

me and I ensured them of their privacy during these conversations. I recorded field notes while on site and immediately made reflective entries after every placement day, interview or other relevant communication (EC no.3). I wrote rich accounts of events in my field notes to provide details on sayings and doings, body language, facial expressions, relationships and exchanges, and spatial and temporal conditions (EC no.1). At the back of the field note book, I kept an audit trail recording dates, times, locations, collection of any workplace or learning artefacts and times of photographs taken. I also kept a separate book with dated entries on theoretical or conceptual ideas as they emerged so that the origin and development of key ideas could be traced, or audited (EC no.6). This book is messy, diagrammatic, and textual, uses bullet points and figures, raises questions, and points to any dissonance experienced.

The analysis stage began during field work and continued after the field work had concluded. At particular points throughout the day and given the appropriate timing, I discussed my observations with the intern (EC no.5). Occasionally, this came at their request. For instance at Seabreeze Hotel, where lunch is shared and served in a canteen, I sat with Anna or Ben and begin conversations with “I noticed that you were asking your supervisor about X earlier this morning, what did you mean when you said...” for example. This approach to member checking was repeated during interviews. I used my field notes to clarify meaning or descriptions of events and recorded intern’s agreements or disputes (EC no.5). Member checking was also used to verify the authenticity of meanings in preliminary research findings. These were conducted through email or over coffee, always with minor, if any, changes.

In the course of analysis and writing up findings, thick descriptions were used to unpack what each intern did over their sixteen days of placement (EC no.1). These thick descriptions were useful to gather a complete picture of learning practices and recognise the heterogeneity and draw up the materiality in informal learning in WIL. The analysis of data was considered a process that evolved and included me challenging my assumptions and alignment of my ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions. Iterative readings of data and other notes assisted in confirming or questioning my position and presuppositions (EC no.7). In sum, these

steps were taken to ensure this study followed transparent and ethical guidelines, and appropriate protocols for performing trustworthy research practices.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods, participants, organisational sites, processes, and stages of analysis of the research. The following chapter describes the chronological WIL experiences of Anna, Ben, and Carrie. These case studies provide social, contextual, and material details through which the findings can be better understood. Later in Chapter 5, I discuss the findings and explore the dialectical relationship between the research findings, theoretical framework and insights from the literature.

CHAPTER 4:

ANNA, BEN, & CARRIE



THREE WORK-INTEGRATED LEARNING CASES

CHAPTER 4: ANNA, BEN, & CARRIE

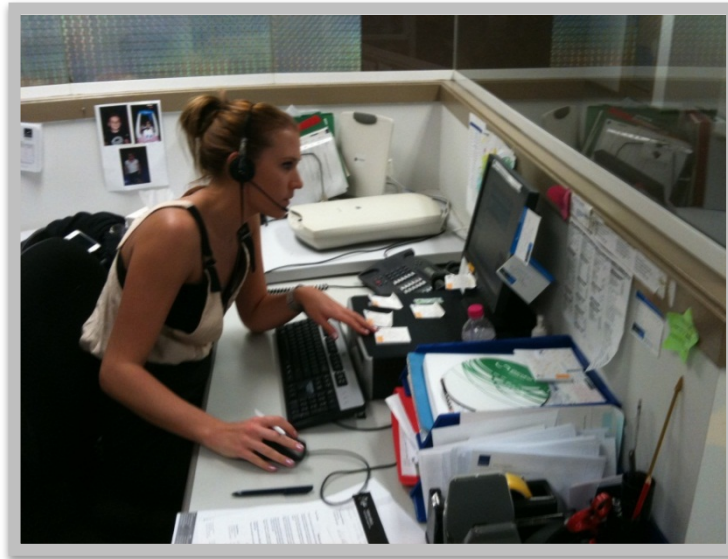
Humans are constituted through relations of materiality — bodies, clothes, food, devices, tools, which, in turn, are produced through human practices. The distinction of humans and artifacts, on this view, is analytical only; these entities relationally entail or enact each other in practice (Orlikowski, 2007, pp. 1438-1439).

Chapter 3 presented the ethnographic methodology that affords insight directly into practices being performed - as they are performed - in the workplace. This chapter outlines the placement experiences of three interns, Anna, Ben, and Carrie. Their stories are written through a combination of intern's reflective logs and assessments, my observations, field notes, reflexive writing, interviewing, and informal conversations, to offer a thick description of what interns do on placement to learn work practices and to point to what might be producing or constricting such learning.

The cases are presented chronologically through three phases: pre-placement, placement and post-placement. The purpose of presenting the cases this way is to compare and contrast what is (and is not) being said, practised, reported, or observed at multiple points. Each case is, therefore, a conversation amongst diverse factors, responding to questions such as: What do interns say they expect to learn and how does this connect with what they do? What are interns doing that remains tacit or unarticulated? What do supervisors say interns are learning on placement and how does this resonate with the way they set-up placement tasks? What social, contextual, or material factors are producing or constricting informal learning on placement?

I write the stories in first person and reflect on my first encounter getting to know one another, inescapably placing myself as the researcher alongside and within the cases. These stories have been reciprocally reviewed and discussed with participants. A complete list of notations used for these references is offered in Appendix A, Table 9.

Case 1: Anna



Photograph 3: Anna doing WIL

Before placement

I am first introduced to Anna at the group internship orientation for Seabreeze Hotel. At the start of semester, Mia, the HR manager, conducts a group orientation to induct all new interns into the policies and expectations of the hotel. This semester (Spring 2011) Mia is inducting twelve students across eight hotel properties. I describe the anticipation in the room as we wait for the group orientation to begin:

I watch in the foyer as each student arrives. With hands in pockets or busied with smart phones, they eventually find each other and form a small circle waiting for instruction. They happen to wear a similar dress code: black stockings, flat ballet shoes, black skirt, and jacket for girls; and, black pants with a collared shirt for guys. They make small-talk and converse about what major they are studying and what property they've been assigned. Helen, the CIP coordinator, arrives, exchanges smiles, and leads them upstairs to the meeting room. They chatter and speculate about graduate opportunities (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.1).

We are taken to a room typically used for formal events or conferences that boasts wide sea views. It has three round tables set-up with lollies, water, and hotel branded writing material. Jessica, the HR coordinator, is standing at the front of the room and encourages them in conversation: "What do you know about (the organisation)/your

property? Who is excited?! (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.2). The room is silent. Feet are shuffling. Jessica, noticing the silence and slight rise of anxiety, attempts to create a welcoming environment through encouraging statements: "... there was such a high calibre of students and some didn't get selected" (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.2). Mia arrives and takes control. She opens with an explanation:

We select students for all hotel properties... It is important that you talk to each other and to me... this is a business environment so grooming standards must be adhered to (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.2).

A male student enquires into the suitability of what he is currently wearing. Mia replies it would be fine with the addition of a tie. Mia goes on to talk about confidentiality, the company, and their staff. She asks for questions and the students are quiet. She goes on: "You will be treated as staff. Be prompt, tell your supervisors of any appointments and adhere to workplace rules" (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.2). The students sit through a video designed for inducting new staff to the Hotel. Slides are shown on internal employment opportunities, the grievance policy, grooming, and company values. This presentation goes for about 20 minutes.

Mia finishes the presentation by enticing students with the multiple opportunities internships present to opening up career pathways. She shares stories of previous CIP interns who have gained employment. The group remains quiet while she persists in asking if they have any questions. She concludes:

...enjoy yourself, learn off the people around you, you only have one opportunity to make the most of it. If it's not meeting your expectations then contact me directly (FN_A, 27/07/11, p.3).

The group is encouraged to stay a little longer, mingle, and step outside the room where afternoon tea is offered. Eight students stay around, form little groups, and barely touch the beautifully arranged brownies and coffee on the side table. Jessica gives tips such as 'ask questions' and 'show initiative' and shares positive stories of past successful students.

It is here that Mia introduces me to Anna for the first time. Anna is the only intern not wearing office-like clothes. Instead she is wearing loose black pants and a t-shirt,

and apologises for her appearance. I find out that she has come straight from work at a café. We agree to meet again over coffee the next day to go through what is required for my research and so we can get to know one another.

At coffee, I learn that Anna has recently completed a summer internship with one of the region's largest employers. She tells me that initially she applied for CIP to build on her knowledge and skills in her field of HR. Since applying for the program, however, she has been offered a graduate position, a two-year contract at a large multi-national organisation. She explains how she was actually successful in two graduate opportunities and selected the position that was closest to home.

She describes the job offer at the end of session as a massive weight off her shoulders. She explains that she will continue to do CIP for two reasons: first, because it will make a good addition to her resume, and second, because she needs the subject credit points to graduate. She describes the CIP selection process as 'pretty straight forward' and a 'piece of cake' (FN_A, 28/07/11, p.2) compared to other graduate recruitment processes.

Being Anna's last semester before graduation, she has three other third-year HR subjects to complete alongside CIP. In addition, this semester she will continue working in two casual jobs in hospitality. She tells me that CIP is important for students studying HR:

...because unlike other disciplines where work-experience is compulsory, in HR you have to do things to seek it yourself, show initiative and stand out from the crowd (FN_A, 28/07/11, p.2).

After our coffee meeting the following day, I ponder how she might juggle all her commitments this semester.

Prior to placement beginning Anna submits her first assessment for the internship program. The purpose of this first assessment is to read six academic articles and relate these to their expectations of work and learning on placement. The assessment is divided into three themes: workplace environment, teamwork, and critical/creative

thinking. Referencing academic material, Anna reports on what she believes will be the benefits and challenges of an internship:

The main benefit of internship programs, both in terms of workplace learning and personally, is the opportunity they present to learn and develop generic skills and abilities... On a more personal level, and as supported by Orrell (2001, p.3) my internship will assist in evaluating and developing attributes such as diplomacy, cooperation, etiquette and leadership... (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.1)

Anna highlights developing generic skills as how she will benefit most from the internship. Having read through the literature she makes a second claim about the advantages of placements:

Another benefit of my internship program is the chance it will present me to bring my theoretical knowledge of HR into a real life business situation (Crebert et al 2004, pp. 149). Not only will this add positively to my workplace learning, but it will also prove to me my understanding of my degree thus far. It will allow me to “inject reality into abstract theoretical concepts” that I am faced with at university (Beck & Halim 2008 pp.152). I can then reflect on these experiences through my eLogs and test what I have learnt (Beck & Halim 2008 p.167). Ultimately, I will be prepared for possibly difficult business situations, equipping me for a smoother transition from university to employment (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.1).

Anna is looking to confirm her understandings of HR by participating in workplace activities. Having had work experience in HR previously, Anna offers insight into what she perceives, as informed by the literature, will be the biggest challenge:

Coming in with minimal professional experience, I can recognise possible difficulties getting to know the appropriate ways to approach work and to cope with the pressure of assigned tasks. I will need to recognise the rapidly changing nature of work (Crebert et al., 2004) and also master my ability to take on a degree of responsibility (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.2).

Here, Anna hints at her inexperience and emphasises the need to learn how to deal with and take responsibility. Her recognition of the multiple ways to approach work

is interesting including that learning workplace norms will be part of the challenge of being an intern.

The assessment also directly asks for overall expectations of working in a professional environment. Anna reveals her thoughts as a student who is soon to graduate:

As a student who is graduating in no more than 3 months, I come into this internship program with rather high expectations. I am ready to begin my career as a HR professional and believe sound experience in HR practices before doing so would be truly beneficial. My main expectation would revolve around job content and the tasks or projects assigned to me during my time with the company. I hope to be exposed to a number of generalist HR activities, including recruitment and selection, training and development, change management, OH&S management, implementation of policies and procedures, and organisational development. As I have engaged in some work experience with [organisation] in the past, I expect to recognise the differences in these practices as a result of the contextual factors associated with alternate industries (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.2).

Given that Anna has had some previous work experience, she recognises that there will be contextual differences in the ways HR is operationalised. However, her main expectations align with her career objectives and using the internship for experience in a range of HR activities. She express that she wants relevant, challenging experiences aligned within her capabilities:

I hope to be involved in thought-provoking assignments which require me to utilise my knowledge gained at university and apply it to a real life situation. Whilst I understand I must begin within my limits, I expect to be given some degree of responsibility. I think that if I am stretched beyond my comfort zone in terms of job content and responsibility- the internship will meet and perhaps exceed my expectations (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.2).

For Anna, being assigned responsibility is key to her expectations for this placement.

