Internships as contingent workforce

for cultural organisations in the Belgian French speaking community

Student name: Rūta Skujiņa
Student number: 430305
Supervisor: Dr. Ellen Loots

Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

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Student name: Rūta Skujiņa

Student number: 430305

E-mail : ruta.skujina@gmail.com

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Abstract

Internships is an increasingly popular form of work-based learning, which is becoming the '*rite de passage*' towards the labour market, especially in the most competitive sectors. Initially promoted and strongly encouraged, more recently research papers and popular publications have started discussing problematic aspects of the internship phenomenon. The term 'intern economy' is introduced and possible negative social implications are mentioned.

The main purpose of the thesis is to inform various stakeholders about the complex role of internships, especially their increasing role in the labour market, and thus to contribute to a balanced and critical discussion. The second objective is to empirically verify to what extent within the current Belgian French speaking cultural labour market internships are similar to regular work positions. Third, methodological tools for processing big amounts of quantitative and qualitative data of a whole population were tested, combining analysis using *Atlas.ti 8.0*, Microsoft Excel and SPSS.

The main focus of this paper is on the perspective of the employer – the cultural organisation. Existing research is used to highlight key issues and identify propositions for empirical testing. In order to compare job requirements of interns versus employees, the author analyses 905 internship and job advertisements published on the main website for the French speaking cultural sector in Belgium in 2015. The results test existing theories about internships and many assumptions, as defined by the literature review.

Some interesting conclusions are reached, confirming that the most popular question of payment is only one of several concerns related to this phenomenon. It is concluded that internship use by cultural organisations depend on their strategy, as not all cultural sectors seek to recruit interns evenly. At the current state, most of interns in Belgian French speaking cultural sector have full-time working weeks similar to regular employees, but their contracts have an average duration of 4 months. Interns also seem to be more used to enhance the communication and promotion of the organisation.

Key Words

Labour market – internships – intern economy – cultural organisations – Belgium

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Introducing the research problem

Internships are practical experiences during which interns discover the profession and/or the field they aspire to work in, build contacts and learn to apply and develop the required skills. Researching internships is both challenging and rewarding, as internships are a complex process which is experienced by increasingly more young people. The main challenges are linked to its twofold nature as internships combine learning and practice, therefore they are simultaneously seen as a pedagogical tool and as an activity increasing the experience of the intern. In addition, the various stakeholders involved in the process – interns, employers, supervisors, universities, governments, etc. –further contribute to the plurality of perspectives on internships, creating an ambiguity that, according to Frenette (2013, p.364), "plays an important role in producing and maintaining the intern economy".

Indeed, the last decades have seen a considerable increase in the "intern economy" –the supply and demand for internship positions. The demand is stimulated by the potential interns themselves, as well as governments and universities. Young people are eager to do internships mainly to enhance their chances of bridging the "wide gap"[1] between education and employment. For similar reasons, governments are willing to financially and/ or organisationally support such work placements, using labour market policies at a national level and lifelong learning policies at the European level: e.g. Erasmus + work placements (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). Moreover, since the beginning of the Bologna Process, higher education institutions have also been tasked to increase the employability of their graduates (Sin & Neave, 2016), and within this context internships can serve as a valuable tool for achieving these higher political goals (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). The supply side of internship positions is ensured by employer organisations. Their interest in having internship positions mainly stems from economic considerations (internships reduce the costs of labour, especially in relation to the recruitment and training of new employees), but could include also non-economic goals such as attracting more young, innovative and energetic workers to the organisation (Maertz, Stoeberl, & Marks, 2014).

However, while the practice of internships continues to expand, young people in Europe have become more vulnerable in the labour market due to the soaring rates of youth

[1] The wide gap (*le grand fossé*) was the term used by a Belgian entrepreneur and human resource consultant Jean-Paul Erhard to illustrate the different perceptions between the universities and the business world during a discussion on internships (RTL Belgium, 2016, 26 May).

unemployment[2] after the financial crisis of 2008 (Therborn, 2014). Within this context, young people with internships on their *curricula vitae* (CV) are perceived to have a competitive advantage and, thus, internships are a possible solution to the youth unemployment problem. Therefore, recently internships have attracted even more attention of policy makers and researchers. At the same time, this vulnerability and fierce competition even for internship positions decreases the chances of a young person negotiating (more) favourable internship conditions. This might be the reason why during the last decade, research (e.g. Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Frenette, 2013, 2015; Siebert & Wilson, 2013) and popular publications (e.g. Perlin, 2011) have added some nuances to the optimistic win-win discourse, pointing to a variety of issues, including the lack of quality of experience offered by some internships and negative socio-economic consequences of this phenomenon. These growing concerns were also acknowledged by the European Union in 2014:

> "Socio-economic costs arise if traineeships, particularly the repeated ones, *replace regular employment*, notably entry-level positions usually offered to young people. Moreover, low-quality traineeships, especially those with little learning content, *do not lead to significant productivity gains nor entail positive signalling effects*. Social costs also relate to unpaid traineeships that may *limit the career opportunities of those from disadvantaged backgrounds*. [*emphasis added*]" (Council of the European Union, 2014, p.1, para 4)

Yet research on this increasingly important phenomenon is still very fragmented and new, especially when it comes to addressing the concerns cited above (Frenette, 2013; Sibert & Wilson, 2016).

Because of all their benefits mentioned above, internships as a form of labour and learning have been adopted by all industries , yet research indicates significant differences between the intern labour markets of different sectors (Hadjivassiliou et al, 2012). The focus of this thesis is on the cultural sector, as it provides a rich ground for observations. Indeed, internships in culture are widespread and "associated with questionable employer practices", including "low or poor learning content; poor working conditions; inadequate compensation; using trainees as substitutes for regular staff; repeatedly renewing traineeship contracts without offering a permanent position" (Hadjivassiliou et al, 2012, p.5; Frenette, 2013). Currently

[2]In 2015, the unemployment among young people of the 28 countries of the European Union (EU) is still more than twice higher than the general unemployment rates: in countries like Greece, Spain, Croatia and Italy more than 40% of young people are looking for a job (Eurostat, 2015, 30 Oct.).

concerns about internships in the cultural field remain anecdotal, therefore there is room for a more quantitative and structured research approach.

Furthermore, research also highlights noteworthy differences concerning intern labour markets of different European countries due to their differences in relation to legislation and labour market conditions for temporary workers (Barbieri, Fazio, & Gamberini, 2016; TNS Political and Social, 2013a). Currently research on internships in the cultural sector remains sporadic and mostly concerns Anglo-Saxon countries: the United Kingdom (e.g. Holmes, 2006; Siebert & Wilson, 2016), the United States (e.g. Cuyler & Hodges, 2015a; 2015b; Frenette, 2013, 2015; Rolston & Herrera, 2000) and Australia (e.g. Bridgstock, 2011; Daniel & Daniel, 2013). These countries are characterised by more liberal legislation concerning temporary workers (Barbieri et al., 2016). In contrast, this research will focus on Belgium, a country with less liberal employment protection legislation, according to OECD (Barbieri et al., 2016). As Belgium has a complex division of governance and responsibility, which for cultural and educational affairs lies with each of the country's three linguistic communities (French, Dutch and German), the scope is limited to the Belgian French speaking community which geographically is situated in two regions of the country – the Brussels region and the Walloon region[3].

1.2. Purpose and the research question

While the main purpose of this thesis is to inform the various internship stakeholders about the role internships have gained in the general labour market, the focus of this paper will be on the role that the 'intern labour market' has within the labour market of the Belgian French-speaking cultural sector. This issue with be addressed through an extended literature review and an empirical inquiry. First, five subquestions will guide the literature review the aim of which is to explore the internship phenomenon and define propositions for the empirical part:

- What are the defining characteristics of interns, internships and cultural organisations?
- Why and how are internships rooted in education?
- How do internships help transitioning from school to work?
- What effect internships have on the general labour market?
- What are the specifics of internships in the cultural sector in Belgium?

[3] It is important to note that while culture and education are competences of the linguistic community, employment is within the competence of the region. As internships combine employment and learning, this adds to the complexity of this case, something that will be addressed further in the thesis.

Next, after developing researchable propositions as part of the literature review, subsequent empirical research questions will be answered as part of the quantitative analysis:

- What are the characteristics and behaviour of cultural organisations who recruit interns?
- What are the differences in contracts and conditions between an intern and an employee?
- To what extent the work content differs between an employee and an intern?

Finally, the literature review and the empirical study together will aim to answer the following research question: "**to what extent internships in the cultural sector are similar to regular work positions for cultural organisations within the French speaking community in Belgium?**"

1.3. Relevance

This paper adds to the existing research in at least three ways. First, it will focus on the least researched perspective on internships – the perspective of the employer, including internships' embeddedness in the general labour market. Employers are a crucial and yet a neglected actor within the internship arrangement. By considering the internal labour market as part of the general labour market, it is possible to compare interns and 'real employees'(including standard and nonstandard workers). This is the first step in evaluating whether there might be a significant empirical basis for claims of interns replacing regular workforce. Second, the focus will be on statistical and quantitative data that can be obtained and analysed in order to evaluate the similarities and differences between internship and work positions. Until this thesis, research has remained qualitative (Frenette, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2016), so this will be the first attempt to define an empirically viable way of comparing employees and interns within a quantitative analysis. Third, the thesis will explore an innovative research method by combining the possibilities of the software *Atlas.ti 8.0* and descriptive statistics retrieved from manipulating a large database.

This paper aims to contribute to informing government policies, academic research, as well as all other stakeholders who are both directly (intern, employer, university) and indirectly involved in the intern economy (paid employees, people excluded from internships, young people themselves in the future). Thematically, the research will add to the knowledge on both cultural workers' labour market and youth labour market.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

To answer the research question, the following structure has been adopted. First, by means of an extensive literature review, I develop the argument that the intern labour market, while rooted in the educational system, has grown to play an increasingly important role in the general labour market. Therefore, after discussing the definitions of the main concepts, the literature review is used to identify three distinct but intertwined perspectives on internships and the related theories and research methods. These perspectives include education, school-to-work transitions and labour market perspectives, and they aim to explain the complexity of the subject by pointing out the perspectives of the main stakeholders. The literature review is concluded by a sub-chapter on the particularities of the labour market in Belgium and its French-speaking community. Throughout the literature review, twelve propositions to be tested empirically are defined. These propositions are grouped and summarised in the methodology chapter. The chapter states the applied methods of analysis that differ from one proposition to another. Findings are organised based on the three groups in which the twelve propositions were organised. Finally, conclusions sum up the most important findings of the thesis and suggest policy implications as well as future research possibilities.

2. Literature review

Internships have an interdisciplinary nature and, as explored later in this chapter, only recently they have become an important part of the labour market and education programmes. As argued by Frenette, unfortunately "internships have not yet generated the level of research that befits their rising importance"(2013, p.366). Therefore, the currently available academic literature and theoretical tools relevant to internships in any occupational field are fragmented and their systematisation has been one of the main challenges of this master thesis.

In order to fill the gap in cultural economics, this chapter has been conceived by carefully selecting and combining existing theories and research in various scholarly fields. At times theoretical and empirical considerations significant for the internship phenomenon are discussed on the margins of other issues like (youth) unemployment or competitiveness of educational programmes. As further narrowing the scope and excluding these related issues and theories would mean missing out on potentially important considerations, the main effort of this literature review will be to point out the relevance of every chosen piece of literature. The interdisciplinary nature of the subject means that no overarching theories can be found about internships; therefore the theoretical framework combines theories with considerations and facts that perhaps do not neatly form a single theory but are important for the overall understanding of the subject matter.

The first sub-chapter (2.1.) will explain the term 'interns' labour market' and discuss other key definitions that frame the subject matter of this thesis. The second sub-chapter (2.2.) will explore the theories and research methods within the three key perspectives intertwined in the internship phenomenon: (1) the education system that conceives internship programmes and monitors some of the internships, (2) school-to-work transitions that are arguably smoother for former interns, and (3) the labour market as the main perspective for this thesis as interns will be compared to the regular workforce. The third sub-chapter (2.3.) will finally introduce the particularities of Belgium and of its French community as Belgium's current political, economic and legal frames shape internships in cultural organisations. Throughout the literature review, I argue that the intern labour market, while rooted in the educational system, has grown to play an increasingly important role in the general labour market. When appropriate, literature review will define propositions to be empirically tested in the subsequent parts of this paper.

2.1. Defining cultural organisation and internship

2.1.1. Cultural organisations and arts-related workers[4]

Internships are carried out by individuals joining an already existing structure that ensures the setting for the temporary work experience, including any supervision of the intern. The literature will begin with the identification of the defining characteristics of a very particular type of host organisations – the cultural organisations – and its labour force (*artists* and *arts-related workers*).

When it comes to defining *cultural organisations*, the most common approach is to list organisations by the different art and culture sectors they operate within (e.g. performing arts organisations, music production companies etc.) (Castañer, 2014). However, the sectorial approach is problematic as it might not include all the nuances of contemporary cultural expressions which are increasingly interdisciplinary and can blur the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture. Indeed, Menger argues that the definition of culture has broadened and the anthropological definition[5] of culture is becoming "more and more legitimate", as public has extended its support to amateur and socio-cultural activities linking "art, culture, leisure, schooling and social work" (Menger, 2006, p.770). Therefore, a 'content definition' is preferable we would prefer a 'content definition', as proposed by Castañer: cultural organisations are "formal organizations (with a legal entity) that preserve and/or provide goods that use, develop, and/or nourish a community's culture and sense of identity, as well as goods that carry emotional content and/or attempt to generate emotions in those who are exposed to them" (2014, p.264). Similar to Castañer, this paper will concentrate on formal organisations under various legal forms and different ownership (public/private/non-profit), however it will not include activities of informal groups or separate individuals. Furthermore, the term 'provide' used in Castañer's definition will be understood to include the production process (creation and evaluation) as well as the distribution of these cultural goods and services.

[4] As the topic of artists' careers and artists' labour market has been one of my main interests during the studies of Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship master at Erasmus University Rotterdam, parts of this chapter have appeared previously in the essay for Cultural Economics: Applications course.

[5] One of the most popular anthropological definitions of culture is that of Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952, p.181, cited by Adler, 2008):
"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditioning elements of future action."

2.1.1.1. Dual rationality and dual type of employees

All cultural organisations have one distinctive characteristic – the 'axiological duality' or essential tension created by the need to combine artistic logic with managerial logic. The artistic logic values pleasure, creativity, sensitivity, uniqueness, autonomy (Daigle & Rouleau, 2010), it is the 'operating core' (Chong, 2010) of cultural organisations and a good reputation of the artistic direction is a measure of success (Cray, Inglis, & Freeman, 2007). In contrast, the managerial logic values order, measurement, calculation and routine (Daigle & Rouleau, 2010), it consists of the 'humdrum'[6]– the supporting staff of the organisation (Chong, 2010) – and achieving sustainable finances is an important measure of success (Cray et al., 2007). This duality is important as it might be part of the explanation of why in the cultural sector of most European countries internships have been reported to be prevalent, but at the same time associated with questionable employer practices (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). While the artistic rationale might highly value interns as a source of additional creative input, financial sustainability might be threatened if the intern needs to be (adequately) remunerated.

As a consequence to the dual logic, organisations employ workers that fulfil artistic and/or humdrum tasks, often designating distinct employees for the (mainly) artistic work – the creative workforce (artists), while the (mainly) humdrum tasks are undertaken by the support workforce ('arts-related-workers') (Caves, 2000; Chong, 2010). Therefore, in our research on internships within cultural organisations, the total population will include both artists and 'arts-related-workers'. Using the terms of the 'creative trident' classification method, this thesis looks at both – people of cultural organisations employed in 'creative occupations' and those carrying out 'other occupations' within the same sector (Cunningham, Higgs, Freebody, & Anderson, 2010).[7] It has to be further acknowledged that clear division of artistic and humdrum occupations is sometimes impossible, especially for smaller organisations or artist collectives where, similarly to independent artists, creative workforce also fulfil support tasks.

Even though cultural economics has extensively studied the *artists' labour market*, most research is concerned only with artists (e.g. Throsby & Zednik, 2011), less research includes arts-related workers (e.g. Lingo & Tepper, 2013). Furthermore, conclusions about solely arts-related workers are scarce and mainly come from other social sciences (e.g. Frenette, 2013; 2015 in

[6] Caves (2000) uses the term 'humdrum' (or 'ordinary') partners to describe the support staff in his work on *theory of contracts* where he explores how contracts structure the collaboration of the artistic input and the 'humdrum' input.
[7]Developed by Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation, the 'creative trident' method might be on its way to becoming a more internationally accepted standard as it has most recently been used also in research in the UK commissioned by Nesta (Nathan, Pratt, & Rincon-Azner, 2015). According to this methodology, the 'total creative workforce' includes all workers (both in creative and support occupations) of the creative industries, as well as 'embedded creatives' who carry out creative roles within other industries.

sociology and history). Therefore, characteristics of empirical research on artists' labour market can only partially be used to describe and conceptualise all creative workforce (this will be discussed further in sub-chapter 2.2.3.). For clarity if should be noted that throughout the thesis the term 'cultural labour market' will be preferred, as it includes both 'artists' and 'arts-related workers'.

2.1.1.2. Typology of cultural organisations

From the perspective of culture production, cultural organisations are one of six facets that shape the cultural product (Peterson & Anand, 2004). Other five elements defined in the seminal paper of Peterson & Anand include technology, law and regulations, industry structure, occupational careers, and market (2004). Cultural products are "created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved" within these six systems (Peterson & Anand, 2004, p.311). Peterson & Anand (2004) argue that the cultural industry has three forms of organisation that shape cultural products differently: (i) the bureaucratic form (long-term projects/purpose, clear division of labour and authority); (ii) the entrepreneurial form (short-term projects/purpose, unclear division of labour and authority), (iii) the mixed form[8] (short-term projects but long-term purpose, clear division of labour and authority). This typology of organisational structures has some merit for our purposes, as we can see that cultural organisations can typically have either clear or unclear division of labour and authority, and they concentrate either on long-term or short-term projects. As internships are relatively short-term and have to be supervised, mixed-form organisations might be the most appropriate for internships from both the organisation's and the intern's perspectives. In contrast, an entrepreneurial organisation might more easily employ interns but from the intern's perspective there might be more prevalent problems with supervision and guidance. Similarly, a bureaucratic form might have problems adapting to the intern, making collaboration problematic from both sides.

The typology described above is based on the internal systems of organisations which can be only partially assessed by an external party. In contrast, typology based on the field of culture within which the organisation operates is a measure that can be assessed by publicly available information. While no systematic and comparative research on internships in different cultural sectors was found, some research has focused on problematic cultural sectors, including the music industry (Frenette, 2013) and museums (Holmes, 2006) where interns have become a commonly used workforce. Due to the lack of research to predict a particular outcome, it would be important for this thesis to establish whether the use of internships is homogenous throughout the cultural industry, or whether the role of internships varies between different

[8] Authors use the term *variegated form* (Peterson & Anand, 2004, p.316).

cultural sectors. Thus, the first proposition to be tested within the framework of the empirical part of this paper, is the following:

Proposition 1: interns are evenly recruited by organisations of all sectors of culture.

2.1.2. Internship, employment and interns' labour market

The term *internship* is a rather weakly defined form of work-based learning (Bailey, Hughes, & Moore, 2004). There is no common definition of *intern* and/or *internship* among EU-27[9] countries, where six countries[10] do not have a legal definition of *internship* and *intern*, and ten countries[11], including Belgium, lack a "concept generally accepted or common understanding of a national definition" for these terms (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012, p.54). Nevertheless, researchers have identified three common characteristics of internships among the EU-27 countries: "(i) the general educational purpose; (ii) the practical element of learning; and (iii) the temporary character of the traineeship" (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012, p.4).

Indeed, from the perspective of education, internship is a form of *work-based learning*, even though there are important variations as to the links with educational curricula and the learning content of this practice (Bailey et al., 2004). These great discrepancies of learning content (*practical element of learning*) and the vagueness of the *general educational purpose* are one of the main reasons why internship outcomes have been noted to be controversial by both scholars and European institutions (Bailey et al., 2004; Council of the European Union, 2014, March 10; European Parliament, 2010, July 6; European Parliament, 2012, May 24; Frenette, 2013; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Lain et al., 2014; Perlin, 2011; TNS Political and Social, 2013a). Moreover, as it will be later explored, not all internships are organised and/or monitored by an educational institution, further questioning the existence of the *general educational purpose*. Perlin (2011) and Frenette (2013) further argue that this ambiguity in definition leaves room for exploitation, as interns could be engaged in unpaid or low paid labour without learning content.

It is important to note that throughout this paper the term *traineeship* will be regarded as a synonym to *internship*, as no clear difference between both terms was found in the literature[12].

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[9] This study was carried out before the accession of Croatia as the 28th EU Member State on 1 July 2013.
[10] Cyprus, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg and the United Kingdom. The case of Portugal being unclear on this aspect (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012, p.54).
[11] Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, France, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal and Sweden.
[12] While Oxford's "Dictionary of Human Resource Management" differentiates between the two as *intern* is unpaid and *trainee* receives lower salary than a fully skilled worker (Internship, 2008; Trainee, 2008), this differentiation is not consistent throughout the literature. Indeed, in the Eurobarometer 378 on the "Experience of Traineeships in the EU" and in the "Study on a comprehensive overview on traineeship arrangements in Member States", authors use the term *traineeship* for both – paid or unpaid work (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; TNS Political and Social, 2013a).

Even though European institutions seem to prefer the use of the terms *traineeship* and *trainee* (in French the equivalently used terms being *stage* and *stagiaire*), the use of the terms *internship* and *intern* seems to be much more widespread in the scholarly literature, therefore these terms will be preferred. In addition, the French language does not distinguish between the two as both translate to the same terms: *stage* (internship/traineeship) or *stagiaire* (intern/trainee).

In contrast, the term *apprenticeship* is not considered as a synonym of *internship* and remains out of the scope of this paper. Even though some researchers state that internships are a contemporary version of apprenticeships (Benavides, Dicke, & Holt, 2013) and draw on the history of apprenticeships to predict future developments of the internship phenomenon (Frenette, 2015), all of them recognise conceptual difference between both activities. Furthermore, apprenticeships combine educational theories and professional practice much more formally (Bailey et al., 2004; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). In addition, within the particular context of Belgian law, apprentices are considered to be employees which is not the case for interns who are either students or job seekers (Ter-Minassian, 2012).

2.1.2.1. Eleven key dimensions of internships

The increased attention towards internships has inspired researchers to map the phenomenon according to its dominating characteristics. Maertz, Stoeberl, and Marks in their recent overview propose 11 key dimensions of internships which effectively illustrate their diversity (2014, pp.125-126). According to their research, internships differ as to their: (1) remuneration (paid/unpaid); (2) form of employment (full-time or part-time, summer or during studies); (3) status of the intern (graduate/ professional school/ undergraduate/ non-academic); (4) academic course credit (yes/no); (5) academic requirements (high/low or no academic requirements); (6) internship arrangement (intern-employer/ intern-school-employer); (7) clarity and planning of tasks (yes/no); (8) work format (project-based/ job-based); (9) mentor or sponsor within faculty (yes/no); (10) mentor or sponsor at work (yes/no); (11) future full-time employment opportunity implied (yes/no). It is important to keep in mind this diversity throughout this paper, as any evaluations about the quality, effectiveness, and other aspects of this form of work-based learning most often concerns only a part of all internships. Unfortunately, in most research internships are not defined along these lines. In addition, authors themselves further propose a discussion about costs and benefits gained by various internship stakeholders, without defining internships along the proposed lines (Maertz et al., 2014). Their 'more general case' discussed is an intern who receives 'low pay' (thus, not defined

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Hadjivassiliou et al. explain that in the United Kingdom "open market traineeships" are "often referred to as internships" (2012, p.843), however throughout the report both terms are used interchangeably.

along their proposed paid/unpaid division which obviously lacks this nuance), is a 'student or very recent graduate' (unclear whether the intern is must meet certain academic requirements and/or receives academic credit, and how important is the academic institution within the internship arrangement), 'does what is asked' (thus, no clarity and planning of tasks), but 'has defined learning objectives' (not clear whether the employer has been informed about the objectives, who has defined them and which one of 11 dimensions these objectives represent) (Maertz Jr. et al., 2014 p.126). It is unclear how the authors have defined their 'more general case' and whether it reflects the reality.

Furthermore, it must be noted that of these 11 key dimensions, six depend principally on the employer (remuneration, form of employment, work format, clarity and planning of tasks, mentor or sponsor at work, future full-time employment opportunity implied), while only three are under the direct influence of the educational institution (academic course credit, academic requirements and mentor or sponsor within faculty). This indicates the relatively higher importance of the perspective of the cultural organisation (employer) which will be discussed later. For this thesis, internships with particular dimensions will not be intentionally excluded, nevertheless, it will be taken into account that most internships, especially in the cultural sector, are unpaid or receive remuneration that is insufficient to cover basic living costs[13] of the intern (Cuyler & Hodges, 2015b; Frederick, 1997; Frenette, 2013; Holmes, 2006; Rolston & Herrera, 2000).

2.1.2.2. Definition of '*intern* ' and '*internship*' and the contrasting definition of '*work*'

In absence of an accepted definition of the terms *intern* and *internship*, for the purposes of this paper we need to come to an adequate definition. Frenette proposes defining internship as "a practical educational experience whereby an intern learns by working at a host firm under varying degrees of supervision"(Frenette, 2013, p.365). This definition is quite satisfactory as it points to the elements of *degrees of supervision* and *working at a host firm*. However, the *educational* aspect in the *practical educational experience* remains undefined. In addition, there is no indication as to the *temporary character* of internships, which, according to Hadjivassiliou et al. (2012), is one of the three defining characteristics. Moreover, this definition does not include an explicit link to a possible involvement of a third party – the educational institution.

In contrast, one of the legal definitions in Belgium does not stipulate an educational content within the experience. Instead, the Royal Decree defines that intern (*stagiaire*) should have the *status* of a *student* (*élève* or *étudiant*): "intern: any student who, as a part of an educational

[13] According to Eurobarometer of 2013, 80% of European respondents had their last internship being insufficiently paid (21%) or unpaid (59%) (TNS Political and Social, 2013b).

program, organised by an educational institution, is in fact engaged in work at an employer, under similar conditions as the workers employed by that employer, in order to obtain professional experience"[14] (Royal Decree of 21st September 2004 with regard to the protection of interns, 2004). This definition includes all three parties of the internship experience – the intern, the employer and the educational institution. Another advantage of this definition is that the *firm* of Frenette (2013) is replaced by a more general term *employer*. Furthermore, it mentions that intern works *under similar conditions* as the regular workers of the company, which allows comparing interns with other workforce of the company. However, this definition excludes all interns carrying out internships outside educational programs. It is generally known that not all interns are students (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Lain et al., 2014), which is also the case in Belgium. But the second available legal definition used for the Professional Immersion Convention is even less useful as it vaguely defines only the process (internship).[15]

As no satisfactory definitions were found in the literature, this paper will use a modified definition of Frenette (2013): "internship is a *temporary work* experience whereby intern learns by working at a host *organisation* under *similar conditions as the other employed workers and* under varying degrees of supervision *by the organisation, as well as, when applicable, by the educational institution of the intern*"[16].

Related to the definition of *internship* is the emergence of the term *intern economy*. It appears to have first been used almost 20 years ago by Frederick who denoted with it the new unpaid labour force within the magazine industry (1997). Since then, the term has become a keyword for research of Frenette (2013; 2015) and has also been used by Perlin (2011) and predominantly law scholars (e.g. Fredericksen, 2013; Tucci, 2012; Yamada, 2002) to emphasize the scale of the phenomenon restructuring the labour market and the economies for employers who provide no or inadequate financial compensation to their interns. For use within this paper, the concept of *interns' labour market* is proposed: derived from *intern economy*, it allows a focus on the *intern* as a member of the workforce, whilst avoiding early judgement of any *economies* the employer could be making.

