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Experience in the academic internship

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Resume

This thesis analyses the phenomenon of the academic internship as a practice that blurs the boundaries between studying and working. The phenomenon is analyzed through an analysis of the experience that the figure of the “Intern” develops while engaged in the academic internship. The reader is introduced to different theories of experience that serve identify the circumstances that affect the creation of experience within the academic internship. The “Intern” is identified as the central experiencing subject in the academic internship and she is thus taken to be the central subject for the investigation. The thesis brings out a discussion of what the concept of experience can mean and how concepts of experience can be made operable in a study of specific phenomena. This is done by bringing out the theories of the philosophers Agamben, Benjamin, Dewey, and Foucault. The thesis employs a phenomenological approach to the study of the “Intern” and engages in a discussion of experience as one of the central aspects of this methodology. The “Intern” is shown to be a figure that is overly occupied with the notion of actualizing potential and this tendency goes against the notion of studying developed by Agamben. As a conclusion to the thesis, the “Intern” is created as a conceptual persona that is woven into institutions of work, and education.

Introduction

The internship is in its very nature a hybrid practice. The intern is expected to work on "real-life" issues during the internship, she is akin to an employee working for a particular company. On the other hand, the intern is also expected to learn from their stay as an intern. Not just the practices at the place of work, but take away teachings that are relevant to their own academic context. This makes the internship an interesting field of study as the intern exists on the border of the labor market and the world of academia. With a foot in each camp, the role of an intern is not easily identifiable. As a legal subject, the intern is protected under labor laws rather than laws of education, yet is still being viewed as a student while she works at a company.

The role of the intern is ambiguous and opens up for a discussion of what it means to be a student and what it means to be an employee. In a world of increasing project-oriented work organization, the intern represents a new mode of being in the workforce. She is not employed, very loosely connected to the professional organization, highly motivated and educated, and intent on completing a task within a given time frame of less than half a year. The role of the intern is related to the project worker as the intern is engaged in an organization for short intervals. The intern is expected to learn as much as possible and develop skills in the intense and short process. The academic internship is a way for the student to applicate her skills and actualize learning thus showing what the student can do in a professional setting.

In the context of the job market, the idea of experience constantly pops up. Every job ad mentions the need for experience within a certain field. The category denotes the capabilities of certain individuals in regards to certain jobs. The idea of experience as a valuable resource is now present in the institutions of higher education in Denmark as well. An example of this can be found in the rise of the academic internship. The students that were once expected to complete an academic education by studying theories of their respective fields are now pushed out into the professional organization to get some practical experience.

The idea of experience in relation to the practice of academic internships in Denmark is interesting as a field of study as experience is a philosophical concept explored by many philosophers. In this thesis, I look towards the theories of experience developed by Agamben, Benjamin, Dewey, and Foucault to discuss the possible vistas of experience. As such, this thesis explores the philosophical implications of the focus on experience inherent in modern educational practices. The term "experience" can come to mean many things with extensive consequences for the outcome of an internship. Through the thesis, I will look towards different conceptualizations of experience and use these concepts as the onset for an analysis of the phenomenon of the internship.

The academic internship fuses together two practices that are distinctly different, namely the practice of studying and the practice of working. As such, the experience gained in the academic internship is ambiguous as what one does and why it is done is not entirely clear. In the middle of this is the figure of the intern, who is not quite a student and not quite a worker. The position between two identities, the intern is a strange figure whose character is constantly debatable. I seek to uncover the strange circumstances of the figure of the intern in an analysis of the experience the intern is able to make in the internship. This leads me to a problematic focusing on the possible experiences in the academic internship:

What kind of experience is possible in the academic internship, and how can the experiencing subject of the intern be conceptualized?

I approach this problematic by analyzing the study regulations of the Master program European Ethnology at The University of Copenhagen and an internship report written by a student in this master program. The empirical material is approached as an example of how the academic internship is thought of and is analyzed because of the exemplary qualities of the empirical material. As such, the empirical material is approached from a phenomenological viewpoint using qualitative methods as a way to develop examples of the phenomenon of the internship.

I identify the concept of experience as a central aspect of the academic internship and through the analysis of this concept I seek to open up for the ways in which the experiencing subject in the academic internship – the intern – is able to experience her world while engaged in this practice. To arrive at this insight I rely on theories of studying and work to understand the context in which the experience is created.

Related areas of concern

The phenomenon of the academic internship is interesting as it is a phenomenon that is related to a wide range of areas of concern. As a phenomenon in a social and ideological context, the academic internship cannot stand alone as a certain practice but must be thought of as a practice interlaced in some of the major institutions of Danish society. Although this thesis is unable to encompass each and every one of the areas of concern related to the academic internship, I find that I should at least mention some of the areas that I find. Below I make out a list of areas I believe could be relevant to the discussion of the academic internship as a phenomenon:

- * Education policies
- * Work policies
- * Instrumentalisation of education

- * The ongoing discussion of "dannelse" and education
- * The conceptualization of work in the era of the project society
- * Precarization of young people in the workforce
- * Competition state
- * Economical effects of movements in the workforce
- * Governmental policies through the discipline of the mind (psychopolitics)

The central phenomenon for this thesis is the academic internship. A phenomenon that is woven into the practices of education and work while posing a range of questions to the role of students, education, and work in today's society. As an educational practice, the internship is interesting as it is in practice undermining a monopoly on higher education previously held by the universities and business schools that provide diplomas for young students. The academic internship is a practice that moves the student out of the classrooms and into the office. While interns in academic internships are connected to a university or a business school, the learning opportunities presented to them during the internship is provided by the professional organization they are placed at. The shift to internship practices in the educational institutions of Denmark might be subject to further analysis. A historical analysis of the varying lines of thought in the educational policies in Denmark might be able to reflect on the idea of work and praxis as integral components of a complete education.

One of the main arguments for adding academic internships to the curriculum of master programs is the effect that internships have on future employment (Gault, Redington, Schlager, 2000; EVA 2016a). The relation between employment and education is highly debated in Denmark, with study programs being assessed in terms of their ability to prepare students for the labor market. The emergence of academic internships as a bridge between the life of a student and the life of a young professional is firmly placed within the context of the educational policies practiced in Denmark.

The emergence of academic internships in master programs highlights conflicting ideals of education. As one professor responded to an issue concerning an application for an extension of an academic internship to cover 30 ECTS points "... we have decided, at the institute, that an internship shall reward a maximum of 15 ECTS points ... because our master students need to be very skilled in a foreign language when they graduate from here" (Staun, 2014). The scope of the academic internship is limited to ensure a high level of skill of the graduates of this master program. As students have 120 ECTS points in a master program, the ECTS points are precious and there is a limit as to how many of them can be obtained through academic internships. The view of Jørgen Staun shows that there is an idea of academic internships contrasting the teaching in the master program and offering fewer possibilities of mastering the foreign language. There is a concern for the preservation of a high academic level in master programs that allow for too much time in the academic internship.

Other actors are more prone to speak about the advantages of academic internships seeing no conflict between the academic internship and academic courses. Former Danish minister of education Sofie

Carsten Nielsen is of the opinion that "internships and teaching are not opposites but both are important pillars, that prepare the student for the labor market waiting for them" (Pedersen 2014) Teaching and internships are not inherently different according to this minister of education but support the efforts of the universities to equip the students for jobs as the students leave the universities. This comment showcases the idea of universities as "5-year job training" institutions that prepare a part of the population for the labor market. With the underlying ambition of preparing students for a job, the practice of internships is also deeply related to the discussion of the very purpose of universities.

The idea of preparing the students to take on a job and be able to navigate the labor market show that the ambition of the Danish minister of education is economical in nature. The minister seeks to optimize the future workforce and allow them to be able to undertake jobs and bolster the economy. The purpose of universities have not historically been to prepare people for a labor market and the emergence of internships could be analyzed as an expression of an orientation towards the ideals of the competition state, optimizing the employment potential of the population (Pedersen 2011).

The practice of internship is also an activity that affects the economy on a countrywide scale. The sheer number of students engaged in the workforce as interns also means that interns are a category of workers that play a significant role in the labor market as a whole. Roughly a fourth of the students at master programs in Denmark have at some point been in an internship and the amount is growing (EVA 2016b). The emergence of the intern as a larger part of the Danish workforce is interesting from an economic standpoint as the influx of interns will affect productivity, employment rates, wage expectancy, and hiring practices. It is not difficult to imagine job displacement due to cheap (free), highly educated, and motivated academic interns seeking internship positions at a large scale. As such the internship is an economical phenomenon with consequences that are especially dire for the newly graduated looking for entry-level positions.

The history and extent of the internship

The internship is a practice that has deep historical roots. The idea that young people would learn from the older generation by gaining practical experience is thousands of years old. The academic internship is just the newest expression of this idea. As a historical phenomenon, the academic internship is relatively new, yet it has seen an increase in recent years. Today we see students outside of the manual professions engage in internships as part of their education on a scale never seen before. In this section, the historical development of the internship is shown and the extent of the internship in the student population is examined.

The word intern first appeared as a term for medical students "interned" at hospitals in the 19th century (Perlin 2012 p, 30). These medical students went through their internships as the final step in their education before being able to go into the profession. This is the first use of the word intern yet the practice of young soon-to-be professionals following senior professionals has been around far longer.

In medieval guilds, the transfer of knowledge between generations was assured in the master-apprentice relationship. The apprentice would engage in an apprenticeship of around 7 years, following the master and learning from him by copying him (Sennett 2008 p, 58). The tradition of apprenticeship was maintained as a way to protect the skills of the guilds and ensure the transition of the workshop from one generation to the next.

In the 20th century, the practice of internships was adopted in the American government administration. From the 1930s to the 1950s the municipal and state-level government launched internship programs that allowed young people to get their foot in the door at the government institutions that provided the programs. In the 1960s there was a developing interest in internships as a way for students to engage in socially oriented work while receiving college credits (Perlin 2012 p, 34). In the context of America, businesses established massive internship programs in the 80s and 90s and internships became a part of a college education. By 2000, 92 percent of business schools provided internship programs (Perlin 2012 p, 35) and the internships became increasingly popular. The rise of internships has been prevalent in the academic world but there are also instances of internships being created outside of an academic context and on the border of the academic context. Perlin (2012) shows how the term internship today describes vastly different positions. Entry level positions at prestigious law firms in New York and menial jobs at Disney World both go under the term internships and in some cases, the internship label is used to conceal slave-like conditions. This was exemplified in a news segment of American news outlet Vice in a story named "The Worst Internship Ever: Japan's Labor Pains" (VICE News 2015). Chinese workers were transported to Japan to work in the oyster processing industry under the guise of participating in an internship. The work was menial and the workers/interns would often be cheated out of their pay by employers with no chance of pursuing legal action. The term intern spans a wide range of positions, with a wide range of experiences available to the intern. In Denmark, there are no cases of people working under slave-like conditions yet the act of interning has spurred controversy and been linked to modern slavery (Langer 2011).

Internships in Denmark

In Denmark, the phenomenon of internships is most prevalent among the unemployed and university students. Both groups are not closely tied to the labor market yet they are included by way of the internship. These two groups engage in two different form of internships.

The "unemployment internship" is a part of the Danish welfare system and is made in a collaboration with the intern, the professional organization, and the unemployment benefits office (jobcenter).

When a person under 30 years of age is unemployed for 13 weeks she is required to improve her qualification for jobs by engaging in a process called "activation" (aktivering). Activation is either education, intensive guidance, a subsidized job or an internship. The unemployment system of Denmark is thus one factor in the intern system of Denmark and a large portion of the interns in

Denmark are unemployed people that are working as interns to qualify for their unemployment benefits.

The other major group of interns in Denmark is students. Students at the universities of Denmark are able to do academic internships as a part of their education. Internships are seen as a legitimate way of educating university students and students are able to receive 1/8 of their ECTS points through internships. As such, internships are an integral part of the education system today. The students are thought to get valuable experience and insights out of the internships. The explicit purposes of the internship vary but a study summarized the main takeaways of internships as:

- Insights into a labor market and what it means to be at a place of work
- The possibility of working practice-oriented and applying the knowledge one has gained in the study program to specific work tasks
- To reflect on the interplay of the theories of the study program and work tasks

(EVA 2016c)

The academic internship is a practice that allows the student to understand the labor market and how one is able to "be at a place of work". While the notion of being at a place of work seems like an insignificant takeaway in terms of studying at a university, it is nonetheless one of the main takeaways expected from interns. Perhaps that is due to the practice of studying and the practice of working being blurred in the academic internship as it is supposed that the work done in the internship will be the starting point of a reflection.

Extent of academic internships

The practice of academic internships has received recognition as a viable form of educating advanced students. As the aim of universities shift towards ensuring employment of their students after graduation (Danish government 2016) the internship has been introduced as a viable form of teaching. The academic internship is deemed a method of ensuring that the student has the necessary skills and experience to be integrated into a job after graduating (Veléz and Giner 2015). The internship is in many instances seen as a stepping stone on the way to the dream job, giving the graduate an edge over other hopeful job applicants when there is a job opening.