Placement days

On day one, Jessica meets Anna in the lobby of the hotel and takes her through some basic induction steps. She shows her the emergency exits and gives her a key to enter the restricted areas of the property. The first half of the day is set aside for a student group tour through a program aimed at introducing local high school students to hospitality. The morning continues with a half hour presentation to the student group on the hotel industry, conducted by Jessica, followed by a tour of the hotel. They have lunch together in the canteen in the lowest floor, which offers a free buffet to all staff. After lunch, Jessica takes Anna through a HR magazine and points out the changes to OH&S legislations that were to be implemented the following year. Next, Jessica asks Anna to look at the hotel's HR policy, which Anna finds "extremely useful to get an idea of how things were done and the required processes for doing so" (eL, 20/08/11, p.1) and to complete a mail merge to respond to recent unsuccessful job applicants. Over the course of the day, Jessica introduces Anna to a number of staff, from operational levels to senior management roles. Anna records in her eLog:

I understand it will take some time to acquaint myself with the hotel itself and with the practical understanding of HR... [however] after only 5 minutes of my internship I was already making reference to my studies and I know that this experience will be extremely beneficial (eL_A, 20/08/11, p.2).

Immediately, Anna is looking for and starting to make connections to her formal learning in coursework.

On day two, both Jessica and Mia are in the office. First, Mia asks Anna to do some research online for a new initiative involving high school students and then invites her to sit in on a meeting to discuss this initiative with a representative from the Department of Education and Workplace Learning. Next, Jessica asks Anna to perform an audit on a number of essential workplace aspects, including: the first-aid file (ensuring all first aid representatives have up to date certificates on file); driver's license register (checking all staff members have current copies of their drivers licenses recorded); and, occupational health and safety (OH&S) documents (including an up to date OH&S committee list and copies of OH&S certificates). To

do this, Anna coordinates with the Front of House Manager. Reflecting on the importance of having these up-to-date to minimise the hotel's potential liability, Anna makes sense of being assigned this task and contextualises it within wider HR workplace practices.

Day three for Anna is mostly spent observing. In the morning, Anna sits in on a presentation to staff by the hotel's superannuation fund representative. In the afternoon, Anna observes an interview with Mia for an internal transfer in the HR department. Anna comments on what she learnt from observing this recruitment process:

It was a good experience. It taught me that the hotel looks to hire or promote from within the organisation before looking at internal candidates. This encourages career progression and ensures their employees are well looked after. All jobs are advertised internally for five days before they are released into the general public. The interview itself was very interesting. It was behavioural and gave me an idea what good responses looked like etc. Overall, I had a good day. I am appreciating the variety of projects that I am working on (eL_A, 23/08/11, p.3).

On day four, Anna takes on more HR administrative tasks yet her work remains instructional. She describes the 'smaller responsibilities' being performed on this day:

Today I spent a lot of the day doing tasks I would imagine a HR Administrator would do. I entered employment applications into their register, processed incident report slips, and followed up on the paper work required for all employees completing their Cert II in Hospitality with the hotel. This involved having a look at what was on file and liaising with the relevant department heads in order to gain the required documents. These tasks were appreciated as they gave me an understanding of the smaller responsibilities involved in HR (eL_A, 29/08/11, p.3).

After lunch, Anna and Jessica conduct an OH&S check of a designated area before attending an OH&S committee meeting. Anna enjoys observing formal meeting

proceedings, yet aspires “to be assigned some more responsibility in the weeks coming” (eL_A, 29/08/11, p.4).

On day five Anna finds out that Jessica is leaving. As a result, Mia designates Anna the interim HR coordinator! This role is a considerable step above the HR administrator tasks she has learnt thus far. Despite commenting in her initial assessment and in the previous eLog that she wanted more responsibility, this ‘promotion’ and increase in workload comes as a surprise. She reflects on her readiness to take on this challenge:

Today was quite a busy day for me. I know in my last eLog I wrote that I was hoping for some more responsibility...and that has definitely been assigned to me! Jessica is leaving the hotel as the HR Coordinator and unfortunately her replacement will not be joining the team for another four weeks. Mia informed me that as a result, I will be taking on a lot of her everyday tasks! (eL_A, 30/08/11, p.4)

Jessica spends part of the day handing-over the role, explaining to Anna her main responsibility will include orientating and inducting up to five or six work experience students each week. Anna is taken through what needs to be covered for induction such as the required paper work for employment (called ‘starter packs’) and items to discuss such as performance, grooming, and confidentiality. Anna takes notes.

Later that day, under Jessica’s watchful eye, Anna performs her first HR Coordinator tasks by arranging three interviews and making a reference check. For this latter task she is shown a HR procedures folder with a list of set questions to ask the referee. She explains in her eLog:

I was then shown a more detailed insight into the hotel's recruitment and selection processes. At this stage, the Conference and Catering (C&C) department are hiring a number of new employees for the upcoming busy period. Jessica and the C&C department head had conducted a number of interviews last week and had a short-list of applicants who had to be reference checked. This was my job. It was a great experience and I had to ask some questions which required the referee to draw upon past experiences of the applicant's performance. It showed me the real worth of this process as one

applicant had unfavourable feedback from a past employer. Something that would have gone under the radar had the hotel not gone to the effort to conduct these reviews (eL_A, 30/08/11, p.4).

Although Anna is stepping into the HR coordinator role, the tasks she is performing in HR administration also require attention. Therefore, Anna spends some time completing sorting through mail and checking emails and voice messages. She writes quite clearly, even confidently, in her eLogs the activities in Jessica's hand over:

I also had to schedule three candidates in for an interview in the C&C department which are being held tomorrow. I am lucky enough to be allowed to sit in on these and Jessica informs me this will acquaint me in case I need to conduct one myself in her absence. Overall I enjoyed my day at the internship. I have been assigned a lot of responsibility and am ready to take on the challenge (eL_A, 30/08/11, p.4).

The degree of responsibility that Anna had been hoping for has presented itself. In her eLogs she sounds confident, perhaps even excited about the opportunities this might bring. However, in her interviews another side is explored as she describes this day back to me:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Anna | Well, in the transition period it was me. So she [Jessica] left and she sort of said to me, there's gonna be about two or three weeks before my replacement comes. |
| Bonnie | Right. |
| Anna | 'So you're gonna have to sort of step in and check my emails, coordinate work experience, write up some contracts' and so it was <i>all</i> really rushed... while she [Jessica] was there she was like 'these are the things you've got to really need to know so this is how you do it'... and I was like urrrhhh! |
| Bonnie | How were you feeling this day? What were you most concerned about? |
| Anna | Ahhh, yeah, I was, I donno. I guess I felt a little bit nervous especially because Mia's out of the office a lot, so I was a little bit concerned about being not able to ask someone. Um, but, I tried to write as many notes down as possible before she left so that I could refer to those. So she sort of did it step-by- |

step, so when she said you have to draw contracts up of people who we recruit, she said like, “this is what’s in the starters pack, this is what needs to be added to the starters pack, this is where you can find what needs to be added” and I sort of tried to write it down as much as possible so that I could have that there (IN_A, 13/10/11, pp.6-7).

Anna relies on taking notes to learn this new role. She seems concerned about getting the steps right and the limited supervisory support given Mia’s busy schedule.

Day six is similar to day five, only it is Jessica’s last day. Anna comments:

Today was again, very busy. It was my last day there with Jessica before she leaves so we were working very hard to ensure I was familiarised with a number of her responsibilities whilst she was there to teach me (eL_A, 05/09/11, p.5).

Anna schedules three more interviews for an opening in the food and beverage department, conducts two reference checks, and continues the audit of staff paper work. She also observes two interviews conducted by Jessica and the Conference and Catering manager. In her eLog she reflects on what she saw:

It was interesting to experience the structure of the interview, as it began with generalist sorts of questions about the candidate, their interests and motivations, and then moved onto five behavioural questions. These were based on competencies such as teamwork, safety, problem solving, and customer service. There was also one that tested for technical competency and as the position was for a food and beverage attendant, Peter [Conference and Catering Manager] asked questions like 'Can you tell me what your favourite cocktail is and what you would use/ do to make it', or 'Can you tell me what your favourite variety of wine is and why?' I really appreciated these sorts of questions, as I can understand the importance of having the very best staff for a 4.5 star hotel (eL_A, 05/09/11, p.3).

In between the interviews, Anna inducts and orientates her first work experience student on her own. She greets him in the lobby, takes him into the HR offices, and goes through the hotel's expectations for his placement. She goes through the paper

work and discusses items such as uniform, duties, and emergency procedures, before showing him around the hotel. She says:

It was nice to know that Jessica felt comfortable sending me on my own and it gave me an opportunity to exercise the skills she had taught me (eL_A, 05/09/11, p.5).

Before the end of the day, Jessica teaches Anna how to complete starter packs and order items such as name tags, car park passes, and swing cards. To summarise the day she says:

Overall, it was a very action packed day. I am slightly overwhelmed with all of the new information but know I can ask Mia and some of the other managers for help if need be (eL_A, 05/09/11, p.6).

Day seven offers new challenges. Jessica has gone and Mia is also away. Anna summarises in her eLog:

Today I was in the office on my own as Jessica has transferred and Mia was in Sydney! It was slightly daunting but I had a big list of things to do so I was happy to put my head down and get it done (eL_A, 11/09/11, p.6).

Although a little apprehensive, Anna finds direction in the notes she has been scribbling during the two days of handover. She tells me that she has found confidence in her 'big list of things to do' (IN_A, 13/10/11, p.6).

This day starts with inducting and orientating two work experience students. During induction she notices one of the students is inappropriately dressed. Knowing that the hotel has a policy on dress code, Anna quickly organises something alternative for her to wear. She justifies:

It is important to acknowledge that they are going into a four-and-a-half star hotel and there is a need to maintain the appearance of staff so that the guests always recognize that value (eL_A, 11/09/11, p.7).

Here, Anna demonstrates knowledge of the practice by understanding the workplace norms and policies - this is responsibility in action. Next she prepares starter packs, checks Jessica's emails and voice mails, and conducts reference checks for the food

and beverage manager. She goes on to make two job offers to successful candidates and organises their work contracts. Because these new hires are under 18, Anna liaises with payroll to determine base wage per hour. Anna is enacting workplace practices commensurate with a HR professional. I ask her about this day:

- Bonnie What was that first day (without Jessica) like?
- Anna That was nerve racking. Because Mia was out of the office! Graham [Assistant Manager] was out of the office! And Lawrence [Financial Manager] was out of the office! AND... Julie [GM's Personal Assistant] wasn't there, so it was *literally just me*. So that was nerve racking. Um, Jessica left me her personal mobile though... and Mia called twice to see how I was going and everything. But it was nerve racking, especially when I had like Jean [Restaurant Manager] coming down stairs saying 'we want to hire four new people for the restaurant, like, can you tell me where to find the staff requisition forms and can you organise a day where either you or Mia can sit in on like, interviews and stuff'. And I was just a bit like, Oh! Maybe?
- Bonnie So how did you know what to do?
- Anna Um, that's a good question. I had to call Jessica. But I called Jessica, I just said 'this is what he wants'. Um, 'what's this green form he's speaking of?' and stuff like that and she's kind've explained it to me which was good. So yeah, I guess I wasn't completely in the dark and I did kind of know a little bit. So I tried to yeah, liaise with him and Jessica and myself and... so it wasn't too bad. Yeah (IN_A, 13/10/11, p.9).

The nervousness Anna describes is not reflected in her eLog. In fact, her eLog doesn't tell this later story about Jean the Restaurant Manager. Instead, it boasts confidence about her limited contact with Jessica:

Overall, another good day. I only had to call Jessica in Canberra once!! A good effort considering I had been left on my own! (eL_A, 11/09/11, p.7)

Day eight takes Anna outside the hotel HR department and in the hotel's corporate events. It is a team building and development day that brings together all the New

South Wales hotel properties. She describes this day as her “favourite internship day yet” (eL_A, 12/09/11, p.7). On this day, Anna is elated about networking with other employees. She comments:

Mia made a conscious effort to introduce me to a number of her colleagues and it gave me an opportunity to network and get my face known. After the event we were invited to the [restaurant] and we had dinner. It was a great 'team bonding' sort of opportunity and illustrated to me, the importance placed on social events [this organisation]. It appeared to have a fantastic response from all of the employees and really showed me just how far smaller, intrinsic sort of motivations can go (eL_A, 12/09/11, p.7).

It is interesting that Anna’s favourite day is one outside the workplace, engaging and networking with other people. She draws out what she has learnt from this day, observing the power of what she calls ‘smaller, intrinsic motivations’. Later, in conversation with Anna I ask her what she did this day and I write in my field notes:

Anna mentions making a conscious effort to ask questions and network. I asked how she learnt this, she said that she watched Mia’s professionalism and phone manner and mimicked her. She said she just decided to, didn’t really plan it. She says she has learnt a lot from copying her (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.2).