As seen from the definitions, internships are primarily considered to be a form of learning and not a type of employment. Indeed, employment as a concept greatly contrasts with

[14] Orignal definition in French, translated by the author of this paper: "*1° stagiaire: tout élève ou étudiant qui, dans le cadre d'un programme de l'enseignement organisé par un établissement d'enseignement, exerce effectivement un travail chez un employeur, dans des conditions similaires que les travailleurs occupés par cet employeur, en vue d'acquérir une expérience professionnelle*;" (Royal Decree of 21st September 2004 with regard to the protection of interns, 2004).

[15] The definition of Professional Immersion Convention [*Convention d'immersion professionnelle*]: "a person, hereinafter called intern, as part of training, acquires some knowledge or skills by working for an employer" ["*personne, dénommée ci-après stagiaire, dans le cadre de sa formation, acquiert certaines connaissances ou aptitudes auprès d'un employeur en effectuant des prestations de travail*"] (Program Law [Loi-programme] of 2 August 2002, 2002).

[16] The modifications made to the original definition by Frenette have been marked in *italics*.

internships – employment is seen as a dominant aspect of life, as it affects people's welfare (Chang, 2014). The neoclassical definitions of the term "work" imply that work as an activity presents "disutility" for the worker (Chang, 2014), as all workers are assumed to have a preference for leisure (utility) over work (disutility) (Spencer, 2006). Together workers (and non-workers) and employers shape the labour market, which, according to Burgett et al. (2013, p.433) is a "social system of exchange and negotiation" which is "shaped through policy agendas, management decisions, and craft and labor organizing, among other factors". Throughout the labour market, employees are compensated for the "disutility" of their work – employees obtain income that presents "utility" as it is used to buy and consume products (Chang, 2014). As discussed by Spencer, neoclassical economics assume that because of their utility-maximising behaviour workers will "only take up paid employment if the real wage they receive for the hours they work fully offsets the utility of forgone leisure time" (p.461). Thus, the worker is assumed to choose to work and to choose the amount of work he/she is willing to endure. However, non-neoclassical views acknowledge that work should be seen as an "economic necessity" instead of a "choice" (John Maynard Keynes and Joan Robinson, as discussed by Spencer, 2006). Furthermore, non-neoclassical views admit that employment is not only a "disutility" for all workers, but can also include such intrinsic values as creative pleasure, fulfilment and dignity (Chang, 2014). While the definitions of internship and employment greatly contrast in theory, from the labour market perspective these differences might not be as evident as the *intern labour market* might to a certain extent function similarly to the general labour market. Therefore, we come to our next proposition to be researched in the empirical part of the paper:

Proposition 2: in practice, the distinction between work/employment and internship is not as clear as their definitions imply.

2.2. Three perspectives on internships in cultural organisations

The following three perspectives are chosen due to the interdisciplinary and complex nature of internships and their stakeholders. The first perspective – the educational perspective – is indispensable for a complete literature review for three reasons: as seen from the definitions, the learning component is what differs internships from other short term arrangements; 62% of Belgians did internship while being students (TNS Political and Social, 2013a); and this perspective contains the best established and the most systematic research. The second perspective is that of the role of internships in facilitating the school-to-work transitions and thus it serves as a bridge from the first to the third and the main perspective of this thesis – the

labour market perspective. Each perspective highlights the main stakes of one of the three parties involved in the arrangement – the educational institutions, the interns and the employers. The educational perspective highlights the legitimacy of the involvement and the interests of educational institutions. The second perspective acknowledges the rationale of the interns willing to bridge the gap to employment. Finally, from the labour market perspective internships represent a form of work arrangement and thus is potentially very interesting for employers. As pointed out by Frenette (2013) and others, there are very significant differences between these stakeholders' perceptions on internships. Therefore, the discussion of all three perspectives and the room for manoeuvre of each stakeholder allows to underline the problems and risks of this employment form. Due to lack of literature on internships within cultural organisations, this chapter will include considerations from research on internships outside the sector.

2.2.1. Education: internships as work-based learning

The definition of 'internship' implies that a certain 'learning content' is a key characteristic of any internship. In addition, one of the most important providers of workers for the intern labour market are those educational institutions which organise and/or supervise a proportion[17] of all internships and thus have clearly some responsibilities, especially when it comes to ensuring the 'learning content' of internships. This sub-section therefore will first explore the 'learning content' of internships, followed by a discussion about the authority of educational institutions as the governors and evaluators of internship process. Throughout this part, the research from the field of culture is complemented with general studies on internships and conclusions from research in other fields of social sciences and humanities, where, similarly to the cultural sector, academic studies are not necessarily limited to defined, concrete occupations.

2.2.1.1. Learning content of the internships

The practical experience obtained during internships is often seen by all parties – the student, the employer and the educational institution – as a valuable supplement to theoretical studies. Even for professions outside the regulated sectors (such as medicine, law or architecture) internship can be seen as a practical source of theoretical knowledge. Yet in the definition and research on internships very rarely the 'learning content' is further defined and/or questioned,

[17] According to Hadjivassiliou et al. (2012), lack of data prevents estimating more precisely the number of internships in European countries and thus the percentage of how many 'educational internships' there are. For example, France and Germany together employ 1.5 million interns a year (p.22), but for Belgium no aggregate data exists.

even though it is one of the main components that distinguish an intern from a regular (temporary) employee. For example, for Perlin, the lack of learning content is one of the major criticisms throughout his book and is even encoded in its title (2011). Therefore, this subsection presents attempts to conceptualise and theorize the learning content of internships.

One of the most recent efforts has been made by Holyoak who uses 'community of practice'[18] approach to evaluate whether all internships have some learning content (2013). According to this concept, novice participates first in the periphery of a community and gradually moves towards its centre through contacts and relationships with its members (Holyoak, 2013). In this model, knowledge is not solely transmitted from the 'master' to the 'apprentice', it is instead gradually acquired due to the "strong learning goals which learners derive from their developing sense of what the whole enterprise is about" (Holyoak, 2013, p.580). Holyoak acknowledges that the case of internships is different due to the limited time the intern spends in the organisation and the dependence on the supervisor to understand 'what the whole enterprise is about'. Therefore, she proposes a derived model where the interaction is between two key dimensions – 'supervisor's willingness to support learning' and 'intern's predisposition for learning'. The assumed orthogonal relationship of these two dimensions, each being either 'high' or 'low', can lead to four different outcomes (213, pp.576-577). For example, 'optimal conditions for development' occur only if the supervisor is highly willing to support learning and the intern is highly inclined to learn[19]. Thus, according to the community of practice approach, learning content is ensured by the collaboration of the supervisor and the intern, while a possible third party or monitor (for example, an educational institution), is not included in the model. The disciplines included in the research were various, yet the study is clearly limited as the author interviewed only 6 students and 6 supervisors who were all involved with particular type of knowledge and learning-intensive work as they worked on research projects. Nevertheless, this model describing the internal dynamics of cooperation between students and supervisors is helpful in understanding the learning process. Furthermore, the importance of support and monitoring provided by the supervisor has been later empirically confirmed in a survey of 99 students (26 study areas, type of work not specified) carried out by McHugh (2016), thus confirming the supervisor's role in ensuring the learning content of the internship (in the research by McHugh (2016) the term 'development value' was used instead). Nevertheless, the Holyoak's model does not allow any explanation of why certain supervisors lacked motivation to

[18] Holyoak discusses Lave and Wenger (1991) who are the authors of the concept of 'community of practice', which they originally used to explain how learning occurs in apprenticeships.
[19] If supervisor lacks motivation, there is 'intern non-development', while 'supervisor frustration' arises if a motivated supervisor collaborates with an unmotivated intern. If neither of the parties want to be involved in the learning process, it causes 'mutual dissatisfaction'. (Holyoak, 2013, pp.576-577)

support their intern's learning. It is unlikely that in this case the lack of support was due to demographical differences (gender and nationality differences between the supervisor and the intern), which have been found to be significant predictors for lack of mentoring and supervision for international placements (Feldman, Folks, & Turnley, 1999). Conversely, Stephens et al. (2014) propose that an important 'mentor' for work-based-learning process could be an academic (and not the direct supervisor at the workplace which has been omitted from the research by Stephens et al.) who has an in-depth knowledge of the study programme of the intern, and can ensure that the intern's experience and learning content has clear links with his/her theoretical studies.

Although limited only to 'educational internships' and to the field of cultural studies, Burgett, Kochhar-Lindgren, Krabill, & Thomas (2013) researched the learning content of internships in its aggregate form. Authors propose that experiences gained during internships can become a source of knowledge for students and academic supervisors likewise. To achieve this, a non-affirmative model for knowledge seeking through practice is introduced. In their theoretical paper, Burgett et al. (2013) use the dualism between realism and idealism to discuss how students of academic cultural studies (idealism) can learn from field experience (realism). Authors use the contrast and the duality of 'cultural ideals' (idealism) versus 'the material reality' (realism) presented by Herbert Marcuse in his essay "The affirmative character of culture" (1937) as the starting point of their reflection on implementing a non-affirmative model of cultural studies through practical work (Burgett et al, 2013). Taking as examples three research projects where the university collaborates with community based organisations, authors explain how this new approach requires a new skill set for students, staff, and faculty which includes (i) flexible and adaptive collaboration skills; (ii) problem solving in a creative and critical way; and (iii) more developed documentation practices (Burgett et al, 2013). Similarly to Benavides et al. (2013) and Holyoak (2013), this research emphasizes that the collaboration ensures the quality of the outcome. In this case, the long-term nature of the collaboration between the faculty and the organisation is crucial and is strengthened and/or adjusted by each student who becomes involved in one of the projects. The authors remain critical of the "neoliberal call to reduce all knowledge to application" (p. 421), nevertheless their programmes do fit within the realm of internships with academic credit and an academic component (a research paper). Furthermore, this internship programme seems a well-tailored example of educational internships which are closely related to the content of the studies. This allows students to actually test and refine the learned theories in practice, which is less likely the case if the university was not as involved in the cooperation (Benavides et al., 2013). Therefore, the defining characteristics of the described

three programmes remain the intensity and the long-run collaboration between the university and the community-based organisations. The long term collaboration results in long-term benefit which is the development of the 'place-based scholarship-in-action'. Of course, in addition to the long term gain, these internships bring the 'traditional' short term benefits, including new and unpaid workforce for the community organisations.[20]However, the research by Burgett et al. is limited to the specific field of cultural studies and the conclusions concern mainly the development of place-based scholarship-in-action through long-term collaborations and nothing has been said about the individual learning content of each of the internship experiences.

While the aforementioned research shows how different elements influence the learning content, it is still unclear what learning content intern can expect to receive from this experience as the responses to this question remain vague. At an individual level the learning content includes the sense of 'what the whole enterprise is about' (Daniel & Daniel, 2013; Holyoak, 2013), an understanding of what skills are necessary to successfully work within the industry (Daniel & Daniel, 2013), clarification of career choice (Neapolitan, 1992), and learning how to apply the knowledge acquired during the studies (Kim, Kim, & Bzullak, 2012; Parilla & Hesser, 1998). To make this vague definition more concrete, literature emphasizes the need to define the "learning content" within the contract between the intern, the workplace and (if applicable) the educational institution (Benavides et al., 2013; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Kim et al., 2012; Lain et al., 2014), therefore the learning content is defined case-by-case. This leaves a large room for manoeuvre as each of these contracts can be very different. The room for manoeuvre can be a positive thing if the learning content is actually adapted to each candidate, however, if at least some principles are not clearly defined for all, there is less of a guarantee that the learning content is indeed included in the contract.

As the learning component is one of the cornerstones that differs internships from employment, it is suggested to empirically verify whether in practice this learning content stands out for internships:

Proposition 3: when compared to employment, internships differ by having an emphasis on their learning content.

[20] According to authors, short-term benefits for community organisations are students as unpaid workforce and the increased prestige and legitimacy of the organisation through its collaboration with a university as increasing the prestige and legitimacy of the organisation. For universities the benefits include the use of community organisation as a research site and as a 'broker of clients' for the students of the university. For students the benefits include contacts with community organisations and their clients, as well as learning from experience (Burgett et al., 2013).

2.2.1.2. Educational institution as the governor of internships

With or without the learning content, educational institutions have over the years gained an important authority over the internship process, even though in some cases the full potential of the authority is not exploited. Educational institutions legitimize, evaluate internships, create collaborations with host organisations – they can be seen as the most important governing body of the internship process. Together with the legislators of each country, educational institutions have a certain power to regulate the intern labour market.

From different historical accounts related to the development of the phenomenon of internships, we can conclude that educational institutions have had an important role in the legitimization of the phenomenon by giving academic credit for this work-based learning and devising specific programmes of internships that have to be accomplished to validate a degree (e.g. Bailey et al., 2004; Benavides et al., 2013; Frenette, 2015; Satariano & Rogers, 1979; Strauser, 1979). In culture, the introduction of internships within the curriculum of arts administration was initially seen as a sign of professionalization of the discipline (Murphy, 1977). In contrast, Benavides et al. indicate that some academics had initial 'fears of vocationalism' that were overcome when additional paperwork (written work, oral presentation, journals etc.) linked to internships was introduced (2013, p.330). However, this development has certain disadvantages when considered from the labour market perspective. For example, as seen in the recent court cases and legal discussion in the USA, the fact that an intern receives academic credit for his work can serve as a valid excuse for not providing the intern with any remuneration, even if the student is carrying out the same work as the employees of that organisation (see Bacon, 2011; Curiale, 2009; Frenette, 2015; Tucci, 2012). Furthermore, in countries where students pay the university for their credit points which they validate with an unpaid internship, they can find it unfair, especially if they feel that the university does not give enough support for the process (Cuyler & Hodges, 2015a).

As educational institutions clearly have some authority over internships their students carry out as a part of the coursework, one of their roles could become to establish close collaborations between the three partners – the intern, the employer and the educational institution. In their overview of historical development of internships and research on internships since 1930s, Benavides et al. (2013) note that since 1990s scholars have been focusing on collaboration as the key element in ensuring successful internships. Instead of governing the overall internship process, according to the authors, educational institutions should be at the core of collaborative relationships between the intern, the employer and the university itself. Authors note six aspects where collaboration might increase overall satisfaction of the outcome

for all three sides – (i) the duration and timing, (ii) the academic component (research paper), (iii) finding an appropriate placement, (iv) joint supervision, (v) compensation (school might pay part of the salary), and (vi) evaluation (each party evaluates the other two). While their focus was on internships within public affairs and administration, the conclusions seem to be just as valid for most fields of social sciences and humanities, including culture. Furthermore, similar conclusions about the crucial role of trust, partnership and communication for building successful work-based-learning programmes is also confirmed by other research where in-depth interviews were carried out with the three involved sides – the employer, the academic institution and the employee/student (Stephens, Doherty, Bennett, & Margey, 2014). One of the main shortfalls of the described model is that this tight collaboration might be too resource intensive for all parties, and employers in particular might lack the incentives for full engagement. In addition, according to the Agency for Evaluation of the Quality of the Higher Education (AEQES) and Belgian entrepreneurs, the educational institutions lack connections with employers and understanding of the labour market (AEQES, 2010; 2015d; (RTL Belgium, 2016, 26 May). Therefore, while theoretically the educational institutions might influence the outcome of the internship through increasing collaborations, there are practical and legal limits to their actions, and within the Belgian context the barriers to collaboration might also be related to the disconnectedness of the education from the labour market.

While educational institutions might have limited authority over the country's legislation and the experience of interns at host organisation, they can take the responsibility of evaluating the success of internship programmes. With regards to formal educational programmes, this is often done through an 'academic component' mentioned previously (an internship report, journal etc.). Nevertheless, academic personnel in cooperation with other researchers can evaluate internship programmes at a more aggregate level which would allow them to make more general conclusions. Probably due limited access to data (and the convenience of access to students), most evaluations of internships found in academic literature are limited to 'educational internships'. In these cases, the preferred methods include surveys or interviews with current students or recent graduates with the aim of eliciting their reflections on their experiences or perceptions in relation to internships. For example, an international survey of 206 arts and cultural management students from 6 countries (USA, UK, Canada, New Zealand, Singapore and Australia) reveal that only 8% of students did not have a requirement to complete an internship to validate their degree (Cuyler & Hodges, 2015b). Cuyler & Hodges (2015b) found that students, especially undergraduates, highly value internships, considering them more important than other types of experiential learning (field trips etc.), and 71% agreed that

internships are more valuable to the curriculum than research projects. Furthermore, most students (but especially female students) are willing to work for free, which researchers note as alarming as this might indicate that students devaluate the knowledge and skills acquired during studies and, according to NACE, unpaid internships do not increase the chances of securing a full-time employment at the time of graduation (Cuyler & Hodges, 2015b; National Association of Colleges and Employers, October 16, 2013).

While the aforementioned research surveyed only current students and their attitudes, Daniel & Daniel (2013) tried to evaluate an internship programme of a regional creative and performing arts university in Australia through surveying both recent graduates and employers which the university cooperated with for ensuring student placements. The main conclusions include a confirmation of the beneficial nature of internships for all parties (universities, employers and students), however authors recognise that there is room for improvement in the management of the process and advise 'a staged approach' strategy similar to the approach taken for teacher training. According to this approach, students observe the industry practice in their first year, follow 'supervised internship-style experiences' in their second year, and finish with a student-led (less supervised by the university) internship in their third year (Daniel & Daniel, 2013, p.150). This approach, authors argue, might be more successful in preparing students for the "particular challenges that graduates will continue to face as they seek to establish a meaningful and viable career in the creative industries" (Daniel & Daniel, 2013).

Unfortunately, from the perspective of education, any evaluations of internships risk having important limitations and biases. First, as stated previously, these evaluations exclude the 'open market' internships. Second, the studies carried out by educators or program moderators themselves risk being biased towards a positive evaluation (e.g. Benavides et al., 2013; Cuyler & Hodges, 2015a, 2015b). Third, studies such as research by Daniel & Daniel (2013) do not control for the role of characteristics of students (e.g. previous experience, connections, social status, personality traits) that decided in favour of participating in an internship programme and to what extent these characteristics (and not only the internship itself) might have contributed to the subsequent labour market success. We will further explore school-to-work transitions and these challenges in Chapter 2.2.2

2.2.1.3. Taxonomies for different types of internships

From the previous discussion, it is clear that educational institutions have the potential of an effective "arm's length" body governing the internship process for students. However, internships are not always governed by an educational institution, and researchers even propose a taxonomy of internships based on the governing body (or the lack of it), thus claiming to explain the differences in internship quality.

For example, European Youth Forum proposed a simple classification in *educational* and *non-educational* internships (2009) – the first being carried out as a part of a formal educational programme, while the latter not being linked to an educational programme. Researchers have given a certain merit to this classification as it often can explain the contrast of positive evaluations of *educational* internships and more negative evaluations of *non-educational* internships (Lain et al., 2014). However, Lain et al. point out that this classification does not explain the underlying reasons why some internships have positive outcomes while others do not. In addition, not all *non-educational* internships lack a third party monitoring, as certain internships are set up as part of governmental employment programmes (Lain et al., 2014).

Throughout their research, Hadjivassiliou et al. (2012) used a classification in five categories, mainly according to the governance principle[21]: (i) internships as part of curricula (taken during academic or vocational education); (ii) 'open market' internships outside the supervision of an educational or governmental institution; (iii) "active labour market policies" internships for unemployed young people, supervised by a government agency; (iv) internships as part of mandatory professional training (e.g. architecture, medicine etc.); and (v) transnational internships. It has to be noted that most transnational internships simultaneously fit in one of the other categories. For instance, a student taking part in Erasmus + work placement programme is receiving academic credit (first category) while accomplishing the placement abroad (fifth category).

Because of this overlap and as architects are the only culture-related occupation requiring mandatory professional training (fourth category)[22], we can assume that most internships within cultural sector fall into the first two categories – 'open market' internships and 'educational' internships. While some internships in cultural organisations might fall into the category of "active labour market policies", we assume that these programs primarily target other sectors and are not a major contributor to the intern labour market in culture.

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[21] Authors use the term *traineeship*, however, as explained previously, this is seen as a synonym to the term *internship*.
[22] Most EU countries require mandatory professional training for professionals in the sectors of architecture, engineering, medicine, law and education/teaching (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). The Belgium-specific report mentions the sectors of medicine, law and architecture (Ter-Minassian, 2012).

This reduction to three categories is later confirmed by research with the participation of Hadjivassiliou. The three categories are clearly based on the principle of governance: (i) educational internship, (ii) open market internship; and (iii) active labour market internship (Lain et al., 2014). In this classification, the mandatory professional training internships seem to be included in the 'educational' internship while the overlapping category of "transnational internships" is not maintained. Figure 2.1 illustrates how different types of internships relate to the labour market and education, underlying the type of internships that are the main focus of this paper ('open market' and 'educational' internships).

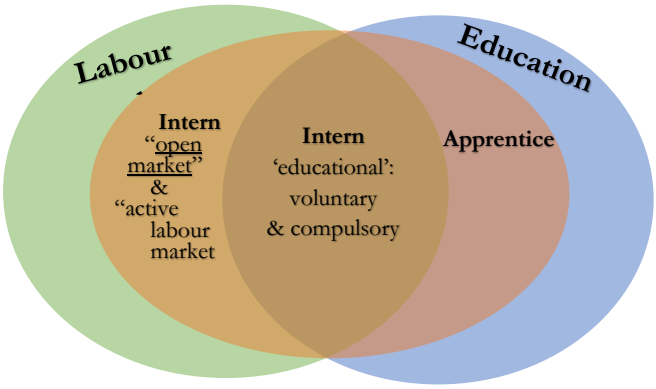


Figure 2.1 types of internships according to their relation with education and the labour market

Source: created by the author of this paper

Lain et al. (2014) use the *governance perspective* of human resource management to argue that the educational and active labour market policy internships have similarly high degree of governance while the 'open market' internships have the lowest degree of governance. High degree of governance – which can include both supervision and the organisation of internships – is argued to be one of the key factors determining the quality of internship outcome. This governance has three dimensions – (i) an individual *contract* for each intern which defines the content of the internship and the responsibilities of all parties; (ii) clearly specified *duration*; and (iii) *partnership* between the two sides directly involved in the internship (the intern and the employer) and a third party (educational institution) which is involved as a monitor and facilitator of the process. However, the method limits the conclusions of the study as only three internship programmes were analysed (one for each category). Furthermore, the *educational* programme in Spain chosen to represent *educational internships* was a programme within the vocational education and training, which are known to naturally develop closer and better ties with employers than academic educational institutions, thus making it easier to fulfil their role of governance (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012).

Another important shortfall of the research by Lain et al. (2014) is that it fails to explain why, in spite of high levels of governance, research of Hadjivassiliou et al. (2012) and many other scholars (Bailey et al., 2004; Barbieri, Fazio, & Gamberini, 2016; Frenette, 2013; Perlin, 2011) report cases where both *educational* and *active labour market policy* internships do not result in satisfactory outcomes. The simplest reason for this could be that there are different levels of

involvement of educational institutions – Hadjivassiliou et al. (2012) reports anecdotal evidence of internships in France where there are "fictitious university registrations" and institutions "providing traineeship contracts for a fee without proper supervision and quality assurance" (p.89). Another probable explanation might be that the model does not consider a crucial element of the internship arrangement – the supervisor at the host organisation and her relation to the intern. While the third proposed dimension of governance is *partnership*, it discusses only the partnership between the host organisation and the educational institution, excluding the relationship between the host organisation and the intern. The importance of this relationship is researched elsewhere (Holyoak, 2013; McHugh, 2016) and will be discussed in the further sections of this paper. Another level of authority which remains outside the scope of the research by Lain et al. is the legislation of the particular country which directly influences the room for manoeuvre of the educational institutions in the first place. This aspect also is researched elsewhere (Barbieri et al., 2016) and will be discussed in the subsection on the labour market perspective.

As research suggests that the influence of governance affects the quality of internships, it is important to explore in practice how well individual internships (and not internship programmes as was the case in the research by Lain et al., 2014) fit into these three categories:

Proposition 4: based on literature, we expect to distinguish three types of internships in cultural sector – (i) educational internship, (ii) open market internship; and (iii) active labour market internship.

Proposition 5: as 'open market' internships by definition are not supervised by an educational institution, nor the government, their content will be closer to the content of an actual work opportunity.

2.2.1.4. Summary: Why and how are internships rooted in education?

The focus of this section has been on 'educational content' of internships and how governance by educational institutions can (but not always does) facilitate this. Educational content and learning were highlighted as a key feature of internships and what distinguishes this form of work from volunteering or employment. Internship categorisation allowed some theoretical analysis of different types of internships and identified that internships linked to education programmes appeared to have better education outcomes than 'open market' internships. This can be at least partially explained by the role of educational institutions in the governance of the internships process, as well as positive (or lack of) collaboration between the education institution, the internship provider organisation and the intern. At the same time,

literature review highlighted various gaps in research to date – such as the role of the intern's manager in the host organisation, quantitative analysis of most issues raised and any research specifically aimed at the culture sector. Form the discussed theories and research gaps, we have identified two propositions which will be empirically tested within this paper.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Holmes' research on museum sector shows that 'the key benefits the volunteers gained from their work experience were unrelated to the actual skills and knowledge they acquired' (2006, p.249)[23]. As argued by Holmes (2006) and elsewhere (McRobbie, 2016; Siebert & Wilson, 2013), the central aspect of any internship is the possibility to integrate with the network and build contacts for when a paid opportunity is available. Thus, a truthful definition of an internship should include the aim of securing an employment or at least the aim of exploring the employment options within the chosen field. This motivation is what distinguishes interns from 'simple volunteers', despite them legally being considered as equal, for example, in the UK where cultural organisations employ interns under volunteer contracts (Holmes, 2006). This motivation brings us to the next perspective on internships – the perspective of securing smooth school-to-work transitions – that will be discussed in the next subchapter.

2.2.2. School-to-work transitions: career, employability, human and social capital

From the historical account of Frenette (2015) we can learn that, in the USA, internships were first re-introduced in 1980s and 1990s by the government willing to help disadvantaged high-school graduates and dropouts to find employment, thus internships were first used as a tool for facilitating entrance into the labour market. While these type of government programs remain out of scope for this paper, it is important to note that the internship phenomenon since 1980s and 1990s has become more widespread and increasingly linked to the university education, while maintaining its initial purpose of smoothening the transitions to work[24]. Frenette (2015) explains that in the USA the main reasons for the increase in the internship phenomenon were the economic rivalry with Germany and Japan; increase in the number of university students; and development and popularity of constructivist pedagogy and cognitive

[23] Holmes uses the term 'volunteers' as in the United Kingdom the unpaid workers at museums have the status of volunteers. However, in Yorkshire museums that were the focus of her research, 64% of volunteers are actually doing it as a part of an educational programme (thus, it could fit in the definition of an educational internship), and a part of the 36% that do not simultaneously participate in an educational programme are volunteering with the aim of gaining work experience and eventually obtaining a paid position in the museum sector which corresponds to the aims of any 'open market' internship (Holmes, 2006).

[24] As seen previously, the purpose or school-to-work transition might have become more important than the educational goals of the internship exercise.

psychology advocating the merits of work-based learning (see Bailey et al., 2004). In Europe, we can assume that global competition (Sin & Neave, 2016) and 'enormous educational expansion' of the recent decades (Wolbers, 2014, p.167) have similarly contributed to the growth of the intern labour market. Despite the supply of highly educated workers, since the economic crisis of 2008 Europe has seen its youth unemployment rates dramatically increase (Wolbers, 2014), while internships have become one of widely recognised strategies for facilitating the school-to-work transition (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Madsen, Molina, Møller, & Lozano, 2013; TNS Political and Social, 2013b). Therefore, this subchapter will look at the concepts and theories related to school-to-work transition which explain the ways internships can facilitate this process.

