some felt like members of the organization whereas others felt like outsiders. But how did interns create these different narratives? Conflicting organizational and individual factors contributed to interns’ varying levels of identification. Specifically, two factors— sensegiving and sensemaking—encouraged organizational identification, and two factors—sensebreaking and identity forecasting—inhibited intern identification.

Sensegiving. Organizations engaged in sensegiving to promote interns' organizational identification. Sensegiving made participants feel part of the organization and allowed interns to adopt the organization's identity. Two organizational practices encouraged sensegiving during anticipatory socialization.

First, organizations *offered symbolic artifacts* to allow interns to try out identities. Some participants had used the company's products or services in the past, which made them feel connected with the organization. For example, Mason, who interned at Midwestern Financial, remembered his parents using the company's credit card. Also, organizations often gave out promotional gifts, such as stickers, umbrellas, or mugs with the company's logo during recruiting events. After Jeremy accepted his internship, the company sent him a package filled with company-branded trinkets and a note wishing him luck on his final exams. He recalled:

> It was not something that they had to do, especially the finals gift. They didn't have to do that at all. It was just nice to know that they were still thinking about it. Even though we weren't there yet, they were preparing for us.

The gift symbolized that the organization was expecting him, which made Jeremy feel like he belonged. Similarly, Sharon's team took her to lunch on her first day, which encouraged her to feel part of the group. Organizations also offered participants t-shirts, another symbolic artifact that urged interns to "try on" identities.

Second, organizations engaged in sensegiving by *granting participants access* in various ways. Organizations offered privileges to certain areas of the campus (e.g., buildings, rooms), company perks, parking, email, and shared folders or drives. By giving participants access, companies encouraged a feeling of belongingness. Angela recalled her excitement when interviewers told her that she had permission to use the company's extravagant on-site fitness center. Tiffany's law firm gave her an access badge to enter the building for her first day as an intern, which she described as "really important because I felt official, like I was supposed to be there."

When organizations granted participants access during their internships, interns felt "allowed" to be part of the organization. For example, Zack commented that interns "have as much privilege and access as about anyone else around here." Eliza, who interned at a radio station, also talked about wearing her badge at radio-sponsored events, which fostered identification with the company, because with "my badges… I get to be a part of this awesome thing. People are asking, 'Why do you have a staff badge?' I get to be like, 'because I work for Radio ATX. I work for the people that make this happen.'"

In sum, organizations offered symbolic artifacts and granted interns access to the company, which fostered identification and allowed participants to incorporate the organization as part of their self-concept. This sensegiving stimulated individuals to adopt identities, which related to the next factor of the identification process: sensemaking.

Sensemaking. Participants projected certain identities into various environments and engaged in sensemaking—interpreting, reflecting, and observing the reactions or consequences of performing different identities. During their internship, participants made sense of culture, membership, and roles, which fostered organizational identification.

Making sense of culture. Participants enacted and made sense of three aspects of organizational culture: values, norms, and identity markers. First, participants explained how they made sense of the organization's cultural *values* by reading company websites, seeing the organization's ideals on display during their visits or tours, as well as hearing about proclaimed principles at their interview or orientation with the company. For example, Allison, an intern who valued volunteering, was attracted to a regional bank because of their community outreach efforts. Eliza also enacted and made sense of the company's values, which were in line with her own:

> A lot of [the values] include to work really hard and be willing to admit that you're wrong, which is something that I live by. I've made it my goal to be humble and say when I'm wrong. A lot of what Radio ATX believes in is very similar to how I am, like putting in the extra mile and being humble and being supportive of people around you. That is very much how I believe and how I work.

Participants felt identified with organizations in which they could enact their beliefs and be supported by like-minded organizational members.

Second, participants performed and made sense of cultural *norms*. Interns observed norms during their interviews, and when participants saw they could enact certain behaviors, it reinforced their desire to belong. For example, Angela revealed:

> I wanted to work at a place where everyone liked each other and were friends, and it really stuck out to me, like I went back home and I was really happy about the interview. I really wanted it at this point! It just made me like Midwestern Financial even more.

Similarly, when Eliza saw employees acting animated at a recruiting event, she remembered, “My initial reaction was I *want* to work here. I hope that I get it. This place sounds like a lot of fun to work.” Upon interning in the organization, participants also enacted and made sense of norms, which strengthened their identification. Stefan, for instance, found it easy to act out certain behaviors, which was a pleasant surprise:

> I did not know it was going to have such a Midwestern kind of vibe in the corporate culture. When I thought Midwestern Financial, I thought credit cards, and I thought big company, that kind of environment. But it feels like home here.

When participants found that their natural behavior matched organizational norms, people felt connected to the organization. Participants who had a harder time adjusting to norms, on the other hand, did not see themselves aligned with the culture. Mason described how his organized, timely personality did not fit with the loose norms at Midwestern Financial:

> I feel like the culture is not as structured as I would appreciate. Meetings can pop up at any random time…. and it can be fairly ambiguous with deadlines. I’m used to… finite deadlines with everything, if you don’t make them you are screwed, and if you do alright, get ready for the next one. I get told to do these assignments, but we don’t even talk about them sometimes…. It seems like a loosely structured work culture.

This “lax approach” did not align with Mason’s experience as a student athlete at a rigorous university; he described his internship as “unnerving.”

The third way in which participants enacted and made sense of the company’s culture was through projecting and observing cultural *identity markers*, such as people’s attire and business décor. At her interview, Lisa felt connected to the company because of its natural setting and relaxed dress code:

> The parking garage is across this bridge that's over this creek with all of these really pretty trees and water. So right when I got there, I was already excited because I'm a super outdoorsy person…. And then the office itself, all of the walls in the entrance are bright purple… and everyone was wearing jeans.

Similarly, Tiffany recounted how excited she was to work in an office downtown and "dress up" for work—identity markers that matched her personality:

> Their office is very clean and it definitely demonstrates this air of prestige, and I have never worked in a formal office like that before downtown.… Everyone was wearing suits and ties and heels. But I love dressing up. I love that I get to wear pencil skirts and heels.

When participants like Lisa and Tiffany could enact markers that aligned with their sense of self, this performance strengthened their identification.

Making sense of membership. In addition to performing culture, participants also enacted and made sense of organizational membership. By finding similarities with full-time employees and building relationships, people felt like members of the organization during their internships.

First, participants felt attached to the organization when their identities were *similar* to employees' identities. Before Gordon applied to work at his marketing job, Gordon's friend told him that most employees were young. Gordon felt like he would be similar to other coworkers because "It's a lot of young professionals." Through interacting with future coworkers, interns learned additional similarities. During interviews, recruiters often told participants they would “fit it” or would “get along” with others, such as Margaret, who commented:

> With my emails back and forth with the coordinator, she has definitely expressed that she is very excited about having me there... she replied back, “We are going to be really good friends,” and that was just a good sign.

Participants also enacted similarities during their internship. Lawton, who described himself as “ADD” because he hated “sitting there killing time,” felt identified with a public relations firm because full-time employees also went “about a mile a minute. They are very, very, very quick and are always moving.” When participants’ identities matched those of full-time employees in the company, they were able to enact membership and identify with the organization.

Second, participants formed *relationships* with employees and interpreted those relationships to make sense of their identity in the organization. Before applying for internships, most interns knew someone who currently or previously worked in the company. When people already knew employees, participants felt part of the organization before their internship. Interns also established relationships during their interviews, like Michael, who bonded with employees about college basketball during his interview. Furthermore, participants fostered deeper relationships with full-time employees throughout their internships, which strengthened their sense of oneness with the organization. At the end of her summer, Ananya observed, “I feel like I have made a lot of friends that are outside the interns, and I feel like people enjoyed my company around here. So I feel like I fit in.” Interns enacted their identity when meeting others, and full-time members affirmed participants' identity by befriending them. Participants who were not able to establish these bonds felt less connected to the company. For example, Cameron had a negative interaction with her boss, who "had a reputation for being crazy." Cameron explained, "My boss just came out and completely made fun of me. And she didn't even know who I was yet, but she was mocking the way I was answering the phone right back to me." This incident, as Cameron explained, shook her confidence in the organization and work relationships.

Making sense of roles. Participants also made sense of three aspects of their roles. First, participants explained how they enacted and made sense of their role *fit* during anticipatory socialization. Interns chose to enact roles that fit with their identity and would align with their future goals. Fatima, for example, accepted her internship at a realty company because the opportunity "was basically what I was looking for in an internship—interacting with people in a small organization and learning how to work in teams." For Margaret, working in human resources was a terrifying job, because Margaret did not want to fire people. A recruiter, however, convinced Margaret that she fit the role:

> She basically told me that a lot of people complain about human resources or kind of have a negative picture in their mind of what it looks like, but she said that she loved her job because it was at that specific company and she wouldn't do it anywhere else. So that was a clear sign to me that I would probably like it, too.

During their internships, participants also enacted and made sense of their role fit. Bianca, for example, was reluctant to work in marketing, but after enacting that role, she was “sure this is the right path” for her in the future. Because Bianca assessed her compatibility with this role during her internship, she felt a strong sense of identification.

Second, participants enacted and made sense of their internship *offer* for specific roles, which strengthened their identification with the organization. Some organizations recruited participants that had never applied for a position, which made interns feel connected to the company from the start. For example, Michael said, “It made me feel like they were aggressive, which I always like. It made me feel like somebody wants me, which is good.” Receiving an offer for a particular role and making sense of that process strengthened organizational identification. As Bianca explained:

> It made me really happy the day I got the offer… it was like feeling like you are part of a program and part of the company and that they wanted you. Because after rejections, you’re like, God I suck, this is the worst. But [the recruiter] Jenn … made me feel like I was smart.

In sum, when organizations presented interns an offer, participants felt supported in their organization.

Third, participants performed and made sense of their identities by *contributing* to their role. Holly, for example, felt identified with the organization when she could perform her role without asking questions. Holly felt like she belonged “after the first week [when] there was no more okay this is how you do this, this is how you do this. If they were like, ‘Hey can you do this?’ I knew how to do it.” Stefan also claimed that performing his internship and “doing some work” made him take pride in himself and the organization. Likewise, Michael reflected:

> I was tasked with presenting a couple of my manager’s slides.… They were asking me for my opinion. It’s not, “You’re an intern, this is what’s happening,” it’s, “What you think of this?” So as soon as I felt like I could contribute, I felt like I [belonged] here.