Anna imitates Mia to learn the professional practice of networking. Anna starts copying Mia’s approach and bodily language to get to know her colleagues and promote herself amongst other professionals.

Day nine and Anna is back in the office and pulled into helping out with a charity race event sponsored by Seabreeze Hotel, that is held the coming weekend. In stark contrast with the previous day, today Anna spends most of her time gluing and stuffing envelopes and making lanyards for the 31 teams participating in the event. In trying to make the most out of this time she records:

Overall, it was an OK day. Fairly mundane as I glued about 400 envelopes in over 8 hours- but appreciated all the same. I have been involved in a lot of recruitment and selection so it gave me an outlook into corporate responsibility- which is a part of the bigger strategic HR picture (eL_A, 13/09/11, p.7).

Although the tasks are mundane and perhaps not directly relevant to HR, Anna positions these activities within the broader organisational strategy of contributing to the community.

Day ten and Anna finds it difficult to know what jobs to do. Things have changed again. Jessica is back performing a hand-over with the new HR coordinator, Eleanor, and in doing so Jessica uses the computer and other resources in the space Anna had been using. Anna says because of this “much of the work I had to do was left undone” (eL10_A, 17/09/11, p.2). There is a sense of disappointment in not being able to complete her assigned duties. Instead, Anna checks emails on a computer set-up outside the office. When the time comes, she conducts two pre-placement meetings with work experience students that had been arranged the previous week. At lunch a farewell is held for the financial controller, Garry. Anna summarises:

Overall, an OK day. Not the most stimulating but I guess I can expect that in a real job anyway! (eL_A, 17/09/11, p.8)

On day eleven, with Jessica and Eleanor are gone, Anna is back to her ‘usual’ duties and is noticing a trend in her unsupervised work. She reasons:

[I’ve had] a lot of un-supervised work lately but I can understand due to the recent changes to HR here at Seabreeze Hotel. I started off by going through emails for Jessica. There were a couple of work-experience/ employment related messages, which I processed accordingly (eL_A, 17/09/11, p.8).

Although Anna is more aware of her lack of supervision this doesn’t stop her from moving forward with tasks that she can see need doing. Checking emails has become a daily practice; her familiarity is signalled as she mentions, almost dismissively, how she processes them according to procedures and without instruction. Next, she conducts her first group orientation with six work experience students. Mia checks in on her progress and Anna comments it was “nice to have her there” (eL_A, 17/09/11, p.8). Anna notices that one student has breached uniform code and finds her an alternative shirt from house-keeping. She distributes the students to the required hotel divisions, where she encounters a problem with over staffing in the food and beverage division. She speaks to Mia and they agree to re-locate one of the work

experience students to the Conference and Catering division to relieve the food and beverage manager.

Day twelve is similar to day eleven, starting with checking emails and arranging work experience dates. I write in my field notes observations of someone who knows what they're doing:

Anna arrives right on 9am. She holds a key to the office, opens it up for me and sits down at a seat facing towards the corridor with a glass window that connects the office to the space in between the Manager's offices. I place myself somewhere at the back of the room. The conversation is mainly pleasantries as she turns the computer on, places her handbag in a particular spot underneath the table and organises the paper work on the table. The computer takes at least a minute or two to load.

The phone rings and Anna answers without hesitation "Human Resources, this is Anna". It is a teacher from a local college enquiring about a student who would like to organise work experience, following up from an email previously sent. Anna replies professionally that the computer is still loading, they share a chuckle, and she tells the teacher that once opened she will see the information and give the teacher a call back.

She logs into the computer as she places the phone down. The login is known to her off-by-heart. She brings up the emails of the Human Resources Coordinator. At this organisation the email addresses are based on roles rather than to individual people. I speculate that this makes a lot of sense given the internal transfer rate and turnover, it also allows others to carry on with the tasks and follow things up if that person is away (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.1).

My initial feelings are that I am watching a professional at work. Anna knows where to sit, how to log on and what to say on the phone. She has the office key and computer codes to get onto the tasks at hand. She receives a second call, this time from the lobby indicating that she has two work experience students, one is waiting to be oriented, the other has been here before. As we walk up the stairs she tells me about Jessica's absence and how she has been mostly dealing with work experience students. She explains to me how she has been responsible for the interviews, pre-placement meetings and orientations of the work experience students, making

arrangements and responding to enquiries. Interestingly, and in contrast to what I had already seen and heard, she says to me “I feel as though I know as much as they do” (FN_A, 22/09/11, p/1).

After orientation, the girls are seated in the human resources office along with us. I make notes on the way Anna is making decisions in the moment and even delegating tasks:

These two girls sit together on the other side of the room, away from Anna and I. They are quiet and don't speak much, both are wearing black skirts, ballet flats and neat collared shirts. One girl, named Sarah, asks Anna “What do you want us to do?” Anna replies “How about the filing?” and helps show them where this is. Anna moves on to her emails and flicks between emails and an online database (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.2).

It is interesting, that without much hesitation, Anna performs management practices. Although an intern, by delegating tasks to the work experience students, Anna's role shifts from no longer being the most junior person in the room.

Following up the phone call this morning, Anna calls Jessica's mobile number. She can't find any information in the emails or on the database about this student. She tells me she has Jessica's personal mobile number and was told she could call anytime. Getting off the phone to Jessica, Anna notices Mia has walked into her office and goes to sort things out with her. Several minutes later, Mia comes into the office and asks if Anna and I would like a coffee. As we walk through the internal stairs to the kitchen together, speaking directly to me, Mia starts praising Anna:

She tells me that Anna is a godsend since Jessica has gone and that she has to be the most exceptional intern they have ever had. She notes how quickly she has picked things up and has run with it. She says in the beginning they gave her quite a lot of support and that Jessica did a hand over to Anna before she left (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.2).

After Mia has made us a coffee we walk back into the office. Sarah, speaking on behalf of herself and the other student, mentions to Anna that they have completed the filing. Anna says “good work” and asks if next they could help with posting

thank you letters to organisations that supported the fundraiser last week. She emails Sarah the letter template and double checks they have understood the task “Is that cool? Thank you” (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.3).

Anna calls the local college teacher back and they discuss the pre-placement meeting. Anna decides (as discussed earlier with Jessica) that because the student lives so far away they will skip the orientation. Instead, Anna explains that she will fax the necessary information through. They talk about the teacher coming for a visit and I hear Anna say “no worries come in and we’ll shout you a coffee and talk about that” (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.3). She gives the teacher her direct phone number, pauses, looks around, and finds something that reminds her of their phone and fax number. She tells the teacher to ask for her ‘Anna’ when calling or addressing the fax.

The room becomes quiet again and sometime later Sarah speaks up. She asks Anna about signing her work experience placement sheet, what days she will be working and whether she was her supervisor. Anna acts a little defensive and replies “I have no idea. You will have to wait until Mia comes out” (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.3). I’m struck by what is happening here. Three students on temporary placement are currently running the human resources department. In the absence of any supervisor, the newer two lean on Anna for advice, guidance and instruction. Anna confidently enacts workplace practices, demonstrating knowing-in-action through actions such as deciding to buy a teacher coffee, nominating herself as the contact person to the external stakeholder, and today, even acting as a supervisor to others. Yet Anna holds no real authority - perhaps this is the reason she declines to sign Sarah’s form.

After lunch I witness this again. This time Anna is more attuned to the strangeness, but is able to improvise a task for the students in-the-moment by remembering what needs to get done. I record their conversation:

Sarah	Anna, is there anything you want us to do?
Anna	That’s funny, because I don’t know... Actually, did Julie [GM’s Personal Assistant] teach you how to do starter packs?
Sarah	Yup.

Anna Great, because we had a huge influx recently so maybe do about 6? Great! If you can just check them, because I know that a few of them had some missing, like the numeracy was missing a page. So, if you can like, audit them? Cool (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.3).

As they sort through, the girls notice that two of the packs are missing a page. Anna prints off this page for each pack and gives it to the girls and offers encouragement “good work”. After this task is completed the girls sit patiently next to one another on the swivel chairs. Sarah, again, asks if there is anything Anna would like done. Anna’s reply is telling of the contradiction in play, she says “I actually don’t have any delegation power. So I can’t really assign you any tasks” (FN_A, 22/09/11, p.4).

In Anna’s eLog on this day, myself and the two work experience girls are omitted. Instead, her awareness has suddenly been drawn to the impending finality of the placement and on lost opportunities. She writes:

As I am coming to the end of the internship I am a little disappointed that I wasn’t exposed to any big HR projects. I know Mia had planned for me to help out with developing a training program, but with the changes in the HR team this hasn’t happened (eL_A, 20/09/11, p.8).

Day thirteen and Mia is in-and-out of the office throughout the morning. At one point Anna goes in to ask Mia for help with a university assignment for a management subject, which she obliges for about 15 minutes. The assignment requires students to select an organisation and write about their structures and divisions. Anna writes:

I had gone through the questions previously and found that I was able to answer a lot of them myself, as I had learned so much about the organisation during my internship. It was nice to be able to relate theory to practice and feel comfortable doing so (eL_A, 24/09/11, p.9).

She performs reference checks as requested by the restaurant manager, then collates employment contracts and starter packs. She comments “I am getting pretty good at putting contracts together now. A skill I am grateful for learning during my internship” (eL_A, 24/09/11, p.9). She counts down the days “Only 3 days to go now” (eL_A, 24/09/11, p.9).

On day fourteen the presence of two employees changes things for Anna. Julie, the GM's personal assistant who has worked here for longer than anyone can remember, has returned. This day also happens to be Eleanor's second day as the new HR coordinator. However, as soon as I arrive, Anna is alone waiting in the office and informs me that she needs to do an induction. I record in my field notes:

I put my things down and follow her as she makes her way upstairs. Without asking the receptionist, she sees two young girls dressed in black and approaches them. These two girls are standing to the side of the room together, both with their hands in front of them and smiling, nervously. I follow her as she takes them down to the office. She has not introduced me or referred to my presence. I learn that one girl is from a management collage and another in TAFE studying hospitability, this is the first time they have met. Both will do work experience in C&C division (FN_A, 27/09/11, p.1).

Upon returning downstairs with the students, Julie and Eleanor have arrived. Anna positions herself on a chair outside the office where she had previously been sitting. Anna has moved around various desks, she had been sitting in Julie's chair the first few days and then occupied Jessica's space when she left. The spot she sits in today is a make-shift desk with a broken chair and seems to be a bit of a storage area. However, with Julie and Eleanor present on this day, Anna has positioned herself in the only other available space, as seen in Figure 5.

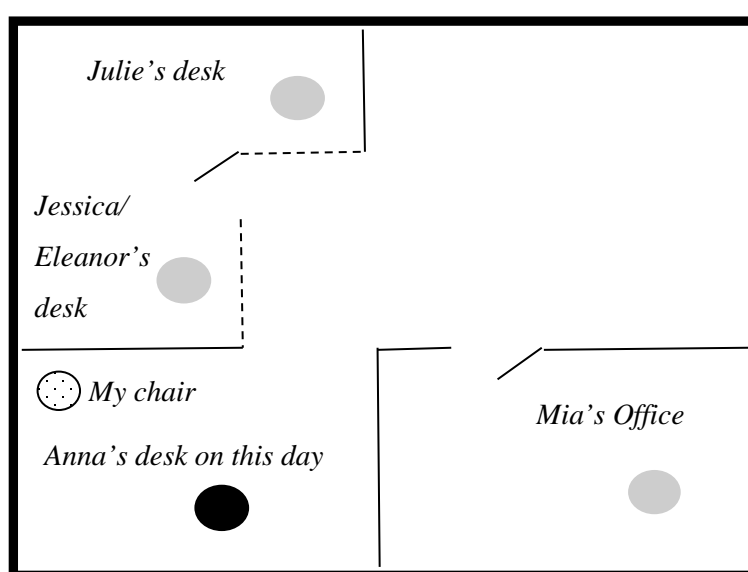


Figure 5: Anna's office spatial arrangements day fourteen

In my notes I describe this space:

Anna takes a seat at the desk in the far corner of the room. This desk is away from the seat that she sat in last time, thus, away from the other staff. The desk is meagre and older than the others used. She sits behind the desk and the two girls sit and face her, she warns them to be careful because the leg on one of the chairs is broken (FN_A, 27/09/11, p.2).