2.2.2.1. Refining and improving career prospects

Theoretically, one of the practical outcomes of internships is the assessment of the compatibility of the intern with the industry. However, in practice, empirical research is contradictory on this subject. Neapolitan found that a small scale internship programme in sociology "helped students significantly in clarifying career choices, by providing information on occupations, reducing indecisiveness and anxiety regarding choice, and increasing confidence in the ability to choose" (1992, p.222). In contrast, Callanan and Benzing surveyed 163 business major students and concluded that "students who had completed an internship and those who had not did not show a discernible difference in their perceived degree of fit with the job that was selected" (Callanan & Benzing, 2004). The reason suggested by Callanan and Benzing (2004) for this surprising discovery is that students who did not accomplish an internship were not confronted with the information confirming or opposing their natural confidence in being able to do a particular job in the field. Other reasons for the conflicting conclusions might include the differences between the sociology and business fields, or the methods employed in each research– while Neapolitan (1992) asked students to fill out the Career Decision Scale[25] before and after they completed their internships, Callanan and Benzing (2004) asked self-evaluating questions only after the internship had finished. The downsize of the research by Neapolitan is that the sample size used was considerably lower (30 students compared to 163 for the research of Callanan and Benzing (2004)).

From a different perspective, Ko and Sidhu (2012) found that a successful internship can greatly improve a student's willingness to work for their host employer in cases where the institution has a stereotypically unappealing image in the eyes of the students which does not correspond to the reality. They surveyed 818 Singaporean students and concluded that

[25] The author used the Career Decision Scale developed by Osipow, Carney, Winer, Yanico, and Koschier (1976, as cited in Neapotian, 1992).

undertaking an internship in a public organisation decreases the stereotype of it being unappealingly "hierarchical, rigid, efficient, competitive, and disciplined"[26]. Therefore, following an internship students become much more likely to choose employment within a public organisation. Conversely, negative internship experiences decreased students' willingness to work for a public organisation (Ko & Sidhu, 2012). These conclusions are echoed by Perlin who found that negative experiences during internships have made 50 percent of students of George Washington University "to leave the entire *field* in which they've just interned, not to mention individual employers" (2011, p.94). Clearly, the dominant stereotype of the cultural sector is quite the opposite to that of Singapore's public organisations. Considering that the cultural sector is generally very appealing to young people, it would be interesting to understand to what extent the perception of the sector or a subsector can change after an internship. Unfortunately, no studies were found which addressed this question. Despite the increasing evidence of the disadvantages (in terms of underemployment and low pay) of creative work (Abreu, Faggian, Comunian, & McCann, 2012; Bain & McLean, 2013; Comunian, Faggian, & Li, 2010; Faggian, Comunian, Jewell, & Kelly, 2013; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), young aspirants still find the cultural sector very appealing and most research reflects their continuous efforts that often include a set of unpaid work experiences, including internships (Ball, Pollard, Stanley, & Oakley, 2010a; Frenette, 2013; McRobbie, 2016).

Another (assumed) effect of internships in the context of school-to-work transition is that they increase the chances of securing employment within the field. This has been empirically verified within different sectors, including not only the business sector (Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Gault, Leach, & Duey, 2010), but also the cultural sector (Daniel & Daniel, 2013). In contrast to these studies focused on particular sectors, USA National Association of Colleges and Employers [NACE] has recently concluded that not all internships improve the intern's chances of employment – according to NACE, the chances of unpaid interns securing a full-time employment at the time of graduation are not higher than those of students who did not complete an internship[27] (October 16, 2013). Although this might be true for for-profit sectors where paid internships are common, the cultural and the non-profit sector in general are known for primarily unpaid internship opportunities (Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Furthermore, within culture career paths remain more complex as, for example, arts graduates much more likely end up in arts education than in any other occupation (Rabkin, 2013), and young aspirants often have

[26] Researchers talk about perceived high 'masculinity' index (Ko & Sidhu, 2012).

[27] In response to the reaction caused by these finding, NACE explained that the research concerns employment specifically at the time of graduation (it is possible that research carried out 6 or 12 months after graduation would provide different results) and that they have not been able to further investigate the reasons behind these findings, including analysing any differences between sectors of employment/interning (NACE, October 16, 2013).

to hold multiple jobs (not all culture-related) and move from one short-term assignment to another in order to earn a living (Ball et al., 2010a; 2010b).

Nonetheless, there is increasing evidence that without an internship, such fields as the music industry might be inaccessible for a new entrant (Rolston & Herrera, 2000). In fact, Frenette (2013) found that in order to enter the music industry, even multiple internships might be required. From the point of view of employers, internships are becoming an increasingly important recruitment strategy – NACE reports that in 2015 following an internship 51.7% of interns took up an entry level position with the host organisation, and in 2016 this number increased to 61.9% - a rate similar to the pre-recession level (NACE, 2015; 2016). In contrast, in the creative sector of the UK only 45% of young people who completed an unpaid internship were offered an opportunity to do paid work[28], therefore the internship would have most likely benefitted the student by generally increasing their 'employability'. However, even this rate is quite high compared to 27% of Europeans across the EU28 who were offered an employment contract at the end of their last internship, whilst a similar rate of 23% saw their internship period renewed or extended instead (TNS Political and Social, 2013b). According to researchers, even those interns who did not start working for their host employers either might have started work elsewhere, or at least have increased their 'employability' and become more attractive to other employers (Gault et al., 2010). The concept of employability and its links to the education system are discussed in the two following subchapters.

2.2.2.2. Bologna Process and the concept of employability

Hadjivassiliou et al. note that the contemporary political interest in internships is due to the 'expanding body of empirical evidence' which suggests that internships 'can significantly improve youth employability, e.g. by enhancing young people's labour market attachment, contributing to their acquisition of work-related skills and experience deemed relevant to employer' (2012, p.23). In addition, since the Bologna Declaration of June 1999, 'employability' has also been one of the cornerstones of the Bologna Process aimed at reforming higher education in order for it to meet the needs of employers (Sin & Neave, 2016). In addition, universities are being evaluated using the employability of their students as a performance indicator (J. Smith, McKnight, & Naylor, 2000). Therefore, it is not surprising that the inclusion of internships within study programmes provided by tertiary academic institutions is growing. Nonetheless, researchers have noted that 'employability' is yet another ambiguous concept that,

[28] The research does not specify what type of paid opportunity (full-time/part-time, fixed-term/fixed-project etc.) arose after the internship.

according to Sin and Neave (2016), can have different interpretations, based on the perspectives concerns of particular interest groups – authors argue that employability is a 'floating signifier'.

Sin and Neave discuss a variety of conceptualisations of 'employability' by different scholars and conclude that 'employability may be viewed as a continuum ranging from its construction as an individual responsibility to a broader definition' that includes 'wider personal, social, economic, and labour market circumstances' (2016, pp.1449-1452). Through qualitative analysis of a range of Bologna Process documents, Sin and Neave (2016) conclude that all four major stakeholders of the Bologna Process – students, employers, policy-makers (the government) and academics (higher education institutions) – position themselves differently along this continuum. Therefore, while there is a general agreement towards the need to increase employability, there are conflicting views on what kind of skills or processes this entails and who is responsible for the outcome. For example, policy-makers and employers see the development of employability as the responsibility of the individual, though employers mention that higher education institutions (HEIs) and employers themselves should support this process[29]. Authors argue that, by adhering to this individual interpretation of 'employability', policy-makers and employers "discount, if they do not play down, contextual factors in the employability equation" and they transfer to the individual both the responsibility and the costs of gaining employability (Sin & Neave, 2016, p.1459). In contrast, students emphasize the contingency of their employability and portray themselves as victims of unfavourable contextual factors, claiming that HEIs "have failed to re-design degrees with employability in mind" (Sin & Neave, 2016, p.1459). According to authors,

> "Institutions and academics alone embrace a comprehensive construct of employability as dependent both on individual competences and dispositions, but also on economic conditions and personal circumstances (e.g. age and social class)" (Sin & Neave, 2016, p.1459).

For HEIs the key concern in the process of ensuring employability is the fear of vocationalisation of higher education if the HEIs are to cater for the immediate needs of the labour market (Sin & Neave, 2016). For our research, it is important to note these different perspectives, as the stakeholders involved in the Bologna Process and employability are the same stakeholders involved in the internship process. Furthermore, as it has been noted by some researchers, the views of these stakeholders also greatly differ when it comes to internships, their

[29] It must be noted that initially policy-makers emphasized 'employability' as a pre-condition for integrating the highly skilled workforce of the 'knowledge economy', and it was only with the economic crisis of 2008 that the new discourse of 'employability' as "a remedy to unemployment" appeared and established itself as the main consensus (Sin & Neave, 2016, p.1458).

expected outcomes and division of responsibilities (Frenette, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). For example, in a recent debate on Belgian television the president of the Francophone Student Federation (*Fédération des étudiants francophones*) Brieuc Wathelet emphasized students' concern about the lack of legislation and insufficient active involvement by the universities, while the employer views expressed by Jean-Paul Erhard, an entrepreneur and human resources consultant, were sceptical about academics' understanding of the realities of employment and saw the "wide gap" between the education and the business world as the main reason for problematic internships (RTL Belgium, 2016, 26 May). Yet "the show must go on", so the Bologna Process proceeds without a consensus or an agreement (Sin & Neave, 2016) and so does the use of internships in enhancing 'employability'.

2.2.2.3. Operationalisation of employability, human and social capital

Despite the aforementioned difficulties in defining the concept, researchers explore ways of operationalising the concept to facilitate its understanding and development. For example, Dacre Pool & Sewell propose a "Key to Employability" model, using the following definition as its starting point (2007, p.279):

> "Employability is having a set of skills, knowledge, understanding and personal attributes that make a person more likely to choose and secure occupations in which they can be satisfied and successful."

According to this model elaborated for the use of universities, employers and parents working with graduate students, the key to employability consists of interactions between a set of elements organised in three layers. The bottom layer contains five components summarised under the name "CareerEDGE" (**career** development and learning; **e**xperience (work and life); **d**egree subject knowledge, understanding and skills; **g**eneric skills (transferable skills such as attention to detail, creativity, ability to work in a team etc.); **e**motional intelligence). Through 'reflection and evaluation' (the middle layer) these elements are transformed into the highest layer consisting of three interdependent elements – self-efficacy, self-confidence and self-esteem.

This model is interesting as it identifies key components of the term 'employability' and illustrates their interdependence. It has to be noted that economists, sociologists and other scholars might group these components under the concept of 'human capital', i.e. the result of "acquisition of knowledge and skill that have economic value" (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1961, p.3). However, the "Key to Employability" serves its purpose as a more practical and operational model that might be used as guidance by people willing to gain employability or support others in doing so.

Nevertheless, the main problem with this model is that it does not take into account the relative, social and contextual dimensions of employability discussed by Sin and Neave (2016) and emphasized by many other scholars. Indeed, often the acquisition of 'social capital'[30] is considered as important in building employability as the 'human capital' (Sin & Neave, 2016; V. Smith, 2010). Most research on internships in the cultural sector emphasizes that one of the most valuable outcomes of the process is the social network that the intern builds within the field as this helps finding a way to becoming a part of the 'real' workforce within the sector (Daniel & Daniel, 2013; Frenette, 2013; Holmes, 2006; Siebert & Wilson, 2013).

As evident within the concepts of social and human capital and the components of the "Key to Employability" model, increasing and maintaining employability is a continuous effort, which means that students, even if they complete an internship during their studies, do not graduate with "employability for life" (Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007, p.288). The immersion of the intern in the workplace is helpful in developing some of the elements included in the "Key to Employability" model – notably, a successful internship can boost the intern's self-confidence and self-esteem as she has gained additional work and life experience, generic transferable skills, and taken the first steps in her career development. However, research suggests employers are only willing to invest in training for regular staff linked to the specific needs of the organisation (Clarke & Patrickson, 2008), which indicates that they are even less likely to invest in an intern. Thus, according to scholars, workers (and hence also interns) are themselves *de facto* responsible for building their human capital and social capital (V. Smith, 2010).

According to research, this responsibility to continuously improve one's 'employability' through a 'portfolio career' has already been accepted as a prerequisite for a successful career by most students and graduates within the cultural sector (Ball et al., 2010a; 2010b; Faggian et al., 2013). This proactive approach is in stark contrast to the opinions of students who blame universities and economic factors for their lack of 'employability' (Sin & Neave, 2016). This comparison highlights that the labour market conditions now expect all students to develop similar habits and skills as those that the creative workforce is already familiar with because of the persistent insecurity and instability of creative careers.

Due to the limitations of internships as the ultimate boost for the 'human capital' of young people, researchers remain sceptical when universities and governments who advocate for internships as the main solution and sometimes even make it mandatory for young people to complete internships in order to receive a degree (Frenette, 2013; Perlin, 2011). Furthermore, if

[30] Bourdieu conceptualises 'social capital' as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu 1985, as cited in Portes, 1998, p.3)

the 'portfolio career' of creative graduates is taken as an example of a proactive approach to employability, it should be noted that it consists of more than an internship – Ball et al. (2010a) report that graduates continue investing in their development through such activities as training, developing personal projects or businesses, and following technological developments.

2.2.2.4. Summary: How do internships help the transition from school to work?

In this subchapter we explored how internships contribute to the transition from the world of education to that of labour market. Internships have the potential to contribute to refining career choices in terms of personal fit with the field (Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Neapolitan, 1992) and by decreasing any positive or negative stereotypes about the potential workplace (Ko & Sidhu, 2012; Perlin, 2011). Furthermore, internships increase the chances of obtaining (yet do not guarantee) a paid full-time employment within the field (Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Daniel & Daniel, 2013; Gault et al., 2010; Rolston & Herrera, 2000), while in culture it might even be the "only route into the sector" (Siebert & Wilson, 2013, p.712).

Nevertheless, the main concept used to explain the necessity of internships is 'employability' that people enhance through paid and/or unpaid internships (Gault et al., 2010; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; Perlin, 2011). There is a lack of agreement as to the scope of the concept and further theoretical work is necessary (Moreau & Leathwood, 2006; Sin & Neave, 2016; V. Smith, 2010). Yet from our analysis we can see that the increase in the use of internships occurs at crucial times for education as the Bologna Process aims to task the universities with improving the 'employability' of graduates (Sin & Neave, 2016). Opposing the dominant political and employer discourse that employability is an individual responsibility, researchers and academic institutions argue that building employability should be a shared responsibility, considering the relativeness of the concept and the influence of social and economic contexts and personal circumstances (Moreau & Leathwood, 2006; Sin & Neave, 2016). This claim is supported by any internship contract which is concluded between a university, an intern and an employer and clearly sets out the responsibilities of each side. However, scholars note that employability is relative and a continuous process – "nobody is ever perfectly employable" (Dare Pool & Sewell, 2007) – and that "it is possible to be employable but not be in employment" (Brown, Hesketh, & Williams, 2003, p.122). Moreover, it is probably impossible to measure the "net" increase in employability brought about by a successfully completed internship. In culture in particular where building employability involves networking and building trust (Holmes, 2006), it is highly probable that other means (networking events, accomplished personal projects) could achieve similar 'employability' gains. Internships do allow

young people to gain their first professional experience in their selected sector which is crucial for subsequent career success. However, it would be important to verify to what extent internships indeed provide this opportunity to gain first experience, which leads us to our next proposition for the empirical part of this research:

Proposition 6: Internships are aimed at people looking that are willing to gain their first experience in the cultural sector.

To conclude and summarise, in this and the previous subchapters we have discussed how the intern labour market is often rooted within the education system (hence, the emphasis on the learning content of the practice), but often also represents a foot in the door in the 'regular' labour market (hence, the emphasis on 'employability'). During his internship, the intern is partially included in the labour force. Therefore, to complete the overview of the phenomenon, the perspective of the labour market is indispensable and will be considered in the following subchapter.

2.2.3. Labour market perspective and employer strategies

The perspectives discussed up to this point(education and school-to-work transitions) were primarily focused on the supply side of internships, as we analysed the concepts and theories that rationalise the use of internships and determined the factors that have contributed to the increase in the size of the intern labour market. This chapter introduces the perspective of the employer and, the labour market more generally.

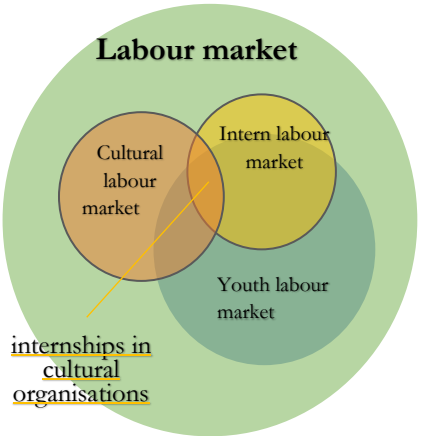


Figure 2.2: internships in cultural organisations

Source: created by the author of this paper

According to research, there is a big gap between the employer perception and that of the intern or educational institution (Frenette, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Furthermore, Siebert & Wilson note that there is a "tension between individual and social accounts of internship experience" (2013, p.717). This chapter will explore these differences by focusing on the intern labour market as a whole and on its place in the general labour market (see Figure 2.2). Markets being "social systems of exchange and negotiation that are shaped through policy agendas, management decisions, and craft and labor organizing, among other factors" (Burgett et al. 2013, p.433), this chapter will focus on the interaction between these different elements and how they contribute to the role interns can play in cultural organisations.

2.2.3.1. Intern labour market as a secondary or supplementary labour market

The intern labour market is characterised by insecurity, temporality and flexibility and therefore fits the classical definition of a "secondary labour market" ("external labour market") (Siebert & Wilson, 2013), which is opposed to the "primary labour market" ("internal labour market") and the qualitative, permanent employment contracts it offers (F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015). Traditionally the secondary labour market has been the market for low-skilled workers, while more recently insecure and flexible contracts seem to be increasingly offered also to highly-skilled workers (R. Dekker, De Grip and Heijke, 2002). In response to this, researchers propose the term of "supplementary labour market", which extends the 'secondary labour market' to include higher level and higher skilled jobs that lack career security and opportunities (R. Dekker et al., 2002). According to their findings, the "supplementary labour market" is characterised by higher possibilities for upward mobility due to continuous investment in training; it has an important role in the transition from education to labour market; and employers have a positive attitude towards the supplementary market workforce, especially if it takes care of increasing its human capital (R. Dekker et al., 2002). At the same time, it is a "buffer for the primary segments" (R. Dekker et al., 2002, p.122), and while most probably the young people could be considered overeducated for their first job within the supplementary segment, it "could be an attractive step towards reaching a more suitable position in the labour market" (p.106). This could be promising for interns, if the fulfilment of the ultimate aim of entering the primary labour market was not jeopardized by its shrinking size and increasing competition.

Indeed, the general labour market in which interns strive to enter is quite harsh for everyone, but especially for those still in or just out of education. The main characteristics of the labour market include an increased demand for flexibility of the workforce (O'Reilly et al., 2015) and the feeling of insecurity by the flexible workforce (Burgoon & Dekker, 2010; Madsen et al., 2013; van Oorschot & Chung, 2015). It is also characterised by a, decrease in the ability for education to guarantee employment (Madsen et al., 2013), including the mismatch of skills and qualifications resulting in lower incomes (Bárcena-Martín, Budría, & Moro-Egido, 2012; O'Reilly et al., 2015). While researchers argue that there are important differences among European countries (de Lange, Gesthuizen, & Wolbers, 2014b; F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015; European Commission, 2015), especially between the North and the South (Madsen et al., 2013), they agree that youth cohorts, born in the early 1980s and early 1990s, "have been largely devastated by the financial crash of 2008" (Therborn, 2014, p.166) and that the consequences of the high youth

unemployment today[31] will most probably have long-term effects (Madsen et al., 2013; O'Reilly et al., 2015).

2.2.3.2. The flexibility and temporality of the intern labour market

Interns can be clearly included in the category of labour market entrants which, according to research, have always been more vulnerable and thus more readily accept flexible and insecure employment (de Lange, Gesthuizen, & Wolbers, 2014a). Furthermore, after the financial crisis of 2008, the vulnerability of labour market entrants has only increased (Madsen et al., 2013), which could be one of the reasons why young people would be even more eager now to do an internship.

Alongside the increased vulnerability, labour market entrants have to face changing labour conditions – researchers note a steady increase[32] of temporary employment throughout Europe (de Lange, 2013). What is more alarming for our discussion, is that the share of young people taking up these flexible job positions has seen an even more significant increase in the same period. While in 1980 one out of five (21%) flexible workers was aged 15-24, in 2011 this proportion was approaching half of all flexible workers (44%) in Europe (de Lange, 2013). While these numbers do not include internships, research reports that employers have a high level of elasticity of substitution for different types of temporary contracts (Cappellari, Dell'Aringa, & Leonardi, 2012). This suggests that this shift in labour market structure allows more room for increase in use of interns as a flexible labour force.

From the perspective of the employer, internship is one of the most flexible forms of employment, especially if there is no educational institution monitoring the process or the involvement of it is minimal. As it is concluded by Maertz et al. (2014, p.138): "For most organizations it is hard to imagine that a low-paid, somewhat skilled, temporary worker could not be used to the net benefit of the employer." As temporary and flexible employment has been much more widely researched, this subsection aims to identify the main characteristics of these flexible labour forms.

By its very definition, an internship is a temporary work experience. As employers have a high level of elasticity of substitution for different types of temporary contracts (Cappellari, Dell'Aringa, & Leonardi, 2012), it is clear how the use of interns offers some important advantages. Barbieri, Fazio and Gamberini (2016) have further researched the consequences of

[31] In 2015, the unemployment among young people in the 28 countries of the European Union (EU) is still more than twice as high as general unemployment rates; in countries like Greece, Spain, Croatia and Italy more than 40% of young people are looking for a job (Eurostat, 2015, 30 Oct.).

[32] According to the data collected by de Lange (2013), the share of flexible employment has increased from 5% in 1980 to 11% in 2011.

this elasticity of substitution, showing that there is a clear link between young peoples' attitude towards internships and the temporary worker legislation of a given country. After running a content analysis of 505 tweets about young peoples' perception of internships, Barbieri, Fazio and Gamberini (2016) concluded that internships are perceived more positively in countries where the legislation makes it easier to hire a young worker on a temporary basis. Authors argue that "if employees are hindered in hiring young people because of stringent regulations they may avoid them by substituting regular temporary work contracts with non-contractual, exible [sic] arrangements such as internship" (Barbieri et al., 2016, p.481). Another explanation to this perception could be that in countries with less liberal temporary work contracts, employers would be less likely to offer former interns a short-term contract at the end of their internship – if young people are aware that their chances for both permanent and temporary employment at the end of the internship are low, they might perceive the internships as a "dead end" job and hence be unsatisfied. Next, we will consider the particular characteristics of flexible employment in more detail.

Flexible employment has four major characteristics that could apply to internships. First, the flexibility comes at a cost of increased feelings of insecurity (Burgoon & Dekker, 2010), or even dual-insecurity – employment and income insecurity – as defined by van Oorschot and Chung (2015). As a result, interns suffer from dual-vulnerability as they are labour market entrants with flexible employment. These feelings of insecurity have been reported to be lower for European countries with higher GDP and stronger trade unions (F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015; van Oorschot & Chung, 2015), yet in all countries flexible employment increases workers' support for social policy assistance (Burgoon & Dekker, 2010).

Second, employers are reluctant to invest in temporary and/or flexible employees: "investing in flexible employees simply makes no sense due to the limited contract duration and, therefore, insecure returns in the future" (F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015, p.11). Furthermore, investment in enhancing individual employability could increase staff turnover (Clarke & Patrickson, 2008). Therefore, organisations are reluctant to invest beyond training which meets the organisation's direct needs (Clarke & Patrickson, 2008). The same employer logic should apply for interns too, except in cases where employers have devised specific internship programs as a part of their recruitment strategy and therefore they would invest in interns in the hope for returns in the future. However, it would mean that young people should be advised to participate only in internships that are a part of a recruitment strategy or risk employer underinvestment in the "learning content" of the work placement.

Third, as the labour market becomes increasingly flexible, scholars note the need for finding a way for flexible workers to defend their interests (F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015). As the existing trade unions have difficulties in attracting members from the flexible workforce, Dekker and van der Veen (2015) suggest that they should change their current strategy of concentrating only on permanent employees and opposing the insecure flexible work. As internships represent an arrangement which is even more flexible, temporary, unpaid/underpaid and mostly limited to the beginning of one's career, interns might have particularly difficult challenges in establishing and maintaining an organisation which defends their rights. Despite that, some initiatives have already been created, for example, *Meldpunt stagemisbruik*[33] in the Netherlands allows young people to report negative internship experiences; the magazine *intern* [34] (based in the UK) aims to contribute to an ongoing dialogue about internships and showcases the work of young, creative talents; and Brussels Interns NGO (*B!ngo*)[35] promotes quality internships. Furthermore, in its the latest campaign "Just Pay!"[36] Brussels Interns NGO has collaborated with International Young Professionals Foundation (IYPF) and *Jeunes FGTB* (the youth section of the union FGTB – the General Labour Federation of Belgium) to monitor internships in Belgium, publicising internship opportunities that do not follow Belgian law and contacting the organisations for further clarifications (Brussels Interns NGO, 2016).

Fourth, in contrast to the negative characteristics mentioned above, recent research from the Netherlands by de Lange et al. (2014a) suggests that the negative impacts of flexible contracts at the early stages of career development are negated in the long run. The reason for this is that the flexible entry positions can serve as a stepping stone to permanent employment (de Lange et al. 2014a), yet it is not clear how this would change in the future as the proportion of permanent employment positions shrinks.

However, it would be important to test to what extent internships actually are flexible. The flexibility of working hours can be twofold – hours worked per week and/or the duration of the contract. While the temporary duration is implied by the definition, it is less clear whether internships also represent labour force that is flexible in relation to working hours. As internships are mostly unpaid and accomplished while studying, one could assume that a full time arrangements would not dominate. Otherwise, interns cannot pursue their studies and cannot earn additional income. Thus, the following proposition can be formulated:

[33] The website of the initiative: http://meldpuntstagemisbruik.nl/
[34] The website of the magazine: http://intern-mag.com/about/
[35] The website of the initiative: https://www.bingo-brussels.eu
[36] The website of the campaign: www.justpay.be

Proposition 7: internships have more flexible contract arrangements than work opportunities, both in weekly working hours and the duration of the contract.

2.2.3.3. Employer strategies: dilemmas and opportunities

If recruiting interns is indeed easier due to the substantial supply of interns not met by their demand in the labour market (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012), consideration should be given to what would nevertheless motivate cultural organisations to recruit temporary workers instead of interns. In situations when extra help is identified within a cultural organisation, there may be various factors guiding the choice between a permanent employee, a temporary employee or an intern. Unfortunately, Wolbers notes that "little is known and hardly any attention is paid to employer strategies in the labour market" (2014, p.172). Hereafter we will highlight some of the employer strategies which have been discussed in relation to internships.

Analysis of employer strategies highlight the employers' arguments and the trade-offs they experience, but which are not always discussed by researchers or legislators who tend to focus on the workforce supply side of internships –interns – and their experiences. Within the internship process, employers have their own priorities and goals, which are important to take into account. We will start by analysing four sets of dilemmas that appear when internships are considered from the point of view of employers: the regulation dilemma, the internship content dilemma, the intern integration dilemma, and finally the dilemma between training costs and skill shortage.