Through enacting their role and contributing to the organization, participants defined themselves in terms of the company. When interns received confirmation about their contributions, participants felt identified with the organization. However, some interns did not identify with the roles they enacted. Maria, who worked in analytics at Midwestern Financial, found out that she was not supposed to report any negative numbers: “When you report results, you spin them your way. So that I wasn’t super proud of.” Interns who felt identified with their role seemed eager to continue working at their company, but when Maria talked about her future plans, Maria said she was “not sure where I’ll be.”

In short, individuals made sense about organizations, members, and roles, and organizations engaged in sensegiving, and the presence of these factors fostered organizational identification. Two other factors—sensebreaking and identity forecasting—limited interns’ sense of identification.

Sensebreaking. During anticipatory socialization, organizations engaged in sensebreaking practices, which changed interns’ understanding of their environment. Sensebreaking implied that interns were not full organizational members, and this practice created identity gaps and made participants question who they were in relation to the organization. Organizations encouraged sensebreaking in two ways during internships—through testing and training.

First, organizations *tested* participants. Companies warned participants that the internship was essentially an “extended interview” for full-time employment, as Allison recalled, “They keep saying that an internship is like a long interview, and it’s important to meet people because you never know how they can help you in the future.” Similarly, Zack reflected:

> They want to see if you’re smart enough to do it…. It saves them money to not have to go out and recruit again. This is like an extended interview. This is like a 10-week interview. You’re getting get a better picture of a person in a 10-week interview than a 6-hour one.

By testing interns, organizations put pressure on participants’ identity by treating interns as liminal staff, contending for full-time positions. When asked about her least favorite part of her internship, Jennifer gave an audible sigh and answered that it was “the pressure of the full-time position. I just want to do my best. And I hope that’s enough. But it’s always weighing on the back of my mind.” By reminding people that the internship was a trial period, organizations inhibited identification.

Second, organizations engaged in sensebreaking by reminding participants that they were in the process of *training*. Organizations communicated (both implicitly and explicitly) that interns were inadequate or did not “measure up” to full-time employees. Participants, like Jeremy, viewed their internships as very different from a full-time job:

> There is definitely more of a responsibility once you have a job, whereas this is a very good learning process. On the job… you are one of the experts. Whereas here I feel like it’s going to be a whole summer of learning, and I’ll never reach that expert point yet.

Organizations created identity deficits by impressing upon interns the need to gain experience before advancing to full-time employment. Organizational staff publicly labeled participants as “interns” (e.g., during introductions or on required email signatures), which degraded and objectified participants’ organizational status (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1997). Participants felt pressure to learn and fill this knowledge gap, as Eliza noted, “You have to put a lot into the experience in order to get something out of it.” Participants fully accepted identity gaps that organizations created, believing that the only way to fill those gaps was to train and work towards becoming part of the organization.

Identity forecasting. In addition to this organizational pressure, some participants realized that they would not be continuing as full-time employees at their organization after their internship ended. In some instances, participants learned that the organization was not able to extend interns a permanent position. Other interns said that even if a permanent position were available, they would not accept a full-time offer from the organization. Participants inhibited their own identification by projecting their identity into the future and not foreseeing themselves as part of that organization. Margaret, for example, did not plan on working at the advertising firm where she interned, which inhibited her identification.

> Overall what I learned is that I am going to have to work for a company that I can get behind the cause and really care about the product that they make or the service that they do. And I don’t think advertising is really it…. It wasn’t somewhere that I want to work forever, and I ended up turning the job down for the fall just because I think I learned everything I needed to learn in that position…. People would say all the time that they would never work anywhere

> else, and "You can't beat the people here" and all that kind of stuff, which kind of made me feel bad for not loving it so much that I wanted to stay.

Many participants also mentioned that internships taught them particular things they were looking for in future organizations (but that were missing from their internship). Allison, for example, noted that she was "a competitive person" and so she wanted "to be on the revenue producing side of a company once I start a real job." Likewise, Lisa commented that she wanted a different office environment in her future:

> That's another thing, I did learn that I am not a huge fan of the office environment…. I don't want to be stuck in a cubicle in my job when I have a career. I want to have a window at least. But that whole office environment is something that I am not as attracted to…. That's what I am so excited about my internship next semester is because the office that I will be working on is a lot different than the office I am at right now. It is a lot more open with windows, and it is super modern. I'm excited. It will be very different.

As this quote shows, participants also felt detached from their internship when they had other subsequent plans in the future, like moving home (Fatima) or changing career trajectories (Tiffany). When people knew they would not be staying in the organization, they distanced their identity through identity forecasting.

In conclusion, the process of identification during internships was complex. Some interns did feel part of organizations and created identity narratives because of organizational sensegiving and individual sensemaking practices that encouraged identification. Other participants, however, did not identify with organizations on account of organizational sensebreaking and individual identity forecasting. Interestingly, full-time employment resolved many of these tensions, leading newcomers to succeed in their permanent positions.

Anticipatory Socialization during Internships: Too Much of a "Good" Thing?

Throughout the literature, research encourages organizations and employees to encourage socialization and identification. This study, however, shows that by providing a *more realistic* anticipatory socialization than traditional means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages), internships can detour applicants and organizations from making future employment commitments. Participants all began their internships with a rosy picture of the organization and their vocation—they all could foresee themselves working for that company or in that occupation in the future. Both participants and organizations saw potential for a future with one another because through traditional anticipatory socialization (recruitment, the interview process, cybervetting, and vocational messages), the intern and organization knew just enough about each other to see a match.

Internships, however, took this socialization to the limit. Internships gave participants and organizations the opportunity to move past uncertainties, first impressions, and expectations, which was helpful for interns who decided to stay in the same organization or role (indeed, upon entry, these interns did not feel "new" at all). However, with this more extended anticipatory socialization, many interns and organizations did not like what they saw. Of the 49 interns who participated in the study at times 1 and 2, only 11 of those interns (22%) continued to work full-time in the same company. In many cases, interns got to know the organization over the course of their internship and no longer saw a good match. As Michael said, “I enjoyed the internship, but felt the company was moving at a snail’s pace, with too much red tape. Its goals did not align with my goals. I asked to not be considered for employment.” Michael went on to work full-time as a project management consultant at another company. In other cases, interns became socialized to the organization only to find that the company had no permanent positions available, or the organization did not make an offer because the intern did not fit the company culture.

Whereas previous research has described realistic job previews as a beneficial endeavor for prospective employees (Phillips, 1998), internships show another side of the realistic job preview. When one party, either the intern or the organization, learns exactly what full-time employment will be like, the intern or the organization may not want to continue that relationship. Although traditional means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment) supply just enough of an introduction to both parties, internships may provide such an in-depth preview that it makes applicants and organizations less desirable.

Despite a possible lack of attraction, interns, unlike full-time employees during anticipatory socialization, have to finish out their stint in the organization, even if they do not see a future with the organization. Likewise, organizations have to retain people for the remainder of an internship even if managers or HR representatives know they cannot hire the intern full-time. Both parties have to continue anticipatory socialization, whereas with full-time employees, once applicants do not see a fit with the company (perhaps after an interview), anticipatory employees can discontinue their relationship with the organization (by not answering their email or phone call, for instance). Interns have to continue their anticipatory socialization, which may be why interns and organizations in the study created distance through the identification process. Interns used identity forecasting to project their identity into the future, and organizations used sensebreaking practices to dissociate interns' identity from the company. For example, from engaging in anticipatory socialization before internships (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages), interns thought they understood an organization or vocation, and saw fit between themselves and the organization. Cameron, for instance, was "really excited" about her internship at a magazine after her interview and reading information about the glamorous lives of her future coworkers online, attending fashion shows and wearing high-end products. Following her internship, though, Cameron explained:

> It's not just fun and games or a glamorous job. There is a lot of work that goes into it. And work kind of becomes your life. Lots of long hours, not a lot of pay…. You have to give up a lot of your social life in this industry; your work becomes your social life, which I didn't initially think of.

Because Cameron could not see herself assuming this identity in the future, she did not continue working in that vocation. Instead of continuing in the fashion industry, Cameron joined a law firm and accepted a full-time position as a recruiter. In conclusion, whereas certain means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages) might attract people to organizations and occupations, internships provide such a realistic picture of what life might be like in the future that they can prevent interns from entering those companies and careers. But what happens when interns encounter organizations and vocations following their internships? The next section explores this last research question.

Varying Effects of Organizational and Vocational Anticipatory Socialization

Research Question 3 asked how internships, as a mechanism of socialization, influence people's experiences upon organizational encounter. Results from interviews with full-time employees—those who had internships at Midwestern Financial and those who had them at other organizations—showed that internships fostered organizational and vocational anticipatory socialization, which influenced their experiences upon encounter. Through organizational anticipatory socialization, interns acquired an established network, normative behavior, company knowledge, and organizational identification. Through vocational anticipatory socialization, interns gained role clarity and professional competence. Table 4.5 summarizes these findings, which I discuss in detail below.

Table 4.5: Summary of Internships and Experiences upon Organizational Encounter

	Organizational Anticipatory Socialization Outcomes				Vocational Anticipatory Socialization Outcomes	
	Established Network	Normative Behavior	Company Knowledge	Organizational Identification	Role Clarity	Professional Competence
Intern at Midwestern Financial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only if Role Overlaps	Yes
Intern at Another Organization	No	No	Only by Comparison	No	Yes	Yes

Outcomes of Organizational Anticipatory Socialization upon Encounter

Established network. New employees who had interned at Midwestern Financial held an established network of people they had already met, including past coworkers, members on cross-functional teams, and other former interns upon encounter. Arjun, for example, had already met members of his "new" full-time team the previous summer:

> While I was working in personal loans last summer, there was a guy working with me in the same team. He moved to my current team.... So there was someone that I already knew on the [new] team that I worked closely with last summer. As well as my manager and my other teammates, I met them over lunch a few times last summer…. So I knew them and I knew kind of what to expect. So it was easier for me. I was actually looking forward to it because I knew who I was going to work with.

As Arjun explained, knowing people helped him feel comfortable in his full-time role. Likewise, Ananya, a former Midwestern Financial intern, built relationships with her new team with a "name drop" because she was "Bill's intern."

In contrast to these interns' experiences as full-timers, new employees who interned at other companies admitted difficulty networking with Midwestern Financial employees upon organizational encounter. For example, Hannah, an MBA who interned at another organization, confided:

> I have been struggling to meet people in my business [department]. And a lot of people are like, "Oh you have been here for a couple of weeks now? I haven't met you," and I'm thinking, I didn't know I should have met you. I didn't know you are in the business. So I have been stumbling a little bit there…. I'm still meeting the team.