It is apparent that the academic internship like other kinds of internship involves work. This is taken to contrast the practices involved in participating in university courses, practices we would call "studying". The intern is expected to learn how one "is" at a place of work, work practice-oriented, and reflect on the work tasks. Internships then involve both a mode of being at a place of work, the practice of working, and a reflection on this process. The academic internship does involve reflection and an insistence on bringing academic theories into play as a part of the work being done. Aside from

working, the intern is also supposed to be reflective – to study. As such, the academic internship is an intermediary state that blurs the mode of being of a student and the mode of being of a worker.

The intermediary state is both conceptual and temporal. The academic internship is thought of as a precursor to an actual job or as a way into the labor market. In a report from the Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA 2016a), the academic internship is shown to increase the likelihood of a graduate to land a job. The effect of academic internships on future employment is shown to be prevalent in study programs within the humanities and social studies. While it is interesting to note that the effect is dominant in these fields, the study itself evaluates the effectiveness of the academic internship in terms of employment after graduation.

The Danish government has expressed an ambition to ensure that students in Denmark receive a practice-based education (Danish government 2017). This is part of an effort to prepare the students in institutions of higher education for the labor market. The academic internship is one of several forms of education that embrace the idea of a practice-based education.

The academic internship has become a prominent form of education in the Danish institutions of higher education. 29% of Danish university students starting in 2009 completed an internship by the time they graduate from their master program (EVA 2016b).

The student populations at Aalborg University and The University of Southern Denmark are mostly involved in academic internships with more than 40% of the students graduating having done an internship at some point (EVA 2016a). On the other hand, only 14% of the graduates of Copenhagen Business School have completed an internship. The differences in the magnitude of internships may have many reasons but it is evident that a large number of students choose to incorporate an academic internship in their education.

Methodology

The phenomenon of the academic internship is apparent in a lot of professional organizations today. Thousands of students start as interns each year and the range of jobs they intern in is too vast to cover. I have chosen to analyze a small segment of the institution of internships yet I attempt to arrive at a conceptualization of the intern as a conclusion to my thesis. In this section of the thesis, I will explain the way in which I have approached the academic internship.

Before I go into the methodological considerations of my thesis I have to pay some attention to the delicate subject of methodology in the field of business administration and philosophy. As this study program is both rather young and relatively unique in its approach to scientific studies, the students in this study program (myself included) often find that there is not much written in our specific field.

Rather than reading textbooks or works in the field of business administration and philosophy we mostly read business theory with a philosophical perspective on it or philosophy in a business perspective. With a leg in both camps, there are possibilities of original insights, but they are hard to come by, as we have to pave the way to them ourselves. There are a plenty of methodologies available to the students of business administration and philosophy, but none of them have been developed with our field in mind. As such, we are constantly faced with the problem of which methodology to follow. In this thesis, I explore the phenomenon of academic internships by analyzing the phenomenon through philosophical concepts. I have approached the inquiry to this specific phenomenon with the notion that the concept of experience lays at the heart of the phenomenon. This curiosity has brought me to the understanding that the concept of experience must be elaborated to achieve insights into the phenomenon of internships. The analysis in this thesis is based on a phenomenological approach to scientific studies that I have sought to combine with a use of examples and experience as a central concept.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a German philosophical movement founded in the 20th century by Husserl. One of the central critiques offered by this movement is the critique of natural science for having distanced itself from the lived life of human beings (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2009, p 76). The target of the methodology of phenomenology is the lived life of the subject, called the "lifeworld". The "lifeworld" of the individual is explored by identifying the lived experiences of the individual. As such, the concept of experience is at the core of a phenomenological analysis. Furthermore, the notion of a "real" world that exists outside of the individual is rejected as a valid matter of inquiry. The natural world is in Husserl's terms put in "epoché" (suspension). While it is not rejected that this world exists, it is maintained that it exists as an entity outside of the matter at hand, the "lifeworld" of the individual. In the methodology of phenomenology, the researcher inquires into the life of the individual and utilizes this inquiry to speak about the "essence" of this "lifeworld" to arrive at qualities of the lived life of the individual that are able to say something about the way we all live. The phenomenological approach to studies in social phenomena presupposes a concept of experience that makes the insights derived from empirical material subject to an investigation of experience. In this thesis, I discuss several theories of experience to make out my own approach to an analysis of experience and subsequently an identification of the experiencing subject in the phenomena of the internship. In the following section, I go into the relation between experience and phenomenology.

Experience in a methodological perspective

Experience is the main philosophical concept of my thesis and is used in the analysis of the academic internship. It is also a concept related to our way of understanding the world. As such, the concept of experience questions the epistemological approach made in my thesis. The approach made in this thesis

presupposes the subject as an experiencing subject. This has implications in terms of the way the subject in my analysis – the intern – is thought to make the world intelligible.

I elaborate on the different conceptions of experience in the theory section of my thesis to find ways in which the internship can be analyzed. In short, Agamben shows that language (or the lack of it) may be an approach to study experience. Benjamin shows that the historical context may be a way of showing the ways in which experience is made. Dewey shows that experience is generated within a material and social environment and that the creation of such environment is an ethical concern of the teacher. Foucault shows that reading and writing are practices that create and share experience between individuals across time and space.

The concept of experience is discussed as a prerequisite for making the world intelligible. It is a discussion of how the "lifeworld" of the subject comes to be and, furthermore, how the language, the historical context, the social and material environment, and the communicative efforts are constantly changing the subject.

The thesis is an experience analysis aiming to explore the phenomenon of the internship as a practice of experience management on behalf of the institutions that are engaged in the internship.

The most interesting part of an experience analysis is not that it identifies how an individual or a group is or acts. Experience is involved in the transformation of the self and the analysis of experience shows how the individual is transformed. The concept of experience describes a fundamental aspect of living: How the world is made intelligible. This is the what I attempt to show in this thesis in the context of my field.

The exemplary method

When the example is used in the context of research, there is a process of creation and selection going on that demands a creative and selective thought process of the researcher. The use of examples and the processes related to it has been examined in the anthology "At se verden I et sandkorn", edited by Hansen and Ingemann (2016). This anthology seeks to uncover an exemplary method as a way to conduct interdisciplinary research and create knowledge that is not limited by the narrow scope of evidence-based research prevalent today. The anthology covers the use of examples in a range of research traditions from psycho-analysis over phenomenology to constructivism and realism. My thesis approaches the example from a phenomenological viewpoint using qualitative methods as a way to develop examples of the phenomenon of the internship.

In the exemplary method, one can develop examples in many ways, depending on the scope of one's research. In philosophy, examples have been used extensively to expand our understanding of the world and show different perspectives on known phenomena. Sometimes, everyday objects like a "kinder-egg" can become the example of the inner workings of late-modern consumerism as it has in the analysis of Žižek (Hansen and Ingemann 2016). Other times, a theory of language can be shown through examples as the late Wittgenstein sought to do in "philosophical investigations" (Hansen and

Ingemann 2016). Here, there are multiple examples of language in the form of short statements, small dialogues, and descriptions of experiences. The examples are created by the philosopher to show something else, something about our understanding of the world that we have not been able to see previously. There are many ways to utilize an example in research. The common property for them is that they are developed with the notion of improving our understanding of a given subject or field. By using the example, I attempt to show the exemplary nature of the experiencing subject in my thesis. The intern is thus moved from a specific subject to what I refer to as a "conceptual persona", created to show us how the practices of the internship reflect modes of thought prevalent in society today. The examples become the pivot point from which the world can be moved and the starting point of an original analysis. This is also my own ambition in this thesis when I go about analyzing the phenomenon of the internship.

The example

Throughout this thesis, I make observations on the legislative, practical, and theoretical context of the internship. These observations are analyzed as examples of the internship. The examples are made to open up the phenomenon of the internship and explain the dynamics going on in the practices inherent in this phenomenon and how they are related to the fields of education and work policies. The special characteristics of examples are that they are accounts of specific events, but are at the same time able to show the general insights able to be derived from these events. The example is an interesting concept and I explore this concept through the writing of Agamben.

Agamben is interested in the example as it is a concept that "... escapes the antinomy of the universal and the particular"(Agamben 1993b). The notion of the phenomena of the natural world as always unique and particular in the ways in which they present themselves to us is opposed to the notion of universal theories that exist as perspectives to understand the world by. This antinomy of the universal and the particular is circumvented in the example. Rather than describe a particular instance of something, the example establishes the relation between the particular instance and the universal character of itself.

Agamben relates the example to the concept of the paradigm and the etymological root of the concept. The word paradigm comes from the words para-deigma meaning that which is shown alongside (Agamben 1993b). The example, in turn, is a concept that stands beside the phenomenon to which it is related. Rather than searching to pinpoint the particularity of the phenomenon, the example serves to show the broader context in which the phenomenon could be understood. Thus, the example exists in relation to both the particular instance of the phenomenon and the universal qualities that it has. To give an example show its belonging to a certain class yet it exists outside of it. The defining feature of the example is its ability to suspend and deactivate the limitations of a class (Meskin and Shapiro, 2014). By giving an example, it is possible to challenge the dogmatic meanings of classes by suspending them and explore new meanings and contexts.

The example opens up for interpretation of the phenomenon as it stands beside the phenomenon and is made intelligible through the use of concepts that are not directly related to the phenomenon, yet show us something about it. The example is not a condensation of qualities in a specific case. It opens up the phenomenon to interpretation. "Thus, more than simply 'an exemplar and model', a paradigm is what in ancient Roman rhetoric was called 'an exemplum', connoting a capacity 'which allows statements and discursive practices to be gathered in a new intelligible ensemble in a new problematic context'"(Meskin and Shapiro, 2014). The notion of gathering an ensemble from statements and discursive practices hints at another aspect of the example, namely the creation of the example as a coherent communication made by a researcher. The example is an interesting concept both linguistically and epistemological, yet to establish it as the core of a methodology we need something more.

Criteria for examples

The inclusion of examples in my thesis is done in a selective way. The good example is one that leads to increased sensitivity towards the theme that one is studying. As such, the criteria of any example must be in its ability to show us something about the world. Like all analysis, the example is not made from a neutral standpoint. While the examples used in my thesis are not created by me, they are picked out by me to show a specific aspect of the phenomenon of the internship and the possible experience of the internship. The criteria of the examples in my thesis are their exemplary importance, noted by Kurt Dauer Keller (Hansen and Ingemann 2016) to be the primary concern when conducting research using the exemplary methodology. I include the examples to bind together theories of experience, studying, and work to the practices inherent in the internship. The examples are a way to circumvent the dichotomy of the universal and the particular.

In this thesis, I explore the phenomenon of the internship and the experience this phenomenon offers as one goes through it. I rely on a range of material to circle in on this problematic and build up the context in which this exploration takes place. The internship is a historical phenomenon as well as a legal construct. Therefore, I have given a very brief account of the historical development of the internship. Furthermore, I have gone into some of the ways in which the internship is defined in the regulations of the study programs as well as the ways in which the internship is described by the government of Denmark. The method here is that of document analysis and creation of examples as I have cited various documents and utilized them to create examples for further analysis.

Document analysis

I have studied two types of documents, namely study regulations and an internship report. The study regulations are interesting as documents because they are created by a writer but should be written as expressions of an institution. Documents offer insights into the practices of an institution as they are

official documents that embody an institutional power (Dahler-Larsen 2005). Official documents such as the study regulations are potent communication tools for the institution and the institution are deeply invested in these documents. There is not necessarily a specific writer of these documents. As the documents are statements on behalf of the institution itself, it is more prudent to think of the sender as a "writer function" (Dahler-Larsen 2005). The institution itself is the sender and the person writing is merely expressing the inner logics of the institution.

The internship report is another type of document. The report is partly an account of the internship, but it is also the premise for an examination of the student. It is – like many other aspects of the phenomenon of the internship – a hybrid document. It is written within a framework set by the student regulations and the societal context in which it is written, yet it is also a unique insight into the reflection that a student may have on her time as an intern. There is a clear writer of the internship report – the student/intern – and the internship report is a formal inscription of the events of the internship. The internship report could, in this case, be analyzed as an account of an "objectified social reality" (Dahler-Larsen 2005, Own translation).

In this thesis, the internship reports are read in a different context. The internships are in some ways a vital document in the internship system of the universities of Denmark, yet I do not simply analyze the internship reports as objectified social reality. In my thesis, I explore the potential experience of the internship and as such, the internship report is analyzed as a specific social reality – the experience of the intern. While the documents analyzed in this thesis are tied to institutional practices, it is not these practices as such that is the object of my thesis. The experience of the intern is analyzed by way of example. The analysis of documents is my method to establish this example. I have chosen to rely on a single internship report for citations as the quality of the example is not in its empirical breadth but rather in its ability to open up the world to me as a researcher and the reader as a reflective individual.