First, from the employer point of view the intern labour market is likely to be attractive because of flexible regulations. Therefore, more strict regulations and standards for the intern labour market, discussed by some researchers, will most likely have a negative effect on the supply of internships. Indeed, Kissane (2010) reports administrative hurdles as one of the difficulties and even reasons for non-profit organisations quitting an 'active labour market policy' internship scheme in the USA. This is also the argument of Frenette (2015) who provides a historical account on the development of apprenticeships and concludes that as "apprenticeship programs became more formalized they also grew less frequent" (2015, p.354). In addition, some anecdotal evidence can be seen from the USA where in 2010 the government issued the Fact Sheet #71 ("Internship Programs Under The Fair Labor Standards Act"), restating the 1974 law concerning unpaid interns (Bacon, 2011). While strict rules apply only to for-profit firms (the non-for-profit and government interns are considered volunteers), research reports more difficulties for students in finding internships, especially if academic credit was not obtained as

part of this (Bacon, 2011). But, as pointed out by Bacon, regulation could be beneficial for interns in the long run, as it can "protect interns from abuses like working for no pay" (p.88). Similarly, the tightening of regulations on temporary work in the UK led to a 24% fall in the employment of temporary workers, while simultaneously more temporary workers got employed as permanent staff (Biggs, Burchell, & Millmore, 2006). Furthermore, in their comparison of different European countries with different internship regulations, Barbieri et al. conclude that "stricter regulations on internships are not a guarantee of their genuine use, training and educational capacity as they are indeed connected to a lower probability of internships receiving a positive evaluation from young people" (2016, p.480). Unfortunately, this dilemma is not always identified by researchers, and therefore they suggest increasing legislation as a solution to tackling bad internship experiences, while simultaneously suggesting the need to increase the supply of internship opportunities, especially with small and medium size enterprises (Hadhivassiliou et al., 2012).

Second, perhaps the main dilemma faced by employers is the content of internships: the "ideal internship" is supposed to entail meaningful tasks, while at the same time the intern should not replace the actual workforce of the organisation (Council of the European Union, 2014, March 10; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). Obviously, the most meaningful tasks for the organisation are those are carried out by their regular staff; therefore, it is inevitable that from the employer's perspective the intern would ideally carry out (at least some of the) tasks that would have otherwise been done by the regular staff. Furthermore, even in cases where there are strict legal guidelines stating that the intern at a for-profit organisation should "not displace regular employees, but works under close supervision of existing staff" (U.S. Department of Labor Wage and Hour Division [WHD], 2010, p.1), in reality the interpretations of such measures by courts in different US states can vary greatly (Frenette, 2015), making it more difficult for employers to ensure internships entail meaningful, interesting tasks. Frenette (2013) illustrates that there is a general ambiguity as to what interns are expected to do at the organisation and what their role is. His ethnographic research demostrates that employers can be reluctant to give interns important tasks as they presume interns' incompetence and consider the limited duration of their engagement; at the same time they see a certain added value of the fresh insights and energy interns bring, and are aware that some of their interns could become their next employees (Frenette, 2013). Interns are given more importance at the organisation when the internship is long-term, however this also increases the likelihood that the intern replaces an actual employee (Frenette, 2013). For cultural organisations working in a project-based context, an optimal solution to this dilemma could be the use of interns to develop and work on

additional projects, which, according to Maertz et al. (2014), is what intern workforce could be very well suited to.

Third, employers face a dilemma as to how well they can afford to integrate their temporary interns within their staff. As it is reported by Frenette (2013), interns in the music industry have a very low and marginal status, which is evident even in the arrangements of the working stations, as interns sit "in makeshift workspaces at small metal tables in the hallway" (p.386). The most probable reason for this marginal status is that the integration is costlier and requires more human resource management skills (Bryson & Blackwell, 2006). Yet extreme differentiation of temporary workers, according to the analysis of Bryson and Blackwell (2006), is not very sustainable or desirable for the organisation in the long term, if it wants to see its employees, including temporary ones, to be involved, committed and satisfied. In their research on temporary teachers, Bryson and Blackwell (2006) carried out five case studies and concluded that the employer strategies when it comes to the integration of contractual workers is implicit and can vary greatly from one institution to another. Bryson and Blackwell (2006) conclude that most institutions applied a strategy along the continuum from full integration of contractual teachers among permanent staff to completely differentiating between both groups. Inevitably, interns would most often be at least slightly differentiated due to their lack of experience; however, it would be useful to know whether high levels of dissatisfaction, lack of commitment and involvement of interns would similarly affect cultural organisations in the long term. Unfortunately, there have been no studies on the risks for employers of not integrating their interns effectively within their organisation, but there is a clear risk for interns as the level of integration within the organisation is implicit and thus not evident before joining the organisation.

Fourth, similarly to the previous dilemma, employers evaluate the costs of training an intern and the additional value the intern might bring. Kissane (2010) who inversigated government policy internships, found that for employers there was a high risk of trained interns leaving before the end of their programme because the skills they achieve had made them attractive to an actual employer. Conversely, this risk is lower when the intern is a student who needs to finish the internship in order to receive academic credit. Nevertheless, both Kissane (2010) and Frenette (2013) indicate that for both "active labour market policy" internships and the "open market" or "educational internships" the main issue is that the capabilities of interns vary greatly and are not always easy to predict, thus making it difficult to evaluate the "costs of training" in advance.

In light of the two dilemmas above – the cost of training and the cost of integration – we can presume that organisations take these costs into account when deciding how many interns the organisation can accommodate. We assume that an organisation with more staff can integrate and train more interns, while the opposite goes for smaller organisation. Similarly, bigger organisations would need to recruit new staff more often than smaller organisations. Hence, we can suggest the following proposition to be tested empirically:

Proposition 8: the number of internship adverts is positively correlated to the number of employees of the organisation.

Having considered the challenges and dilemmas faced by intern employers, we will now discuss the opportunities and benefits internships can offer to organisations: a recruitment tool; economisation of labour costs; a solution to fluctuating workload; a solution for budget and/or staff shortages; altruistic motives for the greater good of young workers.

First, from the employer perspective internships could serve as an effective recruitment strategy (Gault et al., 2010; Maertz Jr. et al., 2014), in which case there is an actual possibility for the intern to gain full employment upon completion of the internship. For example, Benavides et al. (2013) mentions that in 1930s and 1940s existing federal internship programs were "mainly a recruitment technique" (p.327). This is also a reason why employers use temporary workers – to "screen workers for regular positions" (Houseman, 20101, p.149).

Second, while theoretically internships increase the chances of getting an entry level job (Maertz Jr. et al., 2014), in practice internships might actually be replacing these entry level positions, as stated by expert views recently published in the press (Weber & Korn, 2014). This has also been evidenced by research findings on the Swiss job market where entry level jobs traditionally occupied by graduates of vocational schools are no longer accessible to them as they now require experience and skills that can be achieved only after couple of years of work experience (Salvisberg & Sacchi, 2014). When it comes to cultural organisations, perhaps due to financial challenges and the prevalence of small-size organisations or even micro-businesses (Ball et al., 2010b), from the employer perspective internships are seen less as a recruitment *strategy* and more as a source of new and fresh ideas and/or cheap labour; and although subsequent recruitment can occur, is not the primary aim from the point of view of employers (Daniel & Daniel, 2013; Frenette, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013).

Third, temporary workers are known to help the organisations to adjust to fluctuations in workload and replace absent staff (Houseman, 2001). Obviously, there are significant limitations to the use of interns in place of experienced staff, however, some use of interns is conceivable,

for example, during the summer vacation period (when students are looking for internships to increase their experience whilst permanent staff tend to take holidays) or for festival/event organisation during the most labour-intensive periods of the year.

Fourth, research suggests that for some organisations, employing interns was the only solution when faced with budget cuts which prevented the employment of more experienced workers (Kissane, 2010). In her research within the field of active labour market policy trainees, Kissane found that, in extreme cases, organisations, while probably not capable of ensuring mentoring and training, would continue their intern programmes, as they do not have an alternative way of ensuring staffing for the organisation (2010). It must be noted that Kissane (2010) researched internship programmes where interns were required to take part in a government welfare programme, because they were "hard-to-employ" people with multiple family issues, inconsistency, negative attitude, alcohol or drug problems. Thus, they only partially could be applied to all internships – they could to some extent correspond to those cases where cultural organisations have staffing problems due to budget cuts. Moreover, as the cultural sector is known to be more popular and attractive for young people than many other sectors, cultural organisations should have fewer problems with managing interns, making interns an even more viable solution to staff shortages.

Fifth, unexpectedly dominating altruistic motives of employers have been also revealed by the research of Kissane (2010) – employers recruit interns to help them find their place in the job market. Indeed, through interviewing non-profit directors involved in active labour market policies, it transpired that they mainly got involved in the internship programmes with altruistic motivations to help people with employment difficulties. As it was noted, clearly not all interns are 'hard-to-employ' welfare recipients participating in active labour market policy, however they are still expected to develop the 'soft skills', bridge the gap to employment, network etc. Therefore, some employers might believe in providing an important service for the youth by allowing it to temporarily integrate within its workforce.

Despite the dilemmas, recruiting interns brings along many opportunities that represent real incentives for employers to recruit them. Literature does not indicate whether the phenomenon concerns all organisations, or whether there are elements predicting their behaviour. Therefore, at the current stage the following proposition will be defined:

Proposition 9: considering the opportunities recruiting interns might represent, we suggest that most cultural organisations would recruit interns alongside permanent staff.

To conclude, four dilemmas and five opportunities were presented from the perspective of employers and their current or potential strategies for dealing with the increasing intern labour market. It is important to note that research on different labour market arrangements concludes that employers have a high level of elasticity of substitution for different types of temporary contracts (Cappellari, Dell'Aringa, & Leonardi, 2012); therefore the rise of the intern labour market is an important opportunity for employers who consider interns a potentially valuable temporary workforce. In addition to employers there are other stakeholders of internships within the intern labour market, which we will discuss in the last subchapter of the labour market perspective.

2.2.3.4. Cultural labour market in need for intern labour

The flexibility and insecurity of the general labour market is researched as a new trend, related to the rise of global competition, neo-liberalist policies and the aftermath of the most recent recession starting with the financial crisis of 2008 (Burgoon & Dekker, 2010; F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015; Madsen et al., 2013). In contrast, the very similar challenges of the cultural labour market[37] have been researched by cultural economists and sociologists for 40 years already (Alper and Wassall, 2006)[38]. The following list of characteristics of the cultural labour market explain why the trend of using different forms of flexible employment (including interns) described previously could be particularly dominant within the culture labour market.

First, the uncertainty of demand for a new cultural product (*nobody knows*) (Caves, 2000) influences the behaviour of organisation that might want to transfer the business risk onto the workforce by using short-term, part-time or freelance contracts, thus under-employing its workforce (Menger, 2005; 2006). This means that cultural organisations have always used flexible employees more frequently than employers in other sectors and thus they might be more willing to further reduce their risk by increasing the use of unpaid trainees.

In addition, there is a continuous oversupply of both creative works and creative workforce (Caves, 2000; Kloosterman, 2010), as the increase in supply is greater than the increase in demand for artistic work (Menger, 2005). Among the causes for the oversupply is the attractiveness of the cultural sector (Kloosterman, 2010; Siebert & Wilson, 2013; Steiner & Schneider, 2013); occupational ambiguity as educational attainment is not (sufficient) certification for employers (Towse, 1996); and the reality that the sector relies on soft skills

[37] As mentioned in the chapter 2.1.2., this thesis uses the term 'cultural labour market', as the term 'artists' labour market' is not precise enough, as it does not explicitly include the arts-related workers.
[38]They estimated 30 years in their research paper of 2006.

which can be only learned through entering the sector (Kloosterman, 2010). This is true not only for artists but for arts-related workers too: Brindle (2015) found that only one in six arts managers had an arts management degree, while others had degrees in sectors such as history, French, or even biology. Especially in established organisations with division of labour between the "artistic" and the "humdrum" staff, the latter often could have specialised education in, for example, accounting, communication, or business. As work in the cultural field is considered personally more fulfilling, artists as well as non-artistic workers would be ready to accept lower pay and generally worse working conditions than other workers with similar education employed in other sectors (Menger, 2006).

Furthermore, culture is among those fields where unpaid work is not exceptional, it is rather inevitable (McRobbie, 2016), yet the workers remain motivated and continue producing work. In the case of (amateur) artists, Frey's theory of intrinsic motivation (2012) and lack of feelings of disutility from work might be a suitable explanation of this phenomenon (Frey, 2012). Yet this does not explain the motivation of unpaid interns in culture, who are rather motivated by future career prospects and financial gains within the industry. To use the term explored and defined by Duffy (2016), interns from all fields are doing "aspirational labour" which is characterised and fuelled by a strong belief that the success and reward for their present work will arrive in the future. Duffy (2016) notes that "aspirational labourers" feed their "future-oriented reward systems" with easily accessible and inspirational success stories of those who "were discovered". This resonates with McRobbie's (2016) long-term research in the fashion and design industries and pinpoints to a need for a more pragmatic way of estimating the chances of an internship leading to paid employment.

Furthermore, artists are characterised by multiple-job-holding (Alper & Wassall, 2000; 2006; Throsby & Hollister, 2003; Throsby & Zednik, 2010; 2011), as they most often do not receive enough finances from the artistic work alone. It is not clear how much this characteristic is true for the non-creative workers of cultural organisations, however the study by Holmes (2006) suggests that combining paid work and an unpaid internship is a career strategy for at least some non-creative workers, and at least at the beginning of their careers in cultural organisations. The study focused on the creative graduates in the UK including both arts and arts-related programmes (e.g. Arts & Event Production, Design Management, Fashion Promotion); it revealed that 52% of graduates were exercising one full-time activity, while 48% were combining 2 or more activities: they would be engaged in 'portfolio working', combining paid work, independent work, unpaid work, and education (Ball et al., 2010b).

Additionally, cultural work is typically project-based (Benhamou, 2011), which increases the need for flexible workers (Ebbers & Wijnberg, 2009a; 2009b). Therefore, as internships typically take place over a limited period of time, they correspond to the potential contingent workforce required by cultural organisations for particular projects. As argued by Maertz (2014, p.130): "Interns are often well-suited to help with value-added emergent or "back-burner" projects that would not otherwise be done, at far less labor cost while simultaneously allowing full-time employees to focus on more immediate priorities."

In contrast, some of the core characteristics defining artists' labour market should be omitted in the research of internships, the most important of them being the aspect of "non-substitutability" of an artist (Menger, 2006) that cannot be true for an intern. For a cultural organisation that regularly collaborates with interns artists are more likely to represent workforce that is even more substitutable than regular employees, as otherwise the smooth running of an organisation would be threatened.

Aside from the "non-substitutability", all the other characteristics of the cultural labour market facilitate and increase the possibilities and incentives for employers to use the labour provided by interns. Furthermore, as cultural organisations are constantly under financial pressure, and are becoming more "professional" and market-oriented, it seems very likely that culture is one of the fields where the most cost effective and flexible labour forms such as internships might be used more and more extensively. As it was previously stated, there is a clear and steady increase in proportion of labour force working under flexible contracts, and this trend might be even more prevalent in the cultural sector. Similarly, young people in particular represent a significant share of the flexible labour market within culture. Therefore, we can formulate the next proposition to be tested empirically:

Proposition 10: the proportion of internships within the cultural labour market is significant.

2.2.3.5. Neglected stakeholders of the rise of the intern labour market

As discussed previously, various studies suggest an important difference between the perceptions of internships from the point of view of the various stakeholders: the interns, the host organisations and the universities (Frenette, 2013). However, recently researchers identify other important groups that are affected by the internship process – the regular employees of the organisation or the whole sector, people searching for an entry-level position in the industry, and people who cannot afford to do an internship, especially an unpaid one (Siebert & Wilson, 2013; Maertz et al., 2014).

Most research ignores how internships and availability of free or cheap labour affects those who are already working in the industry. In the music industry, 34% of employers agreed to a statement in an anonymous questionnaire that interns are "used in lieu of hiring full-time employees", but the same amount (33%) disagreed with the claim (Rolston & Herrera, 2000). Similarly, Frenette suggests that in the declining music record industry, "interns buffer the loss of paid positions" (2013, p.381).

To better understand this neglected perspective, Siebert and Wilson (2013) researched the views of the regular workforce by interviewing four representatives of creative trade unions along with six students and recent graduates[39]. In order to analyse the effect unpaid labour has on network ties conceptualised in the term of social capital, Siebert and Wilson (2013) used the three dimensions of social capital as defined by Coleman (1988) – obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms. They concluded that "the widespread practice of unpaid work had a significant impact on those already working in the sector" (Siebert & Wilson, 2013, p.716). The impact included the lowering of the pay rates and replacing temporary paid staff to cover, for example, periods of maternity leave with unpaid staff (Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Trade union representatives mentioned that because of the economic recession, temporary staff were laid off and replaced by unpaid workers (Siebert & Wilson, 2013). A similar case has been reported by Frenette (2013) in his research on the music industry, where a staff member used to have an assistant who has now been replaced by changing interns, because the industry is not doing as well as it used to financially. Furthermore, the risk for such a negative effects of internships on the regular labour conditions seems to be an important concern for the European Union (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012) that acknowledges the socio-economic costs that such a development would bring (Council of the European Union, 2014, March 10).

In their research on the segmentation of labour markets, F. Dekker and van der Veen (2015) concluded that across the 11 Western European countries there is still an important gap between the 'primary' or the internal labour market and the 'secondary' or 'supplementary' labour market of the 'outsiders'. Researchers proposed two reconciliatory solutions for this gap – either government would need to take measures against degrading the security of the core workers, or it should help the outsiders move across the jobs (F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015). The research by Siebert & Wilson (2013), and Frenette (2013) suggests that at least within

[39] The full study by Siebert and Wilson included a mixed methodology, as policy analysis was complemented with a survey of students and recent graduates (71 respondents), as well as 22 in-depth interviews. Yet in conclusions on the tensions between the workforce and interns, authors only cited the point of view of the trade unions and former interns. The other 12 interviewees whose views did not seem to be used these conclusions on relationship between interns and workers included representatives of student bodies (3), university staff (4), career advisors (2), a placement officer (1), a work placement manager (1), and a representative of a pressure group for fair access to internships (1).

culture, the working standards of primary labour market workers are already declining because of the unpaid work of the supplementary labour market. While other researchers (Menger, 2006) argue that this distinction between primary and secondary market hardly apply to artists (the primary market being quasi non-existent), thus it is the supplementary labour market that is threatened by the internship phenomenon.

The next stakeholder – the candidate for the entry-level job offers that might see his opportunities of entry-level jobs drastically decrease – is even less popular in research, even though theoretically interns themselves after internship could fall in this category. According to experts in the USA, internships have already replaced entry-level job positions (Weber & Korn, 2014, 6 August).

Similarly, analysis of the exemplary Swiss labour market for students with vocational education of high reputation, reveals that students are not less prepared for the job market – it is the job market that does not have actual entry-level job positions (Salvisberg & Saachi, 2014). Salvisberg and Sacchi (2014) conclude from their analysis of job advertisements that there is a long-term structural shift in the demand of graduates with vocational training, and therefore this demand and not a lower quality education is responsible for the lack of entry-level job opportunities. Interestingly, while some job advertisements defining themselves as 'entry-level', include requirements that could not be met by a candidate without a couple of years of work experience, which resonates with what journalists in the USA have found (Salvisberg & Sacchi, 2014; Weber & Korn, 2014, 6 August). Therefore, one could also conclude that more experienced people fill entry-level job positions.

In 2000, there was an effort by Rolston and Herrera, to find out whether interns might be replacing employees, however it included in a questionnaire for employers and yielded unclear results: 20% of employers agreed that internships diminish opportunities for entry-level positions, while 32% disagreed with this claim (average response 4.96 with SD 2.59).

Siebert & Wilson (2013) report that tensions and lack of trust between interns and regular workforce had negative implications for the possibilities of interns building their social capital during the internship, which is seen as the most important benefit for interns as they do not receive a salary for their work. As reported by the labour unions, regular staff had experienced tensions with interns at workplace, especially in cases when other workers were not aware of contract conditions of interns, when regular staff were required to supervise interns, and when interns lacked training and thus did poor-quality work that the regular staff needed to correct (Siebert & Wilson, 2013). This is in line with the results of research on nonstandard

work arrangements which reported tensions as standard employees resented "having to work with and train lower status temporary workers" (Broschak, Davis-Blake, and Block 2008, p.18). Siebert and Wilson (2013) concluded that these tensions in turn resulted in loss of trust and the 'information channel' component of the social capital as defined by Coleman (1988) as the regular workforce was reluctant to share their experiences and to assign interns meaningful tasks. According to Siebert and Wilson (2013), it could very likely mean that the workforce might also be unwilling to inform interns about new job openings.

Another concern defined by Siebert and Wilson (2013), is that people who cannot afford to do an unpaid internship, are excluded from the cultural labour market. Siebert and Wilson (2013) argue that, as the practice of unpaid internship is so widespread, that any new entrant is expected to do unpaid work to have a chance of integrating in the cultural industries. Furthermore, "people who complained about lack of pay quickly became unemployable" (Siebert & Wilson, 2013, p.717), therefore indicating that the unpaid labour has become the norm in the cultural sector. This concern of excluding from the sector disadvantaged people who do not have financial support from their family or their own savings is also reflected by many other scholars (Frenette, 2013; Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012; McRobbie, 2016).

Until now, the only concrete action on behalf of the industry has been in the field of architecture in the UK, where in 2011 the Royal Institute of British Architects introduced minimum wage requirements for interns with the aim to ensure access to the profession for people from unpriviledged backgrounds and the future of the architect profession (Royal Institute of British Architects, 2012).

Considering the widely evidence of unpaid internships generally, it would be worth verifying empirically whether this is the case in the cultural sector. Therefore, the proposition to be tested is the following:

Proposition 11: Most internships in the cultural sector are unpaid.

2.2.3.6. Summary/Conclusion: What effect do internships have on the general labour market?

The third perspective – that of the labour market – has highlighted further issues of the internship phenomenon and demonstrated that there are many reasons why internships should be researched through the perspective of the general labour market. Governments and researchers focusing on internships express concerns about the quality of internship positions, employer underinvestment, the financial impact of unpaid internships of interns and the regular workforce etc. This subchapter shows the merits of using this research in understanding the

employer point of view and identifies several directions in which research on internships could be improved.

The overviewed research indicates that internships already play a well-established and an increasing role within the general labour market, as interns workforce is being included within the human resource management strategies of organisations. Internship programmed can be seen as cheap recruiting strategies, interns provide opportunities for cheaper and more flexible staffing solutions, and young people suffer from dual-insecurity due to their weak market position. At the same time, interns can offer additional support for 'extra' projects and bring new ideas, knowledge and skills. In addition, there is increasing evidence that internships might have a more permanent influence on the labour market – interns seem to influence the working conditions of regular workers, especially those who aspire for entry-level job positions, including young people that cannot afford to accomplish long internships without a remuneration.

2.3. Internships in the French speaking community in Belgium

As discussed previously, there are significant differences among European countries as to the labour market conditions, feelings of dual-insecurity, and legislation for interns, temporary and permanent workers (Barbieri et al., 2016; de Lange et al., 2014b; F. Dekker & van der Veen, 2015; van Oorschot & Chung, 2015). This chapter will introduce the particularities of the specific case within the limited scope of this research – the cultural organisations of the Belgian French speaking community (Wallonia-Brussels Federation).

2.3.1. Political and legislative context: the decentralised responsibility for internships

First, should be noted that "the federal structure of Belgium is a highly complex one" (Werck & Heyndels, 2007, p.29), which means that there is a complex division of responsibilities between the federal state, the three regions (Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels Capital region) and the three language communities (Dutch-speaking Flemish community, French-speaking Federation Wallonia-Brussels (FWB)[40] and German-speaking community). While the responsibility of cultural and educational policies lies within each of the three language communities, each region is accountable for employment policies, and the federal state is "solely responsible for social security matters (including benefits) and labour law" (Ter-Minassian, 2012, p.157; Werck & Heyndels, 2007).

[40] Since 2011 French-speaking community is officially called Federation Wallonia-Brussels (FWB - *Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles*).

Therefore, when it comes to cultural organisations in scope for this research, the French speaking cultural organisations are under the responsibility of the FWB (including organisations in the Brussels Capital region and Wallonia), while the three major organisations (bilingual French-Dutch) are under the responsibility of the Federal state[41]. The FWB not only ensures the monitoring and evaluation of all French-speaking cultural organisations, but also distributes subsidies[42]. Similarly, the FWB is responsible for the French communities' educational institutions which have a decentralised responsibility for all 'educational internship' programmes. Therefore, it is through an agency reporting to the FWB, the AEQES[43], that all matters within the realm of higher education, including educational internships are evaluated and monitored.

In contrast, all the legally recognised internships that are not 'educational internships' have to be carried out as a part of regional 'active labour market policies'. These policies are implemented by one of Belgium's four public employment service agencies: one agency for the Brussels Capital region (*Actiris*[44]), one for Flanders (VDAB[45] - *Vlaamse Dienst voor Arbeidsbemiddeling en Beroepsopleiding*) and two for Wallonia (*Le Forem*[46] for the French-speaking community and ADG[47]- *Arbeitsamt der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft* for the German-speaking community). Since 1 April 2015, this also applies to the Professional Immersion Convention (CIP)[48], as the federal government has transferred its legislative responsibility to the regions and communities. While Ter-Minassian (2012) in their report on internships in Belgium state that this represents 'open market' internships in Belgium, it cannot be considered as such, as the current legislation[49] imposes the requirement for approval of the contract, including the training plan for the intern, by the responsible community or region (Service public fédéral Emploi, Travail et Concertation sociale, n.d.b).

[41] There are three organisations with this status, all based in the Brussels Capital region: they include BOZAR (*Palais des beaux-arts*, Centre for fine arts), the opera theatre *La Monnaie* (*le Théâtre royal de la Monnaie*), and the National Orchestra of Belgium (*Orchestre national de Belgique*). (Le Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques [CRISP], n.d.)
[42] However, according to research by Werck & Heyndels (2007), sometimes a significant proportion of subsidies for the cultural sector come from the local municipality.
[43] Agency for Evaluation of the Quality of the Higher Education – *Agence pour l'Evaluation de la Qualité de l'Enseignement Supérieur*.
[44] The website of the public service employment agency: http://www.actiris.be
[45] The website of the public service employment agency: https://www.vdab.be
[46] The website of the public service employment agency: https://www.leforem.be
[47] The website of the public service employment agency: http://www.adg.be
[48] The original name in French is *Convention d'immersion professionnelle*.
[49] It was not found that after the 1 April 2015 either of the regions or communities have deleted this request.

2.3.2. Internship arrangements in scope of this research

In Chapter 2.1.1 we discussed the variety of definitions of the terms 'intern' and 'internship' including two definitions that appear in Belgian legislation. The first one, where an 'intern' (*stagiaire*) is also a student was taken from the legislation on 'educational internships', while the second definition, where an 'intern' was defined by the type of work (temporary, with educational content, at a host organisation) came from the legislation of the Professional Immersion Convention (CIP), one of the 'active labour market policy' internship initiatives.

According to Belgian legislation, student-interns can get internship-related costs reimbursed but cannot receive actual remuneration[50], while on all the other aspects intern has equal rights and treatment to those of other employees (Royal Decree of 21st September 2004 with regards to the protection of interns, 2004). In contrast, interns employed under the Professional Immersion Convention are subject to compulsory minimum wage which since 2012 for interns older than 21 years is 751 EUR per month, the same rate that is given to apprentices (Service public Fédéral Emploi, Travail et Concertation sociale, n.d.b). In practice, Brussels Intern NGO (*B!ngo*) started the campaign "Just Pay!" due to proliferation of unpaid internships specifically aimed at recent graduates (not students), and hence are not legal. On the campaign's website, the organisation states that the Professional Immersion Convention or regular temporary contracts are the only way organisations can employ interns outside the scope of education (Brussels Interns NGO, 2016). Yet the initial results of the campaign indicate that, when confronted by the campaign, organisations sometimes change the terminology used to advertise the opportunity and state that "it is not an internship, but a volunteership opportunity"[51] (Brussels Interns NGO, 2016). Therefore, similarly to cases in the museum sector in the United Kingdom (Holmes, 2006), in Belgium some of the unpaid 'open market' internships could be carried out as volunteering.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the CIP initiative is not the only arrangement outside the education system where the activity of temporary workers (called interns or *stagiaires*) might be called internships (*stages*). Indeed, as reported by Ter-Minassian (2012), different regions operate different schemes, but most of them are part of vocational training, target people with low educational attainment (up to secondary education), or impose a temporary contract at the

[50] If student receives remuneration for the internship, a regular temporary contract should be signed instead. (Service public fédéral Emploi, Travail et Concertation sociale, n.d.a)

[51] On 14 October 2016, the result for the following 6 cases (out of 23 "solved" cases) is that the term 'internship' is changed to the term 'volunteership': Eurocities, Association of Cities and Regions for Recycling and sustainable Resource management, European Microfinance Network, European Partnership for Democracy (EPD); (partially) *Association européenne pour la défense des Droits de l'Homme* (AEDH), Gibbels Public Affairs (GPA), and Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. Source: Brussels Interns NGO, 2016.

end of the internship, and therefore are classified as 'active labour market policy' internships and remain out of scope for this research. Appendix I contains a full overview of the currently existing schemes in the Brussels Capital region and Wallonia where French-speaking cultural organisations are located.