As I watch Anna find the students chairs to sit on, I get the sense that she is very comfortable with the induction process. I observe the expertise in Anna's performance and record her performance of induction practices in detail:

First, she takes them through the confidentiality agreement, explaining what this means in simple, plain language. Next she gives an overview of the organisation and management structure. In doing this she is looking both girls in the eyes and does not refer to any notes. As she talks about each level manager, she gestures to where they sit, which level they are on, and where their office is located. From this she moves into the emergency procedures and recalls the number to call in case of emergency. She goes through the sounds they may hear if there is an emergency in the building. Her advice is to 'stay close to the department head and follow instructions'. She describes the emergency meeting points outside. She asks them if they have any questions and both girls are quiet. Next, she goes through what to do if you can't come in for a work experience day and who to call. She checks their uniforms and says they look good. She gets them name tags from the draw and writes on them. She asks again if they have any questions before she introduces them to department heads. They have no questions. She goes through when lunch is and that the staff canteen is free. She still has not yet referred to any notes. It sounds rehearsed, as though she has said this many times before (FN_A, 27/09/11, pp.2-3).

In Anna's interview I read her this excerpt from my field notes and ask her to reflect on what she recalled from this morning. She explains:

Whilst Jessica was there, we'd get a lot of work experience students, so she did the same spiel with them. And on her last week when she sort of said this would be my job, um, I made a note, a conscious effort to take notes on exactly what she'd been through with them. So I knew I had to cover emergency procedures, I knew that I had to cover confidentiality and all those sorts of things. So I um, I

guess the first group on my own I referred to the notes but after you do it each time... I did it pretty much every day I was there for my internship. So it kind of becomes routine. I just picked it up. Yeah (IN_A, 13/10/11, p.17).

There is a tone in Anna's voice that is 'matter of fact' as she describes to me the norms of the workplace and the way things are done at Seabreeze Hotel. It is obvious that she is performing the known rules of induction as learnt from watching and listening to Jessica. Anna has had the opportunity to enact this induction practice several times and is becoming less dependent on her notes as the practice becomes routine and known.

This induction, however, is the last activity in which Anna demonstrates this level of knowing in relation to HR coordinator practices. I record in my field notes:

Mia comes in at 10am and checks on Anna. She is leaving now and wants to know what tasks she has to do and if she has enough work to keep her going. Anna replies "not a lot". Mia asks Julie (PA to the GM) to delegate some tasks to Anna. As Mia leaves Julie asks Anna if she would open the mail – to my surprise Anna accepts this job with gratitude "Sure thing! No problem" she says (FN_A, 27/09/11, p.4).

I watch her open the mail and scan a few documents. Several times, Eleanor asks Anna about processes or where things are in the office, which to me seems strange that an intern is teaching the new HR Coordinator their role. I found it interesting to hear Anna describe the work, saying things like "some of the time we get teacher placements..." (FN_A, 27/09/11, p.4). She uses the term 'we' demonstrating that she feels part of the team and has knowledge of the way things are done here.

Julie, Eleanor, Anna, and I share lunch together in the canteen. After lunch, neither Julie nor Eleanor knows what to tasks to give Anna. Without a delegated task Anna works on her university assignment. From here on, Anna becomes once again the more junior member of staff and struggles with knowing where to fit in and what to do:

Julie was quite busy with a lot of her PA tasks and so I offered to help her out. Eleanor, having only started yesterday was still finding her feet and I did not

want to feel a burden on her. I opened the mail and delivered it to the relevant people. I also scanned a couple of documents for her (eL_A, 27/09/11, p.10).

Anna searches for administrative type jobs, asks for tasks and awaits delegation. In her interview, Anna resolves how she approached being given administrative tasks, given the limited time left on placement:

Anna I kind of felt as though when Eleanor came into her job, the dynamics of my *whole* internship completely changed. Like I'd gone from having so much responsibility and pretty much doing Jessica's job to asking Eleanor for jobs and then at some stage it was even Julie delegating the jobs that I thought weren't really relevant to HR whatsoever... but I just sort of had to take a step back 'n... take what I was given.

Bonnie So why did you feel that you had to take a step back?

Anna Um, I guess cause I wasn't in the position of having... I don't know. I kind of felt like as a student going into an organisation you just do what you're told, they're helping you out so you get tasks and you just do them. And I wouldn't want to undermine Julie anyway by saying 'no that's not relevant at all'... So, I don't know. I guess I just did what I could... But, I don't know I guess I just had to do it.

Bonnie You just had to do it, you've just got to roll with it. And what did you learn from that, from having Eleanor turn up and Julie there as well?

Anna Um [pause] I don't know, not really I guess, I just sort of went along with it yeah. It happened pretty late on in my internship as well so I just sort of figured I've only got a couple of, you know, scheduled days left so I, just... they're the official employees (IN_A, 13/10/11, pp.17-18).

The tensions between knowing and not-knowing, moving forward and standing still are evident on this day and play a key part in Anna's learning. Anna's role has changed from enactments of authority and confidence through management and human resources practices, to a role void of decision-making that is dependent on others. Interesting power dynamics are produced by employees or 'official

employees' coming and going. Anna's role at Seabreeze Hotel has been re-positioned and now she searches for jobs so that she, ironically given her new found knowledge and experience, is not a 'burden'. She does so by 'doing what she's told'.

Day fifteen and the second last day of placement, Anna works closely with Eleanor. She finishes reviewing the HR policy and sits in on an interview. Under Eleanor's brief direction, she decides to work on a work experience procedure document based on what she has learnt with induction, using a template from Eleanor's previous hotel. She justifies this as a worthy process:

I used this as a template and adapted it to what I was taught by Jessica here at Seabreeze Hotel. It is great to have a formalised procedure- so that anybody could refer to the document and feel comfortable going through the process themselves (eL_A, 29/09/11, p.11).

She no longer determines her own tasks, instead she waits instruction and performs activities where needed. She describes her work in passing to me as "bits and bobs" (FN_A, 30/09/11, p.1).

Day sixteen is Anna's last day. In the morning I watch Anna waste time. She's waiting for someone to tell her what to do. The managers and staff are in a meeting. She sits at Eleanor's desk and looks on the computer, "I need something to do" (FN_A, 30/09/11, pp.1) she whispers. The meeting finishes at 9:30am and we can see people gathering around outside the glass office windows. She says to me, "I'll wait till they (Mia and Lawrence) finish talking and then I'll ask" (FN_A, 30/09/11, p.2), in the meantime Anna asks me if I would like a coffee and we go down stairs together chatting. When we come back she casually looks through resumes in the tray to see if any of them need to be entered. Next, she starts to fiddle on her phone. In her interview I ask Anna to talk about the morning of her last day:

[laughing] Shhh... um, honestly I was probably going through personal messages just trying to occupy time until someone came back and told me what to do... oh, I guess if they had tasks for me then I could have been doing more. But, yeah I did sort of feel that my last couple of days weren't as productive as they had been when I was, when Eleanor wasn't there I guess. Yeah like I had nothing to do... Yeah. Especially now Eleanor was there I couldn't do my little

jobs that occupied time in the past. So I couldn't sort of respond to emails or, I tried to do as much as I could but yeah, I figured it was my last day and they probably wouldn't want to assign me a whole new task from then anyway (IN_A, 13/10/11, p.24).

In the late morning, Mia asks Anna to do some internet searching and come up with ideas to increase the hotel's indigenous staff. Anna accepts this task with delight. At lunch time Lawrence (the General Manager), Mia, and Eleanor take Anna to a restaurant to say thank you and goodbye. She says in her eLogs, "It was a really nice gesture and I genuinely feel that I have been appreciated" (eL_A, 30/09/11, p.3). She thanks them with a box of chocolates and a card. Mia says, "you're welcome back here anytime! Seriously" (FN_A, 30/09/11, p.3). Anna writes, "I am sad to have to wind it all up, as I have made some really good friends at the (organisation) and continue to learn so much" (eL16_A, 30/09/11, p.3). Anna finishes the day by conducting a reference check.

In her interview, I probe Anna to explore more about how she felt finishing her placement with a special lunch:

I guess being a teaching organisation and being able to... yeah, give students the opportunity to I guess do things practically and transfer their knowledge and things like that. Yeah, Lawrence was always, throughout my whole internship, asking how I was and what I was working on and things like that. So I guess for him, he's seen me come from the start of the internship right through to the end and he'd known that I'd taken a lot of responsibility in the middle of it and I think he genuinely did appreciate what I had done throughout the organisation, and things like that. So yeah, I guess, I think he was just genuinely trying to thank me for it? I felt like I was valued, so it was really nice. He was so sweet and yeah, it was good. It was a nice way to go (IN_A, 13/10/11, p.25).

After placement

One month later, Anna submits her final assessment to the Internship program. It is a structured reflective report with questions around: key tasks and roles; application of university studies; team structures; critical and creative thinking; and, overall thoughts on their learning (See Appendix D for details on CIP assessment). In this assessment, she begins by summarising her internship:

During my placement I worked closely with the HR Coordinator and the HR Manager. Both of my supervisors aimed to provide me with variety when allocating tasks and I was lucky enough to gain practical experience in a number of generalist HR activities. After about 3 weeks of me being there, the HR Coordinator, Jessica, transferred to [another property], leaving me to step into her role with very minimal time for a proper 'hand over'. This was challenging but I appreciated the responsibility (RJB_A, 24/10/11, p.1).

She describes how her tasks were '80% recruitment' including filling vacant positions, screening applicants, conducting reference checks, drawing up contracts, taking inductions, and working with work experience students and teachers. She goes on to highlight specific theories from her university studies that align with these jobs. In a single line she acknowledges other administration based tasks involving data entry, checking emails, filing, and sorting mail.

In her assessment, Anna also talks about the skills she learnt on placement, mainly personal and networking skills. She identifies that she learnt these by watching her supervisors, picking up on the office 'lingo' and asking questions about their careers. In terms of teamwork, Anna says that the strength of her team was that she was afforded a lot of responsibility which encouraged her to show initiative:

I think the internship experience was the most productive and socially cohesive team I have worked in professionally to date (RJB_A, 24/10/11, p.5).

She describes the range of roles performed on placement:

Often I was assigned the role of the 'researcher' and it was my job to gather and organise information surrounding an issue or activity. In another sense I was the administrator or organiser as I played a big role in developing excel sheets and presenting information or schedules in easily readable and accessible format. On some occasions, I was even a leader- when I was left alone in the office and had to delegate tasks to work experience and other internship students. On different levels I contributed in different ways (RJB_A, 24/10/11, p. 5).

Her selections are well considered, however, to me this description does not represent the pendulum swing I observed between these roles. She also points out some limitations in her work team:

The only weakness of the team structure I worked in would probably have been the lack of clear direction that I was at times given. The HR Manager was often out of the office and without the HR Coordinator there I was unsure what sorts of jobs and tasks I should be doing, or if what I was doing was correct. I would ask the PA who was also unsure and she would try to assign me tasks as best she could but they were often unrelated to the HR field. Communication definitely facilitates the workings of a team and I felt at times it was possibly not as efficient as it could have been (RJB_A, 24/10/11, p.4).

Anna's final assessment connects what she is learning at university to her placement work practices in human resources. She highlights developing generic skills such as networking and explains that she learnt these primarily by observing her supervisors and asking questions.

Omitted from Anna's assignment, and to some extent her eLogs, is the rollercoaster of emotions that I felt in the room and in our interview, as practices were changed and new ones were learnt. Changes to what Anna did and where she sat, had substantial impact on the practices she enacted and how she learned. Anna spoke a lot about 'responsibility' and how it would - and did - influence how she felt about the internship. What is not apparent in her written accounts, but clear in mine, is the effect of 'excess responsibility' such as delegating to other students in the absence of higher authority, or 'reverse responsibility' when employees were present and knowledgeable practices were stripped away.

Interpretive comment

Anna's sixteen days of placement is largely affected by the resignation of her direct supervisor, Jessica. Throughout Anna's placement we see her move from shadowing the HR Coordinator, to confidently performing HR work practices only to be redeployed to a place of unknowing while waiting to be assigned administrative tasks. Several interesting and overlapping issues arise from this placement:

- The implications of staffing changes on how Anna learns work practices
- The appreciation Anna demonstrates for the range of tasks she is either delegated or responsible for

- Anna's ability to improvise when looking for help, something to do or assigning the work experience students duties
- The impact of absence: supervisor's absenteeism having an effect on Anna's daily practices
- Anna's ability to learn and competently perform HR work practices when assigned the HR coordinator role for several days
- Use of note-taking, observing, and questioning practices to learn a new task
- The curious allocation of responsibility to a novice (who is also not an employee)

Case 2: Ben



Photograph 4: Ben doing WIL

Before placement

I first meet Ben over coffee on university campus. Helen introduced us through email and we had chatted over the phone. Ben was meant to attend the same group orientation as Anna at Seabreeze Hotel, however, because of illness he stayed in his home country of Dubai and arrived in Australia one week later.