Four theories of experience

In the phenomenological exploration of the phenomena of the internship, the central concept for the onset of the analysis is the concept of experience. Rather than rely on a commonsensical notion of this concept I discuss the concept by relying on the theories of Agamben, Benjamin, Dewey, and Foucault. The following sections seek to bring out the different aspects of the respective theories of experience to arrive at my own basis of analysis.

Agamben

Agamben rejects the notion of a continuous history that proceeds in an orderly fashion through time. The concepts he develops are not tied to a specific era of time, but should be understood as paradigmatic concepts that can be employed to show modes of thinking. He regrets that some of his concepts have been misunderstood as "merely historio-graphic theses or reconstructions", as opposed to "paradigms whose role was to make intelligible a broader historical-problematic context"(Agamben cited in Murray and Whyte, 92: 2011). The application of his concepts does not rely on the chronological understanding of history, but rather an understanding of history as fragmented and continuously developed. History is not a linear progression but riddled with gaps and discontinuities (Murray and Whyte 92, 2011). As such, the concept of history presents itself to man as something that is not effortlessly lived but attained throughout life. Contrary to animal, man is not born into history but must establish the relation to history himself. To arrive at this understanding of history, Agamben relies on the concept of infancy.

Infancy

To Agamben, infancy is much more than simply a stage of life that follows birth. The reason that the concept appears interesting to Agamben, is that it is a state that precedes language and is not yet formed by the environment of its upbringing.

Agamben refers to the distinction between the semantic and the semiotic proposed by Benveniste in the 60's to explain his theory of infancy. Benveniste is concerned with the question of language and discourse. More specifically the question: at what point and under what conditions will concepts of language form discourse?

The semiotic designates the signifying mode – the sign. Taken by itself, the sign refers to nothing but itself and is thus empty. "pure difference in relation to any other sign" (Benveniste 1971). This means that the sign cannot tell us anything about the world or be the vessel for any form of communication.

To attain meaning and produce understanding the sign must enter the order of the semantic. This order of the semantic "corresponds to the world of enunciation and the universe of discourse" (Benveniste 1971) The meaning assigned to a word does not come from the series of signs that make up the word but rather from the total conception of this series of signs.

Furthermore, the distinction between the semiotic and the semantic can be illustrated by the way in which we process them. While the semiotic must be recognized, the semantic must be understood. This, according to Benveniste, means that two different faculties of the mind must be engaged in order to process the semiotic and the semantic. One needs to be able to perceive the sign as a difference between what is there and what was there before, while also being able to perceive the meaning embedded in the phenomenon perceived. The two orders, semiotic and semantic, are separate and Benveniste himself offers no solution as to how to transcend the "moat" between the orders. The sign and the meaning are not directly related within his thought and the central question then becomes; why is human language like this?

Agamben positions the concept of infancy as an answer to this very question. The two orders of the semiotic and the semantic describe a fundamental split in the way we as humans process the world we live in, yet we are speaking to each other and understanding each other every day.

The split between the sign system and discourse, the semantic and the semiotic, is the defining characteristic of human language. Animals have language and voices from birth, they are always inside language (Agamben 1993a, p.59). What sets humans aside from animals is the fact that humans have an infancy. In the infancy, humans are forced to discover the moat between the semiotic and the semantic. As man is not born into language, he lives in a state of infancy that precedes speech and discovers and forms language with himself as its subject. Agamben goes even further and establishes that the nature of man is split at its source, insofar that language is the nature of man. Infancy describes this split and opens up for the interpretive and reflective man. Whereas animals are born inside language, man is able to stay sensitive to the differences between the semiotic and the semantic. There is no man without infancy, as man would live as an animal, constantly within language and without any real agency. Reflective practices and formulation of a shared history require infancy.

The moment of infancy describes the state of man that allows him to re-imagine and vocalize thoughts of the lived life. The split between sign and discourse opens up for the potential of thought and the potential of history. A natural (animal) language simply exists and is constant. Any species of animal will have a language and every member of this species will be born into this language. History is obsolete in this context as there is no discontinuity within the language and no differences to be said. If man was born into natural language he will have no way of seeing history as something distinct from himself. Anything that happens is within the language that he is born into, there are no discontinuities to experience and man will go through life as history himself.

Through infancy, however, man is able to grasp the differences that make up history. History becomes an ongoing question of how man relates to himself in the state of infancy. As such, the concept of history shows itself to be a dynamic concept far from a static written log of events. As man engages with the language he does not master, he develops a consciousness of the differences between what he perceives and what he is able to say. This difference is experience.

Experience

As a concept, experience has many authors that utilize it. Agamben goes through the different conceptions of experience to take the reader through the history of thought pertaining the concept of history. As the reader approaches the end of the essay, he discovers that Agamben proposes his own reading of the concept of experience relying on a critique of the philosophers and linguists that came before him. His own account of experience is closely related to the concepts of infancy and history.

Agamben notes that the problem of experience is apparent in medieval thought and shows itself in the concept of the quest. Science and experience are connected to knowledge of good and evil. After original sin, man knows evil through experience and good through science. He still attempts to unite

science and experience in a single subject in a "quest". The quest for the Holy Grail is one such endeavor. Agamben describes the Grail as "the impossible vanishing point at which the break in knowledge is healed and the two parallel lines of knowledge and experience meet" (Agamben 1993a). The grail then symbolizes the human experience as an impossibility, a never-ending quest for the ultimate authority. Agamben also links this to the concept "aporia" meaning the absence of a road. The quest is given and the subject will go out and search for the unification of science and experience, yet he will find out that on his quest, there are no roads to follow and the quest will not be completed. As there are no roads towards his quest it is impossible to arrive at the place of the Grail and the quest remains incomplete.

By the end of the essay "Infancy and History", we arrive at the defining passage of the essay. The essay has until then been laying the groundwork for these thoughts. Agamben works with the concepts of language, infancy, and experience. These concepts are all related to what it means to be human. To be human, one cannot be totally in control of "language". While we may seek to master our own language and continue to improve the eloquence of our speech we will not arrive at a point where we are in total control of "language". At the outset of our lives, we live in a state of "infancy", a state that precedes language yet not in a chronological sense. Agamben expands the concept of "infancy" to include any state where language is ineffable. Wittgenstein's mystical limit of language is shown to be the "infancy" of language (Agamben 1993a, p58). Exactly because of this state of infancy, "experience" is available to us. Infancy represents a threshold where language is unable to encompass the events of the individual human. At this threshold, where meaning is impossible to grasp, experience is made and covers the discrepancies of language and event. Humans are never completely within language as their faculties allow them to see and experience events that go beyond the language that they are currently equipped with. As such, the concept of experience shows us that the events of an individual's life may become experience to him but only insofar as the individual is able to enter into infancy and understand the discrepancy between the event and the language available to him.

Experience in crisis

It is not always the case that the events of an individual's life become experience. As the onset of his development of the concept of experience, Agamben discusses the very existence of experience. Citing Benjamin, he shows the reader that modern man has been deprived of experience. Soldiers returning from WW1 had lost communicable experience – they were silent. During WW1, strategic experience was contradicted by tactical warfare, economic experience was contradicted by inflation, and moral experience was contradicted by men in power (Agamben 1993a, p15). The loss of experience here refers to the loss of the experience as an authentic reference point that is able to show how the world we inhabit is. With WW1 a generation was confronted with the shortcomings of their experience when they tried to understand the phenomena around them. Their strategic, economic, and moral experience was not sufficient to explain the mechanisms of the great war and the years following. In all these instances, a new mode of thinking, of understanding what is true, was introduced. Warfare was

changed as WW1 marked the introduction of insights from the industrial revolution to war. The idea of savings was eroded due to hyperinflation, and the disregard for human lives during WW1 contradicted any notion of human life as something sacred. Perhaps the trauma of WW1 was the cause of this silence and removal from experience as the basis for understanding the world we inhabit.

Agamben points out that the poverty of experience isn't present only in societies torn by war, but can be found in the humdrum life of any city (Agamben 1993a). While it is possible for an ordinary man to extrude experience from his daily life, it will not happen as long as the events of his life are not thought to say something or be the basis of judgments. We do not look to our life to find the basis of authority. This is the phenomenon that moves the concept of experience outside of our grasp as "experience has its necessary correlation not in knowledge but in authority – that is to say, the power of words and narration..." (Agamben 1993a, p. 16). As we look to other arenas of authority to explain what is happening in our lives, experience becomes obsolete and unimportant. The concept of experience that Agamben proposes is a concept that is both deeply embedded in what it means to be human yet at the same time is in crisis. While it is a premise of humanity, it is still under pressure from other factors. As Agamben examines the crisis of experience, he looks towards the writing of Benjamin. In his writing, the crisis of experience becomes apparent through an analysis of the historical context in which experience is thought and made.

Benjamin

Benjamin has written extensively on the concept of experience. In his text "Experience and Poverty" he identifies the decline of experience: that he lives in a period where the population undergoes a poverty of experience (erfahrung). The wisdom of older generations is to be found in their experience. It is this experience that allows them to impart wisdom to their heirs. Yet Benjamin finds that the experience of older generations no longer holds value.

"Who still meets people who really know how to tell a story? Where do you still hear words from the dying that last, and that pass from one generation to the next like a precious ring? Who can still call on a proverb when he needs one? And who will even attempt to deal with young people by giving them the benefit of their experience?"(Benjamin 1931-1934, p. 731)

The wisdom of one generation does not pass on to another through storytelling as the venues of communicable experiences are diminished. Proverbs, stories, and last words are not regarded as sources of wisdom. Experience has lost its value at the time Benjamin writes "experience and poverty" with wide consequences for society as a whole. The first world war was a collective shock for the entire world, especially Europeans that saw the traditions and wisdom of the previous generations shattered in a war that destroyed human lives as well as cultural ideals. The generation that was marked by World War I had less communicable experience and were primed to find new avenues of living. Benjamin writes about modernity and the human condition within the urban environments of early modernity. Throughout his authorship, Benjamin writes on the life he has lead within cities in Europe and Russia.

His own experiences, as well as his analysis of contemporary literature, inform his development of a concept of experience that shows that the events leading to a poverty of experience represent both a crisis of experience and an instigator of new possible experience. In his essay "Experience and Poverty", Benjamin opens up for four novel possibilities of experience.

Experience as "erlebnis"

The poverty of experience that perforated Benjamin's period left room for an "oppressive wealth of ideas" (Benjamin 1931-1934, 732) ranging from astrology to Yoga, to Christianity. Old traditions sparked interest in the population and became schools of thought for these people. They were not, however, a renaissance of old traditions, they were merely "galvanizations" of old schools of thought. The wealth of ideas in this era could be taken to represent different lifestyles that the resident of the city could adopt as his own. When the old schools of thoughts were revisited and relaunched they could not offer authentic experience as they were practiced in a way that lacked substance. The plethora of traditions, rituals, and ways of living that these schools of thought presented the population with simulated experiences. Benjamin points to the paintings of Ensor where people of the city wander around in masks, enjoying a carnival or other entertaining events in the streets. The paintings depict some of the coping mechanisms that have been put in place as a response to the loss of experience. The loss of experience (erfahrung) is concealed by finding and amusing oneself with the range of experiences (erlebnisse) that is available within the city (Caygill 1998, p.30). As such, the experiences that one goes through in the new alternative lifestyles are not to be taken as a return to pre-modern experience. They are tied to the modern mode of living inside the city. Benjamin provides his readers with a useful distinction between the different meanings of the English word "experience", namely the distinction between Erlebnis and Erfahrung. While both are translated into the English word "experience" they represent two vastly different ways of engaging with the events and practices of one's life. Erlebnis is defined by events that stand alone, experienced as something unique, it makes an impression through "shock". The word Erlebnis suggest that it is something that is lived through, something that happens to you.

The shock

Benjamin was deeply concerned with the formation and potential of the "shock". His friendship with Marxist playwright Bertolt Brecht shaped the conception of his own theory of shock (Ezcurra 2012). Brecht conceived the concept of "Epic Theater", a style of theater meant to bring about social change. One of the tools of "Epic Theater" was to utilize the shock to bring the audience realize their previous state of unawareness (Ezcurra 2012). Introducing the audience to shock was a way to confront the audience with the real and drag them out of their state of passivity. As such the use of shock had deep political implications and were used to excite the audience. The life that is taken for granted as historical inevitability became exposed as an illusion within the "epic theater" of Brecht.

The concept of shock have influenced Benjamin's writing heavily (Ezcurra 2012) yet towards the latter part of his authorship, Benjamin became aware of the inherent dangers of a life of shocks. In "Some motifs in Baudelaire", Benjamin develops a theory of experience that reflect a sensitivity to the problems a modern life of shocks poses to the formation of experience.