In addition to easing the transition into employment, established networks benefitted newcomers by providing resources for work-related problems. Griffin, a previous intern at Midwestern Financial, found value in knowing people across the company:

> Another advantage of interning with the company is having access to that network because I have access to certain people in this company whereas other people may not…. I am on the rewards team, and I can reach out to someone on the branding team that I have a close relationship and ask, “What is the best way to promote this to cardmembers?” or whatever it might be. I know people on the network side as well so I can ask them like, “What members accept this card?” or something like that for example. So it’s nice because I know people in different functions, so if I have a question about that, I can ask them. Or I can ask them if they might know someone who would know the answer on their team.

Thus, an established network helped broaden the number of contacts that new employees had for work or social support. “There’s a lot of little questions that you want to ask your manager but seem stupid,” Arianna, a former Midwestern Financial intern explained, “and I feel more comfortable asking [former interns] than I would a manager.” New full-time employees without internships at Midwestern Financial, like Candice, shared their uncertainty about knowing “who to ask certain questions.”

Normative behavior. Internships also helped socialize Midwestern Financial employees to organizational norms, so they knew cultural customs and the “way things were done” upon organizational encounter. TJ discussed two common norms at Midwestern Financial that were second nature him because of his internship:

> You walk through the revolving doors, and I have to swipe my badge to get through. If you didn’t have an internship, you probably didn’t even realize you

> had to do that (laughs). Just small things. Like the grab and go only accepts Midwestern Financial cards. You don't want to look dumb and give them a Visa card or something.

Moreover, Elaine remembered that as an intern, it took a "long time last year to settle into" the laid-back work environment at Midwestern Financial. "But I'm watching Robert and Wesley," two new employees who interned at different organizations, "and they are constantly stressed. And I'm like, 'Do you want to go sit in the hall for like 10 seconds?'" Sarika also commented how previous interns knew what to wear to work and the work culture of different buildings—behavioral norms that Sarika, as an intern at another organization, did not know. She recalled her experience at a meet-and-greet event before full-time employment:

> I remember the girls that had not interned there, including me, were kind of freaking out, like "What do we wear on the first day? What do they wear at work?" Whereas the interns were like, "You can wear this and that" and "I already bought whatever" and "It's more relaxed than you think." So they went in with the comfort, like they know the culture, whereas we had no idea…. They said, "Building One is like this, and Building Two is not as good." You know, they all have their own opinions. Whereas we were like "Wait, I don't even know how to walk to those buildings."

Along with Sarika, other new employees who interned outside of Midwestern Financial found it harder to grasp a new culture upon encounter. Interestingly, these newcomers explained their understanding of the culture in terms of how it was presented to them during orientation (rather than seeing or experiencing culture for themselves). Wesley, for example, talked about how "they preached it" during training and the "cheesy mission statement" was displayed on the walls, "which is amusing." Nadya, another new employee without internship experience at Midwestern Financial confessed, "I feel like it takes time to really understand the culture. I don't think you can just define it or listen to some of these definitions and understand it."

Interestingly, when newcomers like Wesley and Nadya would discuss behavioral norms, they noted them in *comparison* to the organizations where they interned. Manny, who interned at another organization, said:

> [I can] compare and contrast my [internship] experience with my experience at Midwestern Financial. I feel like if you have never worked anywhere else, it might be harder to look at things objectively because you are really used to working at the same company.

This comparison helped newcomers, such Charlie, notice unique norms at Midwestern Financial, like that he never took his badge off when walking around, "so I'm not embarrassed or anything. Whereas there were times with New York Financial… how people were reacting when it was bailed out." Some newcomers who had interned elsewhere made positive comparisons, whereas others made more negative comparisons. Jaron, for instance, was happy that the work norms at Midwestern Financial were different from his consulting internship, but Hannah was disappointed that Midwestern Financial was not a "laptop culture" like her previous employer. In sum, although having an internship at another organization did not socialize newcomers to specific behavioral norms, their prior experience did allow them to recognize unique cultural markers at Midwestern Financial.

Company knowledge. In addition to becoming socialized to organizational practices, newcomers who interned at Midwestern Financial also had company knowledge that other new full-time employees did not upon encounter. Newcomers found their internship beneficial because they already knew some of the basic systems of the company, the layout of the campus, and the functions of various business units. Dorian, a former Midwestern Financial intern, explained:

> My experience as an intern was beneficial because I do know the fundamentals. Like I know where the [shared] drive is. I know where to look to request access. I know all about the website and how to navigate through it and stuff like that. And when I was new [as an intern], I was just like what in the heck is this? It is very foreign. And that foreign feeling, I don't have at all. And it is nice because I have not been worrying about adapting to it at all. I can just focus on learning my role.

Natalie, another former Midwestern Financial intern, commented how she had learned "Lotus Notes, systems, finding my way around, understanding rooms and things," which made her feel comfortable as a new full-time employee.

Besides feeling comfortable, several other Midwestern Financial interns thought that their experience contributed to their success upon encounter because they "hit the ground running" (Arjun). For example, Griffin's understanding of the company helped by giving him "another layer of knowledge that we could apply when asking questions," and Ananya thought the most beneficial aspect of having an internship at Midwestern Financial was her ability to make "the connection between departments faster" when she came back to work full-time.

Other previous interns, on the other hand, noted negative consequences to having this insider information, because such knowledge created preconceived opinions about the organization. As Elaine described, she was partial to the department in which she had interned before and was heavily biased against the unfamiliar “network side:”

> I was like, “I don’t want to go to [work full-time] on the network side”…. It’s just a foreign world. I was like, “I can’t do it over there. There are monsters!” It was weird. So I guess in that way, coming back was a negative.

As opposed to previous interns, new employees who interned with other organizations had to start from scratch in learning about Midwestern Financial, and these newcomers saw their lack of company knowledge as a severe disadvantage to their counterparts. Manny commented:

> Having had an internship at Worldwide Airlines, I learned a lot about the company just in six months. I learned a huge amount about the company. But now I have to start over at Midwestern Financial. So that is daunting at times because I did not know anything about the credit card business when I started. If you already had an internship [here], you got all of that initial learning out of the way already. So you can kind of jump right in and be useful a lot earlier. I tend to think that it probably takes you three or four months minimum to actually start being really productive in a new company. I think if I had already had that experience at Midwestern Financial, I would probably be able to start doing projects a lot sooner and start off, sharing opinions that might be a little more helpful.

Like Manny, Xiang had interned at another organization and expressed her concerns of the learning curve ahead, “especially the big picture… as a new person, it’s impossible to know all of that.” Because these newcomers had not learned or adapted to the organization yet, they felt it would take them longer to become acclimated.

Organizational identification. Almost every employee who had interned at Midwestern Financial expressed a strong sense of identification with the company upon encounter, and many even attributed this connection to their internship experience. As TJ, a former Midwestern Financial intern, commented:

> After the 12 to 15 week period, you felt comfortable. You felt like an employee. I was talking to some other new employees and saying that the first day we came back, it felt like I never even left…. And, I mean, that's identity right there.

Likewise, when asked if she felt identified, Elaine responded "Definitely, because of coming back. In my mind, it's been like, I am going to work for Midwestern Financial for a long time." Although not all participants felt identified during their internships, their experience laid a foundation for identification that could be fully activated upon a full-time offer. The factors that inhibited identification during internships (sensebreaking and identity forecasting) were no longer issues when organizations asked people to permanently join the company. Thus, previous interns immediately felt part of Midwestern Financial and wanted to accept the company's offer. Griffin attributed his identification to his internship at Midwestern Financial:

> [The internship] gave me that initial pride in the company, which was an influential part in coming back. When I went back to school in the fall, it was just, I was trying to be a brand ambassador as much as a could…. The internship really influenced me to want to be part [of Midwestern Financial].

Newcomers who interned at other organizations, however, noted that their identification was slower to form. Charlie, for example, said "I don't know if I feel like

Midwestern Financial is part of who I am." Candice, who interned at another organization, also noted that she saw the potential to identify with the company, but she was just not there yet:

> I feel like it definitely has the potential to be. At this point it is not just because I am so new. But definitely I could see it becoming that…. There is definitely a community feel to it. It feels like being on a team. When you are on a team, you identify with it. In that sense, I feel like it could be like that in the future.

Thus, new employees without internship experience at Midwestern Financial did not immediately feel a sense of belongingness to the organization.

In sum, internships served as a mechanism for organizational anticipatory socialization by providing new employees an established network, normative behavior, company knowledge, and organizational identification. Yet these benefits of organizational anticipatory socialization, for the most part, applied only to people who interned at Midwestern Financial. Outcomes of vocational anticipatory socialization, however, pertained to new employees who had interned at other organizations.

Outcomes of Vocational Anticipatory Socialization upon Encounter

Role clarity. Newcomers who performed similar jobs in their internships experienced role clarity upon encountering full-time employment. When people could utilize vocational knowledge and certain skills from prior experiences, they felt comfortable in their new roles. Although Hannah did not intern at Midwestern Financial, her full-time job was similar to her internship at another company, which she found helpful:

> The project I did [as an intern] at Online Ventures is going to be really valuable for this specific role. [That project] last summer helped a lot because it was a data analytics project. Now I ended up in data analytics [at Midwestern Financial, so]... that may help.

Jaron also pointed out that he knew the lingo of his role from his internship, even though it was not at Midwestern Financial:

> [My internship] gives me a shortcut because I understand terminology and things like that.… So for this first project, we were talking about scorecard metrics and developing a scorecard metric…. I had a better understanding of why we would use this metric or exactly what a certain metric means in relationship to the industry because of my prior experience…. Since I already had that knowledge, that really helped just kind of streamline and help me move along faster.

Newcomers who were not placed in a similar role, however, experienced confusion in their new jobs. Because of the rotational component of their leadership program, Midwestern Financial assigned their former interns to completely new roles, so most of these newcomers were unfamiliar with their jobs. Also, several MBA graduates had decided to switch career paths and therefore experienced role confusion. Andy, an engineer who transitioned to work in finance, felt overwhelmed in his new job at Midwestern Financial. As Andy explained:

> There is just so much knowledge that you have to have to do this role that I don't have yet. So every day, I am reading [slide] decks and whatever trying to figure out all of the details that go on within treasury. Because in this role, you have to be able to understand all of the moving parts to be effective, which I don't have that yet. I am still working on that.