2.3.3. Eurobarometer data: positive attitude, less positive outcomes

Considering the complexities of the governance and variety of internship arrangements, it is not surprising that researchers report lack of aggregate data for internships and their popularity in Belgium (Ter-Minassian, 2012). Yet some insights have been captured by the Eurobarometer 378 on "The experience of traineeships in the EU" (TNS Political and Social, 2013a). These data indicate that 64% of Belgian respondents had carried out one or more internships[52] (well above the EU-27 mean rate of 46%). Yet even more Belgians – three out of four – report holding student jobs. Apprenticeships were less popular and completed by only 18% of respondents, while 10% were not involved in any of the four activities. Most internships lasted up to 3 months (74%)[53] and most (61%) were hosted by small organisation (1 to 49 employees)[54].

Belgians seem to have a positive attitude towards internships as 83% of respondents believed that their internship will help them in job search (amongst the highest rate in the EU-27), most (86%) estimated their conditions to be similar to the regular employees, and a very small percentage (6%) claimed that they did not have a mentor or that they did not learn anything beneficially professionally. This generally positive attitude contrasts with internship outcomes as only 28% received a job offer at the end of their internship, while 25% saw their internship contract extended. More surprisingly, only just over a half of respondents (55%) received a letter of reference or a certificate from their employers, and half (50%) of interns were not clearly informed about the conditions of remuneration before the internship. Perhaps the lack of information is related to the fact that one third (32%) of respondents report not having signed an agreement with the employer.

In addition, only 19% of Belgian interns received remuneration (80% did not), which

[52] According to the report, Belgians are more likely to do one or two internships (31% and 27% respectively), while 14% had done 3 traineeships, and 18% had done more than three internships. Unfortunately, a rather important percentage of respondents – 10% - did not know how many internships they had completed, which is very likely to indicate that they had had more than one internship.
[53] 36% of internships lasted one month, 38% between 1 and 3 months, 14% between 3 and 6 months and 12% of internships lasted more than 6 months. (TNS Political and Social, 2013a)
[54] 36% of internships were based in firm with 1-9 employees; 25% of internships occurred in companies with 10 to 49 employees, only 19% of internships took place in medium-size companies with 50 to 250 employees, and 15% internships were taken in big companies with more than 250 employees.

was the lowest rate among EU-27[55]. Furthermore, 62% of the 19% of paid interns estimated their remuneration as insufficient to cover basic living costs. The low proportion of paid internships is probably explained by the fact that 62% of Belgians did their internships during studies.

This generally positive attitude of potential interns is somewhat surprising as it is not in line with the findings of Barbieri et al. (2016), who concluded that stricter temporary work legislations led to more negative attitudes towards interning. While Belgium was not included in the sample for tweets, it is mentioned among the countries with stricter temporary work legislations and is almost as strict as Italy, which had significantly more negative evaluations of internships. One of the explanations for this could be that Belgium has tightly restricted the use of temporary work agencies (one of the strictest regulations), but the legislation on fixed-term contracts is as liberal as in the Netherlands (Barbieri et al., 2016). Other reasons for this might be methodological or related to the lower youth unemployment rates in Belgium, or the fact that in Belgium most interns are students who might evaluate their internship experience more positively as it differs from the theoretical learning.

Another point to note, is that in Belgium only 31% of respondents did only one internship. At least 59% but very likely up to 69%[56] of respondents who did a work placement, had already had their first internship experience when they embarked upon their second internship (TNS Political and Social, 2013a). This indicates that it is very likely that most internship positions in Belgium are filled by people with prior internship experience. While unfortunately the data does not indicate what percentage of respondents had both – an internship (64% of respondents) and student job experiences (75% of respondents) - at least some (39%) respondents inevitably had both, meaning that at least around two out of five respondents and around three out of five interns were involved in work relations in the form of student job contract prior to or after their first internship.

2.3.4. Evidence for issues or success remains anecdotal

Until now, there seems to be no hard and empirical evidence evaluating problems or achievements of internship programmes in Belgium. In the national report on Belgium, Ter-Minassian (2012) mentions issues in the medical sector, but admits that due to lack of aggregate data, it is not possible to evaluate the prevalence of internships in each sector.

[55] Croatia joined the EU only on 1 July 2013, after the study had finished.
[56] In Belgium, 10% of respondents who had carried out an internship did not know how many internships they had completed, which most probably indicates that they did more than one.

Yet some evaluation of internship programmes occurs within the framework of the evaluation of educational programmes. Analysing the relevant[57] reports of 'transversal analyses' (*analyses transversales*) series conducted by the Agency for Evaluation of the Quality of the Higher Education (AEQES), the general conclusions are similar to the concerns raised in chapter 2.2.1. where internships were dsicussed from the perspective of educational institutions. The use of internships is strongly encouraged by experts throughout all reports and primarily the beneficial side for professional insertion is presented, arguing that internships need to last longer, be better monitored both by universities and employers, start from the first year of studies and be included in the compulsory part of the curriculum (e.g. AEQES, 2013a; 2013b; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d). Some of the issues pointed out include lack of relationships with employers, problems for working students to combine work with internship or risk of using interns as cheap labour (e.g. AEQES, 2010; 2015d). Unfortunately, these reports do not include any statistical information about internships and generally show that there is a very big variety even within the same study field (e.g. AEQES, 2010; 2013b). Therefore, most evidence points to a situation similar to other Western economies, where internships can vary greatly in their conditions, quality, learning content and outcomes, even when internship are completed within the framework of a study program.

The particularities in Belgium include the presence of the European Union institutions, which, together with lobby groups, social partners and other organisations create the so-called "Brussels bubble" / "EU bubble", and most probably linked to this are the high levels of international mobility, both incoming and outgoing (Ter-Minassian, 2012). In fact, two recent initiatives against poor quality internships – Brussels Interns NGO and Interns GoPro[58] –have come from former interns of different institutions of the "EU bubble" . A recent report for the "Vice magazine" tells stories of various intern strategies for gaining work experience with European institutions or related NGOs and lobby groups (Dulczewski, 2016). These include registration at a university in order to do an internship under the status of a student, carrying out internship under a voluntary contract, and just regular unpaid internships that are commonly available in the form of providing assistance to the Members of the European Parliament (Dulczewski, 2016).

However, concerns about internship conditions do not apply only to those willing to

[57] The reports of the following sectors were identified as relevant for the cultural sector: visual and plastic arts and crafts (AEQES, 2013a), graphic techniques (AEQES, 2013c), music (AEQES, 2015c), public relations (AEQES, 2015b), economics and management as it includes the programme of Cultural Management proposed by the Free University of Brussels (*Université libre de Bruxelles*) (AEQES, 2015d), art history (AEQES, 2013b), applied arts and textile (AEQES, 2015a), information and communication (AEQES, 2010), marketing and foreign trade (AEQES, 2011).

[58] The website of the initiative: http://www.internsgopro.com/fr/accueil/

contribute to the making of European policies. Similar concerns of intern exploitation were the main reason why the Francophone Student Federation (*Fédération des étudiants francophones*) recently published 5 recommendations propositions which could improve student internship experiences (Demoustier, 2016). These include the development of a database with internship offers (reflected as also int the advice by AEQES), reimbursement of incurred costs, more supervision by the universities and two measures to avoid the devastating effects of unsuccessful internships: the rights for students to quit the host organisation without failing their study year and the possibility to pass a test in a second exam session to replace an unsuccessful internship (Demoustier, 2016). This highlights the lack of tools and options interns currently possess to act on their negative experiences, the distance universities have taken with the internship process, and the high costs a student-intern encounters (failing a study year) if she speaks up about these negative internship experiences. In the subsequent discussion following this communication, the president of the Francophone Student Federation indicated that the organisation currently does not have effective tools for intervention in cases when students obviously replace real workforce by carrying out full-time (or even overtime) unsupervised work over a long period of time which is nevertheless branded as a student internship and therefore is unpaid (RTL Belgium, 2016, 26 May). Yet, while there is a series of similar anecdotal evidence, exact numbers of interns or percentage of interns used to replace regular workers have not been estimated.

2.3.5. Cultural context and artists' labour market of the FWB

Belgium does not systematically collect aggregate data about the cultural or artistic labour, which researchers explain by general unwillingness to link economics with culture (Levaux & Lowies, 2014). Furthermore, in Belgium artists do not have a special employment status(artists earn their living through salaried employment, as a civil servant or as an independent worker), but there are some social security measures in place which allow them to receive unemployment benefit under different conditions than regular workers, systems that were judged ambiguous and arbitrary by researchers (Levaux & Lowies, 2014).

In their research, Levaux and Lowies (2014) calculated that in the last quarter of 2011, there were 59 673 cultural workers, which represents 1.56 % of the whole labour market. Authors estimate that this has increased since 2009, when the European and Belgian proportion of cultural labour was estimated to be 1.42% (Levaux & Lowies, 2014). Of the cultural workers, approximately 8% are artistic workers (authors include only artists who receive a wage, excluding other possible employment forms, such as freelance (independent) status. Researchers observed that between 2004 and 2012, the employment rates for artists gradually increased, but so did the

unemployment rates and unemployment benefits earned by them. Therefore, they conclude, similarly as Menger (2005), that measures designed to help to increase artistic employment do not help with tackling artistic unemployment, because of the intermittent nature of artistic work.

As to the cultural organisations in Belgium, they are most often subsidised by the relevant linguistic community (Werck & Heyndels, 2007), even though an important portion of subsidies could be also provided by municipalities. In their report on subsidy distribution in 2015, a total of 3163 beneficiaries received a total amount of 331 million Euros (mean subsidy per beneficiary being 104.645€) (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles [FWB], 2015). Most of the recipients (77%) were non-profit non-governmental organisations (ASBL – *association sans but lucratif*), whilst 11% of subsidies were received by physical persons, 6% by municipalities, 4% by companies, 1% by *de facto* association and 1% by other beneficiaries (FWB, 2015). Therefore, the FWB financially supported approximately 2800 cultural organisations which represented around 88% of beneficiaries (FWB, 2015).

Geographically, the federal capital city of Brussels received the biggest amount of subsidies (41%), followed by the regions of Liege (20%), Hainaut (15%) and the region of the capital of Wallonia – Namur (10%) (FWB, 2015). We can expect the work and internship opportunities being distributed similarly:

Proposition 12: The distribution of both employment positions and internships within culture mirror the distribution of the subsidies of Wallonia-Brussels Federation – most of work and internship opportunities will be located in Brussels, followed by the regions of Liege, Hainaut and Namur.

3. Research methodology

In this explorative study a major role has been attributed to the extensive literature review to systemise the existing knowledge, and to find propositions worthy of empirical testing. The associated empirical study is explorative because of the complexities of the subject matter and the novelty of the focus on the point of view of the labour market and the employer. A mixed methods approach was chosen, as we collect and use secondary data in order to find out whether the propositions based on the literature review hold true in relation to a specific case, namely the French speaking cultural organisations in Belgium. Applying the selected propositions to a single case brings in focus the relationship between employment and internships, controlling for all other parameters (legislation, unemployment rates, budget cuts etc.) that might influence this relationship. The particular case of Belgian French-speaking organisations was chosen because of previous indications of internship prevalence in the cultural sector (Hadjivassiliou et al, 2012; Frenette, 2013), lack of research in countries with less liberal employment legislation than Anglo-Saxon countries which have dominated in the research on this subject, and previous knowledge of the author of this paper. To support or refute the defined propositions, a content analysis of the internship and employment adverts was done with the support of content analysis software Atlas.ti 8.0, statistical software SPSS and Microsoft Excel.

In the research reviewed previously, two main methods have been used to understand the perspective of employers – questionnaires completed by employers (Maertz et al., 2014; Rolston & Herrera, 2000), or interviews with employers (Kissane, 2010; Stephens et al., 2014). However, their results do not address the focus of the research question of this thesis. In order to understand, to what extent internships in the cultural sector are similar to regular work positions, the least intrusive method will be preferred to limit the social desirability bias. Instead of directly asking for employer opinion on the subject matter, secondary data will be used in the form of analysis and comparisons of job advertisements that employers have published for either paid work positions, or unpaid internships. The content analysis allows a more indirect analysis of behaviour of cultural organisations (Fraenkel et al., 2012, as discussed by Cuyler & Hodges, 2015). Analysing job advertisements has proven to be of an effective method for analysing employers' requirements and attitudes towards positions as well as the labour market in general (e.g. Salvisberg & Sacchi, 2014).

3.1. Data collection: database of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation

Within the design part of this research, possibilities of obtaining job advertisement data for Belgian French-speaking community were identified. The government agency responsible for cultural affairs in the French-speaking part of Belgium, the Wallonia-Brussels Federation (FWB), hosts the main website used by people aspiring to work or already working in the cultural sector – www.culture.be. On this website, any organisation can publish a job, internship or volunteership opportunity, filling out an online form. After the form is validated by the FWB, it appears online for a set amount of time, as initially indicated by the employer. Interestingly, the questionnaire is almost identical in all three cases – in proposing a volunteership, an internship or a job opportunity. Appendix II contains the full list of questions asked in the form. Because of its importance, the public and free access for all organisations as well as potential employees or interns, and the co-existence of both internship and job offers, this website was identified to be a valuable source of secondary data for this research.

In preparation for writing this paper, different scenarios were imagined, based on the willingness of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation to cooperate. While it was not initially easy to get into contact with the organisation (first contact was made through e-mail on 2 February 2016), eventually the organisation provided the required information of all job, volunteership and internship adverts that were published on their website during the 2015 calendar year, a total number of 1035 adverts, out of which 1024 were valid.[59] The subsequent research design was therefore guided not only by the research question, but also by the acquired database described hereafter.

Each of the 1024 adverts is structured based on the 22 questions provided on the website www.culture.be. Questions bring a certain structure to the information provided in the advertisements, as some of the questions are about the organisation (questions 1-7), others give details about the proposed job or internship offer (8, 9, 13-16, 18), the profile of the desired candidate (10-12) and the recruitment process (17, 19-22). Four questions (13, 19, 21 and 22) asked in the form were omitted from the database, because these questions only contained extra contact details[60]. and therefore were not important for the analysis of this paper.

[59] The 11 deleted adverts were removed from the database because 3 of them offered positions outside Belgium (in France and Canada), 1 was an obvious "test", and 7 were identical to already existing job or internship adverts. It had been indicated by the organisation that some duplicate internship announcements might appear in the list, therefore special care was taken to identify and delete them.

[60] Question 13 gives the address of the office where the position is carried out (if it differs from the address of the organisation.). Question 19 states the deadline for applications. Question 21 gives contact details of the person to whom the application should be submitted to. Question 22 gives contact details of the person providing more information on the position.

Most of the questions used in the form are open (1, 3, 5-12, 17, 18, 20), some are closed (2, 14-16, 19) and a few are composed of closed and open parts (4, 13, 21, 22)[61]. The main disadvantage of the open-ended questions is that they are time-consuming to administer (Bryman, 2012) – in this case, despite there being a proposed structure for providing relevant information, the proposed structure is not always perfectly reflected in the content. For example, question 12 asks to comment on the experience the candidate should have, but sometimes this information has been already included in the description of the preferred candidate (question 10). In the case of internships, the status of the potential intern (student, graduate, unemployed etc.) could appear in the responses to questions 9-12. For this reason, all of the 905 internship and job adverts could be used in analysis without excluding those who did not provide answers to all 18 questions appearing in the database.

While many questions (1-4, 8, 9, 14[62], 15[63], 16) were fully answered in all adverts, Table 3.1 provides detailed information on how many adverts omitted the other questions. Unfortunately, half of the adverts (50%) did not indicate their joint parity committee (question 6), which limits the validity of any results that could be retrieved from this question. Similarly, as 40% of adverts do not mention the number of full time employees in the organisation (question 7), this question will also be analysed with caution.

In contrast, questions concerning the website (question 5), recruitment process (question 17) or additional comments concerning the position (question 18) have low response rates but are not important for analysis.

Table 3.1 Overview of unanswered questions by type of advert

Question / Type of advert	5 Website	6 Joint ("parity") committee	7 Number of employees	10 Profile of the candidate	11[64] Required diplomas, certification, (ongoing) studies	12[64] (Eventual) Professional experiences	17[65] Recruitment procedure	18[65] Comments concerning the position	20 Required documents for the application
Internships (472)	43% (201)	64%(303)	43% (201)	0% (0)	4% (18)	13% (59)	34% (162)	71% (336)	0% (0)
Jobs (433)	37% (159)	35% (153)	37% (159)	0% (1)	5% (20)	5% (21)	18% (78)	55% (236)	0% (1)
Total (905)	40% (360)	50% (511)	40% (360)	0% (1)	4% (38)	9% (80)	27% (240)	63% (572)	0% (1)

[61] To answer questions 4, 13, 21 and 22, employers must indicate addresses and contact information. The postal code/municipality must be chosen from a list, while the other fields (street, e-mail, telephone, name) are open.
[62] Question 14 was asked only for work opportunities.
[63] Question 15 was asked only for internship opportunities.
[64] Symbol "-" was counted as a given answer, as it would imply that diplomas or certificates are not needed.
[65] Symbols "-", "--" and "xxx" were included as answers. as they would imply that diplomas or certificates were not needed.

The novelty of this paper is that a deliberate decision was made to use all the data available in the database for analysis. Classical quantitative content analysis requires coding which would not be feasible for all of the adverts, because there are too many of them – 905 job adverts with a total word count over 320 000. Instead of choosing a random sample of the 905 advertisements, this paper explores the opportunities provided by the Atlas.ti 8.0 software that enable the use of aggregate data of all advertisements and use this tool to identify any apparent trends within the whole volume of job and internship adverts published on the website www.culture.be in 2015.

3.2. Adjusting the Microsoft Excel based database of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation

As the database was provided by the organisation, it was not adopted for analysis in its raw form and needed some adjustments. First, after generally formatting and cleaning up the invalid adverts[66], special attention was devoted to eliminating cases where a single cultural organisation appears multiple times under slightly varied names to make sure that the database reflects precisely how often and what kind of offers one organisation had published; otherwise it would count these slight differences as different organisations. For example, association "*Ah mon Amour!*" had also posted adverts as "*ASBL Ah mon Amour*", "*Cie Ah mon Amour!*", "*ASBL Ah Mon Amour / BXL Production*". In total, 89 organisations had at least two versions of their names in the original database. Once the names of the same organisations were harmonised, similar clear up of data was done with such descriptive information as the number of employees and the particular cultural sector in which they operate. For example, if an organisation had published multiple advertisements of which only one advert contained information about the number of employees, this information was copied to the other adverts too. Similarly, the indicated field of activity was harmonised, according to a set of principles as explained in Appendix IV.

3.3. Preparing data for analysis with Atlas.ti 8.0

Next, the data was prepared for analysing it with Atlas.ti 8.0, including its Word Cruncher function. This function allows for simple quantitative content analysis of texts – the

[66] The deleted 11 adverts were removed from the database because 3 of them offered positions outside Belgium (in France and Canada), 1 was an obvious "test", and 7 were identical to already existing job or internship announcements. It had been indicated by the organisation that some identical internship announcements might appear in the list, therefore special care was taken to identify and delete them.

built-in Atlas.ti 8.0 tool counts all the words in selected primary documents or their groups and organises them either by length or frequency of appearance. The output of the Word Cruncher can be produced either as an Excel table listing all words, their lengths and frequencies,o in the form of a word cloud, where the biggest and more central words are those most frequently used. Each language has certain words that are not insignificant keywords but are very frequently used – for example, articles, conjunctions etc. Atlas.ti 8.0 allows excluding these words, numbers and symbols in two ways – using a list of ignorable characters[67] and a "stop list" of words that should be omitted from the count. For some languages[68], including French, the software proposes built-in "stop word lists" identifying these insignificant but frequent words so that the analysis can more easily identify the significant keywords of the document.

To learn the tool and its requirements, a trial was done to identify any necessary manipulations of the "stop word list" and/or the original database. In line with the subject of the thesis, five topics relating to the vacancy and the desired candidate for the vacancy were selected:

- the title of the vacancy (no.8: "*Intitulé du poste à pourvoir*"[69]),
- the job description (no.9: "*Description du poste*"),
- the profile of the candidate/ required qualifications (no.10: "*Profil recherché / Qualifications requises*"),
- the required diplomas/certification or required diplomas and/or current studies (no.11: "*Diplômes / brevets requis* : Diplômes requis et/ou études en cours*")
- and (eventual) professional experiences (no.12: " *Expériences professionnelles éventuelles* ").

As a result of the trial, two major changes were made: the built-in stop word list was replaced by a custom list, and a set of changes had to be made to the database uploaded in the software for analysis.

First, a new customized stop word list was created as the built-in one was too lengthy and did not include an explanation of the principles behind including words in the list. The new stop word list included the following categories of words:

- French language articles:
    - definite articles : *le, la, les, l'* ;
    - and their derivatives with prepositions *à* and *de* : *aux, au, du, de l', d', des* ;

[67] These characters in our case were deleted only from the ends of the words.
[68] English, French, German and Spanish.
[69] All the translations from French are done by the author of this thesis. Where necessary, native speakers have been consulted to ensure accurate interpretation.

- indefinite articles: *un, une, des*,
- partitive articles : *de l', du des*
- demonstrative articles : *ce, cet, cette, ces*
- possesiv articles: *mon, ma, mes, ton, ta, tes, son, sa, ses, notre, nos, votre, vos, leur, leurs*

- French language prepositions: *à, afin (que/de), après, auprès, avant, avec, chez, contre, dans, de, depuis, derrière, dès, devant, en, entre, hors, lors, malgré, par, parmi, pendant, pour, sans, sauf, sous, sur.*
- French language pronouns: *je, tu, il, elle, on, nous, vous, ils, elles, me, te, le, la, se, les, lui, en, y, que, qui.*
- Verbs *être* (to be) and *avoir* (to have) used in conjugations in their present and future tenses: *ai, as, a, avons, avez, ont, etre, suis, es, est, sommes, êtes, sont, serai, seras, sera, serons, serez, seront, aurai, auras, aura, aurons, aurez, auront*.
- Other meaningless words identified in the trial analysis by checking the top 150 most frequent words and excluding words that are not significant:
  - Conjunctions *et ou que*; letters *n, o, s, ø ;* locutions *etc*, *(au) sein (de)* ; adverb *très* ; syllable *ve*[70].

Atlas.ti 8.0 also suggests a list of symbols to be removed from the ends of words before the word count (|"()**{}**[]<>/\#+-_%$&“”´`@^‘„). Following the trial, this list was extended to also include: '…-“=:;.,*~^!?–$@“‘«»§?°¨.²´”·/•€¾

Table 3.2 Formatting the database: adding a "space" after these symbols

Symbol	Cases	Symbol	Cases	Symbol	Cases	Symbol	Cases
d’	3029	.	7289	)	3232	/	1731
l’	2685	,	10881	(	3189		
d'	1315	;	2378	-	6589		
l'	1187	:	2026	–	125		

Second, the trial indicated a need to adjust formatting of the database before uploading it to Atlas.ti 8.0 because some of the symbols and punctuation used in the database prevented the programme from counting words accurately. When symbols or punctuation such as /-( ).,:; are used in-between two words or letters without a space, the programme counts it as a single and unique word. For example, the / sign is often used instead of a comma or “or” (e.g.: “*il/elle*” (“he/she”)), which makes “*il/elle*” to be counted as one word. Similarly, the programme counts

[70] The syllable has no signification in French but it has become a separate word, as usually it is added at the end of an adjective to make the feminine form of the word: e.g. administrative assistant is “*assistant-e administratif-ve*”.

words with adjacent articles such as "*l'organisation*" (organisation) as a different word from the same word without the adjacent article - "*organisation*". To avoid this, a space after each of these symbols was added via "find and replace all" function of MS Excel. Table 3.2 provides a summary of the symbols after which a space was introduced and how many cases that were affected by this change:

Third, the database had some formatting problems most probably caused by the initial preparation of an Excel database by an employee of FWB. For example, a list of words were accidentally merged together – they were eliminated by looking at all lengthy[71] words and separating them. Appendix III provides a full list of all the words that were separated.

Furthermore, the database retrieval process probably left the HTML coding characters "&amp" and " "[72] in the database, so they also had to be deleted manually: 135 cases of "&amp" and 242 cases of " ".

During the test phase, it became evident that certain frequent keywords needed to be further explained. These include *mise* (multiple translations possible), *réseaux* (networks) and *site* (site):

- After investigating the most common uses of the word "*mise*", it was established that "*mise*" is most often used as "*mise en place*" or "*mise en œuvre*" (translation for both: implementation), "*mise à jour*" (update), "*mise en ligne*" (upload, put online), "*mise en page*" (to lay out/layout). To allow Atlas.ti to count these different meanings separately, the following replacements were made in Excel before uploading the database into Atlas.ti:
    - "*mise en place*" by "*mise-en-place*" : 143 cases
    - "*mise en oeuvre*" and "*mise en œuvre*" by "*mise-en-œuvre*"): 50 cases with *œ*, 3 cases with *oe*
    - "*mise à jour*" by "*mise-à-jour*": 188 cases
    - "*mises à jour*" by "*mises-à-jour*": 13 cases
    - "*mise en ligne*" by "*mise-en-ligne*": 8 cases
    - "*mise en page*" by "*mise-en-page*": 52 cases
- Similarly, the word *"réseaux"* (networks) was combined with *"sociaux"* to differentiate cases when social networks are mentioned: "*réseaux sociaux*" was replaced by "*réseaux-sociaux*": 226 cases. And *"site"* (site) was combined with *"internet"* to show how often employers mention websites or "site internet" as a keyword: "*site internet*" was replaced with "*site-internet*": 153 cases.

[71] This was verified and adapted for words up to and including 13 letters.
[72] This stands for "no breaking space" in HTML coding.

Finally, the French language allows for two different spellings of the word meaning 'event': "évènement" and "événement". As this keyword in both its forms was quite frequent in the test phase, double spelling had to be eliminated as otherwise the results would not accurately reflect the importance of this keyword. Therefore, even though both forms are correct and included in all dictionaries, only the most commonly used one – "*événement*" – was maintained: 109 cases were changed from "évènement" to "événement".

The changes made to the "stop word list" and ignorable characters in *Atlas.ti 8.0* along with data cleansing of the original database eliminated crucial issues with data analysis and enabled more effective analysis for the propositions of this paper.

3.4. Propositions from the literature review: summary and methods

The literature review has provided us with 12 researchable propositions that were initially numbered from 1 to 12. The 12 propositions have been regrouped in 3 thematical groups, thus in the result section they do not appear in the initial order. The table below (Table 3.3) provides a summary of data sources and tools used to verify the propositions.