Throughout our life, our consciousness is the recipient of a wide range of impressions. The external world overflows with events that wash over the individual in a constant stream of impressions. As the individual might come to harm if this constant stream of impressions was allowed to influence the individual indiscriminately, the consciousness sorts through the impressions to protect the individual from overloading from stimuli. The impressions made by the external world are inherently shocking, each possessing a "shock factor" (Benjamin 1986). As such, one of the primary functions of the consciousness is protection against stimuli. The consciousness acts as a safeguard against the shocks that the world inflicts on the self (Benjamin 1986). The individual is vulnerable to influences of the outside and the consciousness protects against the traumatic overload of stimuli.

The protective function of the consciousness hampers the stimuli, the more effective the consciousness protects against stimuli, the less likely the impressions are to enter experience as *erfahrung* (Benjamin 1986). Instead, impressions of the external world present themselves to the individual as incidents, unique in nature and specific to a certain time that the individual has lived through (*erlebnis*).

Benjamin speculates that a special achievement of shock defense "... may be seen in its function of assigning to an incident a precise point in time in consciousness at the cost of the integrity of its content." (Benjamin 1986). Here we see a hint as to the inherent loss the conscious creation of experience as *erlebnis* carries with it. The integrity of the incident is lost when the impressions of the external world are ordered in terms of *erlebnis*.

The shock defense of the consciousness connects the stimuli of an incident to a specific time and thus confirms the singularity of this incident. As such, the incident is just that – an incident. It is something that has happened to the individual at one point in time. It will not happen again and has not happened before. As we presuppose a linear history of the individual, one incident can not repeat itself. The individual has lived through the incident and the consciousness assigns a specific time in the linear timeline of incidents to this particular incident.

Experience of Mickey Mouse

Within the poverty of experience, the subjects of the city are able to consume culture and relationships with other people on an unprecedented scale. The concentration of resources, cultural and social, provoke an enormous appetite in the population of the cities. Yet the consumption of culture leaves people tired. Benjamin observes that Mickey Mouse represents a dream of these tired people, a creature for whom the complicated technology and life of modernity is lived without trouble (Benjamin 1931-1934, p. 735). Mickey Mouse is a dream of the modern man who find relief in the idea of "a way of life in which everything is solved in the simplest and most comfortable way, in which a car is no heavier

than a straw hat and the fruit on the tree becomes round as quickly as a hot-air balloon."(Benjamin 1931-1934, p. 735.) The figure of Mickey Mouse expresses a new mode of experience, removed from the daily life in the city, and oriented towards an idealized, escapist life in which the challenges of technology and city dwelling is seamlessly solved.

Anything can happen in a Mickey Mouse picture and as such, the dependability of experience vanishes within them. Sometimes violently and abrupt, but always working out in the end.

On the threshold of experience

There are several consequences of the poverty of experience. One of them is the resurgence of the "barbarian". Benjamin introduces a "new kind of barbarism" (Benjamin 1931-1934, p. 732) in which the barbarian is able to open new possibilities of experience. Akin to great thinkers like Descartes and Einstein the "barbarian" is able to operate on the basis of a tabula rasa as he is not tied to tradition and experience. The poverty of experience allows for creative responses to the crisis and modern man finds himself at a threshold, capable of going in any direction in regards to creating experience. The concept of the barbarian points to a certain optimism in Benjamin's diagnosis of his contemporary. The new vistas of experience are not yet described at the time when Benjamin writes. He stands at the threshold looking out and is able to see that his contemporary is in a state of change. He does not himself point towards a certain mode of experience. He is himself a cultural critic, identifying and criticizing movements within his own cultural context. Modern man is left with a tabula rasa and the possibility choose the direction that he will take. This could be "back" to a society where experience equal authority yet could also be towards a society where experience is without authority and authority like many other things are constantly in flux.

Critique of erlebnis

The event ordered as erlebnis also hints at an understanding of history that goes against Agamben's notion of history. Where Agamben rejects the idea of a history as a linear progression, the linear ordering of events that is inherent in the notion of experience as erlebnis is exactly that. If we take the individual to experience her life as erlebnis, she does not, in fact, make history her own. If her history presents itself for her as a series of events, particular and without relation to each other, she does not enter the state of infancy in which it is possible to reflect and understand these events. They remain accounts of what has happened rather than a history in the sense of Agamben. This notion of history as a string of events leaves the history static and it does not allow for the individual to appropriate it and make it her own.

The concept of experience developed by Benjamin establishes a clear relation with the experience being made by the subject and the historical context she inhabits. Benjamin himself writes from modernity and his essay on the poverty of experience was written in as a kind of diagnosis of his

contemporary. In his historical context, he saw the poverty of experience and the life in the city as the defining characteristics of the experience made by the people of his time. He points towards new vistas of experience to take over as the old experience as erfahrung disappears. The historical analysis as a basis of a theory of experience is interesting as it means that it is necessary to identify the historical context of the individual to arrive at the context of the experience being made.

Dewey

The writing of John Dewey on experience adds a distinctly normative dimension to the concept of experience. In his philosophy of education, which would later lead to concepts such as experimental learning, he underlines the importance of creating quality experiences for young students. His use of the word experience is of course influenced by his utilization of the English language. Whereas Benjamin distinguishes between erfahrung and erlebnisse, Dewey is aware of the ambiguous meaning of the "experience" yet he continues to use this very word. He does write that experiences are not the same and that while some experiences may produce immediate effects in the students, others while leave permanent traces in the students. There are similarities to the work of Benjamin, yet the idea of shock as a means to produce immediate changes on a deep level of a subject is not present in Dewey's writing.

Educational experience

Dewey operates with a definition of experience that is very close to the life of any given person. His theory of experience builds on the notion of a continuous string of experiences and the potential of the environment and human interactions to influence these experiences. His core concepts in establishing a theory of experience are continuity and interaction.

In Dewey's theory of education, the worthwhile experience must live up to a criteria of continuity (Dewey 1997, p. 33). Instead of fragmented experiences that have no way of informing behavior in new situations, the experiences that educators should seek to create must be able to display a notion of continuity, related to prior experience and influencing future situations. In a given situation, prior experiences influence the behavior of an individual as the experiences have formed habits and attitudes that affect the individual.

Experience as the building blocks of education

The role of the educator is to ensure that the experiences of a student in her care are of a quality that allows the student to grow into being exemplary adults. These kind of experience are especially interesting to the educator as they allow the educator to not only educate a student but prime them for further education. The educator is able to influence the student by manipulating the interactions between the student and her environment in a given situation. Dewey takes the environment to include

the books that the students read, the materials that are used for experiments, and the people that she interacts with (Dewey 1997, p. 43). The things and people that the student interacts with also make up the environment that her experiences are created within. As such, the educator is able to set up the conditions for creating experience. By providing books, learning material and stimulating conversations, the teacher influences the creation of experience profoundly. Dewey's plea to the teachers of his time was that they understand the importance of experience and its creation when educating young students.

Experience as morality

The creation of experience is not only relevant as a basis for the intellectual development of students. Dewey understands education as a concept spanning the moral and social aspects of personal development as well as the intellectual development. Perhaps his writings could be understood as an attempt to include the Danish concept of "dannelse" (education as formation) in the school system. The concept of "dannelse" is typically advocated in the Danish education system as a distinct and important aspect of growing up as a good member of society. While it is hard to say if Dewey himself had any notion of this Danish concept he does address the importance of laying the foundation for constructive growth by ensuring that students have positive experiences within the school system. He ascertained that individual experiences of the student have great effects on the adolescent mind and influences the way the student develops. The education of an individual is thought to be a process of growth in the sense that the student is expected to grow both intellectually and morally through his or her education (Dewey 1997, p. 36). As such, the experiences of the young student may lead to good growth or bad growth. Therefore, the teacher must take on an active role in guiding the experiences of the student to ensure that the early experiences allow for productive (good/ethical) growth (Dewey 1997). The teacher has a role in the formation of the students that is linked to her ability to ensure that the student is within a learning environment that allows for the ethical growth of the student. The practice of teaching is thus also a practice of projecting a set of norms on the child. Teaching is thought of as a practice of ethics that is formative for the students. This conception of the education system leaves a series of questions as to the role of teachers and to what extent the educational system should take on the role of projecting norms on students. It seems that Dewey advocates for the active participation of teachers in the development of continuous experiences among the students and an active development of particular practices deemed ethical by the teacher.

The experiences of a student are not a collection of fragmented instances but part of an ongoing process. We see this underlined in the criteria of continuity that Dewey supported. The connection between experiences may lead us to think of the student as an individual in a continuous state of becoming. While the concept of experience in Dewey's writing professes experiences as created in

specific situations within specific environments, the experiences are also interrelated and somehow malleable.

Foucault

Experience is a central concept in Foucault's authorship. It is related to his concept of critique and his exploration of the way the subject makes her history and society intelligible. Experience is to Foucault "a dynamic interplay between games of truth, forms of power and relations to the self." (Lemke 2011, p. 27) which suggest that the concept of experience take a position among his more known concepts of power, truth, and self. I believe it is most interesting to draw on his thoughts on experience as a transformative potential, shaping and molding the subject.

Here we see the relation between history and experience. Experience happens at the nexus between history and the subject. When Foucault writes, his books do not produce a certain truth but opens up possibilities of experience.

"as an experience [. . .] much more than as the demonstration of a historical truth. [. . .] [T]he essential thing is not the series of those true or historically verifiable findings but, rather, in the experience that the book makes possible. Now, the fact is, this experience is neither true nor false. An experience is always a fiction: it's something that one fabricates oneself, that doesn't exist before and will exist afterward." (Foucault cited in Lemke 2011, p32)

The experience is not concluded as the external circumstances unfold. Instead, the experience is fabricated as a fiction by the subject. The fiction of experience is its constituting moment, the creation of experience. This is especially interesting at it points towards an understanding of the creation of experience as a practice that is deeply embedded in the relation to the self and the expression of one's own situation. The creation of experience does not happen then at some point outside the subject but rather in a move where the subject fabricates her own experience by expressing it to herself. Experience doesn't have to be practical in nature to be authentic. It is created first and foremost as a fiction. Only after the fiction does it transgress into reality by way of communication. Experience is sometimes conceived of as a resource that is generated in the confrontation between the individual and the real/reality/outside world yet Foucault shows that experience has its roots in reflective processes.

The experience book

As we explore the concept of experience it becomes apparent that the concept develops a sensitivity towards the ways in which we relate to our lives and the world that we inhabit. The generation of experience happens in an interaction with the world and a reflection on what the life we have lived should be thought of. As such, the generation of experience is a reflective thought process where lived

life is contemplated upon and made intelligible. Foucault shows that the first step in the fabrication of experience is the fiction that we construct. This is done as a way to make the lived life intelligible as a constant wave of stimuli is noise and nonsense as long as it is not ordered and made conscious. The fabrication of experience takes an effort from the subject and is not automatic. If we dive deeper into this process we need to ask how the fictions on which experience is fabricated comes to be. What is it that informs these fictions?

Lemke suggests that Foucault's ambition throughout his authorship has been to provide experience to his readers through his books (Lemke 2011). The book is thus a way of communicating the reflective processes of the individual to a broader audience. Foucault himself is generating experience for the reader to digest and make her own. By reading, the reader is exposed to a fiction formed by Foucault and is thus invited to share his perspective and experience of his subject matter. His exploration of the history of madness, the penal system, and sexuality are thus a way for him as an academic to open up the possibilities of experience. As the reader is confronted with Foucault's writing, she develops an understanding of the subject at hand and becomes more sensitive to the issues at stake. Of course, this process is not given for any reader at all times, but the intention and potential remains: that the practice of reading develops a sensitivity that opens up new possibilities of experience.

The writings of Foucault are an exploration of experience in regards to the subject matter that Foucault engages with. As a form of experience, the text he develops is a type of written language that needs to be studied and perceived actively to understand it. If we take Foucault's idea of experience written in books and attempt to relate it to the thought of Agamben, we see that the act of reading the books of Foucault may be the event that transgresses the limits of language. Foucault's writing confronts the reader with a new perspective on the subject matter that is not encompassed by the language of the reader. To understand, the reader must enter the state of infancy and the language to comprehend the text through experience. While this synthesis of theories may be contrived, the idea of developing sensitivity to phenomena through studies is a common feature in the writings of both Foucault and Agamben.

The academic can then be seen as a new subject. She has through her studies become more sensitive to certain fields of the world and has expanded the possibilities of experience.

The notion of the experience book also leaves us with a hint to the relation between experience and writing. The practice of writing is to Foucault a practice of showing experience he himself has made. It is a way of producing intelligible experience to a broader audience. If we take this and expand this to a general aspect of writing, the texts that we seek to analyze may be seen as a form of shared experience where a certain perspective on the world, inner or outer, is contemplated and put into writing. As such, the practice of writing and the text itself become central in the analysis of experience. We go from analyzing a text as having an "author" to analyzing the text as having an "experiencing subject" that at the same time creates experience as fiction, shares experience as text, and becomes an object of experience analysis through our studies.