Even Natalie, who had interned at Midwestern Financial, admitted it was "very difficult to understand what's going on" in her new job because it was so different from her role the previous summer. As she commented, "I sit in meetings, and it's all over my head. I just take notes, even though I don't really know what the results mean." If interns did not continue in the same job full-time, their prior experience did not provide role clarity upon full-time employment.

Professional competence. All participants, regardless of whether they interned at Midwestern Financial or another company, claimed that their internship provided them professional competence for their role as a full-time employee. This professional competence entailed knowledge of a) how to communicate professionally at work and b) what work was like in certain professional circles and atmospheres.

First, internships socialized participants to *professional work behaviors* for encountering full-time employment. TJ, a former intern at Midwestern Financial, believed that his internship taught him the requisite "business skills" for success as a full-time employee. He commented, "I learned last summer through just being around the business, sending out professional emails, talking professionally, sitting in meetings, giving input in those meetings." Carolina, who had interned at another organization, reflected on how internships help young workers grow up and learn professional behavior:

> I feel like when you are that young, you are just coming out of college, you don't know anything really. Looking back on it, they don't even know how to dress. They were the shortest skirts or flip-flops sometimes. So there is that. You don't know how to interact. You don't understand that networking is so important, and

> professionalism, like how you conduct yourself…. I think that work experience and life and getting older brings a lot more clarity to what you need and what tools you need in order to be successful.

Second, internships served as a mechanism of vocational anticipatory socialization because they gave participants insight into *what work was like in certain professional circles and atmospheres*, so when they encountered (or worked alongside) these vocations, they were more prepared than people without experience in the vocation. Manny, for example, had interned at another organization but worked in a call center, so he felt comfortable working in the call center at Midwestern Financial. Also, Robert, who previously interned at an advertising agency, explained:

> Because of the industry that I came from, advertising, I have knowledge of the service industry and also the creative side of stuff because it was a creative agency… It helps me understand how to work with other companies.

Likewise, although Charlie did not intern at Midwestern Financial, he had worked in sales and was able to apply his experience in dealing with confrontational situations to his new role:

> I really figured out that the best way to get people on board is to get them to think it is in their best interest to do it.... So that actually played into a meeting that I had last night. Because there have been a little bit of issues with projections or something like that.

Charlie felt that this vocational acumen was “the piece that [he] could leverage the most.” Thankfully, participants benefitted from these professional experiences regardless of the organization or industry in which they interned.

In conclusion, internships at Midwestern Financial and other organizations led to different organizational and vocational outcomes upon organizational encounter. For the most part, newcomers who had interned at Midwestern Financial benefitted from their organizational anticipatory socialization, because they entered their full-time position with an established network, normative behavior, company knowledge, and organizational identification. New employees who interned at other organizations, on the other hand, seemed to display vocational anticipatory socialization through role clarity. Finally, regardless of where newcomers had interned, their prior experiences provided vocational anticipatory socialization, which equipped newcomers with the professional competence to be successful when encountering their full-time role. In the following chapter, I discuss these findings and their implications for socialization research.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Key Findings and Contributions

Past research has shown that during socialization, people learn and adapt to organizations and vocations, develop identities, and succeed in new environments. Because most research has explored socialization during encounter and metamorphosis, this study sought to explain the socialization process during *anticipatory socialization*, an underexplored stage of socialization. The goal of this research was to investigate how and to what extent internships serve as a form of anticipatory socialization, rather than just their own microcosm of socialization. In this way, internships change our idea of socialization in general and anticipatory socialization in particular.

This study shows that internships are successful at improving socialization, but more importantly, internships may provide *more realistic* anticipatory socialization than traditional means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages). This main contribution holds practical implications because in large part, people participate in internships with the hope of being "rewarded" with a job at that organization (Smith, 2010, p. 293). However, most internships did not lead to full-time employment; and even if they did, those interns did not continue in the same role as a full-time employee. In the internship course, only 1 participant (out of 22) continued working full-time in the organization. Even at Midwestern Financial, with a leadership program designed to retain interns, only 10 interns stayed at the company, and 17 went to work full-time at different organizations.

Internships help provide more realistic expectations for organizational encounter, which helps organizations and interns make better decisions for their future. Organizational representatives (managers and HR) socialize interns to decide whether the organization should hire the intern or not. Did the intern learn quickly? Did he or she fit into the company culture? Likewise, interns experience socialization to decide if they want to accept an organization's offer or not. Do they like the firm? Could they see themselves working there full-time? Internships typically take place at a turning point in a person's career (e.g., college or graduate school, returning to work), so socialization during this time is more about encouraging (or detouring) organizations and interns to make future employment commitments than becoming part of the organization or vocation. Traditional means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment) only seem to make the individual-organizational bond stronger, but internships, as an unidealized mechanism of anticipatory socialization, had the potential to either brighten or darken the future relationship between participants and companies.

In addition to helping us reconsider the role that anticipatory socialization plays in work, this study makes contributions to at least four areas of organizational communication theory and research. First, results of this study call into question traditional conceptualizations of socialization, which describe newcomers as uncertain and surprised. Second, this research is the first to show how internships socialize individuals for full-time positions in organizations and vocations. Third, this study points to the unique process of organizational identification during internships. Fourth, this study integrates organizational and vocational socialization, building on past research that often treats these two areas as separate. I explore each of these contributions below, followed by several practical implications of this study. Finally, I discuss some limitations of this study and propose an agenda future research.

Rethinking Organizational Entry

Results of this study challenge our current conceptualization of socialization by showing how newcomers with internship experiences are familiar with and confident within organizations and vocations, rather than lost or anxious. I began this dissertation with a quote that compared a new employee to a “late arrival joining a party” (Porter et al., 1975, p. 172). In contrast to this quote, findings clearly show that newcomers with internship experience undergo organizational encounter quite differently than scholars traditionally conceived because interns are already socialized to their “new” organization or vocation. Therefore, this study highlights the importance of prior experiences and calls for changes in socialization conceptualizations.

The importance of prior experiences. This research adds to the literature that emphasizes the importance of prior experiences and their effect on subsequent stages of the socialization process. Internships taught participants about organizations and vocations and laid the groundwork for organizational identification, which demonstrates the power of prior experiences. Similarly, Bauer and Green’s (1994, p. 221) study found that “Early encounters are more robust than expected,” since people’s socialization 3 weeks before working in an organization were the best predictors of socialization 9 months later. The authors suggested that scholars overestimate how much people learn during encounter, and that “Socialization research and theory might be well served if more attention is paid to recruitment experiences and the critical first days of newcomers in organizational settings" (p. 221). By exploring the role that internships play in forming perceptions prior to encounter, this dissertation strengthens Bauer and Green's (1994) argument that prior experiences strongly influence socialization.

In fact, this study shows that internships may have allowed for even more opportunities to learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations than being a new permanent employee. During internships, individuals and organizations were trying to convince one another that they were compatible for full-time employment. Because of this persuasive element, both sides engaged in extra practices that encourage socialization. For example, individuals felt compelled to do research to learn about the company so that they could express how they fit (with values, goals, role requirements, etc.) during their interview. We would find it unusual for a tenured employee to go out of his or her way to seek out this information. Theory suggests that unless some contextual trigger (e.g., performance pressure, change) occurs, people do not seek that information (Morrison, 2002). Moreover, during recruitment events and on-site interviews, organizations often "sold" company benefits to attract applicants, which does not necessarily happen after encounter.

The nature of internships as a form of anticipatory socialization also allows for greater socialization than other prior experiences. At one company, all of the interns lived together in an extended-stay hotel, which fostered more interaction than full-time employees would have outside of work. Jennifer, for example, talked about how staying at the hotel helped her bond with fellow interns and learn about work in an informal setting. Other internship opportunities gave participants special access to senior level personnel, which encouraged socialization in a way that is not typically available to full-time employees. On Allison’s first day, all of the interns visited the executive floor and spent 15 minutes talking with the CEO, and later each intern met individually with the President of the company. These activities would not be commonplace for most full-time employees during the encounter or metamorphosis stages of socialization. Yet they are a unique part of internships and contributed to individuals’ organizational and vocational socialization.

Changing socialization conceptualizations. Because this study shows the large degree of socialization that happens during internships, it challenges our knowledge of traditional socialization models. The literature in anticipatory socialization has acknowledged that we do not enter organizations or vocations “as a completely blank slate” and that “the degree of comprehensiveness and accuracy of such perceptions will, of course, vary widely from one individual to another” (Porter et al., 1975, p. 163). This study shows one reason for disparities among newcomers, since various internship experiences led to different organizational and vocational outcomes. Thus, new full-time employees who “encounter” organizations after their internships may not experience the “stress, anxiety, and hope” (Porter et al., 1975, p. 173) of traditional newcomers.

In this way, this research connects to “recent work [that] suggests newcomer status depends on *relative tenure* rather than calendar days, that is, the speed of organizational growth and turnover (Rollag, 2004, 2007)” (Berkelaar, 2013, p. 43). As Rollag (2004, p. 854) explains:

> Since the transition from newcomer to insider is seen as largely a function of learning, and learning takes effort and time, socialization requires a certain amount of tenure in the organization to occur. Members with greater tenure are often seen as more socialized than members of lesser tenure because they have had more time to observe, accept, and adopt predominant norms and values…. Recently, however, many organizational researchers have questioned whether absolute or "clock" time is always the proper temporal frame for organizational research, noting that in many situations the perception and meaning associated with time is a social construction…. An alternative to absolute time is *relative time*, where time is subjectively evaluated relative to people or events.

People enter organizations and vocations as newcomers, but in terms of relative tenure, previous interns may be organizational or vocational insiders. Furthermore, because organizational members evaluate individuals' tenure relative to other co-workers (Rollag, 2007), people are likely to judge newcomers who interned at other organizations as "newer" than previous interns from the same organization. These findings change the way scholars look at socialization theory by rethinking what it means to be "new," particularly because in the past, "researchers contend that newcomers think and act differently than more experienced members" (Rollag, 2004, p. 853). People who enter organizations with internship experience shift our idea of newcomers because they might think and act like tenured employees.

Internships as Anticipatory Socialization for Future Employment

In addition to challenging scholars to rethink organizational encounter, this study is the first to consider internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization. In this way, the current study adds to socialization theory and research by demonstrating internships as a component of anticipatory socialization, explaining the dimensions and sources of internships, calling attention to technology as a source of anticipatory socialization, and accounting for socialization outside of full-time employment. I expand on each of these contributions in the following sections.