The three groups for the propositions:

1) Organisations recruiting interns and/or employees: their characteristics and behaviour
   - Sector (Proposition 1): interns are evenly recruited by organisations of all sectors of culture.
   - Size (Proposition 8): the number of published adverts is positively correlated to the number of employees of the organisation.
   - Geographical location (Proposition 12): the distribution of both employment positions and internships mirror the distribution of the subsidies of Wallonia-Brussels Federation – most work and internship opportunities will be located in Brussels, followed by the regions of Liege, Hainaut and Namur.
   - Recruiting strategy (Proposition 9): considering the opportunities recruiting intern might represent, we suggest that most cultural organisations would recruit interns alongside the permanent staff.
2) How the conditions for interns differ from regular employee conditions:
   - Availability of opportunities (Proposition 10): the proportion of internships within the cultural labour market is significant.
   - Experience (Proposition 6): internships are aimed at people who are looking willing to gain their first experience in the cultural sector.

- Flexibility of the arrangement (Proposition 7): internships have more flexible contract arrangements than regular employment, both in relation to weekly working hours as well as the duration of the contract.
- Payment (Proposition 11): most internships in the cultural sector are unpaid.
- Types of internships (Proposition 4): based on the literature, we expect to distinguish three types of internships in cultural sector – (i) educational internships, (ii) open market internships; and (iii) active labour market internships.

3) How the content of the work differs between interns and employees:
   - Work content (Proposition 2): in practice, the distinction between work/employment and internship is not as clear as their definitions imply.
   - Learning content (Proposition 3): when compared to employment, internships differ by having an emphasis on their learning content.
   - Work content for open market internships (Proposition 5): as 'open market' internships by definition are not supervised by an educational institution, or the government, their content will be more similar to the content of actual work opportunities.

Table 3.3 Summary of used data and applied tools for each proposition

Proposition number	Description	Data used	Applied tool(s)
Proposition 1	All advertisements had indicated a particular activity sector of the organisation (out of 14 choices). For clarity, it was decided to re-code the advertisements that indicated more than one choice, as well as group the categories in 8 more general categories. Detailed description of re-coding and grouping is below, in Chapter 3.5.	Sector of activity of the organisation, as indicated in the question 2 ("activity sector") of the advertisement.	MS Excel coding and computing
Proposition 8	Part of the adverts of both types are used. 258 organisations (58%) publishing 545 advertisements (60%) had indicated the number of their full-time employees. It was assumed that bigger organisations would recruit more interns and more employers, therefore it was decided to calculate for statistically significant correlations between both numbers, using SPSS and Pearson's r.	Number of adverts published by each organisation (computed with MS Excel), number of employees as indicated in the advert, question 7 ("number of workers employed (full time equivalent)"	MS Excel computing, correlation (Pearson's r) in SPSS
Proposition 12	All 905 advertisements had indicated the postal code. The postal codes were grouped in 7 regions: 5 Walloon regions (Hainaut, Namur, Walloon Brabant, Liège, Luxembourg), Brussels Capital Region and Flanders.	Postal codes of organisations (question 4 "headquarters")	MS Excel computing
Proposition 9	The proposition will look into how many cultural organisations published how many adverts, and special	Question 1 ("name of the employing organisation")	MS Excel computing

Proposition number	Description	Data used	Applied tool(s)
	attention will be paid to the proportion of how many internship adverts are proposed, comparing to work adverts.	and the type of offer will be counted.	
Proposition 10	The results from the previous analysis can be used.	Type of offer	MS Excel computing
Proposition 6	All 905 ads will be coded in 4 categories –experience 'required' (the strongest assumption), experience 'wanted', 'appreciated' and 'no experience'. The coding is further detailed in Chapter 3.7.	Primary question 12 ("eventual professional experiences"), but also questions 9 ("job description"), 10 ("profile of the candidate") and 11 ("required diplomas") are used.	Atlas.ti 8.0 coding
Proposition 7	All 905 adverts are analysed. The number of internship adverts will be compared to the number of job adverts based on two main criteria: the working regime (full-time, part-time, quart-time, other) and the duration of the contract.	Question 16 (proposed form of employment) for both types of adverts, question 15 ("beginning and end of the internship") used for internships, question 14 ("type of contract") used for work offers.	MS Excel computing
Proposition 11	All 472 internship offers are analysed. After exploring how many internship adverts have stated that they are paid, further analysis of the paid adverts is done. Throughout these ads any indications concerning the amount of payment is coded.	Principally question 15 ("Paid internship") is used, however questions 9-18 are reviewed for the paid internships.	MS Excel computing and coding
Proposition 4	All 472 internship adverts are coded initially in 3, but later in 7 categories as the internships did not fit in the 3 categories. Further description of the coding is available in Chapter 3.6.	Primary question 9 ("job description"), but also questions 10 ("profile of the candidate"), 11 ("required diplomas") and 12 ("eventual professional experiences") are used.	Atlas.ti 8.0 for coding, MS Excel for computing
Proposition 2	All 905 adverts are analysed. The results of Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher compare internship versus job adverts. After initial analysis, the top 30 mostly commonly used words for each category (internships/work adverts) were semantically analysed and compared. Special attention was paid to the main characteristics of the internship or job opportunity as they have been defined in the literature (Chapter 2.1.1).	Question 9 ("job description")	Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher, MS Excel computing
Proposition 3	All 905 adverts are compared. Results from proposition 2 are used, and further use of MS Excel word list created by Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher is analysed to look for vocabulary that relates to learning and supervision.	Question 9 ("job description")	Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher, MS Excel computing
Proposition 5	Further elaborating on results from proposition 6 and proposition 2. Only 'open market' and 'educational or open market' internships (96) are compared to all job offers.	Question 9 ("job description")	Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher, MS Excel computing

3.5. Grouping sectors of culture for proposition 1 (intern and employee recruitment by sector)

Each advertisement allows the organisation to specify one of 13 pre-defined sectors, or a 14th sector "other" where the organisation can specify the sector:

1) Permanent education
2) Youth
3) Cultural centre
4) Theatre
5) Music
6) Dance
7) Visual arts
8) Audio-visual
9) Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)
10) Heritage
11) Museum
12) Library
13) Publishing house and bookshop
14) Other

Organisations can choose more than one sector of activity. When the second chosen activity was "other", it was added up to the count of the specific activity. However, in 19% of all advertisements, there were two or more activities mentioned where the second was not "other". Therefore, some steps needed to be taken in order to allow counting the sectors of all adds:

1) Harmonise the fields of all organisations:
    a. If there are two activities and the second is "youth", only the first is maintained
    b. Depending on the name of the organisation:
        i. If the title includes "cultural centre" but the organisation has chosen to specify many fields of activity, only the cultural centre is maintained as it implies automatically this interdisciplinary. Similarly for museums that might specify that they have also a bookshop – only the title "museum" would be maintained.
        ii. The main activity is coded after reading the description of the activities of the organisation where very often the keywords can be easily recognisable: e.g. contemporary art gallery.
2) If more than one performing art mentioned, code into the new code "performing arts"

3) If a performing art and a visual art mentioned, transfer into "interdisciplinary"

After the first re-coding, it was decided that for result discussion all sectors should be grouped in the main cultural sectors, as summarised in the Table below (Table 3.4). To control for any bias caused by the initial coding and the use of grouped categories would bring, results were first computed also for the original categories. No significant differences were identified and the full computing results are available in the Appendix IV.

Table 3.4 Grouping categories in 8 main sectors

Original category (Coded category)	Grouped category
Permanent education	Youth & education
Youth	
Cultural centre Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC) (Interdisciplinary)	Interdisciplinary
Theatre Music Dance (Performing arts)	Performing arts
Visual arts	Visual arts
Audio-visual	Audio-visual
Heritage Museum	Heritage
Library Publishing house and bookshop	Literature

3.6. Coding for proposition 4 (experience requirements for internships and work opportunities)

For the purposes of data analysis, internships will be coded to fit into one of three categories (see Table 3.5). The information for determining the best fit will be retrieved from information mostly found in question 10 or question 11 of the form (see Appendix II), yet, when the information provided is not sufficient to categorise an internship, any other of the 8-12 questions will be used (if available).

The following coding criteria were defined, based on the description of the three major internship groups as defined in research by Lain et al. (2014):

TABLE 3.5 CRITERIA FOR CODING INTO ONE OF THREE CATEGORIES OF INTERNSHIPS

Educational internship keywords:	**Active labour market policy internship keywords:**	**Open market internship keywords:**
Internship contract required (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*") **and**	Internship contract required (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*") **and** Professional Immersion Convention (*Convention*	**No** references to internship contract (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*"); it is required that the candidate already has a diploma

student status stipulated (e.g. "*dans un cadre scolaire*")	*d'immersion professionnelle*) **and/or** payment is mentioned	(e.g. "*diplômé*", "*jeune diplômé*", "*Vous disposez d' un Master ou Baccalauréat*")

During the first phase of coding, the category codes were further refined and additional categories were added where appropriate were added (see Table 3.6 for the expanded list of categories and their key criteria). Using the criteria of the expanded list of categories, only 29 educational and 12 open market internships were identified. In addition, 42 open or educational, 3 unclear but possibly government, 72 unclear but student status required, 306 unclear internships were identified.

Table 3.6 Coding different internship types

Active labour market policy internship keywords	**Educational or governmental**	**Educational**	**Open or educational**
Internship contract required (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*") **and** Professional Immersion Convention (*Convention d'immersion professionnelle*) **and/or** payment is mentioned	**Internship contract required** (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*") **no student status** stipulated (e.g. "*Pas de diplôme requis, convention de stage*") or mentioned that after-study internships are acceptable ("*Les stages post- diplôme sont envisageables si régis par une convention*"	**Internship contract required** (e.g. "*stage conventionné*", "*convention de stage (obligatoire)*") **and student status** stipulated (e.g. "*dans un cadre scolaire*") "*Vous êtes à la recherche d' un stage pour finaliser votre formation*"	**No** references to internship contract ; **candidate can be post-graduate or student** ("Vous êtes diplomé (ou en cours)", "éltudiant ou un jeune diplômé", "Bachelor ou étude supérieur (validé ou en cours de validité) ", "Être en cours de formation ou en possession d' un diplôme") or mentioned student status and diploma obtained
Open market	**Unclear but student status mentioned/ required**	**Unclear but higher education diploma mentioned/ required**	**Unclear**
No references to internship contract; it is required that the **candidate already has a diploma** (e.g. "*diplôme*", "*jeune diplômé*", "*Vous disposez d' un Master ou Baccalauréat*")	**No** references to internship contract, **student status stipulated**: "*Le stage s'adresse un étudiant en master*", "*Etudes supérieures en cours*", "*Vous êtes étudiant(e) "*)	**No** references to internship contract, **mentions diploma** (without stipulating that the diploma is obtained:	**No** references to internship contract, no references to status (student/graduate), no mentions of a diploma not specified

3.7. Coding for proposition 6 (internships target unexperienced people)

Differences in experience requirements of both types of adverts were evaluated by coding each advert as fitting one of the following four categories summarised in the table 3.7 below:

Table 3.7 Codes for determining the experience required

"No experience" keywords:	"Experience appreciated" keywords:	"Experience wanted" keywords:	"Experience required" keywords:
Not mentioned, or written: "*néant*", "*non requis/e*", "*aucune*", "*pas nécessaire*", "*pas d'application*", "*N/A*"	"*est un atout*", "*est un plus*", "*bienvenue*", "*apprécié*"	"*souhaité*", "*préférable*", "*fortement apprécié*", "*de réels atouts*", "*idéalement*", "*fortement appréciable*"	Required without nuancing e.g. "*vous avez déjà eu une première expérience*", "*un minimum d'expérience*", "*vivement souhaité*" or "*vivement souhaitable*", "*avoir fait un stage*" or "*avoir effectué un stage*".

4. Findings

4.1. Organisations recruiting interns and/or employees: their characteristics and behaviour

4.1.1. Proposition 1: Interns are evenly recruited by organisations of all sectors of culture.

As the reviewed literature did not indicate any outstanding sectors, it was assumed that the distribution of internships would mirror the distribution of employment offers across all sectors of culture. However, this proposition proved to be wrong as only literature had a similar proportion of internship and work adverts (see Table 4.1). Job adverts were more prevalent for the sectors of youth, education, interdisciplinary and undefined (other) sectors. In contrast, organisations working in such sectors as performing arts, audio-visual arts, heritage and especially visual arts in 2015 have posted proportionally more adverts for internships.

Table 4.1 Number of internship and work adverts by sector

sector of culture	internship, count	internship, %	job, count	job, %	total, count	total, %
youth & education	20	4%	100	23%	120	13%
literature	22	5%	28	6%	50	6%
performing arts	105	22%	65	15%	170	19%
visual arts	93	20%	26	6%	119	13%
audio-visual arts	58	12%	20	5%	78	9%
heritage	52	11%	22	5%	74	8%
interdisciplinary	67	14%	108	25%	175	19%
other	55	12%	64	15%	119	13%
TOTAL	472	100%	433	100%	905	100%

Legend:

	dominating type	
difference	work	internship
0-2%	no change in colour	
3-5%		
6-8%		
9%		

To some extent the prevalence of interns in performing arts, audio-visual arts and heritage is in line with the cases analysed by previous research and might be justified by the labour-intensive nature of the sectors. Indeed, in the literature review we saw that the heritage sector (museums) and the performing arts (music industry) had attracted researchers' attention because of their intensive use of interns (Frenette, 2014, Holmes, 2006). In the USA, unpaid interns in the audio-visual sector have even won a court case against their former employer for not paying them (Schuhmacher, 2015).

In contrast, the visual arts sector is a surprising discovery. It is the sector where the gap is the biggest (14 percentage points). Therefore, it was decided that a further analysis was necessary to consider the phenomenon. After looking closely at the 119 advertisements for the visual arts sector, it became clear that certain types of organisations dominate, so all visual art adverts were

re-coded into 6 sub-types, based on the description of the organisation: art gallery, artist[73], art market (fair and auction)[74], exhibition centre, museum and other[75]. Table 4.2 summarizes the results – we can see that nearly seven in every ten job and internship opportunities in the visual arts sector are provided by art galleries. Art galleries seem to be the perfect kind of entrepreneurial organisation form as discussed in Chapter 2.1.1. (Peterson & Anand, 2004). Their structure and private status allows them to more easily integrate interns. Knowing that galleries seek profit from selling art and that Brussels hosts many important art galleries, use of unpaid or low paid interns can bring an important competitive advantage to galleries. Thus, it appears very likely that art galleries intensively use interns to decrease their labour costs.

Table 4.2 Advertisements in visual arts: further detail on organisation type

Sub-type of organisation	Internship	Internship, %	Job	Jobf, %	Total	Total, %	**Legend:**		
Art Gallery	64	69%	16	62%	80	67%		dominating type	
Artist	9	10%	0	0%	9	8%	difference	work	internp
Art Market (fair & auction)	8	9%	1	4%	9	8%	0-2%	no change in colour	
Other	4	4%	4	15%	8	7%	3-5%		
Exhibition centre	7	8%	0	0%	7	6%	6-8%		
Museum	1	1%	5	19%	6	5%	9%		
TOTAL	93	100%	26	100%	119	100%			

It has to be noted that a certain limitation to the database is the presence of organisations that have posted many job or internship offers and, consequently, could be seen as outliers in our descriptive statistics. While more than ¾ of organisations (78% - 349 organisations) have posted up to two internship and/or job offers, two organisations – "*Vie Féminine*" and Fine arts centre "BOZAR" – have posted 20 and more job offers in 2015. Especially the 24 work adverts by "*Vie Féminine*" might influence the further results. For internships, the main outliers are "*Poseco asbl*", "*Tradart MMB SA*" and "*Centre culturel Bruxelles Nord - Maison de la création*" that have posted more than 10 internship advertisements (no job advertisements). In addition to 13 internship offers, "*Poseco asbl*" (the name stands for "Positive Economy Centre") had posted 14 volunteership offers, 9 of whom duplicated internship offers. Considering that the organisation has 25 employees, this case seems to illustrate two issues in the internship labour market – internships are sometimes considered to be synonyms for volunteerships, and a possible need for stricter regulations on the proportions between paid workers and unpaid interns.

[73] Only one organisation representing the work of one particular artist had published advertisements. However, as it had published 9 advertisements (only internships), it was decided to create a separate category.
[74] This category could have been added to the "art gallery" category, but it was decided to keep it separate.
[75] No common thread was found.

4.1.2. Proposition 8: The number of published adverts is positively correlated to the number of employees of the organisation.

Proposition 8 also proved to be wrong as the number of published adverts does not clearly relate to the number of employees in the organisation. The table 4.3 summarised the results from SPSS. When the total number of job and internship adverts is taken into account, the correlation with the number of employees is weak (Pearson's r=.178), but remains positive and is significant (p=.004). This positive correlation is stronger for job adverts – job adverts taken separately have a moderate (r=.305) [76], positive and significant (p<.001) correlation with the number of employees. In contrast, the correlation between the number of employees and internship adverts is not significant (p=.394), asides being weak (r=-.053) and negative. This is quite interesting and might indicate that the willingness to employ interns is less related to the size of the organisation, and is more of a strategic decision taken based on other criteria.

Furthermore, there is also a weak (r=-.134), negative and significant (p=.031) correlation between the number of job adverts and the number of internship adverts. However, it might not indicate that some organisations employ interns instead of employees. Instead, it most probably is an indication that the organisation simultaneously is unlikely to be looking for both, which is understandable as the recruiting process consumes human resources within the organisation and 76% of organisations who have indicated their number of employees are small – they employ 11 or less people.

Table 4.3 Correlations between 258 organisations with employee data and number of job or internship advertisements

		Number of employees	Internship adverts	Job adverts	Total adverts
Number of employees	Pearson's r	1	-.053	.305**	.178**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.394	.000	.004
	N	259	259	259	259
Internship adverts	Pearson's r	-.053	1	-.134*	.697**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.394		.031	.000
	N	259	259	259	259
Job adverts	Pearson's r	.305**	-.134*	1	.617**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.031		.000
	N	259	259	259	259
Total adverts	Pearson Correlation	.178**	.697**	.617**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.000	.000	
	N	259	259	259	259
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).					

[76] The relation between the number of employees and job adverts would be even stronger (r=.458) if a clear outlier would have been taken out – the Belgian French-speaking Radio and Television (RTBF) had published 5 internship adverts, no work adverts, but had mentioned their 2000 employees – far more than the 500 employees of the biggest cultural institution – Belgian opera "*La Monnaie*".

4.1.3. Proposition 12: The distribution of both employment positions and internships mirror the distribution of the subsidies of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation – most of the work and internship offers will be located in Brussels, followed by the regions of Liege, Hainaut and Namur.

Proposition 12 was mainly confirmed by our analysis. Unsurprisingly, ¾ of all offers are located in the Brussels region (see Figure 4.1). Also, only 2% are reported to be in Flanders, while the economically strongest Walloon regions where other important cities as Liege, Namur, Mons and Charleroi are located, do not exceed 5-6% of the offers. In spite of being the second recipient of subsidies, Liège was lower in the offers, however the differences between Hainaut, Namur, Liège and Walloon Brabant are not very significant. One of the reasons why the region of Hainaut is second could be linked to Mons, which in 2015 was the European Capital of Culture. However, when it comes to the geographical distribution of internship and work adverts, important differences can be noted. For internships (see Figure 4.2), 80% of all internship offers are located in the Brussels region, while this is the case for only 70% of job offers. In addition, in all regions outside Brussels, organisations have published more job offers than internship offers, the most differentiated case being the Luxembourg region: in 2015 no internship offers have been made in the region of Luxembourg, while there are 9 job offers in that region. One of the explanations of the general regional disproportions would be that there is high demand for internships as Brussels with its 86 000 students is by far the most important student city in Belgium (Vaesen, J., & Wayens, B., 23 April 2014, para 28). However, the biggest student city in Wallonia – Louvain-la-Neuve which hosts 23 000 students (Vaesen, J., & Wayens, B., 23 April 2014, para 28) – proposed only 5 internship opportunities in 2015. Furthermore, artistic higher education is proposed as well in Liège and Mons (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles [FWB],

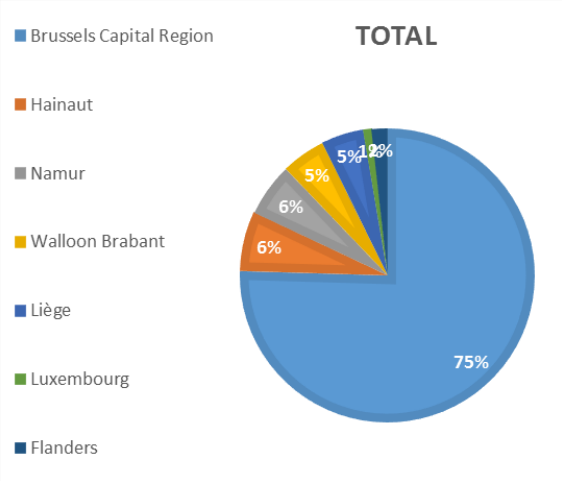


Figure 4.2 Geographical distribution of all offers

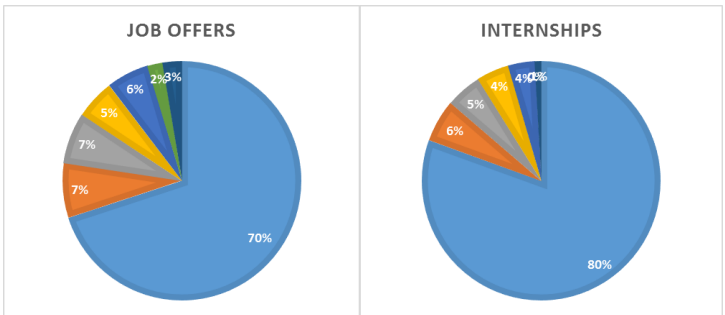


Figure 4.1 Geographical distribution of job and internship offers

2014), yet it doesn't significantly impact the supply of internships from the cultural organisations of those cities. Therefore, the most likely explanation is the density of cultural institutions in Brussels, including perhaps the art galleries which are mostly private and don't receive subsidies but attract a significant number of interns.

4.1.4. Proposition 9: Considering the opportunities recruiting interns might represent, we suggest that most cultural organisations would recruit interns alongside permanent staff.

Proposition 9 proved to be wrong, as while the total number of internship adverts (472) exceeds that of job offers (433), organisations seem to either publish internship or work adverts , but rarely both, especially within the same calendar year. The total number of organisations who in 2015 published an internship and/or a job offer on the website www.culture.be, is 448. Out of these organisations, only 10% (47 organisations) published both type of offers. A large proportion of organisations (206 or 46%) had published only job offers, while a slightly smaller number (195 or 44%) were willing to recruit only interns.

Table 4.4 summarises the strategies of organisations to publish internship and/or job offers. Most organisations (297 or 66%) published only one job or internship offer in 2015, which explains the biggest part of the 90% of organisations that have published only one type of offer. However, even for organisations who published two or more offers, there is a tendency for preference of type of recruitment. Indeed, even when two or more adverts are published, most organisations[77] recruit either employees or interns, but not both.

Table 4.4 Number of organisations that have published 2-24[78] internship or work adverts in 2015

Adverts	Total number of organisations	Total, %	Internship adverts only	Internship adverts only, %	Work adverts only	Work adverts only, %	Both adverts in equal amount	More internship adverts	More work adverts
2	59	13%	24	12%	24	12%	11	n/a	n/a
3	33	7%	15	8%	8	4%	n/a	7	3
4	23	5%	9	5%	4	2%	1	4	5
5	11	2%	2	1%	4	2%	n/a	2	3
6	7	2%	3	2%	1	0%	0	1	2
7	4	1%	2	1%	1	0%	n/a	1	0
8	2	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	1	0
9	2	0%	2	1%	0	0%	n/a	0	0
10	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	1	2	0
11	2	0%	1	1%	0	0%	n/a	0	1

[77] 23% of total number of organisations which represents 69% of organisations that have published 2 or more offers.

[78] There were also 2 organisations publishing 11 offers and one organisation publishing 12, 13, 16, 23, 24 offers, however they were taken out of analysis to maintain the focus.

Adverts	Total number of organisations	Total, %	Internship adverts only	Internship adverts only, %	Work adverts only	Work adverts only, %	Both adverts in equal amount	More internship adverts	More work adverts
12	1	0%	1	1%		0%	0	0	0
13	1	0%	1	1%	0	0%	n/a	0	0
16	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	1
23	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	n/a	0	1
24	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0	0
TOTAL	151	34%	60	13%	44	10%	13 (3%)	18 (4%)	16 (4%)

To sum up, out of four propositions about organisations recruiting employees and interns, only the proposition about geographical distribution was upheld. The other three propositions turned out to be false. The analysis above suggests that recruiting interns might be a strategy adopted only by certain organisations. As seen previously, these seem to be bigger and smaller organisations that are located in Brussels and that work in performing, audio-visual, visual arts or heritage.

4.2. Differences in contract and conditions between interns and regular employees

4.2.1. Proposition 10: the proportion of internships within the cultural labour market is significant.

Judging from the offers published on the website of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation (FWB), there were 472 advertisements looking for intern labour, which is 46% of all advertisements published (total number of 1024). Job offers were less popular (42% and 433 offers), but surprisingly low was the number of volunteering opportunities – only 119 offers representing 12%. Therefore, we can confirm that interns represent almost half of all newly recruited people in cultural organisations who posted their vacancies on the FWB website in 2015. However, as interns are recruited for temporary contracts, the number of adverts only partially confirms proposition 10.

4.2.2. Proposition 6: Internships are aimed at people that are willing to gain their first experience in the cultural sector.

Our analysis shows that 40% of internship adverts indicate that previous experience is appreciated, wanted or even required (see Figure 4.3). This means that proposition 6 is only partially true. Certainly, previous internship experiences most probably would count for experience in this context. Eurobarometer research reported that 59-69% of Belgians did more than one internship (TNS Political and Social, 2013a). Thus, we can conclude that two out of five internship offers are aimed at people that already have done one internship. It is understandable that employers prefer people with experience as they require less training. However this is contrary to the definition of what an internship is. The 12% of internship offers are aiming to recruit interns with at least a second experience, while 29% of other internship offers strongly encourage more experienced candidates to apply.

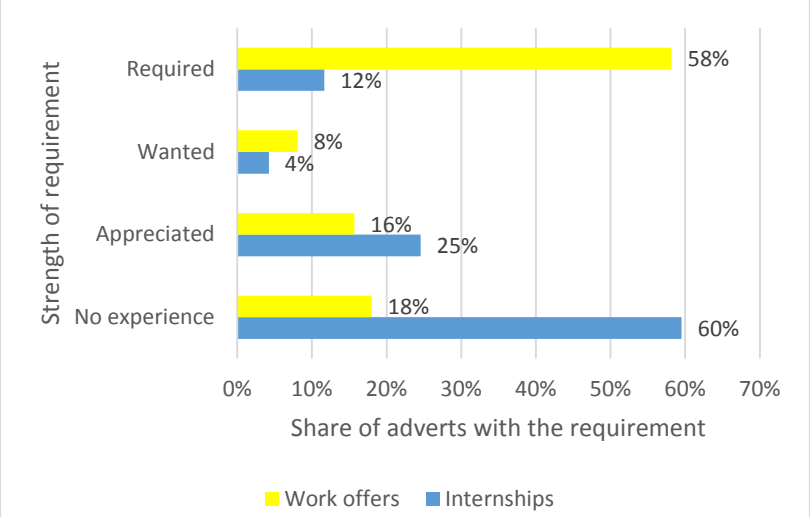


FIGURE 4.3 EXPERIENCE REQUIRED FROM INTERNS AND EMPLOYEES

Compared to job offers, internships certainly demand lower levels of experience. However, 42% of work adverts would consider a candidate without any experience, and one in five work adverts do not require any experience at all. To some extent it could be explained by such subsidised contract schemes as "Rosetta" that encourages organisations to employ young people without experience (Service public fédéral Emploi, Travail et Concertation sociale. (n.d.)).

4.2.3. Proposition 7: internships have more flexible contract arrangements than work opportunities, both in weekly working hours and the duration of the contract.