Experience as transformation

As shown previously the concept of experience is intimately related to the way we live and understand the world we inhabit. We are as individuals dependent on our experience to understand the world. In the theories of experience above, we see how Agamben, Benjamin, Dewey, and Foucault develop their own concepts of experience. This paragraph discusses the different conceptions of experience and relates them to the idea of transforming the individual.

Agamben writes out the concept of experience as related to the concepts of infancy and language in a trio of concepts each dependent on the others. We see that the state of infancy is a state unique to humans and a state that allows for the development of a history that is not static but continuously created. Language and history are constantly changing and experience is developed on as language becomes insufficient to embrace the events of our lives. The subject undergoes situations where language is incapable of expressing the event that occurs. This wordless state where language is insufficient requires the individual to enter a state of infancy and understand the difference between what is seen and what it means. Only then does the discrepancy between event and language absolve in experience.

Agamben rejects the notion of a static human and opens up for the sensitive human that is able to make her history intelligible through the generation of experience. The sensitive human is constantly transforming as her own experience changes and the world opens up to her in a particular way. Agamben establishes that we as humans are distinct from animals because we are not born into language and do not have a set history, but are able to transform due to the events that happen and the unique experiences that come from them. The idea of a perpetual infancy that one is able to access suggests that the individual in the theory of Agamben is able to transform in various ways. The transformation is not due to external influences as such though. Experience is together with language, infancy, and history the premise of humanity. Experience is a concept to Agamben that serves to show the individual's contemplative self is constantly developing ways of perceiving the world. The development of experience is related to the external world, but comes to pass as an exercise of one's faculties.

In the writing of Benjamin, we see that the concept of experience is under pressure, perhaps entirely gone. He writes from his contemporary and shows that modernism has brought with it a surge in "shocks" bringing the subject in modernity into a constant state of shock. His diagnosis is historical in nature and his theory of experience places the experience of the individual in a relation to the historical context in which she lives. The state of shock prevalent in modernity does not allow for experience as a ground upon which to build one's understanding of the world. Experience as "Erfahrung" is ousted as the shocking world of modernity merely allows for experience as "Erlebnis". This account of experience points towards the sheer density of experiences available in modern, urban life and how we are constantly bombarded with stimuli. Benjamin points toward an immediate future where experience of old (erfahrung) is pushed out and instead other ways of understanding the world take the place of Erfahrung. In Benjamin, we see that the concept of experience is deeply embedded in the historical

context in which it is made. The poverty of experience in Benjamin's own time leads him to think of new possible experiences. One of the new experience forms is particularly interesting in terms of the transformational properties of experience - the experience you might call the Mickey Mouse experience.

In his contemporary, Benjamin sees that people are drawn towards the Disney cartoons where everything fits seamlessly together and " a car is no heavier than a straw hat and the fruit on the tree becomes round as quickly as a hot-air balloon" (Benjamin 1931-1934, p. 735). The cartoons portray animals that interact with the world without problems. Objects like cars and fruits are transforming constantly, as is the subject that experiences them. In the cinema, people are able to feed their desire to be infinitely transformable. The individual engages with everything in a seamless manner because there is no end to the ways in which she can transform. This could be a consequence of the acceleration of shocks as the constant shocks makes it impossible to have a continuous experience but orders stimuli as fragmented experiences. As such, the subject is not transformed through some specific event but rather the subject strives to be infinitely malleable, fitting into the circumstances of her environment.

The philosophy of education present in Dewey's writing proposes a concept of experience that is intimately related to the education of young children. As such, the experience of children is the basis on which they develop as people. A consequence of Dewey's writing is that the teacher must take an active part in forming the experience of the students as she is supposed to ensure the formation of an upstanding citizen. The subjects in Dewey's philosophy of education are taken to be children and much younger than the young adults typically engaged in academic internships, yet we see that these young adults and the teachers that are educating them are engaged in a process of self-formation. Teachers or the representation of teachers, namely the universities, undertake the responsibility of preparing the students for when they are done with their studies.

They are not stepping out into society though, they are stepping out to the labor market and must become upstanding employees. The educational purpose of the internship is not the formation of children but the transformation of young adults to young employees.

Dewey's concept of experience implies that the teacher must assume a heavy responsibility in ensuring that the student will have the right experiences. This is done by ensuring that the environment in which the students achieves these experiences is ideal. As seen previously, the environment of a student consists of any kind of object or person that in interaction with the student form the experience on which she relies. Thus the classroom, the syllabus, and the other students at a study program are all part of the environment of a particular student.

In Dewey's concept of experience, the materiality of the world we live in play a key role. We see how the environment is especially important to the development of experience. The objects that the individual interacts with is constitutive to the way she experiences the world. This makes the place where the individual lives her life a matter of concern. The experience of an individual is dependent on the places she has access to.

Furthermore, Dewey introduces an ethical aspect to the concept of experience as he underlines that one of the prime responsibilities of the teacher is to install "good" experiences in the student. The generation of experience is a matter of ethics as the experience is the foundation of a moral upbringing.

The literature that students are exposed to is thus a component in the development of experience, a notion shared with Foucault in his idea of the "experience book". He seeks to share his own experience as he writes books. The underlying idea is that people should change through reading his books and become more sensitive towards the themes he explores. By writing, the writer is able to not only make experience intelligible but also to allow others to experience a theme from her perspective. Writing is in this sense a way of making other people experience something.

As the theories of experience are laid out, it becomes apparent that the idea of transforming the subject is at the heart of each account of the concept. The study of experience is then not only a study of what happens in a person's life but more of how this person is transformed into something she was not before. The notion of an unchanging individual must be discarded as we see experience as a constitutive concept of being.

The Student

The universities of Denmark are inhabited by a group of people called students. It is an occupation and in Denmark, it is expected to be a full-time occupation at that. As such, it is something that you do for at least 37 hours a week and it is tied to your identity. The students today are engaged in all kinds of practices, yet the defining practice is the practice of studying. This section looks into the practice of studying as a unique practice tied to the concept of potentiality. Furthermore, the student herself is conceptualized as a person as a way of showing the unique characteristics of this way of being. The practice of studying is sometimes equated to learning given that the outcome of studying supposedly is knowledge. The idea of learning in universities have been getting a lot of traction with the introduction of the "learning society" as a way of organizing society and education to cater to the shifting needs of unstable markets and demands of the labor market (OECD 2000).

Lewis (2011) develops a critique of the learning society and the notion of learning as the practice inherent in education by reading Agamben's concept of potentiality and studying. Agamben's notion of studying is read as a critique of the highly instrumentalized approach to education that is inherent in the learning society. Education as job training offers little in terms of free and critical thinking. To start out his critique of educational practices, Agamben explores the concept of potentiality.

Potentiality

The concept of potentiality is central to the notion of man that Agamben develops in his work. The concept shows with clarity that Agamben believes that man is not bound by necessity but able to explore things as they could be. The only thing that man cannot escape is the fact that he is in potentiality. "There is in effect something that humans are and have to be, but this something is not an essence nor properly a thing: It is the simple fact of one's own existence as possibility or potentiality."(Agamben 1993b)

What we see here is that there is no "destination" for humans (in contrast to things and animals who have a defined telos) and that man is once again shown to be independent of his own "nature". It is a subject that Agamben returns to throughout his authorship, the freedom of man inherent in the way his language, experience, history, telos, and potentiality is not determined but constantly developing. Thus the work of Agamben has the concept of potentiality at its core.

The notion of potentiality can take on two meanings. Often we use the word potentiality in the generic sense of the word: potentiality is what something is able to become. This means that we see something and talk about what could happen to it, what is possible in the future. In the context of learning, we can see the child as a subject that is not yet formed. The process of learning is then to form the child by extinguishing different potentialities and bringing a particular potentiality into actuality. "the child must suffer an alteration through learning that destroys the not yet in order to fully actualize a latent potentiality for adulthood, citizenship, or productivity"(Lewis 2011). There is a potentiality in the child already and the learning in the educational system actualize this potentiality. The potential must be destroyed by actualizing it and the child becomes something specific, preferably a productive citizen. This notion of potentiality suggests that education is a process of nurturing specific identities in the children involved in the educational system. The educational system is then tasked with optimizing the child making sure that it reaches its "full potential".

The notion of effective potentiality considers potentiality as something to be preserved. Rather than seeking the destruction of potentiality in actuality, Agamben suggests that we think of potentiality in terms of being "in potentiality" and explore the counterpart of potentiality – impotentiality. Through a reading of Aristotle, Agamben shows that the concept of potentiality is always also an impotentiality of the same order. When a potentiality is opened, an equal impotentiality is revealed. This means that a potentiality to do is not only that but also a potentiality to "not do". The individual is able to exercise her potentiality only when she embraces both aspects of potentiality (Agamben 2010, p. 44). The actions of the individual are suspended between potentiality and impotentiality and in this suspended state the individual is able to reflect and develop her capacities.

While being suspended in this state, the individual also experiences freedom due to the fact that all potentialities can be overturned or ignored. As the individual has both potentiality and impotentiality, there is a range of choices that open up. As such the individual history is also opened up due to everything being contingent on the choice to do or not to do, to be something or the other (Lewis 2011). Rather than realizing a given potential, the individual is thought of as potentiality and

impotentiality at the same time, constantly navigating in a state of suspension. The suspension between potentiality and impotentiality is a specifically human phenomenon as it is not found in animals. Where animals are bound to a biological potential, "human beings are the animals capable of their own impotentiality" (Agamben 2010, p. 44). This way of defining man mirrors his definition of man in infancy and history. Here the concept of language is the defining concept where animal is born into language, man acquires it and this process is what opens up the possibility of history (Agamben 1993a).

This mode sustained potentiality is not common in today's society, however. It is far more common to be overly sensitive to ones potential than to be able to see ones impotentiality (Agamben 2010, p. 44). As such, there is little room to find out what the individual can not do and thus the effective potentiality of the individual is unable to be exercised. Students, in the context of the learning society, are likewise being pushed to explore what they can do rather than what they can not do (Lewis 2011). The orientation towards generic potential limits the students to constant efforts to actualize what they have learned rather than exercise their potentiality by embracing their impotentiality. The focus on the actualization of potentiality may lead to a situation where it is difficult to study at all.

To study

To study one must be exposed to different viewpoints and reflect upon them, challenge them and be influenced by them. This could be referred to as a form of scholarly curiosity or an exploration of potentialities. With the notion of impotentiality and the capability to "not do" it is possible to explore what might be. By reading it is possible to come face to face with other potentialities – other ways of experiencing the world. As the student is engaged in the process of studying, she may experience being stupefied. As she goes down a trail of books and lectures looking for answers, the answers may elude her and become increasingly obscure. The student is confronted with her own stupidity, yet the act of studying does not end the state of stupidity, it preserves it (Lewis 2011). We might see the state of stupidity as something that the student enters on purpose in order to be able to explore the plethora of ideas and concepts available in the field she is studying. To explore this field it is entirely necessary to admit one's own lack of understanding. Thus it is not shameful to be stupid but the first (and last) step towards studying. By becoming stupid, the student allows herself to seek out the thoughts of others and take in the concepts that could be utilized to illuminate a research question.

The notion of becoming "stupid" to be able to say something profound is found throughout the history of philosophy. The "Idiot" is someone that is inherently stupid as he insistently thinks in ways that do not correspond with established dogmas. The figure of the "Idiot" is explored by Deleuze and Guattari (1994) in their book "What is philosophy" as a conceptual persona. He is the private thinker that is able to reject the dogmatic thinking of his time and think something up outside of the expected. The figure of the "Idiot" shifts according to the context she exists in. She serves the purpose of expanding the line of thought for her contemporaries. The philosopher is connected to the "Idiot" or the conceptual persona to the extent that "The conceptual persona is the becoming or the subject of a philosophy, on a

par with the philosopher, so that Nicholas of Cusa, or even Descartes, should have signed themselves "the Idiot," (Deleuze and Guattari 1994, p. 64). As the philosopher is related to her philosophy, and authentically involved in the philosophy she may as well sign the text as the subject of her philosophy. Other figures are also in some way able to go into a state of stupidity. Socrates was aware of his own lack of knowledge and it was because of this lack that he was considered wise. In the "apology" he contemplates on his title as the wisest man in Athens and arrives at the conclusion that he is the wisest not because of his vast knowledge but because of his awareness of his own lack of wisdom (Plato, Apology 2008). The defining feature that sets him apart from the people of Athens is a lack. As such he is able to become sensitive to the world he inhabits and goes about studying the people of Athens and laying the foundation for a life time of inquiry.