Internships as a component of anticipatory socialization. This study advances socialization research by showing that internships are a salient component of anticipatory socialization. To date, anticipatory socialization literature has focused narrowly on how organizational recruitment efforts and early vocational messages socialize people. This study indicates internships as an additional mechanism of anticipatory socialization for future employment. Indeed, qualitative data demonstrated that five of the seven dimensions of socialization significantly increased after internships: familiarity with coworkers, familiarity with supervisors, recognition, job competency, and role negotiation. Specifically, the variance explained in the familiarity with coworkers dimension (partial $\eta^2 = .33$) and job competency dimension (partial $\eta^2 = .35$) indicates the strength of the effect of internships on making friends with coworkers and learning a vocation.

In addition to quantitative results that demonstrated internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization, qualitative data also showed how internships prepared participants for full-time employment. Many participants mentioned that their internship felt like an “extended interview” that was a requirement for the next “phase” of organizational life. For example, Jacqueline commented that her parents “want me to get an internship now so that I can have it on my resume when I’m applying for a real job after I graduate.” Participants saw clear differences in their role as an intern and full-time employment. Because internships are distinct from full-time employment, they have unique implications for socialization research. Previous research has investigated the benefits of internships and intern satisfaction, but this study is among the first to explore internships as a mechanism of organizational and vocational socialization. This study shows what interns actually learn during internships and demonstrates how they are adapting to organizations and vocations.

As a result, this dissertation broadens our understanding of what happens in anticipatory socialization. Existing research typically only talks about learning (not adapting) during anticipatory socialization. For example, Porter, Lawlwer, Hackman (1975, p. 163) referred to anticipatory socialization as a "perceptual picture about the organization and… the job." Most scholars talk about anticipatory socialization as a time of gaining knowledge and forming expectations, but not adapting to that information or changing to fit the organization and vocation. As a case in point, Porter and colleagues (1975, p. 165) did not introduce "adapting" as part of socialization until after people encounter the organization and "develop modified ideas and behavior." Yet here, interns learned about and adapted to organizations and vocations during anticipatory socialization.

Moreover, this study contributes to the literature on pre-entry, the specific time after a person accepts a job offer and before that person actually joins the organization. As Kramer (2010, p. 65) noted, "The pre-entry period is rarely studied" because of its "limited impact" and the fact that "its influence probably pales in comparison" to experiences during encounter. Nevertheless, many of the examples of learning and adapting in this study came from participants during pre-entry—after they had accepted their internship offer but before they began their internship. By highlighting how people learn and adapt before and during internships, this study demonstrates the impact that pre-entry has, in part, during the socialization process.

Dimensions and sources of socialization during internships. Furthermore, this study broadens anticipatory socialization by showing the dimensions—culture, organization, members, and vocation—and sources—technology, people, recruitment, and observation—of learning and adapting during internships. Prior research has only explored the dimensions of socialization in later stages of the socialization process (encounter and metamorphosis), so this research contributes to the literature by showing the similarities and differences between socialization before and after entry.

To some extent, this study's findings are consistent with the literature that has explored socialization for full-fledged members of the organization. For example, Myers and Oetzel's (2003) dimensions of socialization included job competency, involvement, role negotiation, and recognition, which are also present in the current study's dimension of vocation. The culture dimension of anticipatory socialization found here also existed in many of the dimensions identified by Chao and colleagues (1994), including language and organizational goals and values.

Several sources of anticipatory socialization align with prior research as well. In their research on memorable messages during socialization, Barge and Schlueter (2004) pointed out some of the same sources this study found (e.g., people, recruitment). Cable and colleagues (2000), who investigated the sources of job applicants' beliefs about organizational values, recognized observation as a source of knowledge, too. Lastly, some unstructured socialization sources, such as social activities and trial-by-fire experiences (Hart & Miller, 2005), also manifest during internships.

However, differences also exist between these findings and those that explore learning and adapting during encounter and metamorphosis. The organization dimension of anticipatory socialization, which encompasses learning and adapting to the organization's facts, structure, position in the industry, and clients, has not been widely explained as a dimension in the socialization literature to date. Naturally, people have to know basic facts about their employer to feel like they fit into their organizations. Chao and colleagues (1994) recognized "history" as an important dimension of socialization, but research has yet to explore the other ways of learning and adapting (structure, industry position, and clients) that this study identified.

Technology as a source of anticipatory socialization. In addition, scant research shows technology use as a source of socialization. Flanagin and Waldeck's (2004) theoretical model of socialization and technology described how individuals might use technology to seek information prior to entry. Specifically, the authors noted that during the anticipatory socialization stage, websites and email can (a) offer extensive information about a company's products and services, (b) provide information about career opportunities and employment, and (c) facilitate information exchanges between prospective and current organizational members. Although scholars have conceptually addressed the powerful role that technology might play during anticipatory socialization (Berkelaar, 2013; Flanagin & Waldeck, 2004; Kramer, 2010), we have little data confirming that people learn and adapt to organizations and vocations through technology. In their review of the socialization literature, Waldeck and Myers (2007) were only able to cite *one* study relating to socialization and technology.

That study, written by Waldeck, Seibold, and Flanagin (2004), explored the relationship between various communication channels and overall socialization effectiveness. Their research looked at three different categories of communication media: (1) advanced communication and information technologies (email, voicemail, Intranets, cell phones, teleconferencing, videoconferencing, online/electronic scheduling programs, online chat, and portions of the Web accessible to the public), (2) traditional technologies (one-to-one telephone conversations, excluding those over cellular phones, and hardcopy materials including handbooks, memos, newsletters, and other written materials), and (3) face-to-face communication channels. Results demonstrated that new communication technologies were more predictive of socialization effectiveness (as measured by role clarity, performance/task mastery, and social integration) than traditional technologies. Although these findings provide support for the role of technology in the socialization process, Waldeck and colleagues (2004) did not explore technology use prior to entry. Therefore, this dissertation adds to the growing work that demonstrates the importance of technology to socialize people to organizations and vocations.

Specifically, this study sheds light on how people used the Internet, social media, and email during their internships, which contributed to participants' socialization. Through specific technologies, the Internet and social media in particular, interns gathered a great deal of cultural information prior to starting their internship. As user-generated sites for companies (e.g., *Glassdoor* and *WetFeet*) and vocations (e.g., *Another71*, for public accountants) become popular, technology will likely play a bigger role in providing people with realistic expectations than before. Technology shapes people's perceptions of organizations and roles, and this study highlights a key distinction between company websites and user-generated sites as a source for information. Because human resources or marketing teams often write the content for company websites, information on the sites might lead to inaccurate perceptions if these writers are too distant from the organization's main activities. As Tiffany noted:

> I actually did not have a good feel of the culture going in. Just because when I first started looking online, the law firm's website is very polished and their website is very serious because the matters they deal with are very serious…. I got that stuffy feeling…. And so I initially did not have a positive impression of the culture.

Moreover, because company websites are designed for external consumers (not for internal employees), they may portray inaccurate cultural information. Quite likely, organizational staff might leave out negative information about the company or job when they publicly present information online. Although literature has addressed the fact that employees often learn and feel part of organizations through communication intended for external audiences (Elsbach & Glynn, 1996; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996), this activity might be problematic for individuals seeking information during anticipatory socialization. As such, this study demonstrates technology as a means through which people learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations, with the caveat that Internet, social media, and email use may lead to unintended socialization outcomes.

Extending socialization beyond full-time employment. Prevailing theory and research in organizational communication has treated “paid, full-time, permanent employment as a universal relationship between member and organization” (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002, p. 88). Similarly, scholars have been slow to examine socialization outside of paid, full-time, permanent employment. Kramer’s recent work (2010, 2011a, 2011b; Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013) on volunteers described how volunteers’ anticipatory socialization might be similar to (e.g., organizations recruit both employees and volunteers) and different from (e.g., organizations interview employees but not volunteers) paid, full-time employees’ experiences. Internships are a pervasive practice, but scholars had yet to study internships as a form of anticipatory socialization. This study makes a contribution to the area of work outside of full-time employment by looking at how internships contribute to anticipatory socialization.

Therefore, this dissertation broadens socialization research because it provides novel and nuanced observations regarding how anticipatory socialization occurs through internships. By investigating how people learn about and adapt to organizations and vocations during internships, this research provides a complete picture of prior experiences, highlights similarities and differences between socialization’s first stage, anticipatory socialization, and its middle stages, encounter and metamorphosis, draws attention to the importance of technology during socialization, and pushes the literature beyond the narrow scope of full-time employment.

Uniqueness of Identification and Internships

In addition to expanding the socialization literature to account for internships as a mechanism of socialization, this study makes several contributions to identification theory and research by showing the uniqueness of the identification process during internships.

Identity forecasting in internships. This study deepens our understanding of the identification process by identifying an additional factor, identity forecasting, which explains how people limit their identification by projecting their identity into the future and seeing themselves with a different organization. Future scholars should be able to build off this model quite easily because I drew on data from different organizations, as opposed to Pratt’s (2000) study in which some of the sensebreaking and sensegiving tactics identified, like “dreambuilding” and “positive programming,” were unique to Amway’s culture. Identity forecasting resembles Markus and Nurius’s (1986, p. 954) “possible selves,” which represent “individuals’ ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming.” Possible selves explain how behavior is tied to individuals’ self-concept or identity. Identity forecasting links the concept of possible selves to organizations by explaining how behavior is tied to individuals’ possible or forecasted organizational identification.

Identity forecasting adds to the literature on organizational exit by explaining why people voluntarily leave organizations or vocations. This work contributes to the concept of “anticipatory deidentification,” the process of separating with a role when people anticipate leaving (Ashforth, 2001, p. 141), which scholars have only recently explored empirically. Davis and Myers (2012) proposed a three-stage model that explains four communicative behaviors and events—critical incidents, participation, communication between leavers and stayers, and anticipatory deidentification—that led members to deidentify toward the end of their planned exit. Identity forecasting adds an additional layer of understanding to the process of voluntary exit, and might help extend Davis and Myers's (2012) work beyond just time-limited memberships. In addition to extending research on exit, identity forecasting also helps distinguish interns from temporary employees.

Using identity forecasting to distinguish interns from temporary employees. This study extends Gossett's (2001, 2002, 2006) work on temporary employees because although interns' employment is temporary and their identification is limited, organizations treated interns differently from temporary employees. Specifically, Gossett (2002) found that organizations distance temporary employees by denying workers symbolic artifacts and not allowing employees to give feedback or make decisions.