From our discussion I learn several things about Ben. He left school at 16 years of age and did a foundation course to get into university. After studying at the University of Wollongong Dubai (UOWD) part-time for one year, in 2009 he moved to Australia to study at UOW Wollongong campus. He is studying a double-major in finance and marketing. This is his last semester and after graduation he wants to work in the finance or banking industry. He has completed an internship prior to this at a bank in Dubai, where his father is Chief Financial Officer.

He tells me about the interview process to get into CIP. He describes how he had an exam the previous afternoon and another exam that day, so he had felt distracted. I ask about how he felt with me accompanying him on placement. Ben said that he is very happy to help out but is worried that the placement days might be long for me. I

get the sense that he is a willing participant and I am impressed with how open and honest he is with me.

Ben's orientation is a phone call from Garry the financial controller at Seabreeze Hotel. Garry's wife is due to have a baby and he tells Ben he will be taking time off. Ben expresses some uncertainty as he relays the conversation to me, he is unsure who is going to be his supervisor when Garry is away.

Garry has told Ben to be at the Hotel at 8am Tuesday to help move boxes. Garry instructs Ben to wear dress pants, work boots, and a t-shirt that will be provided. It seems that Ben will not be starting work in finance, although Ben has little knowledge of what this means. In his interview he talks about his initial shock over what he was instructed to wear:

Ben Then on the phone he's like 'you're gonna need work boots'.
I'm like 'what, I don't have work boots'. He was like 'maybe
you could come in, I have a size 16'. I'm like 'I'm not a size
16'. Yeah it was an interesting time...

Bonnie So he asked you to wear work boots?

Ben Yes. He wanted me to buy work boots first.

Bonnie He wanted you to buy work boots?

Ben Yeah.

Bonnie Did he say anything else about anything else you were
supposed to wear?

Ben Casual suit pants and the shirt to be provided by Seabreeze
Hotel.

Bonnie And what were you thinking when he said that?

Ben I, um, in Dubai we have to dress very formal for work. Even
when we are dressing up for work - no matter what position it
is - because even office boys in Dubai, they wear ties and
proper folded shirts and pants and all that. I'm like 'why do I
wear casual suit pants, boots, and whatever shirt they
provide?' Cause we are supposed to dress very formal in
Dubai. It was a change that way... So, it was an initial shock.

Bonnie You were a bit shocked? Ok.

Ben It was preparing me for what was about to come next. It was an initial shock (IN_B, 08/08/11, p.2).

During the same phone conversation, Garry asks Ben what he expects from the internship. Ben replies that he hopes to get finance experience in an Australian organisation. Ben recounts Garry's response:

And then he was like 'so what are your expectations of your internship?' and I was like, I told him that 'ok, I would like to see how the company works, I would like to see that, I read in financial statements that you will be restructuring. So I would like to see how that works'. He told me that 'sorry that can't be possible because we don't do them over here, we do them at our headquarters in Sydney. And, ah, we will be doing a completely different focus here, it's gonna be more accounting than a finance role' (IN_B, 08/08/11, p.3).

Already, Ben senses that this placement will be very different to his previous internship in Dubai. He also understands that he won't be working in finance, instead he will be working in accounting. But, he won't be starting in accounting, but instead in inventory. Although initially when I first meet Ben and he tells me about these things, it doesn't appear to be a major problem, he just says he has some initial concerns about 'moving boxes' and wearing joggers to work in finance. Comparing the Dubai work experience to his initial impressions of this placement, he makes a point of saying to me that "now I am working from the bottom-up" (IN_B, 08/08/11, p.2).

Before entering the workplace, Ben writes and later submits his first assessment task for the internship program. Outlining his expectations and informed by the literature, Ben outlines some of the benefits of an internship including to enhance employability skills, gain confidence, possibly get a job, and to develop overall as a person. He also mentions the application of university studies to practice:

Lastly, the students are able to enhance their knowledge, by integrating their course knowledge with practical workplace functions, and hence, bridge the grey areas about their competency of their degree. This in turn, allows them to become active mediators of their own learning, and further develops their

confidence and employability skills (Beck & Halim 2008) (RJA_B, 22/08/11, p.2).

He discusses challenges students may face, highlights that internal motivation is important, and that this is contingent on the degree to which students are supported:

Another challenge brings to light student satisfaction and motivation in the workplace. This is a product of the amount of support the academic staff and the immediate supervisors at the employment can jointly provide, to ease the transition into the workplace and accommodate the student's needs into satisfying the internships objectives (RJA_B, 22/08/11, p.1).

Speaking directly to his expectations, Ben makes the following list in his assessment:

To date, all I know is that I will be working for Seabreeze Hotel in a Finance position.

- Being an international student, I come from a completely different culture. I am originally from India, but was born and raised in the Middle East, in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which is a Muslim country. Though I have been in Australia for a little under 3 years, there are still workplace norms which differ quite a bit... I have done an internship in a bank in the UAE previously, so it will be interesting to see how exactly the workplace norms – both explicit and implicit, are different. On a related note, I would really like to see how different it is working in the finance department of a firm in a non-financial industry, such as [a hotel], as compared to the bank.
- One of my main aims is to grasp the processes that go on in the business and try to get a relatively holistic picture of the industry's function in finance.
- Improving and adding value to my existing knowledge base would also go in part, with my expectations to compare the uni coursework to practical application, but also to benefit from learning practices that are not taught at lectures, and thereby, add value to my degree.
- Through this internship I also expect to build up on my interpersonal skills, increase my networking skills, and also gain more confidence in approaching my superiors. I really look forward to the experience as I

expect to be even more confident for future interviews, after this internship is over (RJA_B, 22/08/11, pp.3-4).

In summary, Ben's expectations are: to better understand Australian workplace culture and norms; to receive a holistic picture of the financial practices of the business; to apply learnt knowledge at university in his placement; and, to develop interpersonal and networking practices. Given our initial conversation of 'boots' and 'boxes', I start to feel a misalignment has already begun to show!

Placement days

On day one, Ben is taken around the hotel by Chris (inventory and stock coordinator) for an initial induction before starting in the stores department. The stores are on the lowest level of the hotel, made up of large freezers, fridges and dry store rooms as well as a delivery dock. Ben is shown how to do several tasks such as filling requisitions from different departments (that is when they need stock to be replenished), taking orders, and confirming and checking deliveries to the dock. Ben is also instructed to deliver stock to the different departments. To do so he uses a small, heavy trolley, to load and deliver goods through the internal inventory lift (Photograph 5). He takes several photos over the next few days, including this one of his 'office' on day one:



Photograph 5: Ben in the stores on day one

His eLog describes a tense mix of fun and disappointment as he tries to make sense of this day:

The day was fun, but I was really disappointed when I was told that I would be starting in the stores. I honestly never expected a university student would do a job like this. I do not look down on the people I had to work with or the jobs I had to do, but it was a bit disappointing to start there, especially being a final semester university student. True that all the people there were friendly and everyone was very cooperative, but I wouldn't necessarily be expected to work hard labour in a normal job description. My back literally hurts today, and after loading and unloading those boxes the whole day, I don't need the gym – my body's sore. The purpose of starting there was to provide insight into the purchasing department and learn about stocks, but the labour was unnecessary. Nevertheless, I just put on a smile and got through the day (eL_B, 09/08/11, pp.1-2).

Ben tries to see the value in starting in the stores, however, points to his bodily discomfort in performing these tasks. He mentions having a sore back attributed to the manual labour and reiterates that these types of jobs are not those of a graduating finance student. Furthermore, Ben struggles with the dress code for performing storeman practices:

I had to dress in casual suit pants and a polo t-shirt and was told that I would have to buy boots. I didn't see sense in buying boots as I was told that I was going to be in stores for only 5 days and it didn't make sense to me, especially since this is an unpaid internship (eL_B, 09/08/11, p.2).

The clothing Ben has been told to wear doesn't align with his expectations of doing workplace practices, instead, it has re-constructed him to a place that he is trying to grapple with. It is alarming that Ben has been designated store duties for 5 days, that is, a third of Ben's placement days.

In addition to coming to terms with what he is wearing, being in the stores, moving food and beverage around the hotel, and replenishing stock, Ben is in close contact with food:

Well at the end of the day, due to the stocking and fulfilling requisition orders, I ended up smelling like meat and fish. Being a massive germ freak, I would continuously go back to the hand sanitizer dispenser after each delivery to the departments was complete (eL_B, 09/08/11, p.2).

Ben liberally uses the hand sanitizer to try and cleanse himself of the smell, and perhaps (metaphorically) of being in the stores. He summarises the day:

On the whole, the organization was very welcoming and supportive. I was just a bit disappointed with the job description. It isn't something I would normally tell people that I would be doing (eL_B, 09/08/11, p.2).

For Ben these are not the usual business practices he would expect to perform. No doubt a strange start for any business internship student.

On day two, Ben is, again, in the stores. Working alongside Chris, Ben performs similar tasks as yesterday - clearing supplier orders and delivering stock to departments - which involves manual lifting and packing of produce boxes. Today Ben spends one-and-a-half hours in the finance (accounting and payroll) department getting an overview from Felix, but not doing any finance work. Afterwards he returns to the 'manual labour' of the stores:

I was embarrassed when I was sent up to the finance department in my stinky casual work clothes and I was honestly hoping that they wouldn't judge me (eL_B, 11/08/11, p.3).

Ben is clearly starting to get frustrated with his tasks and uses his eLog to express his concerns:

I know that I have to learn about inventory and produce, but enough with the manual labour already. I am not paying the uni to be unpaid labour somewhere else! I was honestly embarrassed, but I braved through it all and just put on a superficial smile and made small talk with everyone (eL_B, 11/08/11, p.3).

Several days later, the CIP tutor comments on Ben's eLog:

Sorry but there's no need to feel embarrassed, you're obeying orders. Glad you braved through it all. You're a very strong person. Helen said she is speaking to Mia. Great mindset you have. Well done (eL_B, 11/08/11, p.3).

The tutor has flagged Ben's distress with Helen, who sends an email to Mia. According to Ben, when he returns the following week to work in the finance unit, he thinks that things have been resolved.

On day three, Ben is placed in the finance department with Felix. The finance department comprises three people: the financial manager (Garry), accounts relievable officer (Felix), and accounts payable officer (Mona). Arriving early, Ben and Felix get to know each other over coffee. Ben is thrilled to "finally wear formals" (suit or professional attire) (IN_B, 17/10/11, p.66) and in his eLog states:

Finally! I was in the appropriate attire for a uni grad – formals! I honestly was happy with the work I had to do today...Throughout the day, even while keeping up with work, Mona [Accounts payable officer] and Felix were very supportive and the office atmosphere was very cheery and pleasant. Even though the pressure was on to keep up, it was a smooth transition. I honestly enjoyed working today, and my back is much better (eL_B, 16/08/11, p.4).

Ben's clothing has again re-constructed him by affecting how he sees himself as a 'uni grad'. Wearing formals is more aligned with his goal of graduating as a finance student and working in the finance industry. Ben is happy to start learning workplace practices in accounts receivable such as clearing and confirming the night audit, double checking the invoice tally, transferring and clearing accounts, and sending out invoices. Although these are accounting duties, and not finance, Ben seems much happier learning these practices and wearing his formals.

Day four is the catalyst of Ben's internship - he is back in the stores. After being in the accounts department, performing duties more aligned with his expectations of an office environment the day before, he is perplexed to be placed back here, again. On this day Ben spends seven hours delivering and replenishing stock, and one hour entering invoices into the system. He has limited interactions besides the store

manager and the Chefs in the kitchen who sign the delivery papers. In his eLog he is exasperated:

Today was the last straw! I was honestly so damn embarrassed to be working today and I felt so humiliated to be in that state! Honestly, I do not see how knowing where the damn lettuce or gnocchi goes in the fridge will benefit me in any way possible and add ANY value to my degree! I am not here to work hard labour! If I was so interested, I would drop the internship and go onto the casual payroll...My back aches in agony today after lifting those damn boxes and I scraped my leg badly on the trolley (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.3).

He goes on to discuss his feelings of injustice and inequity by pointing to how much he is paying compared with what he is learning:

I am paying for this subject as an INTERNATIONAL STUDENT! That's \$2,300 dollars for being a storeman?! I saw the damn roster of mine in the office and I only saw 4 days of finance among the rest of the days in stores... (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.3)

Ben has seen a timetable or roster in the stores with his name assigned to more days of storeman duties and, without any consultation, this has only infuriated him further.