While Socrates is not wise he does insist on exploring the world he inhabits. In a sense, he embraces an ultimate potentiality of wisdom as he rejects any notion of wisdom as it is presented to him. Through his conversations with the people of Athens, he is confronted with many positive notions of wisdom. Many claim to have some measure of wisdom pertaining to the field that they work in, yet Socrates rejects all of it and insists on being suspended in a zone of indistinction indefinitely.

The student is then a figure that mimics the figure of the "Idiot" or Socrates. As the student perpetuates her state of stupidity, she is able to study phenomena from a unique position. The student does not engage in dogmatic thinking but remains sensitive to contradicting thoughts and follows a trail of thought into obscurity. The figure of the "Idiot" and Socrates are not identical to the student, yet they offer insights into the potential of stupidity, idiocy, and ignorance. By discarding the notion of established thought one is able to explore the plethora of thought available. If we take the works studied as a part of "history" the student is immersed in this "history" and in the act of studying comes very close to this "history" of the past yet is immersed in it in the present. As shown previously in this paper, Agamben's notion of "history" is not to be taken to be a chronological account of events in the past but an integral part of human self-relation and development. In the act of studying, the subject is immersed in an exploration of history yet this exploration does not conclude in a specific attained knowledge, it is a process of discovery and self-formation.

Agamben refers to the time of study as "messianic time", a time that is both "not yet" and "no longer" (Lewis 2011). In the state of messianic time, the concept of history changes in that the present can contain the past and the future. By way of studying, the past, present and future blends together in a zone of indistinction. As a conceptual persona, the student is tied closely with the practice of studying. It is what she does and what she is.

The student serves as a reminder of the inquisitive, exploring practices that can be part of the experience of the persons involved in a study program. The conceptual persona of the student is not made to match all students at all times, however. It is merely an example of the ways in which life in the university could be conceptualized. The intern is different though as she is engaged in a wholly different context, both in regards to the physical environment and the institutional environment she acts in. The question then is: who is the intern? If she cannot be conceptualized as a student, how do we then conceptualize her?

The conceptual persona of the student serves to frame the phenomena of the academic internship as the intern here is thought to be a kind of student as she is still attached to the university she studies at. The phenomena of the internship involve practices that differ heavily from the practices of the student. These practices and the framework in which they are practiced is analyzed in the next section.

Analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts with an introduction of empirical material. The first part shows the study regulations and the internship report as examples of the ways the internship and in turn the intern are thought of by the institution of the university and the intern herself. In this part of the analysis, I will discuss how the practices of the internship that are thought to be educational are a form of application of knowledge. This part of the analysis relies on document analysis of study regulations and an internship report. The study regulations and the internship report are chosen due to their exemplary character.

The second part of the analysis explores how the internship is part of a labor market. I explore how practices of the internship are related to the practice of work and how the internship relates to work as an institution. The intern is the experiencing subject in the institution of the internship and while there are individual differences in the experience of an internship, there are some key aspects of the modern internship that make for a transformation of the self among students. The key aspects of the internship is that is taking place in the professional organization and that the academic internship is unpaid.

Finally, I develop the "intern" as a conceptual persona. This conceptual persona is taken to be an experiencing subject that through experience is constantly in relation to the historical, material and intellectual context of her lived world. The academic internship is then related to the transformation of the student.

Study regulations for the internship

The study regulations of a study program, the study objectives of the different courses needed to get a degree are described. Every course has a description of what is taught in the course and an account of what the student is expected to do in the final examination. These documents are interesting as they are statements on behalf of the university as an institution. I examine the study regulations of the internship as statements made by a writer function representing the university. They delimit the contents of courses and, more importantly, the expectations a student must live up to if she wishes to achieve the highest grade. As such, these documents carry a lot of importance to the student, who must look to these to find out on what basis she is examined.

In the curriculum and regulations (studieordning) of bachelor and master programs at universities in Denmark, internships are specified as a substitute for electives. The internships grant ECTS-points upon completion, providing that they live up to the standards of an academic internship. The standards of academic internships (projektorienteret forløb) vary from study program to study program but the

distinguishing features of the academic internship compared to other internships are the focus on academic relevance for the student. The regulations for the master of European Ethnology at The University of Copenhagen specify the academic goals of the student is to

"Plan and execute a concrete task for a business or an organization by applying ethnological skills ... Discuss the tasks that are completed during the stay at the place of work and reflect on the interplay between ethnological perspectives and experiences from the stay" (University of Copenhagen 2017)(own translation).

The academic internship is established as a practice that demands academic reflections on work tasks while incorporating the experiences created at the place of work in a discussion of the internship. We see that the student is expected to plan and execute concrete work tasks while applying ethnological skills thus utilizing ethnological skills in the tasks at the place of work. The academic internship requires academic activities to be justified.

Furthermore, the regulations state that the student must discuss and reflect on the work tasks she undertakes at the place of work. The objectives of the academic internship are not solely proving able to undertake a specific task but also the ability to approach this task in a reflective manner. As such, the student is expected to go beyond the actual work tasks and reflect on the work itself in relation to the academic background she has as a student. It is supposed that the academic internship provides the opportunity to reflect on the interplay of their academic background and the experiences from the academic internship.

Experience in the study regulations

In the regulations of the Master of European Ethnology, the word experience is explicitly mentioned, yet the concept of experience is not defined. We see the word experience, but as we have seen before, the word itself is ambiguous and may refer to different conceptions of experience. Here I must underline that while my empirical data includes the word "experience" this word is taken to be an empirical phenomenon in the context of the citations. It is not to be mistaken for my use of the word "experience" as I in this thesis explore "experience" as a concept. I take this ambiguous use of the concept of experience as an occasion to investigate the concept in the context of the regulations of the Master program. There are subtle hints as to possible interpretations of their regulations.

The first notable thing is that the word experience is in a plural form. Rather than the internship being a single experience, the intern has multiple experiences while engaged in the internship. The notion of multiple experiences suggests that there are a string of experiences one goes through in chronological order. This notion of experience as a chronological series of events is described as "erlebnisse" by Benjamin. The experience as "erlebnisse" is an experience that contains a measure of shock by the way of stimuli as shown previously. The place of work offers the stimuli of a professional organization, that being the work tasks or the work environment. Nevertheless, there are a stimuli at all times during the stay as an intern. The academic internship is meant to be a stimulating stay at an organization outside

of the academic field. The student is expected to get something out of the stay at the place of work that is not attainable through the stimuli at the university. As such the student is expected to absorb stimuli during the stay. The stimuli in the academic internship is processed as *Erlebnisse* as they are distinct events able to be conceived as such by the student. The consciousness of the intern would seek to protect itself from absorbing the experiences as *"erfahrung"* instead opting to internalize the events as *"erlebnisse"*.

By understanding the events of an internship as a series of *"erlebnisse"*, the events are understood as fragmented instances that each may hold some level of insight but are not consistent themselves. The experience developed in such a manner is very specific and the experience does not point towards insights into the next situation. As such, the experience gained as *"erlebnisse"* makes an impression on the intern and may be recounted as stories but it is not to be taken as a basis of knowledge. Each instance represents a certain *"stimuli"* to the student. The experience that the regulations refer to is a series of stimuli all perceived by the student and ordered as distinct experiences. The experiences of events is then a constant stream of stimuli that is ordered by the student as something specific to a certain situation. The consequence of this is that the content of the stimuli may lose its content. If the intern is only to take away a series of event, understood as specific instances of *"erlebnisse"* the internship on a whole does not offer much insight in one way or another. As the urban dweller in modernity, who experiences shocks on a regular basis in the confrontation with the high paced life of the city, the intern is engaged in a stream of stimuli and forced to order these as she goes along.

The academic goals of the internship suggest a notion of experience akin to *"erlebnisse"* yet the regulations also state that the student is expected to *"discuss"* and *"reflect"* on the interplay between the capacities gained as a student of ethnology and the *"experiences of the stay"*. The act of discussing and reflecting suggest that the experiences gained from the internship are not in themselves enough to fulfill the requirements of the study program. After generating experience at the internship, the student is expected to reflect upon them, yet the process of developing experience is a reflective process where the student involves herself in the understanding of the events that unfold.

The Internship report

As a part of the examination of the student engaged in an internship, the student must write a report on this internship. This is called the internship report. After the academic internship, the internship report serves as an important document showing the outcomes of the internship. The student is expected to write about what she has been doing during the internship and how she has approached the tasks in a manner that brought her qualifications as an academic into play. As a document, the internship report is both an account of events, and a part of the student's academic records. The internship report is evaluated on the basis of the study regulations and a sub-par internship report could result in a denial of university credits, leaving the student short of the ECTS-points. As such, the internship report is the

proof that the intern has had a fruitful internship and is able to utilize the learnings from her stay at the place of the internship in her academic pursuits.

The internship reports are interesting as empirical material because they are documents that include reflections by the interns themselves on the practices and the experience from the internship. The internship report is written as the internship is completed and reflects on the internship and how the student has been affected through the internship.

Following Foucault, we see that experience is not generated at a specific place at a specific time, but rather from the fictions that the subject develops in response to the events that unfold (Lemke 2011). Experience is developed by the individual in a reflective practice where the events are digested and made intelligible through fiction. In the case of the internship program, experience is developed as a "fiction" in the "Internship report" required to complete the academic internship. The internship report is a reflective account of the experiences lived in the internship. Following Foucault's account of the experience book, we see that experience is not a phenomenon that happens spontaneously but a reflective practice that is inherent in the practice of writing. Experience is a fiction that is developed individually in a reflective practice.

This reflective practice is not without constraints, however, and the study regulations examined above are documents showing some of the formal constraints to the internship report. The regulations of the study programs set some boundaries in which this fiction can be written. The intern as a subject creates her experiences in accordance with the boundaries set up by the study regulations and in the context of the work done at an internship. As such, the university is acting as a constraining factor framing the ways in which the internship report can be written. The creation of experience occurs in a context of educational policies, work practices, and professional identity. As the student is expected to create the internship report in accordance with the study regulations and at the backdrop of the internship, the development of experience is not unprompted. The experience that is written out in the internship report is developed within a framework of expectations and regulations that underlines the productive capacity of academics within the context of the workplace. As such, the concept of experience is being tied to the practices of the professional organization and the language that expresses the experience of the individual is controlled and graded in accordance with the study regulations.

Example of the internship report

In this thesis, I have taken an internship report written under the regulations of the bachelor in European ethnology at the University of KU. The internship report is specific to this study program yet I find that the themes in these reports reflect the academic internship. As a collection of statements, the analysis of the internship report is made to build up an example of the internship and the "Intern". The analysis does not seek to show a particular internship report as such but rather it explores one internship report because of its exemplary value. As such, the analysis does not rely on the internship report to explore the "lifeworld" of the particular intern who the statements are taken from. The analysis seeks to circumvent the dichotomy of the universal and the particular by establishing the

statements of the intern and the theoretical context I have put up in an example of the "Intern". To avoid confusion I will use the term intern when referring to the author of the internship report and the term "Intern" when referring to the example of an intern.

The internship report was done by a student who as part of her bachelor in European ethnology took an internship in a small architecture firm located in Copenhagen. The internship was a full-time internship done in the spring of 2017, spanning four months, and equivalent to 15 ECTS-points. At the end of the internship, the student wrote the internship report according to the study regulations. The intern is referred to as A in the following sections.

The internship report was used to show the work that A had produced during her stay at the company in relation to her studies in ethnology. I have collected some of the statements from the report and put them together to show how some of the major themes of the report. I have utilized a coding technique where I code the text paragraph to paragraph. The paragraphs are categorized by a mix of empirically and theoretically generated categories, as I have seen fit. I have compiled a series of citations to show how several individual statements relate to form a micro-discourse in the context of the text itself.

Relevance of academia/ ethnology

One of the major categories in the coding of the internship report is the category I have chosen to label "relevance of academia". The category encompasses the statements that point towards the importance of the intern's academic qualifications in the work that is being done.

In the internship report of A, the introduction takes off in a situation that is apparently all too common; A is asked: "What are you doing in an architecture firm?" (Internship report A 2017, Own translation). Apparently, the other persons that ask are surprised that A is working at an architecture firm. The question is not entirely innocent as it pushes A to explain what she does and why she is there. This puts A on the defensive as she is expected to justify her internship.

A goes on to write that the question, which she is asked frequently is one she answers in more or less the same way by explaining

"... in a short or a long version of why ethnology is an important, relevant, and broad-scoped discipline that in most cases can contribute with valuable insights – in the business of architecture as well." (Internship report A 2017, Own translation)

We are lead to understand that the question is inane and that there are obvious ways that ethnology as a discipline is relevant to the field of architecture. This statement is the origin of the category mentioned above. We see here that there is a concern with establishing the legitimacy of the internship to outsiders by establishing the relevance that ethnology, and by extension A the intern, to the professional firm in which the internship is taking place. When asked what she is doing, she does not focus on the relevance of architecture as a field of ethnological studies, but how ethnological methodology and practices are able to be utilized to improve the work being done in the field of architecture.