In the case of interns, companies *did* offer symbolic artifacts and allow interns to become involved in the organization. For interns, identification depended largely on whether the intern expected future permanent employment with the organization. If participants saw themselves continuing to work for their employer (identity forecasting), they did not feel like temporary employees and they experienced identification. At the start of the study, before participants began their internship, they all saw a future with their organization. On average, interns' identification was moderately strong (4 on a 5-point scale), because participants were interning to gain experience and try out the organization for full-time employment. But as time went on, some interns did not forecast their identity towards full-time membership, so they protected themselves from investing emotionally and becoming identified. Other interns expected to get a full-time position with the organization in the future, which helped them stay identified.

Therefore, although interns and temporary employees are similar, identity forecasting distinguishes these liminal employees because interns often expect full-time employment. Psychologically, identification depends on the organization's loyalty to the individual (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2003), and companies often have different loyalties to interns than they do towards temporary employees.

Process of identification during internships versus full-time, paid employment. This study answered Mael and Ashforth's (1992, p. 118) call for "a within-subjects longitudinal approach to capture the *dynamics* of identification over time." Most studies do not account for how identities develop over time (Cheney, Christensen, & Dailey, 2013) because research has taken a cross-sectional approach, measuring the identification "process" at just one point in time (e.g., Jones & Volpe, 2011; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Scott & Stephens, 2009). By exploring organizational identification before internships, after internships, and upon full-time employment, this research offers deep insight into how identification changes throughout different stages of people's relationships with organizations.

These findings add to identification theory and research by demonstrating how Ashforth and colleagues' (2008) factors of identification work similarly and differently during internships than full-time, paid employment. Previous theory describes sensebreaking, for example, as a blatant, pronounced activity. For example, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) noted that organizations use divestiture tactics such as boot camp or hazing rituals, which strip away incoming identities. Sensebreaking prior to entry, however, was more obscure than these tactics. Organizations tested individuals during internships, leading participants to question their identity. Organizations also prompted individuals to search for meaning by reminding participants that they are in training. Just as organizations have encouraged a “new military recruit, having failed a physical test, [to] sense ‘I’m not strong enough to be in the army’ while simultaneously thinking ‘but I want to be stronger’” (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 342), organizations created a tension between what interns did not know but felt they could learn from the organization during anticipatory socialization.

Differences also exist between the process of identification for interns and full-time, paid employees because of how the functions work together. Although past research discussed sensebreaking and sensegiving in tandem, such as the “dream building” process at Amway (Pratt, 2000, p. 463), the two factors were only loosely coupled prior to entry. Furthermore, Pratt (2000) found that identification failed if sensebreaking and sensegiving do not occur; sensebreaking, sensegiving, and sensemaking all had to happen for people to identify with an organization. During internships, sensebreaking, sensegiving, and sensemaking practices all took place, but interns still had ambivalent identification, defined by Pratt (2000, p. 479) as “torn by contradictory thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.” Pratt (2000, p. 480) said ambivalent identification “can be explained by a successful sensebreaking but only a partially successful sensegiving," but during internships, participants felt ambivalent identification amidst sensegiving practices.

Challenging assumptions of fluidity and membership. This study challenges the notion that identification always grows over time. Despite the fact that identity is fluid and day-to-day interactions constantly shape identification, research has "focused more on a static sense of being identified rather than becoming identified" (Glynn, 1998, p. 238; for an exception, see Bullis & Bach, 1989). In this study, however, identification did not significantly increase during the course of participants' internships. Quantitative findings did not support the assumption that organizational messages and practices "induce" or transform newcomers into insiders (Cheney, 1983, p. 147), and qualitative results showed that this slight decline in identification may have been due to conflicting organizational and individual factors that caused identity tensions during internships. Upon full-time employment, however, organizations and individuals discontinued the practices inhibiting identification during internships (sensebreaking and identity forecasting), and newcomers immediately felt identified. This research presents a stark contrast to most studies in identification, which show only efforts to encourage identification, not create identity confusion.

In addition to demonstrating the fluidity of identification over time, this study challenges implicit assumptions that only tenured members identify with organizations. The bulk of identification research has sampled people who have been in organizations for quite some time. For example, participants in Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) study had spent an average of 8.8 years in the organization. Similarly, Mael and Ashforth's

(1992) study sampled alumni with an average tenure of 6.1 years. This study challenges the assumption that people's identities form over an extended time in the organization. Internships prime identification, which is activated quickly upon full-time employment.

Integrating Organizational and Vocational Socialization

Beyond extending the identification literature, this study helps unite organizational and vocational socialization. Scholars have often separated these two areas of socialization, researching organizational socialization or vocational socialization in isolation (for an exception, see Gibson & Papa, 2000). Alternatively, studies might talk about learning and adapting to vocations but only use the term "organizational" socialization (e.g., Chao et al., 1994; Myers & Oetzel, 2003). By examining these areas individually, scholars have overlooked how organizational and vocational socialization work together to help individuals learn the ropes. Van Maanen and Schein (1979, p. 216) proposed:

> A theory of organizational socialization must not allow itself to become too preoccupied with individual characteristics (age, background, personality characteristics, etc.), specific organizations (public, private, voluntary, coercive, etc.), or particular occupational roles (doctor, lawyer, crook, banker, etc.). To be of value to researchers and laymen alike, the theory must transcend the particular and peculiar, and aim for the general and typical.

Instead of viewing socialization broadly, scholars can gain deeper insight into the socialization process by looking specifically at organizational and vocational socialization and how each area's presence or absence might foster unique socialization experiences. This study contributes to the literature by exploring organizational and vocational socialization in tandem.

Particularly, this dissertation helps demonstrate key differences between organizational and vocational socialization, yet shows how these areas also work together upon organizational encounter. People may enter an unknown organization with a great deal of occupational knowledge; or they may know nothing about their new role but feel completely part of the organization's culture. This research shows various effects of both organizational and vocational socialization by looking at the impact of internships on full-time employment. Internships, as a mechanism of organizational and vocational socialization, helped lead full-time employees to succeed in their new environments, but specific outcomes depended on an intern's particular role and organization. Carolina's comment encapsulated the effect of internships on full-time employment by highlighting how organizational and vocational socialization work together:

> I think Arjun, who had an internship… it's not like he had any more clarity and what his expectations are or what his role is because I don't think he interned there last summer. So unless you were an intern and you are going to be working on something you already did last summer, I don't think you are at an advantage in any way. I definitely think there are advantages… like where's the cafeteria, what are these buildings, how do you get from A to B, the bus schedule. I have a hard time because I didn't know how to use the buses. So it's just that kind of stuff. And he probably knows the organizational inter-workings, I mean that would make sense if you worked here for three months. But in terms of job clarity, work role clarity, I don't think so.

In short, newcomers with prior experience at Midwestern Financial benefitted more from organizational than vocational socialization, whereas internship experiences outside of

Midwestern Financial led to vocational outcomes. This study demonstrates that organizational and vocational forces work together to socialize people, and sheds light on the importance of examining both areas of socialization together. These findings not only hold implications for future socialization theory and research; the current study also contributes to practice.

Implications for Practice

This study holds at least three implications for practice. First, it demonstrates the value of internships in fostering socialization prior to entry and gives organizations and full-time job seekers insight into the organizational and vocational outcomes of various internship experiences. For example, if a company has a difficult culture to navigate or if employees need to have a large network within the organization, managers should consider hiring interns that worked at their firm, and interns should know the benefits of staying with that company. On the other hand, leaders should know that when they hire an outside intern for a role that is similar to their previous job, that person might take less time to adjust to their work than a former intern at their company who held a different job. In addition to showing these organizational and vocational effects, this study also suggests that organizations and interns should be aware of the identity tensions that internships create. Managers can relieve these tensions quite easily, however, if they hire their interns to work full-time.

Second, current training practices may be unnecessary for individuals who already know about and feel part of organizations and vocations. The American Society for Training and Development's recent industry report estimated that U.S. organizations spent $156 billion on employee learning and development (ASTD Research, 2012). Companies may be wasting time and money on employees who already know the organization’s culture, feel like members, and can perform their role. This study suggests that organizations should also allocate their time and money to fostering employees before encounter. Based on findings from this research, companies might consider scaling back onboarding activities that traditionally welcome and indoctrinate newcomers (such as orientation, training, and buddy/mentor systems) and paying greater attention to activities that cultivate socialization and identification prior to entry. For instance, rather than viewing recruitment or internships as a means to find full-time members, leaders should also recognize that these actions foster socialization and plant the seeds for the identification process.

Companies are offering more internships than before, with some metrics even showing a 55% increase in online internship advertisements in the last year (Menz, 2012). Also, with a high unemployment rate, people are spending extra time searching for work, going on interviews, or getting internships to combat a weak job market (Friedman, 2012). When people enter organizations with internship experience, they may require less orientation or training than people without such prior experiences. Managers should be able to save resources by scaling back on current practices.

Third, organizational leaders should acknowledge the distinction between temporary employees’ and interns’ identification that this research uncovers. In considering the difference between temporary employees’ and interns’ identification, managers should understand that the end goal of the individual-organizational relationship is a key factor in fostering identification for these two unique groups. Temporary employment previously existed for employees on extended vacation or for support during a demanding season. But the transition to flexible capitalism, based on temporary, short-term employment (Rubin, 1996) created positions with the sole purpose of contingent employment. The purpose of temporary employment, then, is to perform provisional work, whereas the intent behind internships is to prepare individuals for a full-time role. Temporary employees do not expect to become full-time employees, but interns are looking ahead to a full-time position with that organization. Thus, despite few differences in the actual work that temporary employees and interns might do, companies should be mindful that labeling positions may either limit or foster organizational identification in the future.

Limitations

By investigating internships, this study changes our understanding of anticipatory socialization and challenges scholars' current beliefs of encounter as a time of uncertainty and surprise. Yet every study has its limitations, and this dissertation's sample, data collection, and research design limit this study's findings.

This study focused on internship experiences of undergraduate and graduate students, and although I expect these findings to be conceptually applicable to others' internship experiences, future research should explore the degree to which these findings hold for nontraditional internships (e.g., returnships for experienced employees reentering the workforce). In addition, all full-time employees at Midwestern Financial were part of a rotational leadership program, so Midwestern Financial strategically placed former interns into different roles for cross-functional exposure. Subsequent research should investigate the effect of internship experiences in which interns continue working in the same company *and role* when they continue as full-time employees. The sample sizes were also low in this study throughout all time periods. In fact, I did not use the quantitative data I had collected at time 3 because of the small sample (n = 21). Baruch's (1999) study reported 55.6% (SD = 19.7) as the average response rate for research published in organizational studies and management journals, so the response rate produced in this study was higher than the norm. However, Midwestern Financial hired only 34 new employees at time 3, so even an acceptable (62%) survey response rate did not yield enough participants for quantitative analyses.