Proposition 7 is partly true – whilst concerning the duration of the contract it is certainly true, internships are not more flexible when it comes to working hours. The Table 4.6 shows that the most common arrangement for workers is a permanent contract (45%), while a third of other contracts (32%) are fixed-term. Quite popular also are other arrangements (14%). For

internships (see Table 4.5), this data was presented differently as all the contracts are automatically temporary. Most of internships last between 2 and 4 months (63%) with 3-month long internships being the most widespread (30%). This is to some extent in line with Eurobarometer data, where 74% of all internships lasted up to 3 months (TNS Political and Social, 2013a). In the case of the cultural sector, 72% last up to 4 months, thus they seem to be longer than the average. It has to be noted though that at least one in ten employment contracts requires a special social status as the contract is intended for people that have problems getting recruited.

Table 4.5 Contract duration for internships

Months	Number of months	Internships	Internships, %
0-1		**43**	**9%**
	0	8	2%
	1	35	7%
2-4		**298**	**63%**
	2	75	16%
	3	143	30%
	4	80	17%
5-6		**74**	**16%**
	5	37	8%
	6	37	8%
7 +		**57**	**12%**
	7	15	3%
	8	11	2%
	9	8	2%
	10	7	1%
	11	4	1%
	12	7	1%
	39	1	0%
	21	1	0%
	15	1	0%
	22	1	0%
	29	1	0%

Table 4.6 Work adverts contract arrangements

Type (grouped)	Type of contract	Work adverts	Work adverts, %
Permanent employment (CDI[79])		**196**	**45%**
	CDI	178	41%
	CDI*	18	4%
Fixed term (CDD[80])		**140**	**32%**
	CDD	83	19%
	CDD*	14	3%
	CDD replacement	35	8%
	CDD replacement*	8	2%
Mixed – fixed term, then permanent		**25**	**6%**
	CDD/CDI	21	5%
	CDD/CDI*	4	1%
Other		**60**	**14%**
Artist		**7**	**2%**
Social programme contract (APE,PTP[81])		5	1%

* Additional conditions of a Social programme contract (APE or PTP)

[79] CDI is *Contrat à duré indéterminé* – contract with an indetermined length.
[80] CDD is *Contrat à duré déteriné* – contrat with a fixed term.
[81] PTP : programme of professional insertion (PTP - Programme de Transition Professionnelle), APE : employment-promotion assistance (APE - Aide à la Promotion de l'Emploi)

By contrast, work hours do not differ between work and internship proposals (See Table 4.7). For both jobs and internships, the dominating working regime is a full-time contract (61%). There are slight differences in repartition of other forms of contracts, as part time work is more popular for jobs (19%) as it is for internships (15%), and quart time work or other arrangements seem to be more popular for internships (21% for other, 3% for quart-time) than for work opportunities (18% and 1% respectively). In this analysis, we also evaluated the marginal 27 offers of paid internships, noting that 13 of them (48%) are not full time opportunities, therefore making it even clearer that extra income would be needed to cover the basic living costs. Another observation is the presence of flexible contracts that are qualified as "other". One fifth of both internship and job offers propose non-standard working arrangements.

TABLE 4.7 ADVERTISEMENTS BY TYPE OF CONTRACT

Work regime	Total	Total %	Jobs	Jobs %	Internships (all)	Internships (all) %	Internships (paid)	Internships (paid) %
Full time	554	61%	266	61%	288	61%	14	52%
Part time	150	17%	81	19%	69	15%	5	19%
Quart time	20	2%	6	1%	14	3%	1	4%
Other	181	20%	80	18%	101	21%	7	26%
Total	905	100%	433	100%	472	100%	27	100%

4.2.4. Proposition 11: Most internships in the cultural sector are unpaid.

Out of 472 internships, all but 27 offers indicated that the internship is remunerated. Yet 13 of them did not indicate what the "remuneration" entails and 9 others were not specifying the amount (see the Table 4.8). Out of the 5 offers that indicated some remuneration, only three had precise numbers, the highest being 650 €/month. As seen in Chapter 2.3, remunerating interns in Belgium is illegal if the intern is exercising the internship as a part of a study programme. If the internship is within the frame of the Professional Immersion Convention and the intern is at least 21 years old, there is a compulsory remuneration of 751€/month. These 27 "remunerated" internships do not seem to follow these legal guidelines. Instead, considering that someone with a volunteer contract can obtain a "compensation" of up to 33,36 euros[82] per day, it seems that these organisations are using "volunteer" contracts to pay their interns. Indeed, one offer explicitly mentions the amount of 32 euros per day, and the 650 euros/month proposed by another also fit in the limits of compensation for volunteers (32.50 x 20 working days = 650 EUR). Thus, we could conclude that all internship offers are either unpaid (94%) or receive

[82] Source : https://finances.belgium.be/fr/asbl/benevoles

compensation that does not exceed the compensation for volunteers. As expected, the number of unpaid interns is higher in the cultural sector than in other sectors – Eurobarometer indicated that 19% of interns in Belgium are paid, even though most of them (62%) estimated the remuneration insufficient for covering basic costs.

Table 4.8 Proposed amounts of financial contribution for the "paid internships"

Payment in EUR/month	What is covered (how many offers mention this)
Unknown (22 offers)	Not mentioned (13 offers)
	transport + "something little extra" (3 offers)
	at the end of internship (2 offers)
	depending on work days - 2 to 4 (1 offer)
	paid internship or student job (1 offer)
	paid + a commission on what has being sold (1 offer)
	for each reportage (1 offer)
Unknown ≥ 120 (1 offer)	transport + 120 euros /month
200 (1 offer)	reimburse costs
Unknown ≥ 210 (1 offer)	transport + 210 euros
~ 256 (1 offer)	32 euros/day for 2 days/week
650 (1 offer)	Remuneration of 650 EUR/month

4.2.5. Proposition 4: based on the literature, we expect to distinguish three types of internships in cultural sector – (i) educational internship, (ii) open market internship; and (iii) active labour market internship.

As discussed in chapter 2.1.1., researchers have proposed a certain taxonomy which is argued to explain the differences in internship phenomenon through how it is or is not administered and monitored. Researchers propose three distinct categories – 'open market' internships, 'educational' internships and "active labour market policy internships". In proposition 4, we tested to what extent this theoretical taxonomy can be applied to the internships in the Belgian cultural sector. In contrast with the literature, the boundaries of different types of internship are blurry.

Table 4.9 Internship types by governance

Type	Educational	Educational ~~or active labour market policy~~[83]	Open market	Open or educational	Unclear but student status mentioned/ required	Unclear but higher education diploma mentioned/ required	Unclear
Count	29	19	19	77	150	120	58
%	6%	4%	4%	16%	32%	25%	12%

The vague boundaries were noticed in the early stages of coding, when a decision was made to add categories other than the three initial ones as adverts explicitly targeted both students and graduates. Only 10% of internships explicitly required an internship contract – we can consider that around 10% of internships are thus by definition educational. Similarly, only 4% of internships could be defined as 'open market' internships as they targeted graduates. Another 16% of internship offers explicitly mentioned that the applicant can be either a student, or a graduate. However, the big majority of internships (57%) targeted students without stipulating the need for an internship contract[84].

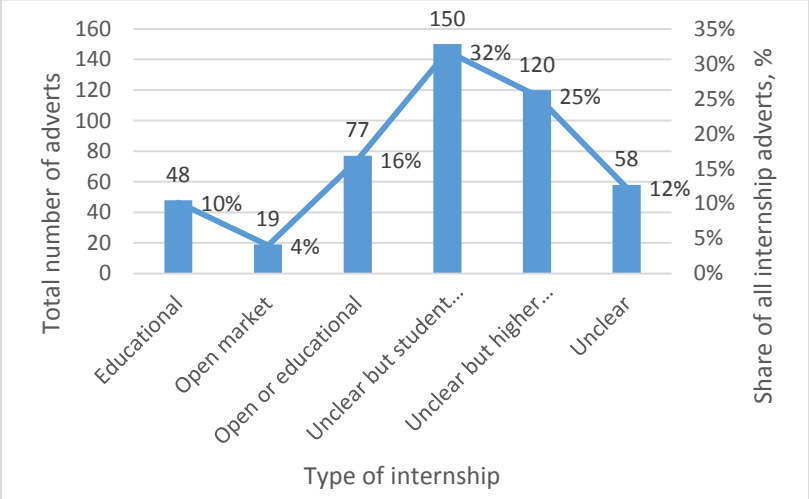


Figure 4.4 Internships by governance type

These 57% could be interpreted in opposing ways. Employers might consider that the internship contract is obvious and should not be mentioned in the advertisement, which means that these adverts can still be defined as 'educational' internships. In contrast, the lack of mentioning the internship contract might also indicate that from the point of view of employers it is not that important whether the internship attains any educational goals. Instead, they want to employ a student, as they know that in that case it could be possible to sign an internship agreement and thus to comply with the legislation.

Initially, 8 categories were coded, including a category of 'active labour market policy' internships and "educational and active labour market policy" internships. No internships were

[83] In theory and in coding, 4% of the educational internships might also belong to the category of 'active labour market policy' internships, as they did stipulate an internship contract, but they did not require that the intern is student. However, in proposition 11 on payment it was noted that none of the 27 "paid" internships seem to qualify as Professional Immersion Convention which is the only federal 'active labour market policy' internship in Belgium.
[84] in 32% it was explicitly stated, while in 25% it was deduced as characteristics such as level of studies (master, bachelor) and/or field of studies were mentioned in the advertisement, implying that studies are ongoing.

coded in the 'active labour market policy' category as none corresponded to the defined characteristics (see Chapter 3 on methodology). Actually, looking for the keyword in the whole database the only place where Professional Immersion Convention (CIP) was mentioned, was in the description of one work advert, where a three month CIP could result in a fixed-term contract. For this reason and after proposition 7 concluded that no internships are sufficiently paid to correspond to the CIP, it was decided that the "educational and active labour market policy" can be merged with 'educational', as no 'active labour market policy' internships seem to be published on the FWB website in 2015.

Last but not least, around 12% of internships are "unclear" as there were not enough signifiers that could help to include them in any category. Often it was mentioned that no particular diploma or education was necessary. Student status of desired applicants was not mentioned either. Therefore, it could be assumed that these 12% represent the unregulated 'open market' internship category.

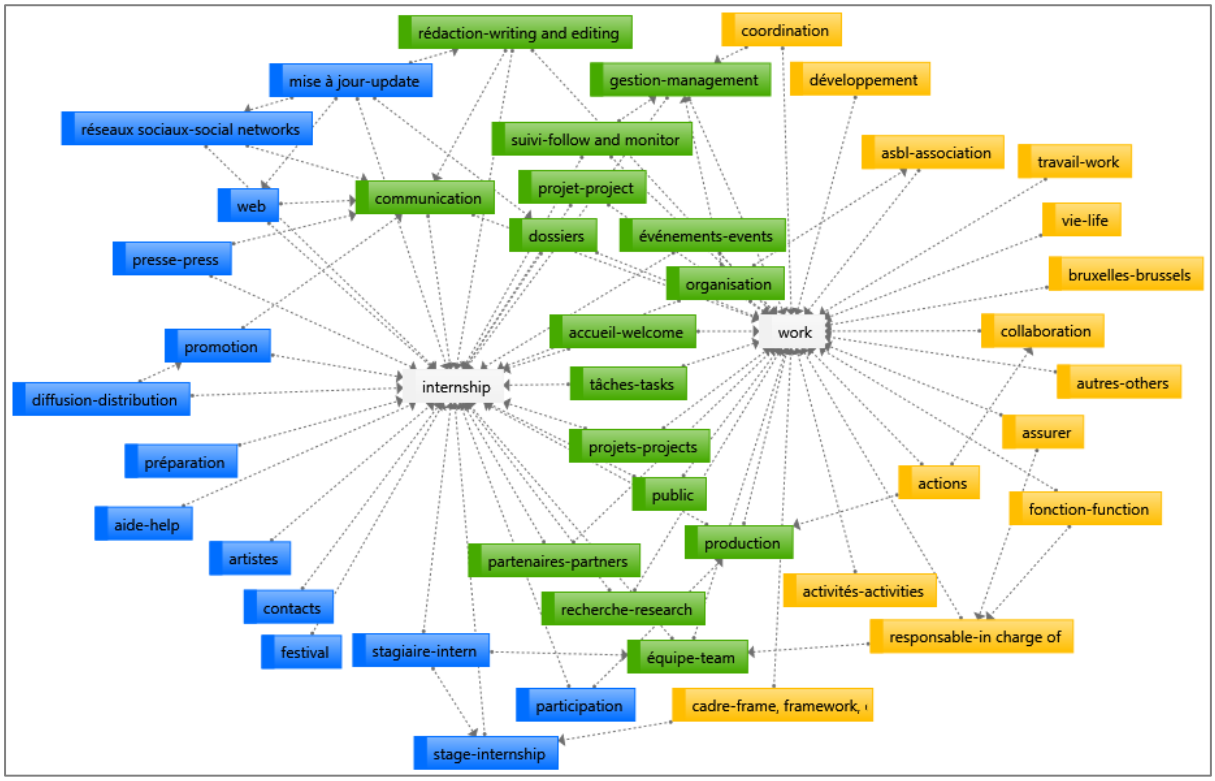
4.3. Differences in content of the work differs between the intern and the employee:

4.3.1. Proposition 2: in practice, the distinction between work/employment and internship is not as clear as their definitions imply.

Based on the discussion provided in the Chapter 2.1, the defining characteristics of an internship included: educational purpose (learning content), practice, fixed duration (short-term), supervision, host employer, and (optionally) links with an educational institution and programme. Conversely, the defining characteristics of work/employment were: disutility, income, product/output. In previous propositions we already discussed the duration of internships, as well as some evident links with educational institutions and educational programmes. Indeed, the main target audience (67%) for internship offers in cultural organisations were students and in 10% of internship advertisements potential interns were required to provide a tripartite internship agreement between the university, the organisation and the intern. Thus the optional links with an educational institution have been described. In this part of the paper the content of internship job descriptions will be compared to the content of work job descriptions.

First, there are several similarities between internships and jobs. More than half (16) of the most frequently (top 30) used words in job descriptions for interns and for employees

overlap[85]. Figure 4.5 summarises the top keywords and includes some semantic links in between the terms. In addition to links with the advertisements, semantic links are also represented in the figure. Some of the words that are common for both type of adverts are related to the product of cultural organisations ('events', 'projects', 'project'), some reflect the structure and collaborations ('team', 'public', 'partners', 'organisation'), but most are reflecting the process of work ('writing/editing', 'management', 'follow/monitor', 'communication', 'organisation'[86], 'dossiers', 'welcome', 'tasks', 'production', 'research').



Legend:
Common TOP 30 keyword
Internship TOP 30 keyword
Work advert TOP 30 keyword

Figure 4.5: Network view of top 30 most frequent keywords in job descriptions for work and internships offers.
Source: network view in Atlas.ti 8.0, based on the Word Cruncher results.

The fourteen differing keywords are illustrating, for example, the differences in responsibility between the two labour forms – interns are 'helping' and 'participating, while employees have a 'function', they are 'responsible' and need to 'ensure' (*assurer*) that the 'coordination', 'collaboration' and 'development' takes place. Other words dominating the work adverts are more general ('association', 'work', 'life', 'Brussels', 'others', 'function',

[85] All words that do not overlap still appear in both lists, but they are just not as frequently used to be included in the top 30.
[86] 'Organisation' appears twice due to its double meaning: 'activity of organising' and cultural 'organisation'.

'framework…'[87]). For internships, the dominating theme of the top keywords is clearly related to the field of communication and promotion: 'promotion', 'press', 'distribution', 'social networks', 'web', 'update', 'contacts'. The second dominating aspect is the 'contacts' with 'artists' and work for 'festivals'. Figure 4.6 provides a summary of this semantical grouping of all keywords. Here it can be more clearly seen that internship adverts indicate more often tasks related to communication and promotion, while the work adverts mention the structure of the work opportunity. This grouping is a quite precise illustration of the keywords defining a production process of work where a certain input is transformed into output with the help of an organising structure. Clearly, the keywords are concentrating on describing different 'input' that is needed for generating output, as the analysed question was describing the function of the employee or intern.

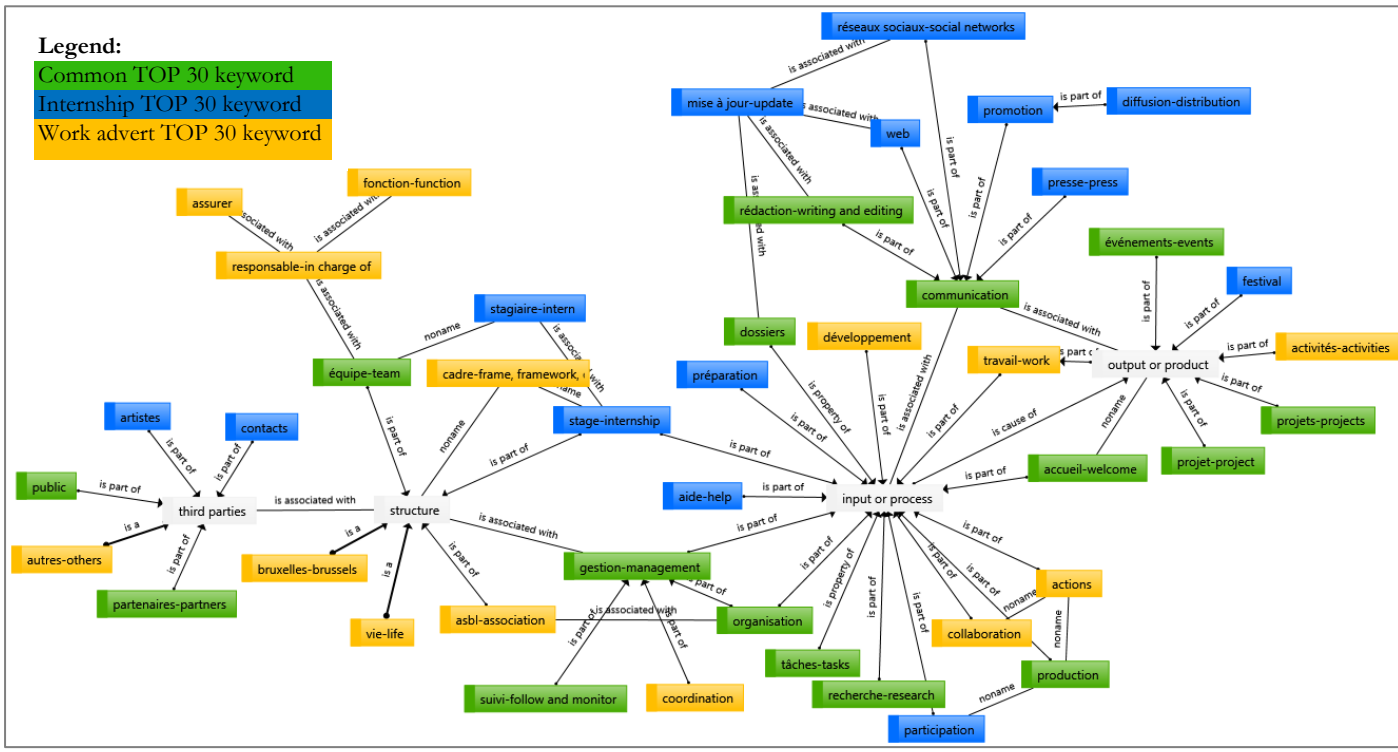


Figure 4.6 Semantical grouping of top keywords

To explore the importance of each of the mentioned keywords in more detail, two word clouds were created within Atlas.ti 8.0 (see Figure 4.7). The word clouds adds to the previous analysis. For both types of offer '*gestion*-management' and 'communication' stand out among the other keywords. However, the employee is invited to 'manage projects' ('*gestion*' and '*projects*'), while the intern communicates and 'monitors' the 'press' ('*suivi*' and '*presse*'). The word clouds

[87] 'Framework…' has three dots after it as it was very difficult to translate to English the original keyword '*cadre*'. The word '*cadre*' has multiple meanings, including framework, executive, frame. After short analysis of the data, it was estimated that in this context '*cadre*' was most often used as 'framework' or 'setting' (expression '*dans le cadre de…*' meaning 'in the framework of…').

confirm the importance of communication and promotion tasks within internships published in 2015. If previously it was stated that there are many keywords related to this, the word clouds emphasize this aspect.

Figure 4.7 Word clouds for description of role: internships (above) and work opportunities (below)

t was decided that further analysis of the relative importance[88] of the 14 keywords that differed was necessary to verify whether the 'missing' words were close or far away in the rankings. In other words, it was tested

weather the keyword 'festival' which was quite important for internships, had a similar importance for work adverts as well, but was excluded from the previous analysis as it was ranked the 31st. Figures 4.8 and 4.9 further compare the differences. The words 'intern' and 'internship' that were very popular for internship offers were excluded from this analysis, as they were too low in the rankings of work adverts (5184th and 5192nd place respectively), and they skewed too much the charts. Other keywords also were far less important in work adverts. These include 'festival' and the communication-related words 'social networks', 'web' and 'update'. Between the keywords from work adverts there was less of a difference. However, some words had low frequencies for internship offers. However, these words did not bring any additional or surprising meaning

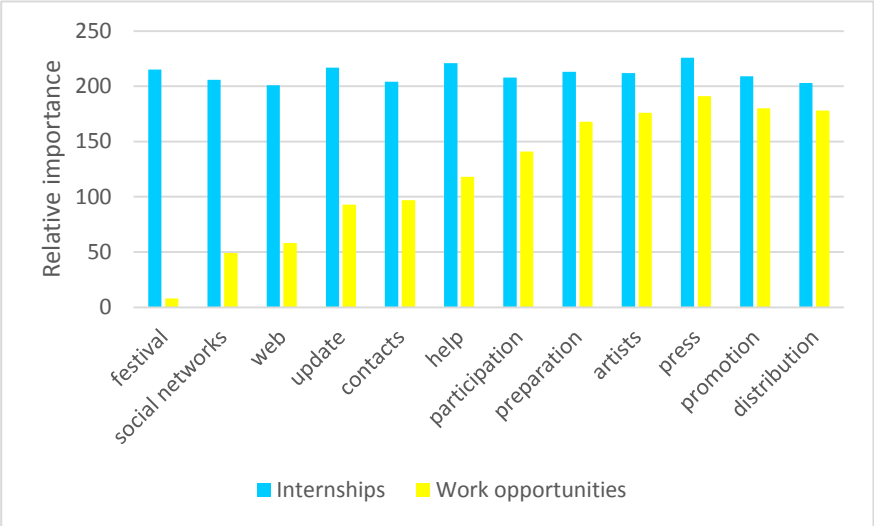


Figure 4.8 ***Relative importance for keywords frequent in internships***

[88] Relative importance means that the keywords have been first ranked according to frequencies of appearance. And then the ranking has been reversed by subtracting the rank of the keyword from an arbitrary number. In the case of internships the arbitrary number was 230, because the lowest rank among work advert keywords was for the keyword 'festival' which was initially ranked 222nd. For the top 30 keywords frequent in work adverts this number was 200, because the lowest corresponding rank among internship offer was for the keyword 'life' which was initially ranked 184th.

('life'[89], 'actions', 'association', 'framework…'), except for the keyword 'ensure' which confirms that employees have more of a responsibility and authority.

Another general observation from this analysis is that work adverts are generally much more detailed when it comes to job descriptions. Even though there were more internships advertisements (472) than job offers (433), job descriptions were written in far more detail[90] and using vocabulary with far bigger diversity[91]. This suggests that employers take more care and are more detailed when it comes to describing work adverts. It could also suggest that the content of the internships can still be defined, based on the applicant.

Figure 4.9 Relative importance for keywords frequent in work adverts

To sum up, in general the prevalent keywords of both types of advertisements illustrate well the production process within cultural institutions. This corresponds to the 'practice' and 'host organisation' key terms that define internships and 'output/product' key term for work. 'Income' as a key aspect of work is treated in different sections of the advertisement, as are some aspects of internships ('fixed duration'). However, none of the keywords linked to the educational purpose, supervision and learning content of internships appear in the top 30 keywords.

4.3.2. Proposition 3: when compared to employment, internships differ by having an emphasis on their learning content.

The results of the previous analysis of proposition 2 do not provide sufficient evidence for confirming proposition 3. None of the keywords linked to the educational purpose, supervision and learning content of internships appear in the top 30 keywords. When keywords

[89] It is rather odd to see the keyword "vie-life" being so popular but, as it was explained previously, it might be linked to the 24 job adverts that were published by "Vie Féminine"

[90] Total word count for the answer to the question 9 (job description) was 24198 for internships and 35338 for job offers.

[91] Word cruncher counted a total of 5418 different words for job offers and 3903 for internships (in the answers to the question 9 – job description).

related to the learning content ('supervisor', 'learn' etc.) are sought in the word list provided by the Word Cruncher tool in Atlas.ti 8.0, we find that none of these keywords are more often used in internship ads than job ads. 'Supervision' – the word most closely linked to learning content – is mentioned only 13 times in internship adverts and is in the 403rd position, while it is mentioned 21 times for job adverts and is ranked in the 355th place. Similarly, keywords describing learning are far down the list of most frequently used words. Words 'obtain' ('acquérir'), 'practical' ('pratiques'), 'knowledge' ('connaissances') are mentioned only a dozen times throughout internship adverts. Words 'obtain' ('acquérir') and 'practical' ('pratiques') are proportionally less commonly used in job adverts yet the difference is not significant. Thus, we can conclude that not enough evidence was found about the learning content and/or supervision of internships.

4.3.3. Proposition 5: as 'open market' internships by definition are not supervised by an educational institution, nor the government, their content will be closer to the content of an actual work opportunity.

The results of our analysis did not provide sufficient evidence to confirm the proposition 5. There are some similarities between open market internships and job opportunities, yet, compared to the previous analysis, the number of common words in the top 28[92] instead of increasing actually decreased to half (14). Figure 4.10 shows the common and distinct words. The list of common key words changed only slightly – twelve words remained the same, 4 words were excluded ('project', 'welcome', 'production', 'public') and two new words were common ('development', 'others').

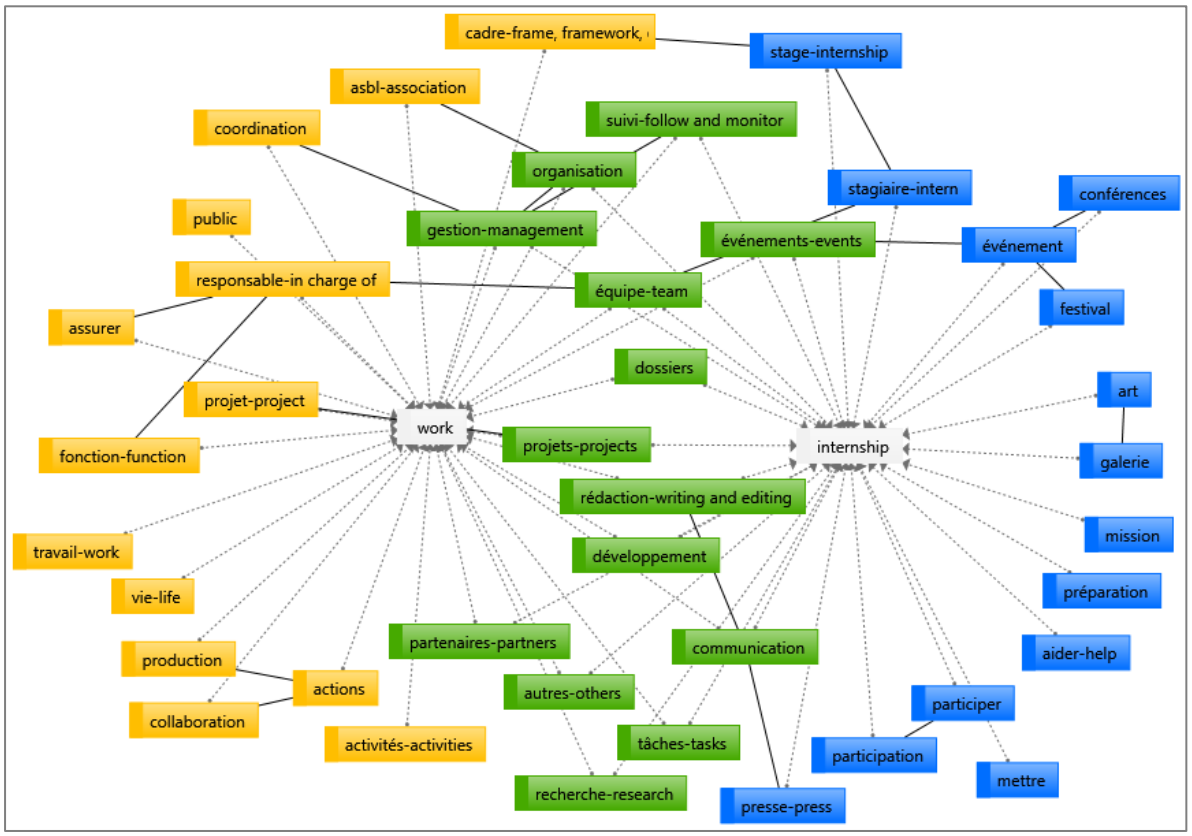


Figure 4.10: Network view of top 28 most frequent keywords in job descriptions of work and open market internship opportuniti
Source: network view in Atlas.ti 8.0, based on the Word Cruncher results.