Later in the internship report, A makes her own remarks on the practices of the architectural firm. She believes that ethnological studies in the field of a particular project could have mitigated some of the conflicts that eventually delayed the project for some time.

"The resistance against the project was primarily due to poor communication from our side and the municipality, internal disputes between the different landowner's associations, and a lacking understanding of the preferences and values of the inhabitants. Especially the last issue could have been mitigated by an ethnological study, prior to or during the project." (Internship report A 2017, own translation)

A identifies issues in the practices of the architectural firm and proposes the use of ethnological studies to solve these issues. The key issue here is not the field as such, but rather the ways in which ethnology is relevant to the business of the firm that A is working in. A proposes an ethnological study as a preliminary study to help identify the best way to have the project succeed. Once again, the relevance of ethnology to the professional organization is shown.

Application of skills

The work inherent in the internship program is expected to be relevant to the education of the student. We have seen above how the student justifies her academic background and show her relevance to the professional organization that she works in. One of the ways in which this relevance of academic background comes to light is in the application of skills or knowledge developed through studies. The work done by the student is in some instances the application of academic skills.

"For the workshops, there needed to be produced educational material, where I contributed in the idea development phase, the production, and the use of the educational material. To do this, I have both applied and broadened my knowledge about professional communication, that I learned in the course Ethnological Communication." (Internship report A 2017 p. 9, own translation)

The work done in the internship is related to the education of A as the knowledge learned in one of the courses she has taken is able to be applied in a concrete work situation at the professional organization. Once more, A underlines her contribution to the work she has done at the professional organization. Here the contribution is tied to the education she has received and A establishes a nearly direct relation between her education and the quality of the work she is able to do. We see that her studies are relevant because the knowledge developed by studying can be applied in work situations.

During the workshops held by the architectural firm, A was involved in the facilitation of a monopoly-like game, that served as a tool for inclusion. The work with this game was a chance to apply some of the skills developed in her studies. A relates theoretical work she has read in her studies to what she does at the architectural firm.

"The game is both a way to frame which kind of knowledge that is generated and an active co-creator of this knowledge as many of the solutions that are created as part of the game were not necessarily thought out by the informants before they started to play the game. As Donna Haraway describes the

phenomenon, the interaction between researcher and object is better understood as a "dance of relating" (Internship report A 2017, p 12, own translation)

Here, we see how the theories encountered in her studies are able to bring insights into the ways knowledge is produced during a game. The game itself was developed before A started her internship, but the processes involved in the game are made clear to him due to her theoretical awareness. Once more, the studies are what provides insights into the work being done and not the other way around. The theory is applied in the context of the internship and it is apparently very informative in terms of how knowledge is created.

In the conclusion to the internship report, A goes into what she has learned during her internship. The conclusion underlines how she has had the possibilities to try out and apply what she has learned in her studies. A uses the conclusion to summarize what she has learned during the internship.

"As this report illustrates, I have, during my internship, had rich opportunities to try out, apply, and strengthen the ethnological skills I have learned during my studies the last three years. In terms of writing capabilities, I have been able to draw on the methods I learned in the course ethnological communication. At the same time, I have been strengthened by the internship in communicating complex knowledge in a non- academic language." (Internship report A 2017, p19, own translation)

The report itself is a way to show ethnological skills has been applied in a work situation. The internship is shown to be a place of "trying out", "applying", and "strengthen" skills. There are cases where ethnological perspectives have been appreciated in the work practices and A has learned how to apply these skills. Furthermore, A has been able to "strengthen" her communication skills as the people she has interacted with were not familiar with the ethnological terms that she herself would use to communicate. Because of this, A has learned how to communicate complex stuff in terms that anyone is able to understand. One of the key skills that has been strengthened during the internship is non-academic communication.

A goes on to write about what she believes the internship will bring with it in terms of her future prospects. The skills developed in the internship is thought to offer advantages in the future when A has to be a part of the labor market and be able to work together with other people.

"This (to communicate profession specific insights red.), I think, is a gain in regards to being a part of the labor market in the future, where I have to be able to communicate with people of many different professions as well as user and clients that do not necessarily have an academic background." (Internship report A 2017 p. 19. Own translation)

We see here how the internship is related to a future labor market. Some of the core skills learned here are how to engage with colleagues and communicate with other people. This is a gain when A goes out into the labor market and has to secure a job. The internship itself can be understood as a preparation for the labor market and A learns how to apply her academic skills to work situations. Communication seems to be at the core of this preparation for the labor market as the academic insights that the student is able to arrive at through analysis is not important within the professional organization unless it is communicable. The "Intern" learns how to apply academic skills in the daily work at the professional

organization and how to bridge the academic analysis with the needs of the employer and the labor market.

The notion of applying skills in the work at the professional organization is very interesting as it may well be an important aspect of work life. An internship is not a job, however. It is a stay at a professional organization that the student undertakes as a part of her education. In this light, I will discuss the phenomenon of applying academic skills in work like situations as a part of an education rather than a part of a part of work life.

The idea of applying ones academic background to the practices of the professional organization seems to be a must in the context of the academic internship. In the internship report analyzed above, it seems to be one of the main responsibilities of the "Intern" and furthermore the best way for the "Intern" to learn about her capabilities as an academic. Here I find it useful to underline the difference between learning and studying. Lewis (2011) distinguishes between these two practices by considering to the concept of potentiality. Learning transforms the latent "not yet" to the actualize the potential of the individual. By doing this, the potential is unable to stay as potentiality but is lead to be actualized in a particular way. In the case of the "Intern", the potential inherent in her is actualized in the internship in the work that she does. Lewis (2011) brings our attention to the child that has her potential actualized in the education system yet the figure of the child may well match the "Intern" as the "Intern" is undergoing a process of actualization as well.

In the internship report analyzed above, we see how the application of skills is central to the relationship between the academic background of the "Intern" and the professional organization. The skills developed in the "Intern's" previous studies are able to be applied with good results and the "Intern" is able to reflect on that and arrive at the conclusion that the internship is useful to him and the professional organization that she interned at had use of her stay. The idea of applying skills in the context of the internship is another way of actualizing the inherent potential of the student in a particular way. We see that the idea of applying skills is coupled to the idea of the good "Intern", who performs admirably in the professional organization. A learns how the knowledge and the thought processes she has developed in her studies are able to be actualized in the particular context of the architectural firm. This is productive in many ways but brings the student out of the state of suspension between impotentiality and potentiality.

Agamben offers a sharp critique of the rejection of potentiality/impotentiality and shows a profound concern for the way in which she sees society be exclusively concerned with the actualization of potentiality (Agamben 2010, p. 44). This is very much the case in the internship as we see in this internship report that the application of knowledge is the main way in which the "Intern" shows the successful internship. According to Agamben (2010), the practice of studying is a practice of suspending ones potentiality by embracing ones impotentiality and rejecting the actualization of this potential. The internship system of today is constantly actualizing the inherent potential of the student showing specific capabilities in the context of the professional organization.

The application of skills inherent in internships could also be thought to be an attempt to engage students in experimental learning, relying on experience to develop an understanding of the themes taught at university. The internship is, in the perspective of the educational philosophy of Dewey, a way in which the environment of the student is changed drastically. This is, in turn, a way of producing specific experiences in the student. In the internship, the student is taken out of the environment at the university and brought to the professional organization.

Internship as transformation

The academic internship is a practice that is supported by its ability to prepare students for the work environment they will encounter after graduation. As such the students are expected to change due to their stay at the place of the internship. The change expected in the students is not always shown explicitly in the documents describing the academic requirements of the academic internship. There are, however, some common features in these documents. It is the application of academic knowledge and practices to work tasks in professional organizations. Furthermore, there is an underlying requisite for the successful internship, namely the ability to undertake responsibilities in a professional organization with no pay.

The change is a form of transformation where the students learn certain skills that are applicable to the work environment and show that they are able to function within a professional organization on very specific demands. In this section, I will discuss the transformation of the student in the internship based on a discussion of key conditions of the internship.

Work experience

Although experience is gained from all aspects of life and is deeply involved in how we relate to the world, the universities, students, and bodies of government are treating it as a resource available in the corporate world. As such, the authentic place of experience is made out to be outside of academia and students have to leave their place within academia to gain it. Given that this is true it is also very interesting to explore how come this place of reality is then the professional organization and how come the identity needed to be confronted with reality is that of the "Intern". - Why is it the company that is the real and why does the student need to be subjugated as an "Intern" – the lowest rank in the organizational hierarchy – to experience this reality?.

The phenomenon of the internship is thoroughly intertwined with the notion of practical experience. The student will gain experience by undertaking an internship or at least that is assumed in the study regulations of universities and in a report on internships published by EVA. The term "practical experience" (praktisk erfaring) is repeated several times in this report (EVA 2016c) and this specific

type of experience is attainable in the context of the internship. While it might be possible to attain this type of experience as a resource elsewhere, the academic internship looks towards a specific field when searching for the practical experience. The academic internship today is held in the professional organization. Students are encouraged to go to professional organizations and gain experience. The notion that the professional organizations are sources of experience leaves the question of what kind of experience is desirable. The type of organization varies from political parties over NGOs to multinational conglomerates. There seems to be one common denominator, however; it is a place where people work and (in some cases) can get a job.

Practical experience

There are big differences in the practices of studying and the practices of working, yet the academic internship seeks to push the student out into an environment where the student makes her experiences through working. The experience that is available in the internship is often thought of as a form of practical experience, combining the practical work in the professional organization with the academic background of the university. If we take the idea of practical experience and break it down we see that the term is instrumental at its core. The etymological root of the word practical is the ancient Greek word "praktikós" meaning "concerned with action or business" (en.wiktionary.org). The idea of practical experience is that it is action oriented or in another sense practical for something else.

What is the experience gained in the professional organizations practical for then? The answer is obvious – the experience gained in the professional organization is practical for work. The "Intern" is in the experience gained in the internship being primed for a work life that comes after the internship. There are several benefits to the internship when the idea is to create employees that seamlessly integrate into the professional organization.

As shown previously in the educational theory of Dewey, the environment of the student plays a big role in the creation of experience. Experience is constantly created and the social, physical, and intellectual context in which it is made, affects the creation of experience. In this light, the notion of attaining experience in the professional organization rather than in the university is a question of which environment the student should be shaped by. When the professional organization and the academic internship is thought of as legitimate sources of experience, it is because there is an underlying assumption that the student should be shaped by the professional organization.

As the student engages in the academic internship, the daily life of the student changes. She is brought out of the university, both figuratively and literally, and her practices change from studying to working. Work is the all-encompassing practice of the professional organization. When the student regulations or government reports point towards the generation of practical experience in the internship, it is precisely because the student is now working. As such, the student is now transformed for a while into a kind of worker. This is, of course, a special kind of worker, namely the "Intern". The "Intern" is special in the

sense that she is not recognized as a worker belonging to the professional organization, yet she works for them. The "Intern" is for all intents and purposes legally recognized as a worker and is protected under work environment legislation (Arbejdsmiljøloven) when undertaking work that is like wage labor (Dansk Magisterforening 2017). The idea of working instead of studying is central to the academic internship. Therefore, I will go into the special circumstances of the "Intern" in terms of work.

The institution of work

Work as a phenomenon is ever present in Danish society today. Whether you are working or are not working, the phenomenon defines your position in society. If you have a job, it is common to present yourselves to others with your name first, then your job. Work as an institution in a Danish context has been explored by Halberg (2017) in the book "Roden til alt ondt" (The root of all evil). The practice of work is shown to be an institution with ties to control, leadership, and subjectivity. The work we do define us socially and is controlling the ways in which we live. Halberg (2017) describes work as both a practice and as an institution involved in the political sphere of Danish society and exalted as ideology. He calls the practice "work" and the institution "Work" with a capital W. There is a broad consensus that Work is inherently a good thing and the political parties of Denmark have developed near consensus that work is important to living a good life. The example of "Dovne Robert" (Lazy Robert) shows us how a man that rejects the idea of working, even from a position of limited power, can produce outrage in the general populace. The case went on for weeks in the media and politicians from a range of political parties condemned him. Halberg (2017) takes this as an example of how taboo the critique of work is and subsequently how the institution of Work is thought of as morally good.

Halberg continues to extrapolate on the institution of Work and relates it to the governmental regime present today. There are countless examples of how the governmental institutions today are relating their policies to the phenomenon of work. Tax legislation is made to make it more desirable to work. The slogan under which the leading political party of Denmark forms the tax policies and unemployment policies is: "Det skal kunne betale sig at arbejde" (It should be profitable to work, red.).(Venstre, 2017). The relation between tax policies and unemployment to the phenomenon of work may not be construed but there are also examples of how even refugee policies and integration policies are closely related to Work as an institution, most recently in the prime ministers new years speech of 2018 but also in previous Danish governments. Most notably in the policy paper "Alle skal bidrage" published in 2015. Finally, the institution of Work has also penetrated the policymakers of higher education in Denmark. In a recent policy paper of the Danish government, education is thought to "prepare the individual for the tasks in the labor market" (Danish government, 2016). The universities are thought to be preparation for the life as a worker. As we have seen previously, this is the case for our exemplary intern A. She spends her internship working and at the end, she at least feels that this has made him a better employee and a better ethnologist at the same time.