Furthermore, the methods of data collection limit this study's findings. Participants may fail to report their attitudes and behaviors accurately with self-report measures, due, in part, to social desirability effects, which describes the tendency for participants to present themselves in a favorable light, regardless of their feelings (Ganster, Hennessey, & Luthans, 1983). Self-reports also raise questions about common method bias because the same person is providing the measure of the independent and dependent variable (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Future research can diminish the negative effect of self-reports by supplementing these measures with data from supervisors and peers. Particularly in the context of socialization, Morrison (1993a) has noted that "Although newcomers' own assessments are important (i.e., newcomers need to feel well-adjusted), these may not always correspond to outside assessments" (p. 180). Also, I conducted interviews with participants in the internship course over the phone, which is not an ideal method of qualitative data collection because I was not able to observe participants' nonverbal cues and office environment.

Lastly, this study's design limits these findings. I focused on one internship experience only, but 59.3% of college students have completed multiple internships (Intern Match, 2013). Future research might explore the extent to which socialization occurs across numerous internship experiences and the consequences of several internships on full-time employment. I also did not have a control group in this study, so I cannot conclude having an internship socialized participants more than participants with no internship experience. This study examined the effects of internships on full-time employment fairly soon after people began working in their permanent positions, but subsequent studies should follow up with new employees at multiple time points after their full-time job begins, as the effects of internships discussed here may diminish (or grow) over time.

Despite these limitations, this study expands socialization literature by exploring people's prior experiences, which demonstrates the value and complexity of internships. The findings of this study offer many avenues for future research, which I discuss next.

Future Research Agenda

This dissertation provides several directions for future research. Here, I discuss four avenues for additional studies that continue this line of work: 1) internships and realistic anticipatory socialization, 2) the underbelly of internships, 3) technology's role in anticipatory socialization, and 4) internships in non-rotational programs.

Internships and Realistic Anticipatory Socialization

To begin, scholars should further explore how internships provide a more realistic preview of organizations and occupations than other means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages). Future research should look at specific triggers that detour applicants and organizations from making future employment commitments. New full-time employees often feel less identified early in their membership (Bullis & Bach, 1989), but this study shows that internships provide such a realistic form of anticipatory socialization that participants already experience unmet expectations. Future research should locate specific triggers during internships that produce changes in behavior. Which unmet expectations serve as catalysts for decreases in identification? Also, how do interns' and organizational members' behaviors change once one party realizes the other party is not a good fit? This line of inquiry is ripe for future studies.

Scholars interested in this work might also consider how realistic anticipatory socialization affects interns and organizations differently. In this study, I only measured whether interns continued working full-time at the same organization or not. Additional studies should dive deeper into whom realistic anticipatory socialization affects the most. Do interns typically receive offers and decline positions? Or do organizations not make offers to interested interns? Future work might look at which is more prevalent and why. In sum, realistic anticipatory socialization might make applicants and organizations more or less desirable than other means of anticipatory socialization (e.g., recruitment, vocational messages), but subsequent research will help us better understand the nuances of this finding.

The Underbelly of Internships as a Mechanism of Anticipatory Socialization

Companies who offer internship opportunities, people who accept internship positions, and even the scholarship on internships all tout the unmitigated benefits of internships (e.g., Coco, 2000). Although this study indicates how internships help people learn and adapt to organizations and vocations, findings also hint at some negative aspects of internships. Future research should explore the underbelly of internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization.

Recently, popular press writers have voiced concerns about the growth of internships. For example, Schwartz (2013, para. 1) wrote:

> Every summer, thousands of interns descend on New York City in order to work for nothing. They flow into empty dorm rooms or onto friends' sofas to sleep, burrow unnoticed into illegal sublets and surf couches long term. At work, they occupy desks and offices recently vacated by laid-offs. They file papers, get coffee, and try to make themselves noticed, but not too much so. No one knows how many of these interns there are, partly because much of their unsalaried work is illegal and therefore covert.

As the tone of this excerpt implies, most critiques of internships center around the issue of pay. In his exposé on the internship model, Perlin (2012a) contended that people work long months without pay because interns believe such experiences are "educational," (p. 84) foster "networking," (p. 9) and cultivate "on-the-job training" (p. 195). In other words, most interns view their work as an opportunity for organizational and vocational socialization.

Yet this perspective leads to critical consequences. As Schwartz (2013, para. 9) explains, the mantra that internships are an "opportunity" teaches people entering the workforce that they should “be grateful for whatever work opportunities they may have, no matter how unfruitful. No task should be too unpleasant and no job too much of an imposition for someone just happy to have the chance to work.” This perspective leads interns’ mentality to be adaptable, enthusiastic, submissive, and obedient (Schwartz, 2013).

In addition to fostering an acquiescent workforce, this perspective towards unpaid internships displaces workers and contributed to inequality in the workplace. Interns, often willing to do any work for free, often replace salaried, full-time employees. Some positions, including politics, media, and entertainment, now virtually require an unpaid internship, which bars young people from less privileged backgrounds from entering those professions (Perlin, 2012b). Thus, internships promote the gap between social classes, “leaving talented middle-class students to flip burgers or babysit (if they can even find those jobs) while their well-heeled peers make important advances into the work world” (Rowley, 2013, para. 5).

Empirical research has yet to take a critical perspective towards internships and problematize the assumption that internships are always beneficial. This study offered some negative examples of internships (e.g., internships inhibit identification), but additional research should examine the power and ideology behind internships as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization. By exploring the underbelly of internships, future studies might challenge the assumption that internships are a “win-win” endeavor for organizations and prospective full-time employees.

Technology's Role in Anticipatory Socialization

Results of this study revealed technology as a source of learning about and adapting to organizations and vocations during anticipatory socialization. Prior theoretical work had discussed the role that technology likely plays during anticipatory socialization (Berkelaar, 2013; Flanagin & Waldeck, 2004; Kramer, 2010), and this study confirmed the extent to which people use the Internet, social media, and email as a means through which people learn about socialization dimensions before and during internships. Future research should extend this finding and look more broadly at how and the extent to which all anticipatory employees, not just interns, use technology. Many of the methods of gathering information that interns utilized—"Googling" the company, searching coworkers' Twitter feeds, or finding out who was CC'd on emails—are also techniques that full-time, paid employees use. A more in-depth understanding at technology use during anticipatory socialization might help prospective employees seek better information in a more efficient manner than before. As I mentioned in the discussion, technology does not always provide an accurate view into the organization or occupation. Thus, subsequent studies may also seek to understand the damaging effects of socialization via technology prior to entry.

Furthermore, this future work may inform the research on sequential and combinatorial information and communication technology (ICT) use (Stephens, 2007). ICT succession theory describes how people use a mix of technologies over time to accomplish a task. People use different sources of information in sequences or combinations—friends, LinkedIn, and the company's website—before encountering organizations, so future researchers should apply ICT succession theory to the context organizational and vocational socialization. Such research might highlight which combinations of information seeking are the most effective for both individuals (seeking jobs) and organizations (seeking information about employees). For example, research could test Stephens' (2007, p. 496) proposition that "Maximizing modalities through improves the likelihood of successful task completion." In the context of anticipatory socialization, this proposition might be supported if a prospective employee meets a recruiter at a job fair (face-to-face communication) and then sends a follow-up email.

Effect of Internships in Non-Rotational Programs

In this study, all full-time employees at Midwestern Financial were part of a rotational leadership program, so Midwestern Financial strategically placed former interns into different roles for cross-functional exposure. Subsequent research should investigate the effect of internship experiences in organizations in which interns continue working in the same company *and role* when they continue as full-time employees. Findings from this study would suggest that such interns would receive all of the benefits of organizational anticipatory socialization (established network, normative behavior, company knowledge, organizational identification) *and* vocational anticipatory socialization (role clarity, professional competence) because they would be continuing in the same organization and vocation. Future research should investigate the consequences of internships when interns do not feed into a rotational program, however, since their experiences may be quite different than participants' experiences in this study.

Because of the rotational program's structure at Midwestern Financial, the full-time employees in this study were treated relatively similar to interns. For example, both interns and full-time employees received extra perks that most full-time employees did not get, including access to high-ranking executives, exclusive networking events, and special projects with top-performing managers. So when interns continued working at Midwestern Financial and expected the same coddling from their internship, their expectations were met, since the structure of the rotational program was quite similar to the internship program. Additional studies should explore interns who begin working full-time in a regular (non-rotational) role, because they might experience more shock when their full-time job is considerably different from their internship. Former interns who see "work" entailing free lunches and outings to amusement parks might be rudely awakened when they have to work late, deal with politics, or navigate their own success.

In sum, this dissertation sheds light on internships as realistic anticipatory socialization, the importance of technology as a source of socialization, and the effects of internships, which paves the way for future research. I proposed a future research agenda that explores realistic anticipatory socialization, the underbelly of internships, the importance of technology use, and the effect of internships in rotational programs, which will deepen the insight and contributions of this study.

This dissertation identified a prevalent activity in the workforce, completing an internship, and explored how and to what extent internships served as a form of anticipatory socialization, rather than just their own microcosm of socialization. In this way, internships help alter longstanding ideas about socialization. After 40 years of theory and research in the field of socialization, this study introduced internships as a new activity that plays a pivotal role in the socialization process, which sets the stage for subsequent research in this promising area of study.

Appendix A: Recruitment Email Example

Hello!

Midwestern Financial is participating in a research project with a university. The project's goal is to determine ways that Midwestern Financial can help employees be effective as they take on their role in the company. Stephanie Dailey, who is part of a university research team, is asking for your help to participate in two surveys and one interview this summer. As a 'thank you' for your participation, you will be eligible for an iPad drawing and receive a $20 gift card gift card at the end of the research study. **This study is completely optional and your involvement will not be tied in any way to your performance evaluation.** If you would like to participate, please see the note from the researcher below:

"Thank you for participating in this study about how you learn at Midwestern Financial. Over the next several months, you will be asked to participate in two short surveys (each about 15 minutes in length) and one interview (about 45 minutes in length) about your job. I really appreciate your help in this important project and am confident that you will find the research project to be interesting… and maybe even a bit fun! Thanks, Stephanie Dailey."