Legend:
Common TOP 28 keyword
Internship TOP 28 keyword
Work advert TOP 28

The major changes were found among the top keywords found in adverts for open market internships as compared to the whole internship population – half of the keywords changed. Communication and promotion tasks were not as prevalent in open market internship

[92] For this analysis, top 28 was used, because for open market internships top 30 would consist of 33 words, as 5 words had the same frequency.

descriptions, with only 'press' remaining as a commonly used keyword (excluded keywords: 'social networks', 'web', 'update' and 'diffusion', 'promotion'). Another two excluded keywords were 'artists' and 'contacts'. Replacing the excluded words, the new words add more information about the field of these internships. Indeed, three of the new words ('conferences', 'art' and 'gallery') indicate the fields in which open market internships are more popular. The other additional keywords ('*participer*-participate', '*événement*-event', 'mission' and '*mettre*-to put') do not add new information, as they fit well into the 'cultural organisation production process', as mentioned before.

Figure 4.11 Atlas.ti 8.0 Word clouds for job descriptions: work adverts (above) and open market internships (below)

When frequency of appearance of these key terms is visualised in word clouds, we can see that 'communication' remains the dominant keyword for open market internships. The second most common keyword is 'management' ('*gestion*'), followed by 'follow-up' ('*suivi*') and 'organisation'. Therefore, we cannot confidently say that in the Belgian French speaking cultural organisations there is a significant difference between 'open market' and other internships, at least with regards to their job descriptions.

Similarly, no significant differences arise from analysing the keywords with the biggest difference in frequencies. For internships in general the keywords 'life', 'ensure' and 'actions' were some of the least important. Within job adverts, the least significant terms were 'festival', 'social networks' and 'update'; whilst but for open market internships the main outsiders were once again related to certain themes - 'conferences, 'gallery', 'to help' and 'event'.

Nevertheless, it raises the question how many of the internships proposed by art galleries were open market. Comparing data from *Atlas.ti* and from Excel database (data used for proposition 1), it was found that 22% (13 out of 64) of internships proposed by art galleries are 'open market' internships. As this is only slightly above the 20%, we cannot conclude that art galleries aim to recruit 'open market' interns more than other fields. Therefore, the presence of the keywords 'gallery' and 'art' are due to other reasons.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Summary of the main conclusions of the thesis

The internship phenomenon has become almost indisputable and its increasing importance seems irreversible. While the main criticism from the general society concerns low or lack of payment for this form of 'training', many other aspects of equal if not higher importance are omitted. Therefore, the main purpose of the thesis has been to inform various stakeholders about the complex role of internships, especially as a significant element within the labour market. The second aim has been to empirically test to what extent in the current Belgian French speaking cultural labour market internships are similar to regular jobs. Third, the possibilities of processing big amounts of quantitative and qualitative data of a whole population were tested, combining *Atlas.ti 8.0* with more classical statistical analyses in Microsoft Excel and SPSS. This last chapter will summarize the most important conclusions concerning all three aspects of the research.

The internship phenomenon can be thoroughly understood only if the perspectives of all stakeholders are considered. This thesis discussed the issue from three main angles – the educational, the school-to-work transition and the labour market perspectives.

First, it has been acknowledged that internships are rooted in the education system, and universities play a crucial role in sustaining and increasing the supply of intern workforce. However, this research highlights the limited authority of the educational institution and the lack of clarity about the learning content of internships. This questions whether internships are the best form of experiential learning if considered purely from the educational perspective. Yet it is currently "the most common form of experiential education" (Beckman, 2007) and is often accepted, only questioning how to organise, supervise and evaluate internships, but not questioning whether a different learning tool might be more appropriate for achieving the learning goals (Benavides et al., 2013; Cuyler & Hodges, 2015b). There might be other, more efficient strategies for achieving the limited educational goals within internships – researchers cite other beneficial forms of work-based learning, including clubs and extracurricular activities, school-based enterprise, visits to workplaces, open-ended group projects ('community of practice approach'), and social learning communities (Bailey et al., 2004; Hadley, 2011; Massi et al., 2016). Unfortunately, no research seems to treat the issue of how internships compare to these other forms.

Universities encourage internships to build the "employability" of their students in order to counter the criticism that students lack preparation for the labour market. Judging from youth

unemployment statistics, the growing intern labour market might have already outgrown the capacity of the general labour market to absorb the "employable" young people. Yet if a student after six months of an internship(s) is incapable of finding a "real" job because of the lack of opportunities within the cultural labour market, the main achievement of the internship programme is the decrease in the university's responsibility. However, with or without an internship, the underlying problem is most likely the oversupply of workers in such attractive fields as culture. Therefore, in highly competitive fields, internship programmes do not solve the problem, it shifts the problem to a later stage (after internship). Meanwhile, young people lose their valuable time and money in dead end career paths, which is especially tough if the skills they gain in return are either non-existent or non-transferable to a different working field.

This second 'school-to-work' focus has highlighted that for interns the rationale behind doing internships is related to *résumé* building in order to enhance future career prospects. However, these 'aspirational labourers' seem to lack important information to guide their choice. The abundance of internship adverts might even misguide students in believing that 'real jobs' are also accessible in the field. Useful information that organisations could provide includes, for example, the percentage of former interns who were offered a work position at the end of their internship. Alternatively, in the internship advert organisations could be required to clearly state their intention to recruit (or not) the intern after a successful internship. An honest indication that the organisation is not planning to recruit any new personnel soon, but that a successful intern will have the first hand in case there is an unforeseen opening up to 6 months after the end of the internship could also be helpful. These requirements are quite unrealistic to implement, especially in such a competitive labour market as culture. However, they might be stipulated for internships that surpass a certain number of working hours (e.g. 3 months full-time or 6 months half-time internships).

Third, the labour market perspective has given the most valuable insights through innovative research design enabling the use of aggregate data. Throughout this paper, it is argued that internships should be analysed from the perspective of the labour market, in which the 'intern economy' is playing an increasingly important role. If internships are considered to be part of the labour market, theories from this field can be applied to critically review existing assumptions about internships. To illustrate, findings of this paper about flexible employment has shed some light on somewhat naïve assumptions concerning the willingness of employers to provide 'learning content' during internships. Yet the theory regarding flexible employment suggests that, on the contrary, employers are reluctant to invest in training short term employees. Furthermore, in case of unpaid internships, employers might be even less motivated to make

sure that interns are doing valuable tasks for the organisation, because there is no financial investment from the employer and thus the motivation to seek returns on investment is low.

The answer to the research question is not straightforward, as expected. Internships clearly represent an important workforce for Belgian French-speaking cultural organisations, as in 2015 close to half (46%) of adverts concerned interns and only 42% related to actual jobd, while 12% were left for volunteers. Furthermore, there seems to be an important trend of relying on intern workforce for communication and promotion related tasks. However, the situation is not homogenous throughout the cultural sector. Indeed, art galleries which proportionally dominate the other sectors by offering many more internship opportunities and few job offers, so to some extent they appear to significantly rely on the intern labour.

Interestingly, active labour market internships do not seem to exist in culture. We could not find evidence for existence of clear 'active labour market policy' internships. As it was supposed in Chapter 2.1.2.2., this arrangement might be more popular in other sectors. In culture, 'active labour market policy' contracts actually seem to be more popular as employment contracts, including such arrangements as "*Rosetta*" or Programme of Professional Insertion (PTP - *Programme de Transition Professionnelle*) mentioned in the discussion of proposition 7.

5.2. Limitations

It is certain that some of all job and internship opportunities within French speaking cultural organisations in Belgium have not been published on www.culture.be, however it is difficult to evaluate the size of this hidden part. It is generally known that a part of the labour market is "hidden" to the general public as only people within the organisation and their contacts can access these offers (Hansen, 2013). With regards to internships, hidden offers might be even more common, especially in case of an active partnerships between a university and cultural organisations, as well as for active students who send out speculative applications. Prominent institutions such as the fine arts centre "Bozar"[93] and the opera theatre "*La Monnaie*"[94], have dedicated a special section of their webpage to speculative intern applications, which might explain why both institutions had few or no internship offers appearing on the website. Informal feedback[95] from students of Cultural Management programme at the Free University of Brussels

[93] Section of the webpage of the fine arts centre "Bozar" for speculative internship requests: http://www.bozar.be/fr/static-pages/118641-emplois-stages-benevolat

[94] Section of the webpage of the opera theatre "*La Monnaie*" for speculative internship requests: https://www.lamonnaie.be/fr/static-pages/199-stages

[95] On 3 June, an informal poll was published on the Facebook page of the study programme. Out of 33 respondents who could choose multiple answers, 26 indicated the website www.culture.be, 22 chose spontaneous applications, 13

(*Université libre de Bruxelles*) indicated that the Wallonia-Brussels Federation's website is the most popular, even though many students send out spontaneous applications as well.

5.3. Dissemination and policy relevance

As the understanding of internships often lacks nuance and important considerations (Siebert & Wilson, 2016), the findings might be especially relevant for policies related to youth employment, quality framework of internships or social exclusion. It has to be noted that the cultural labour market is different from other sectors; he discussion about the characteristics of internships in cultural organisations might greatly differ from internships in other sectors. Furthermore, the labour market targeted in this paper represents probably a small percentage of the global labour market. For example, the Danish creative labour market is estimated to be around 1.2%[96] of the labour force (Bille, 2008). Comparing Eurobarometer data on Belgium and the data of this thesis, it seems that the conditions for internships in cultural organisations could be estimated to be worse than average (lower percent of paid internships; longer average internship duration). However, the legislation limiting the payment of internships applies to all internships, and anecdotal evidence collected by Brussels Interns NGO (*B!ngo*)[97] suggests that the struggles with unpaid internships might be even more prevalent in the 'European bubble'. However, the recent shift in the general labour market makes these differences less important, and for particular sectors like academia, some researchers have already pointed out the similarities with cultural careers (e.g. Gill, 2014).

What could be the way forward? In the cultural labour market where internships are the norm, it would be to suggest that people don't do internships. However, organisations and the labour market should be more honest about the state of affairs within the domain and it should not be allowed to swap full-time interns every 6 months to fill out positions. The Government has clearly a responsibility to ensure optimal legislation for sustainable internships. As Barbieri et al. (2016) mentioned, there is a clear relationship between the satisfaction of the internship and the legislation of the country. Before any changes in legislation, it would be important to start systematically collecting data about internships. As we have seen that 'open market' internships represent an important proportion of all internships in Belgium, this data should be collected directly from all host organisations.

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mentioned university as the source of internship adverts (4 had mentioned all three responses), and two students had agreed to an extra added option – suggestions from family and friends.

[96] The further division is the following: 36% of creative labour force actually has jobs with creative content, 41% is humdrum tasks, and for 23% the nature of tasks is unknown (Bille, 2008).

[97] The website of the initiative: https://www.bingo-brussels.eu

Secondly, the collected data could inform the government of the need for some soft regulations. The Cherpion Law (Law n° 2011-893 of 28 July 2011) from neighbouring France might be an inspiring example, including the obligation to keep a "trainee register" and to have a waiting time in between two trainees who take on the same role (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2012). There should also be a legal minimum proportion between the number of interns and the number of employees.

Some mention that the lack of payment is an important problem, while others emphasize the lack of quality. However, one of the other aspects that is rarely discussed is the optimal length of internships. We have seen the suggestion by Frenette (2013) that longer internships allow the intern to gain more valuable tasks. However, the risk is that the result of increasing lengths of internships would be to reduce the number of short term contracts.

All in all, considering the data presented in this thesis, it would be preferable that educational programmes that are intended for unregulated professions would not oblige students to go through an internship. It could be strongly encouraged and students should be assisted and guided in the process, but long-term internships should not have to be a part of the compulsory degree program. In addition, the government could support universities by funding the research, development and implementing of coherent and complex employability building strategies going beyond giving credits to internship. In an economy emphasizing creativeness, students from more creative disciplines could be trained to be the leaders and not the victims of the new economy.

5.4. Future research

This subject presents many possibilities for future research. One such worthy topic is the evaluation of the relationship between the intern labour market and the volunteer labour market. Cultural organisations have a long history of using the help of unpaid labour in the form of volunteers. However, this help is mostly punctual or at least does not usually represent a full working week, which is the case for more than 60% of internships in the Belgian French speaking community. One can imagine that the availability of unpaid, long-term and qualified workers (interns) would dissuade employers from seeking many different volunteers that might be ready to do the same tasks but in a different regime. The relationship between the two forms is also interesting, considering the campaign "Just Pay!"[98] (Chapter 2.2.3.2.) of the Brussels Interns NGO where, when confronted with their illegal practice of proposing an internship for graduates without pay, organisations changed the label to 'volunteership' without adjusting their

[98] The website of the campaign: www.justpay.be

behaviour. It would be interesting to see whether employers have changed their recruitment strategies and nowadays employ less volunteers, as they have a more permanent, qualified and trustworthy option – the interns.

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Appendix I

Internship arrangements in Brussels and Wallonia (FWB)

		Remuneration	Duration	Age	Requirements for intern	Contract
For students	Student internship (*Les stages pour les étudiants de l'Enseignement Supérieur*)	No	Fixed by the higher education institution (HEI)	Not limited	Student (university/ other HEI)	Fixed by the HEI
	Vocational secondary education (*Les stages pour les élèves de l'Enseignement Secondaire Technique et Professionnel*)	Unclear	From 1 to 6 weeks	Unclear	Student (vocational education)	Unclear
	Vocational tertiary eduction (*Les stages pour les élèves de l'Enseignement en Alternance*)	Yes, the rate unclear	Throughout studies: 1-3 years, 2 days a week	15-25 years old	Student (vocational education)	Yes
	For foreigners (*Les stages pour ressortissants étrangers*)	Unclear	From 3 to 12 months	Not limited	Student with social insurance in home country	Between the employer and student, could be the home HEI involved
For job seekers	Professional transition training (*Stage de transition professionelle*)	200 eur/month from employer + 26,82 eur/day internship allowance from National Employment Office (ONEM)	From 3 to 6 months	Up to 30 years old	Job seeker in Wallonia, receiving unemployment benefits for minimum 6/12/24 months, education up to secondary school diploma	Yes, official contract with the intern, the employer and *Le Forem*

		Remuneration	Duration	Age	Requirements for intern	Contract
	Individual professional training (*'Formation Professionnelle Individuelle en entreprise*' in Brussels)/ *'Plan formation insertion*' in Wallonia)	Unemployment benefits or Training allowance	4 - 26 weeks (up to 52 weeks if intern is younger than 25 and has not a secondary education diploma)	Not limited	Registered job seeker	Two-fold contract: a period of training, followed by a (minimum) temporary contract of the same length
	Professional Immersion Convention (*Convention d'immersion professionnelle*)	Based on age: from 615,80€ (18 years old) to 751€ (21 years old and more	Up to 6 months	Not limited	Registered job seeker, in Brussels only	Yes, the contract and the provided training must be approved by *Bruxelles Formation*
Unofficial	Student job	Minimum official salary rates, symbolic social security charges	Up to 50 days a year	No	Student (secondary education/ vocational training/ university/ other HEI..)	Yes
	Volunteership (*Volontariat*)	Maximum of 32,71€/day and 1308,38€/year	Unlimited	From 16 years old	No	Voluntary agreement is not compulsory

Source list:

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Appendix II

Questionnaire for cultural organisations on the website of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation (FWB)

Source : website of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation (FWB)
http://www.culture.be/index.php?id=emploi_stage

STEP 1: choosing between job offer (*offre d'emploi*), internship (*offre de stage*) and volunteering (*offre de bénévolat*)

STEP 2 : filling out the questionnaire

1. Nom de l'organisme employeur* :
2. Secteur(s) d'activité(s)* :
   1) ☐ Education permanente
   2) ☐ Jeunesse
   3) ☐ Centre culturel
   4) ☐ Théâtre
   5) ☐ Musique
   6) ☐ Danse
   7) ☐ Arts plastiques
   8) ☐ Audiovisuel
   9) ☐ Centre d'Expression et de Créativité (CEC)
   10) ☐ Patrimoine

Legend:

identical text for all offers
unique for job offers
unique for internship and volunteering offers
unique for internship offers
answers were not available in the received database

11) ☐ Musée

12) ☐ Bibliothèque

13) ☐ Maison d'édition et librairie

14) ☑ Autre

Précisez le secteur d'activité : :

3. Décrivez la nature des activités de l'organisme* :
4. Siège social

   Rue* :

   Localité* :

   Code postal* :
5. Site web : http://
6. Commission paritaire[99] :
7. Nombre de travailleurs employés (équivalent temps plein) :
8. Intitulé du poste à pourvoir* :
9. Description du poste * :
10. Profil recherché / Qualifications requises* :
11. Diplômes / brevets requis* : Diplômes requis et/ou études en cours* :
12. Expériences professionnelles éventuelles* :
13. Lieu effectif des prestations

    Rue* :

    Localité* :

    Code postal* :

[99] CP 329 Commission paritaire pour le secteur socio-culturel.
SCP 329.01 Sous-commission paritaire pour le secteur socio-culturel de la Communauté flamande.
SCP 329.02 Sous-commission paritaire pour le secteur socio-culturel de la Communauté française et germanophone et de la Région wallonne.
SCP 329.03 Sous-commission paritaire pour les organisations socio-culturelles fédérales et bicommunautaires.

14. Type de contrat* :
    - ☐ CDD
    - ☐ CDI
    - ☐ Contrat de remplacement
    - ☐ PTP
    - ☐ APE
    - ☐ Artiste
    - ☐ Autre

    Commentaire(s) relatif(s) au contrat :

15. Stage rémunéré* : ◉ Non ○ Oui

    Commentaire(s) éventuel(s) relatif(s) au stage/ bénévolat proposé :

    Début de stage/ bénévolat * :

    Fin de stage/ bénévolat * :

16. Régime proposé* :
    - ◉ Temps plein
    - ○ Mi-temps
    - ○ Quart-temps
    - ○ Autre

    Commentaire(s) éventuel(s) :

17. Modalités de recrutement :

18. Commentaires éventuels relatifs au poste/ stage/ bénévolat proposé :

19. Date limite de rentrée des candidatures* :

20. Documents requis pour la candidature (CV, attestations, projets, permis de conduire, ...)* :

21. Coordonnées de la personne à qui adresser la candidature

    Nom* :

    Rue* :

    Localité* :

    Code postal* :

    Courriel* :

22. Coordonnées de la personne auprès de laquelle le candidat peut obtenir des informations complémentaires

    Nom :

Rue :
Localité :
Code postal :
Téléphone :
Courriel :

ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

Legend:

identical text for all offers
unique for job offers
unique for internship and volunteering offers
unique for internship offers

1. Name of the employing organisation* :
2. Activity sector(s)* :
   1) ☐ Permanent education
   2) ☐ Youth
   3) ☐ Cultural centre
   4) ☐ Theatre
   5) ☐ Music
   6) ☐ Dance
   7) ☐ Visual arts
   8) ☐ Audio-visual
   9) ☐ Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)
   10) ☐ Heritage
   11) ☐ Museum
   12) ☐ Library
   13) ☐ Publishing house and bookshop
   14) ☑ Other

   Specify the activity sector :
3. Describe the nature of the activities of the organisation* :
4. Headquarters

   Street* :
   Municipality* :
   Postal code* :
5. Website : http://
6. Joint ("parity") committee:
7. Number of workers employed (full time equivalent):

8. Title of the vacancy* :
9. Job description * :
10. Profile of the candidate / Required qualifications* :
11. Required diplomas / certification* : Required diplomas and/or current studies* :
12. Eventual Professional experiences* :
13. Work place
    Street* :
    Municipality* :
    Postal code* :
14. Type of contract* :
    - fixed-term contract
    - permanent employment contract
    - replacement contract
    - programme of professional insertion (PTP - Programme de Transition Professionnelle)
    - employment-promotion assistance (APE - Aide à la Promotion de l'Emploi)[100]
    - Artist
    - Other

    Comments concerning the contract :
15. Paid internship* : No Yes
    Eventual comments concerning the internship/ volunteering opportunity proposed:
    Beginning of the internship/volunteering * :
    End of the internship/volunteering * :
16. Proposed form of employment* :
    - Full time

[100] Contract subsidised by the government.

- Half-time
- 1/4-time
- Other

Eventual comments :

17. Recruitment procedure :
18. Eventual comments concerning the vacancy/ internship/ volunteering opportunity proposed :
19. Deadline for application* :
20. Required documents for the application (CV, attestations, projects, drivers licence, ...)* :
21. Contact details of the person to address your application to

    Name* :

    Street* :

    Municipality * :

    Postal code* :

    E-mail* :
22. Contact details of the person who can provide more information to the candidate

    Name :

    Street :

    Municipality :

    Postal code:

    Telephone :

    E-mail:

Appendix III

Summary of edited keywords from the answers to the question 9: "job description"

Words accidentally written together within question 9 of 472 internship advertisements		
Word	**Length**	**Number of cases**
fournisseursadministration	26	3
sponsoringcommunication	23	1
culturellepartenariats	22	1
librairiecollaboration	22	1
épreuvesparticipation	21	1
partenariatsrelecture	21	1
sociauxenrichissement	21	1
communicationgestion	20	3
publiqueorganisation	20	1
internationalesaide	19	3
directricerecevoir	18	1
récurrentsrentrée	17	1
expositionsaider	16	1
polyvalent-epour	16	1
marketingtâches	15	1
vernissagesêtre	15	1
logistiqueaide	14	1
ownerstratégie	14	1
produitanalyse	14	1
projetremonter	14	1
collectegérer	13	1
promotionmise	13	1

Words accidentally written together within question 9 of 433 job advertisements		
Word	**Length**	**Number of cases**
supervisionopérationnelle	25	1
partenairespréparation	22	1
pianoguitarechantéveil	22	1
externeparticipation	20	1
événementsorganisés	19	1
stratégiquesvous	16	1
transversauxvous	16	2
caissesinformer	15	1
départementvous	15	1
developmentvous	15	1
financementvous	15	1
nécessaireenfin	15	1
rendez-vousvous	15	1
uncollaborateur	15	1
beaux-artsvous	14	1
billetsgestion	14	1
formationsvous	14	2
musicalthéâtre	14	1
secteurgestion	14	1
beaux-artsles	13	1
européensuivi	13	1
ocollationner	13	1
pressegestion	13	1
relationsvous	13	1

Source: Database of Wallonia-Brussels Federation, using Atlas.ti 8.0 Word Cruncher's function to Export data to MS Excel.

Appendix IV

Full results (before grouping) for proposition 1: interns are evenly recruited by organisations of all sectors of culture

SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF ADVERTS BY SECTOR - BEFORE CODING[101]

	internships		jobs		TOTAL	
Audio-visual	56	15%	17	5%	73	10%
Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)	0	0%	2	1%	2	0%
Cultural centre	42	11%	78	22%	120	16%
Dance	4	1%	6	2%	10	1%
Heritage	30	8%	12	3%	42	6%
Library	0	0%	6	2%	6	1%
Museum	12	3%	7	2%	19	3%
Music	36	9%	15	4%	51	7%
Other	55	14%	62	18%	117	16%
Permanent education	8	2%	49	14%	57	8%
Publishing house and bookshop	18	5%	20	6%	38	5%
Theatre	32	8%	23	7%	55	7%
Visual arts	84	22%	19	5%	103	14%
Youth	7	2%	36	10%	43	6%
TOTAL	384	100%	352	100%	736	100%
Number of total adverts	(472)	81%	(433)	81%	(905)	81%

LEGEND:

0-2% difference	no change	
3-5% difference	Job offers dominate	Internship offers dominate
6-8% difference	Job offers dominate	Internship offers dominate
9% and more	Job offers dominate	Internship offers dominate

SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF ADVERTS BY SECTOR - AFTER CODING ALL ADVERTS

	internships	%	jobs	%	TOTAL	%
Audio-visual	58	12%	20	5%	78	9%
Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)	1	0%	11	3%	12	1%
Cultural centre	47	10%	85	20%	132	15%
Dance	9	2%	6	1%	15	2%
Heritage	38	8%	15	3%	53	6%
Library	0	0%	6	1%	6	1%
Museum	14	3%	7	2%	21	2%
Music	43	9%	21	5%	64	7%
Other	55	12%	64	15%	119	13%

[101] The count for each section include adverts that mention only the sector and adverts that mention both the sector and "other": e.g., "audio-visual" and "audio-visual, other".

Permanent education	10	2%	55	13%	65	7%
Publishing house and bookshop	22	5%	22	5%	44	5%
Theatre	33	7%	26	6%	59	7%
Visual arts	93	20%	26	6%	119	13%
Youth	10	2%	45	10%	55	6%
extra: interdisciplinary	19	4%	12	3%	31	3%
extra: performing arts	20	4%	12	3%	32	4%
TOTAL	472	100%	433	100%	905	100%

COMPARING SECTOR SPECIFICS – BEFORE AND AFTER EXTRA CODING	
BEFORE EXTRA CODING	**AFTER CODING ALL ADVERTS**
Audio-visual	Audio-visual
Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)	Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)
Cultural centre	Cultural centre
Dance	Dance
Heritage	Heritage
Library	Library
Museum	Museum
Music	Music
Other	Other
Permanent education	Permanent education
Publishing house and bookshop	Publishing house and bookshop
Theatre	Theatre
Visual arts	Visual arts
Youth	Youth
n/a	extra: interdisciplinary
n/a	extra: performing arts

ORIGINAL GROUPS	**MERGED GROUPS**
Audio-visual	Audio-visual
Centre of Expression and Creativity (CEC)	Interdisciplinary
Cultural centre	Interdisciplinary
Dance	Performing arts
Heritage	Heritage
Library	Literature
Museum	Heritage
Music	Performing arts
Other	Other
Permanent education	Youth & education
Publishing house and bookshop	Literature
Theatre	Performing arts
Visual arts	Visual arts

Youth	Youth & education
(more than one performing art mentioned)	Interdisciplinary
(performing art and a visual art mentioned)	Performing arts

SUMMARY FOR MERGED GROUPS

	internship, count	internship, %	job, count	job, %	total, count	total, %
Youth & education	20	4%	100	23%	120	13%
literature	22	5%	28	6%	50	6%
performing arts	105	22%	65	15%	170	19%
visual arts	93	20%	26	6%	119	13%
audio-visual arts	58	12%	20	5%	78	9%
heritage	52	11%	22	5%	74	8%
interdisciplinary	67	14%	108	25%	175	19%
other	55	12%	64	15%	119	13%
TOTAL	472	100%	433	100%	905	100%