In her interview, I ask Helen her thoughts on what happened:

Within 12 hours I was on the phone to him, and I'd also contacted Mia, just to kind of find out what was going on... and by that time Ben had actually come onto campus. He was saying, 'I've seen the calendar and up on the wall and it's indicating that I'm gonna be in the stores for the whole time' and I'm saying 'well I'm sure that's not the case. And I know Mia not to do things that way' (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.2).

On this day, day four, the canteen becomes the setting of Ben's greatest embarrassment. I describe this room in my field notes:

The canteen is on the floor below the offices, down the industrial, cold concrete stairs, past the laundry where women are working away in steam. The canteen comprises a seating area much like school chairs and tables, lined up towards a television (see Photograph 6). The food is kept on a long buffet-style bench

with hot and cold sections. The food varies from day to day, but always with salads and cold meats such as ham and hot food such as casseroles, stir-fries, roast meat, and vegetables. There is also a toaster with bread and condiments. The walls are adorned with brightly coloured and vibrant messages from staff rewards programs and healthy eating initiatives. Many are hand-made posters but there are also drawings and photographs of staff parties. The room has a low ceiling and no natural light. Housekeepers, engineers, chefs, waitresses, managers, administrators, and those on work experience, make their way to the canteen throughout the day and night. In the morning you may even see staff coming off night shift enjoying some breakfast before they go home to bed. Everyone feeds for themselves and is an equal in this space. People say that Lawrence and Mia frequently join the staff for a meal (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.1).

Everyone from the general manager to work experience students are encouraged to socialise in this space and share a free meal. On the days that I am on placement with Anna and Ben we too spend lunchtime in this canteen (Photograph 6).



Photograph 6: Seabreeze Hotel canteen

This canteen is the setting of Ben's greatest embarrassment. Sometime before lunch, Ben accidentally spills a box of seafood on himself as he is making a delivery to the kitchen. At lunch, immediately afterwards, Ben comes across Mia, Jessica, and Anna

(from Case 1) lunching together. His frustrations seethe through his eLog as he recalls this incident:

A shipment of oysters and prawns came through today at around 12 and due to the length of the box being huge, I lifted it from the side, and to my misfortune, I WAS COVERED IN FISH WATER! I went for lunch in that state, embarrassed and humiliated as I was, and I saw Mia and Jessica sitting in the canteen. I was at the serving area when they called me over to come and meet Anna, who is also doing [this subject] in HR, for the first time. In my state, I made sure that I kept at least a 5 feet distance from them and told them why I was standing far. I was so embarrassed to meet Anna and explain why I was behaving in that manner. She was with the HR department the whole day and she was wearing formal attire! I mean c'mon! (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.4)

Ben takes one look at Anna, notices that she is lunching with her supervisors, wearing formals, and working in the department aligned with her studies. He, on the other hand, is wearing casual clothes, smells like fish water, and is not working in the department he was recruited for. He writes:

Today has been the MOST DEPRESSING AND HUMILIATING DAY and it is an EMBARRASSMENT on my UNIVERSITY DEGREE! I am almost convinced that I should drop this subject! I apologise for being rude in this eLog, but I need you to know the way event occurred and since the assessment requires students to express themselves, I had to let off a lot of steam. I apologise if this day's log causes offence to you in any way (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.4).

The CIP tutor replies to his eLog:

Ben, the elogs are expressing your thoughts on your day so please don't apologise. Please don't drop the subject. I'll tell Helen and see what we can do. Please tell Felix you're happier with the Finance department (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.4).

Helen points to that moment in the lunch room as pivotal to Ben's distress. In her interview she surmises:

It was also really interesting because from his perspective it was the moment when he saw Anna in the nice outfit and he felt, I don't know, it's like one of those upstairs/downstairs moments. And I also thought this was quite a cultural thing because obviously he comes from a family which is sort of privileged in Dubai and so, when he wasn't the person in the nice outfit doing the important work or whatever, and he said obviously there was some sort of loss of face because he felt, ah, he felt he couldn't communicate to his parents what he was doing because he was embarrassed about it... (IN_H, 01/12/11, p. 2)

Although Helen recognises there may be cultural factors in play, she also indicates that this situation was strange:

And I know I understood all of this and it was concerning someone was doing heavy lifting and that... Which is like, really strange that they would be saying he should be buying safety boots and stuff (IN_H, 01/12/11, p. 2).

Helen goes on to recall what happened next:

So I got on to the phone to Mia and she said 'Oh, no, he's only meant to be down there a couple of days so he understands how the processes work, so he better understands the finance system'. So her take on it was 'what we do with all our finance students, is we send them down to the stores, because rather than just invoicing and billing, it's important to understand how the systems work'. And so I could see what the value and the point was, however, on Ben's side of things, it was weird that he was still there on day four, right, and it wasn't just a couple of days (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.3).

She goes on to explain the phone conversation:

[I said] "Ben's upset and concerned and confused about being in the stores. He does understand why he's there but he's feeling a bit embarrassed about the work he's doing, he's explained to me that he is doing heavy lifting that he has had to take 11 deliveries, um, in the morning or something, and the other guys were sitting around or that was his version". I said "obviously my number one concern is the heavy lifting. Um, he's not actually trained for that and he doesn't have the equipment. So that flags as an immediate concern that to me and suggests he's doing something that perhaps you haven't suggested that he

be doing”. So it might be like a miscommunication or something (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.3).

Helen and Mia agree on a way forward:

Look, Mia was shocked about the reference towards buying equipment [boots]. She never would’ve expected that, yeah, she doesn’t quite understand how that came about and there was never an expectation that he would be there long term. Um, she’s going to yeah, make sure that now he’ll be up doing the finance stuff (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.3).

Reflecting on the whole situation, Helen offers me her take on why it got to this point. First, she explains what she thought probably happened:

I think that, in another situation, Mia would have been on to it quicker. And probably he wouldn’t of been there, I think the guys saw him there, needed an extra pair of hands, so it became that little bit of a cross over situation. I think that it’s to do with the fact that the finance people were doing different things and so that his supervisor wasn’t going to be there every day so it became one of those things were ‘oh, we’ll just put him down there for one more day, cause we don’t have space in finance, yet, and then he’ll be back up here and we’ll all be back on track’ (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.5).

Helen is referring to a change in the finance department of which Ben was acutely aware. Garry’s wife had had the baby but he had also been offered a job elsewhere. At short notice, Felix was be stepping up to Garry’s position and learning the financial manager’s role. These changes had not been communicated to Ben.

I asked Felix about Ben starting his placement in the stores. He, however, offers a another perspective by describing this as normal practice to better understand how the hotel works:

This is what it is, so when you, you come into a hotel you don’t necessarily go straight to finance. I started in C&C [Conference and Catering], I’ve done lobby bar, gaming, you know... you’ve gotta see the whole hotel before you, you can count what’s in the hotel. *You gotta know what the beans are before you start counting them...*

So stores is a good place for him to start so he could see the whole hotel and know his way around the hotel and meet people, cause when you're delivering stuff you meet the department heads and it sort of gives them an introduction to the hotel. You know it was a bit tough on him at the start cause he's not used to that sort of work um, it's more of a, I guess, I guess a growing thing as well, because, cause that is part of our department as well, the stores (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.19).

Felix goes on to further justify the nature of the hotel and how this fit in with Ben's placement in the stores:

I'm just trying to think of the word... I know the word it's a management word... It's for the structure, it's a matrix- high matrix structure. It means that your staff are able to jump from, allowed to be moved around from each department (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.20).

Whether this is standard procedure for a finance intern at this hotel, it certainly has an impact on what Ben does, how he feels, and what he is learning. I follow this up with Helen, her thoughts on Ben's reaction, how he was incredibly upset and threatened to drop out of the subject. Her reflections are fascinating and refer to underpinning power dynamics at play:

And I think he's reaction is the reaction of someone who hasn't had to problem solve and hasn't been in a powerless situation. It's someone who's always been in a more powerful situation. And so when it came to being in the, in the more vulnerable situation he kind of freaked out and didn't know how to handle it. And he didn't know who to reach out to or what he should be doing... So although he was like 'I probably shouldn't be doing this' he still bowed down and did it. And I think he was angrier at himself for not having asserted himself or having gone 'ok, time out. I wanna go talk to someone about this, this just doesn't feel right to me'. So I think it was an actual intern thing (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.6).

Helen's perspective suggests a kind of vulnerability with being an intern. She uses a strong metaphor to describe Ben 'bowing down' and interestingly dismisses this as 'an actual intern thing'. Is being vulnerable normal to being an intern? Is 'bowing down'?

Helen recognises the inappropriateness of allocating Ben to the stores and suggests that it was, in her opinion, simply opportunistic based on having an extra set of hands. In her interview with me, she hints that perhaps Ben's strong response could have been avoided if he had spoken up sooner or submitted his eLogs on time. When dealing with Ben, to calm him down and reflect on the situation, she talks about this as an opportunity to learn about conflict management.

One week later, Ben returns for day five of his placement. He is greeted by Mia in the lobby who apologises for the way things turned out. Ben was only meant to be in the stores for a few days. He will *only* be working with the finance team from now on. The finance unit is situated on the lower levels of the Hotel, between the reception at ground floor and the stores two levels below. It has no windows, bright lights, and low ceilings. It is difficult to tell the time of day or weather temperature outside. I describe this space in my notes:

It is an open space with walls stacked high with yellow envelopes (Photograph 7) and brown and white filing boxes. At the end of the room on an established desk with a computer and multiple other things, is sitting Ben already working away. I have a small empty desk with a chair that overlooks Ben's desk. In my section of the room there are floor to ceiling shelves with yellow envelopes. I am told by Ben that these are for the auditors. The Hotel keeps all records for seven years, however, an auditor can come in at any time and request something to see, so they keep it filed and organised, hard copy. I am told that this is in case the computers break down. Rubber bands and the occasional rogue staple can be spotted on the old carpet (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.1).



Photograph 7: Yellow folders with account applications

To me this space feels claustrophobic, hidden away from the clients and glorious open spaces and sea views from the foyer. Yet Ben couldn't look happier - sitting at his own desk, having the attention of Felix and learning new work practices.

On day five and in the finance unit, Ben starts to learn the overall accounts system: inputting night audit statements, clearing the day bags by entering them into excel, and checking they match the figures generated by the system, checking debtors accounts, and following up with an email or by post. Felix also shows him different keyboard short-cuts to make the job faster. Felix explains that Garry, the financial manager, will be leaving soon, so Ben is learning Felix's role in accounts receivable, while Felix is learning Garry's role. Ben recounts a pleasurable day:

I was finally in formal attire and I was SO happy to be in it after the stinky mess of the previous week! ☺ I FINALLY felt like an intern ☺ (eL5_B, 22/08/11, p.2).

On day six Ben is in finance learning to perform performing accounts receivable practices. He is sitting at what used to Felix's desk. Having performed these tasks

earlier in the week, Ben describes how he is now 'put in charge of the day bags' (eL6_B, 29/08/11, p.1) which involves inputting the night statements from various departments, clearing front office data, emailing or posting debtors after checking their accounts, and reconciling payments from back accounts. Felix watches Ben closely as he learns to process complicated bank statement data. Ben writes:

Felix told me to take a deep breath and try it again. I was able to get through five transactions after that without supervision. I don't know how it went as Felix said he would check it later (eL6_B, 29/08/11, p.2).

On the morning of day seven Felix writes Ben a 'to-do-list'. It includes activities and time periods including when to take lunch (see Figure 6).

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Tuesday 20/9/11

9:00 → 11am = Day Bags (Post all invoices as scanner is not working)

11:00 → 12pm = credit cards

12:00 → 12:30 = Lunch

12:30 → 14:00 = Posting Visa master card & etpos totals

14:00 → 15:30 = Send off credit reference faxes.

* Fill in blue highlighted words with correct details. *

locum:
T:/Accounts/Tara/Fax Trade ref

* Business references & Hotel references.

These Applications are in Account apps yellow folder to your left.

Attach faxed forms to the back of credit application and stamp as entered.

15:30 → 16:30 = File away day bags and filing file.

1

Figure 6: The list that guides Ben's activities

The to-do-list describes the tasks Ben has been allocated. The morning starts with the day bags and reconciling credit cards receipts, next is lunch, then posting end-of-day figures and faxing references in the afternoon. Felix writes explicit instructions where to find the references, noting account information is stored in yellow folders to his left, to attach these to the back of the application, stamp as 'entered' and then fax them.

Ben uses the to-do-list often and I notice that over time he becomes more dependent on the list than he is of Felix. Using the to-do-list has created a temporary independence from supervision by relying on this artefact for guidance. Ben also records notes on the list and it starts to transform along with his work practice, as seen in Figure 7.