Instructions:

Follow the link below to complete the first survey within the next two weeks. You will receive an email from me later to schedule your interview with Stephanie. After the interview, I will follow up with a link to the second survey.

http://utexascomms.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_6PhR1MEfUEkU9wg

Thank you for your participation! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Appendix B: Interview Protocols

Time 1: Pre-Internship

A. Background
  1. Tell me a little bit about your background.
     i. Where do you go to school?
     ii. What is your degree in?
  2. What brought you to [company]?
     i. Why did you take this job?
     ii. What will you be doing at [company]?

B. Socialization
  1. What all do you know about [company]?
     i. How did you learn that information?
        a. When was the first time you ever heard of [company]? Tell me about what you learned upon first hearing about [company].
        b. What all do you know about the culture of [company]?
           a. What do you know about the people at the company?
           b. What do you know about the mission/values of [company]?
           c. What symbols or acronyms do you know at [company]?
     ii. When did you learn that information?
        a. Who did you talk to before/when you accepted this position?
        b. Where did you go to seek information (online, in person, etc.)?
     iii. What information about this company are you missing? How will you go about getting those questions answered?
  2. Tell me about how you got your job. What was the recruiting process to intern at [company]?
     i. What did you learn about [company] through the recruiting process?
     ii. What did you learn about the people that work at [company] through the recruiting process?
     iii. What did you learn about your future job through the recruiting process?

C. Identity
  1. When you talk to a friend and they ask, “What are you doing this summer,” how do you respond?

2. What does it mean for you personally to work at [company]?
3. We talked before about what all you knew about this company before working at [company]. Do you feel that you will be a good fit at [company]? Why or why not?
4. What are the values or goals of this company? Are those different or similar from your personal values or goals?
5. How similar/different do you think you are to full-time employees at [company]?
6. How similar/different do you think you are to other interns at [company]?
7. In what ways has [company] made you feel like you are a member?
    i. Have you received any company paraphernalia?
    ii. Have you been on any email lists or gained access to technology?
    iii. What communication have you had with employees thus far?
    iv. Do you feel like you are a member of [company]? Why or why not?

D. Technology Use

1. I'm curious about your use of technology in general (outside of work).
    i. Was yesterday a typical day?
    ii. Walk me through which technologies you used yesterday.
    iii. Are there any other technologies you use?
2. Tell me about the technologies you used to seek information about this company or the people that work at [company].
    i. What websites did you visit?
    ii. Who did you look up online?
    iii. What was the most helpful information you found? Where did you find this?
    iv. What information could you not find? How will you find out that missing information?
3. What technologies will you use more now that you are working at [company]?

E. Demographics

1. When did you first hear about/apply for this position?
2. When were you officially hired?
3. When was your start date?
4. How old are you?
5. What pseudonym did you give yourself when you took the first survey?

F. Is there anything else I should know that have not already asked you?

Time 2: Post-Internship

A. General Job
    1. Tell me about what you are currently doing in your job.
    2. Walk me through what you did yesterday.
    3. How did you learn each of those tasks?
        i. Who taught you?
        ii. What do you do if you have a question?
        iii. What has been the hardest thing for you to learn? How long did that take you?

B. Socialization

I'm curious about what you have learned this summer at [company.] For each of the following, what is one thing you have learned over the summer? Think if you could just pass on one piece of advice to a future intern for each of the following items I'm going to list. (Probe on each)

1. Employees at [company]
2. Interns
3. Managers
4. Culture – why people do things the way they do (org values and beliefs)
5. Norms – how people usually act/think/behave
6. Feedback
7. Involvement
8. Job Competency – how you know your job
9. Occupation
10. Figuring out responsibilities
11. Networking
12. One thing *not* to do

C. Identity
    1. How similar/different do you think you are to full-time employees at [company?]
    2. Do you feel that you are a good fit at here? Why or why not?
    3. What do you like about [company?]
    4. What would you change about [company?]

D. Technology Use
    1. Tell me about the ways you communicate with others during a typical day at work.
        i. First, I'm interested in how you get your work done.
            - What media do you use?
                a. Who do you talk to?
                b. What websites do you visit?
                c. Who do you look up online?
        ii. Second, let's talk about the ways you learn about your role.
            - What media do you use?

        a. Who do you talk to?
        b. What websites do you visit?
        c. Who do you look up online?

iii. Third, I’m interested in how you learn about [company.]
    - What media do you use?
        a. Who do you talk to?
        b. What websites do you visit?
        c. Who do you look up online?

iv. Fourth, how do you learn about other people at [company?]
    - What media do you use?
        a. Who do you talk to?
        b. What websites do you visit?
        c. Who do you look up online?

v. Lastly, what about the way you learn about norms or the “way to do things” here?
    - What media do you use?
        a. Who do you talk to?
        b. What websites do you visit?
        c. Who do you look up online?

E. Is there anything else I should know that have not already asked you?

Time 3: Full-Time Employment

A. Background
    1. Tell me a little bit about your background.
        i. Where do you go to school?
        ii. What is your degree in?
        iii. What jobs/internships did you have before coming to [company?]
    2. What brought you to [company?]
        i. Why did you take this job?
        ii. Did any of your prior work experiences (or being an intern) influence this decision?
B. Orientation & Meeting Your Team
    1. Looking back on orientation, what were the 2-3 most beneficial parts of those two weeks?
        i. What did you learn that you didn’t know before?
        ii. If you were in charge, what would you change about orientation?
            1. Anything you’d add?
            2. Anything you’d take out?
        iii. What was it like interacting with people you interned with (or didn't)?
    2. Tell me about meeting your manager and team.
        i. What did you know about them beforehand?
C. Learning Your Job
    1. Tell me about your first day in your job.
        i. What feelings did you have that day?
        ii. How were your expectations met/unmet?
            1. About [company?]
            2. About your team?
            3. About your occupation?
    2. Do you feel like you have a good understanding of what tasks you have to do to perform your job?
        i. What are those tasks?
        ii. How did you learn each of those tasks?
            1. Who taught you?
                a. Formal vs. informal
                b. Direct vs. indirect
            2. Where do you seek information if you have a question about how to perform your job tasks?
            3. What has been the hardest thing to learn?
        iii. Do you remember a turning point when you thought, oh, I understand the tasks I’m supposed to do now?
        iv. Did any of your prior work experiences (or being an intern) help you learn these tasks?
        v. Have you mastered your tasks? Why or why not?

3. Do you feel like you have a good understanding of what people expect of you in your rotation (job requirements and expected role behaviors)?
    - i. What do they expect?
    - ii. How did you learn each of those expectations?
        1. Who taught you?
            - a. Formal vs. informal
            - b. Direct vs. indirect
        2. Where do you seek information if you have a question about expectations?
        3. What has been the hardest thing to learn?
    - iii. Do you remember a turning point when you thought, oh, I understand what's expected of me now?
    - iv. Did any of your prior work experiences (or being an intern) help you learn these expectations?
    - v. Have you mastered these expectations? Why or why not?

D. Learning about the Company

1. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about how you learned about [company.] Do you feel like you have a good understanding of what the culture is like here (norms, how people do things, politics, language, organizational goals and values)?
    - i. How would you describe the culture here?
    - ii. How did you learn the culture?
        1. Who taught you?
            - a. Formal vs. informal
            - b. Direct vs. indirect
        2. Where do you seek information if you have a question about the culture?
        3. What has been the hardest thing to learn?
    - iii. Do you remember a turning point when you thought, oh, I understand the culture now?
    - iv. Did any of your prior work experiences (or being an intern) help you learn the culture?
    - v. Have you mastered the culture? Why or why not?
2. Do you feel like have integrated well with others here at [company?]
    - i. Who are you friends with here? How many friends do you have?
    - ii. How did you make friends?
        1. Did people introduce you?
            - a. Formal vs. informal
            - b. Direct vs. indirect
    - iii. Do you remember a turning point when you thought, oh, I have friends now?
    - iv. Did any of your prior work experiences (or being an intern) help you make friends?

E. Sense of Identity within the Company
   1. What does it mean for you personally to work at [company?]
   2. Do you feel like [company] is a part of who you are? Why or why not?
   3. What are the values or goals of this company? Are those different or similar from your personal values or goals?
   4. How similar/different do you think you are to other employees at [company?]
   5. In what ways has [company] made you feel like you are a member?
      i. When did you feel like you were a member of [company?]
      ii. How did that happen?

F. Technology
   1. Tell me about the technologies you use on a typical day at work to learn about your job.
      i. What websites did you visit?
      ii. Who do you look up online? Why them?
      iii. What other technologies do you use to seek information about your role?
   2. Tell me about the technologies you use on a typical day at work to learn about [company] as a company.
      i. What websites did you visit?
      ii. Who do you look up online? Why them?
      iii. What other technologies do you use to seek information about this company?
      iv. What technologies do you use to seek information about the normal “way to do things” at [company?]

G. Is there anything else I should know that have not already asked you?

Appendix C: Questionnaire Items

Organizational Socialization (from Gailliard, Myers, & Seibold, 2010)

Familiarity with Coworkers
1. I consider my coworkers friends.
2. I feel comfortable talking to my coworkers.
3. I feel like I know my coworkers pretty well.

Familiarity with Supervisors
4. I feel like I know my supervisor pretty well.
5. My supervisor sometimes discusses problems with me.
6. My supervisor and I talk together often.

Acculturation
7. I understand the standards of the organization.
8. I think I have a good idea about how this organization operates.
9. I know the values of my organization.
10. I do not mind being asked to perform my work according to the organization’s standards.

Recognition
11. My supervisor recognizes when I do a good job.
12. My supervisor listens to my ideas.
13. I think my supervisor values my opinions.
14. I think my supervisor recognizes my value to the organization.

Involvement
15. I talk to my coworkers about how much I like it here.
16. I volunteer for duties that benefit the organization.
17. I talk about how much I enjoy my work.

Job Competency
18. I can do others’ jobs, if I am needed. (removed from scale)
19. I have figured out efficient ways to do my work. (removed from scale)
20. I think I’m an expert at what I do.
21. I often show others how to perform our work.

Role Negotiation
22. I have helped to change the duties of my position.
23. I have changed some aspects of my position.
24. I do this job a bit differently than my predecessor did.

Organizational Identification (from Cheney, 1982)

1. I feel I have a lot in common with others in this organization.
2. I find it easy to identify with this organization.
3. I find that my values and the values of those in this organization are very similar.
4. I view my organization’s problems as my problems.

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Vita

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