In the example of the internship, we see how the institution of Work is now also part of the educational practices in Denmark. The situation of the "Intern" is very different from most workers, however. One of the key differences is an obvious one: The "Intern" does not get paid for the work that she does. The paradox with the idea of work experience is that the internship is a phenomenon that ignores one of the fundamental aspects of work: that you get paid to do it. As such the experience inherent in the internship is not "work experience". At least not to the extent that work is understood as an activity that entails pay. The omission of pay in the relationship between the "Intern" and the professional organization is in stark contrast to the way in which work has been thought of in modern society. A Marxist analysis of the laborer and the capitalist shows that the relationship between them is defined by the exchange of labor power for a wage. Labor power is thought to be a commodity that is exchanged for wages. This is the first step of the analysis of capitalism that Marx develops, yet in regards to the phenomenon of the internship, we trip on this first step as there is no wage exchanged in the work relation. To see the work relation of the "Intern" we have to look towards other accounts of the relationship between laborer and employer.

If we look towards the example of the "Intern" analyzed previously, we might see a hint of the way in which the "Intern" herself thinks of this relationship. We see that the application of skills is highly important to the "Intern". It is inherent in the work practice of the "Intern" that she applies her skills to the tasks that she completes. In this process, she develops some of the skills required for work (mainly communication skills in our example) and it is revealed to what extent that her educational background can be applied in work situations. I have analyzed this process according to Lewis (2011) who in turn relies on Agamben and Aristotle to talk about potentiality and actualization. The potentiality opened up in the practice of studying is absolved in actuality when the skills of the student are applied to the work tasks of the internship. In terms of the work relation, there might be a reemergence of potentiality, although in an entirely different form. The process of optimizing ones work potential as a form of work remuneration has been discussed by Boltanski and Chiapello (2006) as "employability".

Employability

The term employability is a notion of job security present in the 1990's and onwards. Job security should not so much be about the ability to stay in one job for a long time but rather be about the ability to be employed. The term shows an approach to work, where progression is not through a career as such, but through projects (Boltanski and Chiapello 2006). Each project would offer new experience that in turn feeds into the employability of the worker, making her able to secure another job. The insecurity of precarious positions is mitigated by optimizing ones potential to get a new position. In some projects, the employability gained is the most important aspect of a job. If we look towards the internship it certainly seems to be the case as the "Intern" is not compensated in other ways. Our exemplary intern A thought that the internship might help her in her future job search. As she applied her academic knowledge to her work, she developed skills relevant to the labor market. Even though

employability is not mentioned in our example, it is very present in the way that our exemplary intern thinks of her gains from the internship.

One aspect of employability that is especially interesting in regards to my thesis is that it somehow reintroduces the notion of potentiality to the practice of working. Albeit the potentiality inherent in the term employability is far from the notion of potentiality proposed by Agamben. Employability is an abstract measure of your ability to get a job – your potential to be employed if you will. The term employability does not, however, encompass the impotentiality of employment as it is only concerned with your ability to "do" never the ability to "not do". In other words, employability is a term that is concerned with the actualization of potentiality. This is done in the series of projects that the worker engages in. In a labor market defined by job security through employability, the worker has to be able to show or actualize potential as it is the only way that employability becomes an operable although abstract measure of one's worth as a worker.

Can experience be given?

The professional organization is the place of experience for the "Intern". At the same time, the idea of qualifying for future jobs through the experience gained in the internship is a factor in the perceived benefits of the internship. This is what I have previously called the benefit of employability. The increased employability is both thought of as a sort of trade between the "Intern" and the professional organization where the "Intern" offers work and, instead of a regular wage, receives experience that translates to employability. Here, it is however interesting to revisit the concept of experience as the notion of "trading" experience as employability does not correspond with the concept of experience that we have seen previously.

We see in Agamben that experience is at the forefront of what makes us human. The generation of experience occurs when the event does not correspond with language. At this time, the individual, insofar as she is able to reach a state of infancy, is able to generate an authentic experience that shapes her as a person. As such, there are boundless ways of generating experience. It is an integral part of being human. The generation of experience does not rely on the event alone. Events are bound to happen one way or another. Experience is dependent on one's ability to enter the state of infancy. The professional organization is at best a specific place where there is a greater chance of having specific events happen. The daily practices of the professional organization are bound to bring with it a great many events. These are in turn related to the life of the individual in the labor market. As such, the professional organization does provide one part required for the generation of experience. A very specific kind of experience mind you. As shown before, the generation of experience relies on the ability to enter a state of infancy. Agamben points out that the breakdown of experience that can happen in our daily lives is not due to lack of events, but due to a situation where the state of infancy escapes us. This is illustrated in the work of Benjamin "Experience and Poverty".

The crisis of experience is not due to lack of events, the only thing it seems that the professional organization can offer in the trade of work and employability. The crisis of experience is due to a lack of the reflective potential in the individual as she tries to make events intelligible. Benjamin goes even further and points out that the crisis is a poverty of experience due to the overload of events inherent in society today. With the overload of stimuli, the events that occur are not made intelligible as experience (erfahrung) but as a string of events (erlebnisse). As such, the events of the professional organization may, in fact, be a hindrance in the generation of experience but rather serve to stimulate the "Intern".

If the internship is a collection of particular experiences (erlebnisse) in the sense of a string of incidents unique in their particularity, the student will have trouble relating the experiences of her internship afterward. This seems to be a common problem as the "Intern" might arrive at the understanding that her internship has provided her with experiences that are particular to this professional organization. This would mean that the experiences cannot serve as references in her future endeavors be it in academics or professional life.

There is experience to be made in the internship yet they are exactly that: made. The "Intern" is a reflective being and as such, she is to some extent able to enter a state of infancy and make the events occurring in the internship, intelligible. The experience cannot be given, yet there are ways in which it can be influenced. The professional organization and the internship as an institution are guarantors of a string of events that the "Intern" goes through. As such the internship is a place where specific events occur. Going back to the question of the transfer, the object offered in the internship is not experience but the opportunity to generate experience in the professional organization. The place of work in the internship might provide the setting for the creation of experience but it is the subject herself that is the creator. The student creates her own experience through reflective processes when she is engaged in an internship.

Outsourcing the "dannelse" of students

The influence on the experience of the "Intern" is done through placing the "Intern" in a specific environment. The professional organization provides the opportunities for the "Intern" to create experience in the environment of the professional organization. With the introduction of academic internships in higher education in Denmark, the professors and the universities are changing the environment of students in a radical way. The environment that the students develop their experience in is not solely the lecture halls or libraries of the university but the meeting rooms and desks of the professional organizations. The efforts to have students engaged in internships are efforts to have them develop experience outside of academia, in the labor market, even before the students are undertaking full-time employment.

As we see in the educational theory of Dewey, creating a good environment for the student to create experiences in is of the utmost importance. The teacher is responsible for ensuring the moral development of the student and the tool to do so is the manipulation of the environment. In the internship, the teacher who I take to be the institution of the university manipulates the environment of the student in a radical way. The student is expected to go out of the university and into the professional organization. During the internship, the student is now the "Intern" and her daily life is lived in contact with employees in the professional organization. Her practices are work practices and her environment is a work environment.

The move towards the professional organization as an environment for experience expresses a crisis of the educational institutions of today. In Dewey, we see the role of the teacher described as a guarantor of the moral and intellectual development of the student. In the institution of the internship, the universities are outsourcing this task so to speak. The generation of experience is done outside of the universities and with the role of the teacher becoming less pronounced. For the "Intern", there are no professors providing insight and knowledge in their field. There are managers, projects, and customer relations. In short, there is less education and more work. The formation of morally upright citizens is made less in the university and more in the professional organization. The generation of experience is made in the sphere of the professional organization. This is done with the knowledge and support of the universities of Denmark. In many instances, the internship is recommended by these very universities and they are actively pushing for the students to leave to get experience.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of the internship introduces new practices and new ways of being that are not uniquely studying. In the internship, the "student" becomes the "intern" and must engage in work practices rather than study practices. This leaves the question: What is an intern, and further; how can the experiencing subject of the intern be conceptualized?

As I have shown previously, the role of the "Intern" is ambiguous, yet the practices of the "Intern" leave us a hint of how she can be thought of.

The "Intern" as conceptual persona

Benjamin examined the poverty of experience, yet he understood that the decline of one kind of experience (erfahrung) made way for new kinds of experience to rise. In his texts, it is apparent that modern man will find these new experiences in the city and all the things that the city has to offer. Ranging from the experiences in the movie theater watching Mickey Mouse to the experience of getting lost in a crowd of unfamiliar faces swarming the street. There are many venues for experience, and life as we live it opens up for many types of experience. Benjamin wrote extensively on how the

experience was made in the city and the city became the place of experience for the modern man in his texts. The "Intern", however, does not make her experience in the city. She gets her experience in the professional organization.

As we have seen, the "Intern" is a chimeric existence tied to the professional organization and to the university. The practice of studying so integral to the university is not present in the internship. Rather than adopt the inquisitive and exploratory modus of the student, the intern seeks to actualize herself in the practices of the internship. The application of knowledge is the main concern of the student and this practice related to the notion of the good internship. The opportunity to apply the skills developed in the university through studying is an argument for the benefits of the academic internship, yet the application of knowledge is itself anti studying. The "Intern" is not studying while engaged in the academic internship. Instead of seeking to stay in the suspended state between potentiality and impotentiality, the student is seeking to actualize learning. This move to actualization has been identified by Agamben to be a move that is symptomatic of our time and should be criticized.

Agamben identifies contemporary man as a "yes man" that is only concerned with what he can do that he forgets to think about what he can not do. (Agamben 2010, p. 44) Agamben himself offers a critique of contemporary man. Rather than finding out what it is possible to do it would be relevant to explore what it is that you can not do. The notion of potentiality is also closely tied to the concept of positive freedom – a freedom to do something – in a sense, the destruction of potentiality/impotentiality is a way of controlling to what extent the individual is able to think of alternative ways of living. The individual is able to discover many more venues of freedom if one chooses to suspend/conserves ones potentiality in impotentiality. To the "Intern", the idea of positive freedom is difficult to uphold as the "Intern" is constantly driven to actualize her academic potential.

The actualization of potential takes on an interesting form in the "Intern". The academic internship pushes the "Intern" into the practice of work. This change of practices present in the Internship becomes a way of constraining the academic knowledge that is imbibed on the student and actualizes it in the practice of working. As such, the potential of studying is destroyed.

The place of the "Intern" is the professional organization. As such, the material and social environment are changed to an environment defined by the events and ethics of the labor market. The environment of the labor market itself is also deeply related to the institution of work as work is the defining feature of the labor market. The institution of work is now a defining institution in Danish society and the "Intern" is pushed out into it to experience it firsthand and in turn, be formed by it. Thus we have seen how the formation of the "Intern" is now undertaken by the actors in the environment of the labor market rather than the teachers in the institution of the university. The two institutions of work and the universities blend together when we look at the academic internship, yet the place where the "Intern" is formed is in the professional organization.

The institutions involved in the academic internship have been able to make sure that the first experience with the labor market that the young people today have is the non-paid work that is the internship. With no pay and in an incomparably precarious work relation, the internship is a strange way to have future employees experience the workplace.

The experience of the academic internship points towards an idea of work remuneration that does not necessarily involve money. Employability through work experience is taken to be a legitimate remuneration for the work done in the internship. The experience is in this sense thought to be something the "Intern" receives in the academic internship. The "Intern" should be glad to have a place that offers the opportunity to get experience. The notion of getting experience is absurd as experience is something created by the individual, yet the institution of the academic internship presuppose that the "intern" gets experience.

The experience that the "Intern" develops through the academic internship is highly instrumentalized. It is the practical experience available in the professional organization that is desired and that the "Intern" is supposed to develop. The development of experience happens within a rather constrictive framework set up by the professional organization as an environment made to produce certain productive experience. Furthermore, the development of experience is controlled by the simple fact that the reflective process of developing experience is framed by the study regulations of the universities. The "Intern" develops experience at all times yet a powerful tool in the production of experience is writing the internship report. This report is examined in accordance with the study regulations and these regulations thus affect the production of experience.

The academic internship is a way of managing the experiences developed by the "Intern". As we have seen in the discussion of the concepts of experience, experience is a concept that describes the ways in which the individual is transformed throughout her life. As such, the management of experience is a management of the individual. The "Intern" is sought to be transformed into a productive worker, willing to accept abysmal work remuneration and smile while receiving it.

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