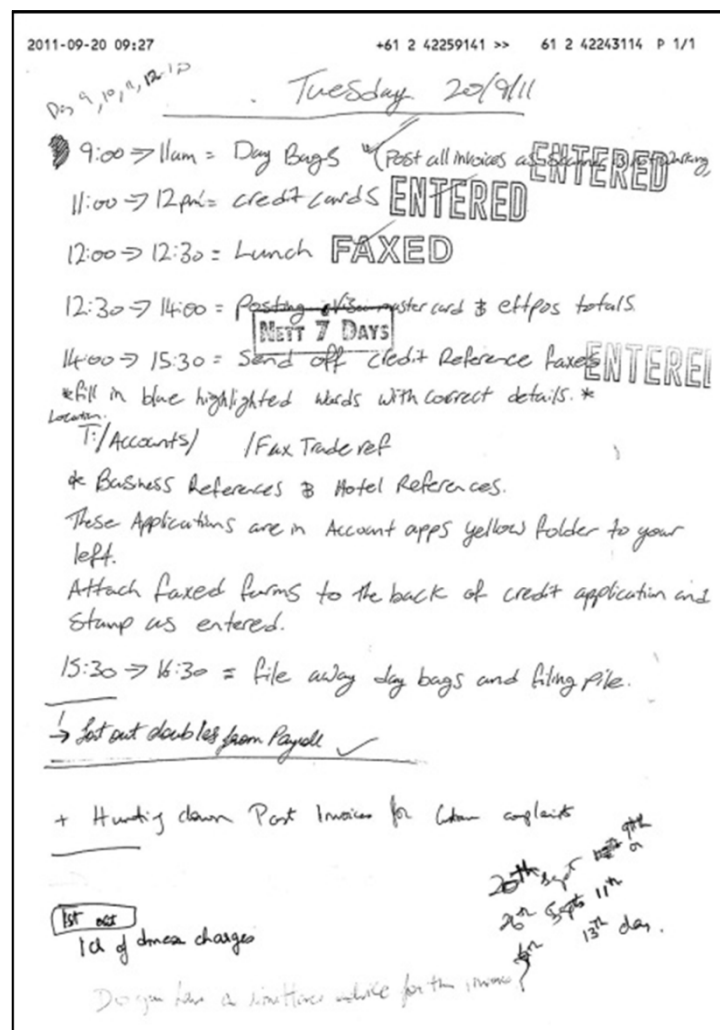


Figure 7: The transformed instructional list

Felix describes his rationale behind writing out this instructive list for Ben:

This is what I used to do when I was in accounts receivable, I used to write out a list, like a timetable for me to try and stick to. Doesn't necessarily always work, that you get to these exact times, but what I sort of wanted to do was set tasks for him, achievable tasks, to complete. And then once he completed it he'd tick it off and say "yes" you know "I've completed an actual, a task"... Now it's actually written down on a piece of paper, you sort of get that gratitude from ticking it off (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.27).

While observing Ben on day seven, I describe the to-do-list practices in-action:

Between 9am and 11am Ben is to do the day bags. On the to-do-list is an instruction 'post all invoices as scanner is not working'. The day bags are lined up on a desk behind Ben, the line resembling an ordering of tasks and divisions. The A4 pages of the report are wrapped around the receipts and held together with rubber bands (Photograph 8). Each division of the hotel must provide these reports at the end of the night. Ben's role comprises firstly the unwrapping of the report and receipt piles, by taking off the rubber bands. The report is laid to his left while the receipts are piled orderly in front of him in a row. These figures are then checked against figures on the computer and entered into an excel file. Once completed the report is labelled 'Entered' with a stamp and ink pad (Photograph 9). They are then wrapped up in the same way with the two rubber bands holding it in place (Photograph 10). They are placed behind him on the desk and lined up the same way as in the morning, a manual ordering of tasks (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.3).



Photograph 8: Day bag receipt bundles



Photograph 9: Stamps used in accounts receivable activities



Photograph 10: Rubber bands used for the day bags

These materials play a large role in what Ben does. I notice how manual the procedures seem to be and the significant role of paper. Handling these office artefacts shapes how Ben learns account receivable practices. Coming from university where technology is used daily in student activities, Ben observes the artefacts along a similar line, I record in my notes:

Ben describes the computers here as ‘ancient’. He says that this makes everything very slow. He urges me “‘imagine going from uni to here... I wish I could just bring my own laptop’”. There are four printers on this level. Like the computers, the printers take a while to warm up and often do ‘stupid’ things when not functioning properly. Ben’s role involves unravelling and tying rubber bands, stamping, removing staples, stapling, photocopying, putting invoices in envelopes, and using excel. Ben jokingly describes the elastic bands as ‘the pride and joy of the office’. He comments “A lot of paper gets waisted”... He reminds me again that ‘everything is ancient’ (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.4).

In my interview with Felix, I show him my field notes and ask him to comment on the office artefacts:

Yeah it's a funny one, so everything is ancient because I guess we live in a modern time and technology changes every day. So within a year everything's gonna be ancient, um, iphone 3's ancient now. So I guess the university's... they're big on, you know, their technology and stuff like that, so they've got the latest and then you come from sort of the latest to a work place that um, I don't think we're too far behind... So I'm just trying to make that distinction between coming from a new environment to a - what you need to get the job done (IN_F, 18/10/11, pp.35-36).

Although Ben has gone from 'manual labour' to 'manual accounting' he is much happier being in the finance department. He tells me "it's better than pushing trolleys" (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.5).

On day eight, Ben continues to enact the to-do-list. In his eLog he mentions conversations with Felix and Mona as highlights of any day:

Today was one of those relatively slow days with routine work, but nevertheless, the office environment makes me enjoy it a lot (eL, 23/09/11, p.11).

On day nine, I observe Ben performing accounts receivable practices with more confidence. He talks to me as he works and tells me that Felix is spending more time out of the office or in meetings, having fully taken over as finance manager. I make an appearance in his eLogs:

Bonnie came in to shadow me at work and we had a lot of chatting the whole day while working. The office work still got done ☺ Felix had to go offsite for a meeting, so when I met him in the morning he had a checklist ready for me to complete and I was left to myself to complete the tasks. I wasn't really concerned as I was used to the tasks and it was relatively straightforward. However, faxing off the references was fun as I had to whack the printer to start it, and cursing the printer politely was in order (eL, 26/09/11, p.12).

I am aware of the impact I might be having as Ben spends time talking to me as he is working. My attention is also drawn to the temperamental fax machine which occupies almost half an hour of Ben's time on this day.

In the afternoon, Felix teaches Ben to a new practice that entails calling and faxing clients with remittance advice (when clients owe the business money). As I observe Ben learning this new practice he confesses to me that he is a bit nervous. Felix starts by sitting down next to Ben and explaining the process. Next he says that he will make the first call and that he wants Ben to do the next one. As Felix makes the first call Ben writes notes (see Photograph 11 below).



Photograph 11: Felix showing Ben a new task

In our interview I ask Felix to explain the process of teaching Ben a new task. He describes how he starts with a 'show':

For me it just feels like the best way to learn so if you, if you need to show somebody. A lot of the time it works by saying follow these steps on a piece of pen and paper. Whereas I sort of look at a piece of pen and paper and I'm like that's a lot of words... and it's very overwhelming. Where a lot of the time if you can just sit down with them for five minutes and show them then it takes a lot of that pressure off (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.10).

This is consistent with what I saw. Next, Felix encourages Ben to practise making a call. Felix explains the importance of this next step:

And then I get them into the ‘hot seat’ (Photograph 12). So the next step is me sort of budding with them. Just giving them that buddy system and actually, pretty much just guiding them through. Then once they’ve completed one fully, instead of the whole, me watching every step, I drop it down a percentage so I go about a half a percent, so I watch them do the start and then I jump in and be like ‘oh you could’ve probably just, if you do this this way it’ll be better’ and then just bring them up gradually. And once it’s done, once they’ve completed one fully then that’s where I sort of let them free, (laugh) let them free to be independent (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.11).



Photograph 12: Felix guiding Ben in the ‘hot seat’

In my observations, I recognise that Felix has left out a critical step. Before Ben is in the ‘hot seat’ Felix writes out a script of what to say. Together they role play the scenario with Ben using the script. Then Ben makes his first call. I record this moment:

Felix tells Ben “Just breathe, big breaths. Let’s go for it.” Ben dials the number. First he introduces himself as Ben from the Seabreeze Hotel and asks to speak to the accounts manager. I ask if he is nervous and he says “no, just a normal phone call. Put on the charm”. I suspect he is nervous. He reads out the script to

the accounts manager on the other end of the phone. He stumbles over his words a little bit and mimes frustration to me by clenching his fists and face momentarily and mouthing 'OMG'. Felix is sitting next to him, listening. The call is over. Felix says "well done". Ben does a little jig with his hands up to about the height of his head and moves his body around. Next, he has to send an email to follow through. He looks at me and asks me how he did, I say "very well done". I feel as though I have played a supporting role in his learning (FN_B, 26/09/11, p.7).

By researcher position while Ben is learning is blurred between outsider, alongsider and insider. Although primarily observing this moment, my presence interrupts the learning process as Ben brings me in to comment on his performance.

Towards the end of this day, Lawrence comes into the Finance unit looking for Felix and takes time to speak to Ben. They talk about personality types and the Myers Briggs test. Ben seems to be excited and later confesses that this was the highlight of his day. He tells me that Felix is going to try and arrange some time for him to work on something with Lawrence.

Days ten, eleven and twelve follow the same routine:

- ✓ Daybags
- ✓ Credit card checks
- ✓ Posting of eftpost and visa/mastercard totals
- ✓ Credit references

Ben is becoming proficient in his day-to-day work practices as he follows the routine set out by Felix. On day twelve, Ben comments: "I guess that now, since I know what to do, it's just become more of a routine job, allowing me to do multiple tasks with confidence" (eL12_B, 30/09/11, p.1). He also notices the independence he has been given, being aware of Felix's regular absence. In addition to usual tasks, on day twelve Ben assists Felix and Mona with end of month procedures. This is a demanding day, with Ben staying until 7pm to help Felix who had mostly "locked himself away" (eL13_B, 30/09/ 11, p.1) to get the month-end activities done (See Ben's photo of Felix in Photograph 13 below).



Photograph 13: Felix working in his office

On day thirteen, I watch as Ben walks in, puts his bag down, invites me to go grab a coffee in the canteen, sit back at his desk, open the computer, and makes a start on the day bags. Ben demonstrates knowledge of this role and confidence in the office space. Interestingly, although Ben has been doing the same morning routine since day seven, as Felix walks in he calls out: “Do you want me to start with the day bags or calling clients?” Felix replies “I think start with the day bags” (FN, 04/11/11, p.1). Ben is checking and conforming by making contact with his supervisor.

Although Ben works through his tasks with ease, rarely referring to the to-do-list now, several times I observe him come across a problem or make a mistake. For instance, he tells me just before making a call to a client: “Feeling confident, the fear has gone. I’ve done it before” (FN, 04/11/11, p.4). However, in my notes I record how he is still learning these protocols:

He starts to dial then stops to check something. Dials again. Accidently dials a fax number. Dials again “Good afternoon. Can I please speak to someone in AP?” He is put through to accountants department and no one answers. He tries a different company. He makes four phone calls each the same and no one answers, he says “It’s frustrating”. He calls another company and the receptionist answers. He starts on the script that he has learnt. There is a pause and he is put on hold to be transferred. He looks at me and whispers to me “I

screwed that up” – he had asked the receptionist questions instead of the accounts department (FN_B, 04/11/11, p.4).

Again, I find myself no longer an observer to Ben’s work. He invites me in by engaging with me as he is learning this role. He reflects on how making these phone calls help him develop personally:

I was a fun experience but I get by saying ‘Hi this is Ben from Seabreeze Hotel’ gives me an extra bit of confidence that I need. I was representing a firm. And I guess you get into a certain state when you say that because it just internalises more. So you’re representing a firm, I guess it helps professionally developing myself... (IN_B, 17/10/11, p.89)

On day fourteen, Ben again performs his accounts receivable work practices. However, on this day, Lawrence invites Ben to lead a meeting in order to expand on his skills. Ben writes in his eLog:

It was one of the relatively slow days, but when I met Lawrence today, he told me that I would be chairing a meeting next week for all the departments and that I should start preparing for it. I am so happy that he has given me this opportunity and I am both, excited and scared about it! ☺ (eL_B, 05/10/11, p.19).

On day fifteen, while performing accounts receivable practices, Ben’s opportunity with Lawrence is postponed:

The preparation for chairing tomorrow’s meeting was going in full swing, when Felix came in and told me that the meeting was cancelled as Lawrence was not going to be in, so it was postponed to next week Tuesday – my final day. A bit of a disappointment as I was working really hard for it, but none the less, it’s going to happen next week so I am still excited about it ☺ (eL_B, 10/10/11, p.20).

On day sixteen, Ben’s final internship day, Felix has the difficult task of informing him that he won’t be working with Lawrence on a project or chairing the meeting. I ask Felix what happened. He tells me that there are multiple reasons, such as time restraints to learn the project, how Lawrence is busy, and the organisational need to have someone in the accounts receivable position while they find a replacement.

During his interview, Felix explains that with only several days till the end of placement it was best that Ben just “sticks to what he knows” (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.38). Ben’s disappointment is obvious. However, he puts it in perspective by demonstrating a kind of loyalty to his role and the business:

I was looking forward to that but ok, that didn’t happen because working with Lawrence would be the exact thing I would want to do, working in finance. But at the end of the day it didn’t happen. At the end of the day I was a bit disheartened. But I didn’t let that get in the way. I didn’t want anything to come in the way of my job. Felix just talked about it, because I only had a few days left, so it would take time to learn it and then get used to it and then report to Lawrence. Like I didn’t mind doing that but there was a few days, so... I would rather have spent four days with Lawrence than four days in stores (IN_B, 17/10/11, pp.88-89).

Ben’s last day is celebrated with a take-away lunch from the fish-n-chip shop with his colleagues, Felix and Mona.

After Placement

Ben is offered a job to stay on as the accounts receivable officer. He declines the role for two reasons: first, because of study load and second, because it doesn’t align with his career path. One week later, Ben submits his reflective assessment part B to the internship program. He begins by summarising his internship experience:

The placement helped me to understand exactly what I wanted out of my university degree and my career path, and it is for that reason that I declined the full time position. As I want to pursue a career in Finance, accepting the job would have actually hindered my ability to apply for a banking role in the corporate credit department. Furthermore, they also informed me that salaries in the retail industry aren’t as competitive as those in the financial sector. The experience on the whole has made me more aware of what I clearly want as a career (RJB_B, 24/10/11, p.12).

He lists that he learnt skills such as multitasking, vocal skills, analysis of contracts, self-motivation, and conflict management. He describes the latter as:

At university, I have never faced so much of conflict as I did during the internship with the different job descriptions between the stores, accounts receivable, and the finance department, and I had bad mishaps at work in the stores department, which set me off, and I approached the respective management as soon as possible to rectify it. I know now that if I do have conflicts at work in the future, it is much more worthwhile getting it resolved as soon as possible, rather than putting it off and being felt as if I was scammed (RJB_B, 24/10/11, p.4).

Ben acknowledges that has learnt to speak up and that in the future he won't let the situation escalate. Having been in the stores, however, Ben reflects on the flexibility required in certain roles:

One of the most important lessons I have learnt is that in the practical world, no one really stick to their job description. I need to learn to be even more flexible with my schedules, because at the end of the day, no matter whose job it is, at the end of the day only the client and stakeholders involved suffer, which leads to a loss of face for the company (RJB_B, 24/10/11, p.2).

He frames his learning within the broader organisational structures by identifying the organisational goal to satisfy stakeholders. Ben also draws on his ability to time-manage and has a new perspective on his studies and the workplace:

Another thing I have realised is that the pressure that students face at university is actually a really good experience, as studies try to break you, in a manner of speaking. Trying to complete various assessments for a full time load of subjects during session really keeps you on the edge and makes you realise the importance of time management. In reality, however, work isn't really that stressful all the time, and it's just all about how you manage your time in the end (RJB_B, 24/10/11, p.2).

Through Ben's internship, it was clear that he enjoyed it most when engaging with his colleagues. He talks about feeling supported and included:

Another important aspect of my internship was learning the importance of building rapport with colleagues to enhance the work atmosphere and build a support network to rely on. It just eases the transition and allows an employee to

feel part of the firm, more than a cog in the wheel. It helps you transition and get well accommodated in the workplace (RJB_B, 24/10/11, p.3).

Ben refers to the metaphor ‘more than a cog in the wheel’ to emphasise the importance of being part of team and having a good rapport with colleagues. Perhaps also hinting to how he felt those first few days.

Ben’s assessment features mostly clearly articulated, positively framed insights into what he has learned on placement. However, being an international student, he also writes about the similarities and differences in the work cultures of his two work experience organisations. He makes the following list in his assessment:

Attire: At the [Bank], according to strict bank policy, every single person in the office had to wear formals (including the office people) and this was followed to the finest detail. At Seabreeze Hotel, however, it wasn’t required that every employee wear a tie. It was relatively relaxed and casual.

Atmosphere and layout: At the [Bank], they had a very formal and structured atmosphere in the office and offices had a really modern design and computers with the latest hardware and software upgrades. At Seabreeze Hotel, the office layout was very dull – no windows at all, and it was very claustrophobic, and had really old systems in place. The atmosphere was very casual.

Greetings: Greetings in the [Bank] were exchanged at all times with a handshake, with the person extending the handshake putting their left hand on the others right shoulder and the receiver bowing his head slightly. Greetings at Seabreeze Hotel were a casual handshake with a “hey” or “Hi”.

Eye contact: Eye contact was very crucial in the Arabian style of conducting business, as every conversation had to have constant eye contact. At Seabreeze Hotel, however, during conversations, eye contact was rarely made and people would be more focused on the material than the speaker (RJB_B, 24/10/11, pp. 10-12).

It is interesting that Ben has taken notice of what people wear, how they engage with one another in both workplaces, as well the technology or tools in use. It is the materiality that he has observed as different and how that affected the ‘feel’ or

atmosphere of the workplace. These things are consistent with the kinds of comments Ben made to me on placement.

Interpretive comment

Ben's placement starts out unexpectedly being deployed into the stores for three days, where food and beverage is delivered and stowed. Ben's placement is affected by the resignation of the financial controller, Garry, and his quickly appointed supervisor, Felix, who was simultaneously learning the financial controller role. With Felix moving from accounts receivable officer to financial controller, a space is opened up for Ben to fill his supervisor's previous accounts receivable duties. Once Ben settles into this role he is able to grow and develop. However, my mind is never too far away from the fact that he is *not* an accounting student. While Ben's discipline is finance, the same term, 'finance', is used for accounting duties in this organisation. So how beneficial are the practices he is learning if they aren't related to the discipline he is studying? Several interesting and overlapping issues arise from this placement:

- The implications of staffing changes on where/ with whom/ how Ben learns (or doesn't learn) work practices
- The meaning underpinning what Ben wears: How clothes shape identity in becoming a professional
- The spectrum of an intern's emotions, especially in time of uncertainty, change or embarrassment
- Who Ben confides in, choosing to release his frustrations initially on paper rather than in person
- The power exerted by the to-do-list in directing what to do and reliance on this artefact when the supervisor was elsewhere
- The appreciation Ben discloses when tasks are more closely aligned with his goal of learning finance work practices
- The 'use' of interns on placement

Carrie



Photograph 14: Carrie doing WIL

Before placement

I first meet Carrie at her orientation at Local Sports Club. We had been emailing one another after Helen had put us in contact, so I wasn't sure what to expect. My initial impressions are that Carrie is quite tentative both with me being on site and being the focus of my attention.

Local Sports Club is an hour away from the university where Carrie and I live. Carrie, who doesn't own a car, catches a train and two buses to her orientation, taking her almost two hours to arrive at the club for a 60 minute meeting. When we meet face-to-face I insist that in the future I drive us together. Greg, the general manager and Carrie's supervisor, asks me to arrive 20 minutes after Carrie to give him time to gently warm Carrie up to the idea of having a researcher around. When I arrive, I am surprised that no representative of CIP is here as is usual for this program. This orientation is held early in December and Carrie's internship is intended to be conducted over summer (December – February).

I walk into the main room of the club where Carrie and Greg are chatting (Photograph 15). We sit down together at a long table, the first in the row closest to the office. I am told this is where previous interns have worked, because it's near a

power point. Greg explains that other interns have brought in their own laptops and that he has set them up with a wifi code and club email address to communicate with each other, and potentially with sponsors. Carrie indicates that she will bring her laptop with her next time. Greg further justifies the seating arrangements by explaining that his office is too small and that during work hours there usually aren't too many people around to interrupt.



Photograph 15: Local Sports Club main room

Greg describes what will be Carrie's two main jobs while at the club. The first is to update the marketing plan to ensure its accuracy and to look for potential areas of income for the club. The second entails being trained to use the club's website by an IT specialist, John, so that in her final days, Carrie can teach Greg how to use the website administration. Greg says this will be quite interesting because it will be the "intern teaching the supervisor" (FN_C, 07/12/11, p.5).

Greg explains the importance of the internship program to the club and how it has helped with operations over the last several years. He shares stories from past interns, including his first marketing intern Amy. To expose Amy to the marketing side of the business, he had taken her to meet one of their sponsors from a high-end car dealership. At this meeting, seven men in suits, representing the car dealership, communicated their dissatisfaction with the current relationship and sponsorship

package held with Local Sports Club. During the meeting, Greg had noticed that Amy was quiet and when they got back to the club he asked what was wrong. Amy replied “I’m not ready for the real world”. Greg explains how he talked her through what the men had said and how this was in fact a result of poor marketing, that they hadn’t understood their needs or delivered on what had been promised. After talking her around, Amy had declared “ok, I maybe I am ready for the real world now”. Greg insists that it is normal to be nervous, but that you’ve got to be willing to give it a go. I later ask Carrie her thoughts from hearing this story at her orientation:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Carrie | Before that he talked about how awesome Amy was and how she’s been this massive contribution and Helen did this as well in the interview, like ‘oh, they’ve had three outstanding interns before and so we only want the top of the lot for this job’ and I was like ‘oh, man!’ So much pressure. |
| Bonnie | Did you feel like you had to perform to a standard? |
| Carrie | Hell yeah! |
| Bonnie | Did that make you feel nervous or excited? |
| Carrie | Nervous definitely. Maybe excitement later? I don’t know. Everything’s a mix of emotions (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.6). |

Greg’s coaching skills are evident in his compassion and eagerness to help Carrie learn. Greg uses phrases like “you are the expert, Carrie. You are the one with the piece of paper on the wall... welcome to the real world” (FN_C, 07/12/11, p.2). He conveys how important ‘real world’ experience is, especially for employers. He says that if he was shown two students, one with exceptional grades and the other with exceptional experience, he would choose the experience every time. He describes this placement as ‘the real stuff’, explaining how Carrie’s work will be making real financial contributions to this business because “it’s not theory and it’s not uni” (FN_C, 07/12/11, p.2). In her interview I ask Carrie how she felt being labelled the ‘expert’:

Terrified!! I said ‘I’m not an expert in anything’ I thought I was going to learn off him. But at the same time it was a challenge [and] I’m trying to push myself to accept those challenges, otherwise you’ll never move forward. Yeah it was scary! (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.5)

Greg invites me into the conversation to talk about my research. We both pick up on Carrie's reservations and she responds by saying that she feels scared. Carrie has remained quiet for most of the meeting and at times I've glanced over to see watery eyes. Her hands are kept in her lap and arms close to her body. Greg explains why he is so supportive, having known me for over two years being part of CIP and wanting to help the university in every way possible to strengthen our organisational relationship. Carrie voices that she is a little anxious to have me 'watch her'. Greg suggests that she goes away and does a SWOT (strengths, weakness, opportunity, threats) analysis, using marketing theory, to help her decide whether she will participate in my project. He adds that my research will help him reflect on his own supervision style and possibly help Carrie, given that I have a background in marketing. I get a strong sense that Carrie is undecided about the ethnographic approach and I begin to wonder whether I need to look for a third participant for my research. Later that week Carrie emails me to tell me the date of her first day of her placement.

Prior to placement beginning, Carrie submits her first assessment, reflective journal part A to the internship program. The assessment relates to expectations of work and learning on placement by reading and referencing academic articles. It is divided into three themes: workplace environment, teamwork and critical/creative thinking. Carrie describes what might be the challenges of an internship:

Through gaining experience in the industry students are faced with the challenge of having to manage their time efficiently to meet the deadlines that are associated with these 'real-world problems'. They are thrown into a new environment and asked to perform tasks that they have only read about in textbooks or heard of in a classroom. This unfamiliar territory can be quite daunting and poses the difficult task of "fitting in", let alone becoming confident enough in this environment to put forward their ideas and recommendations (RJA_C, 22/08/11, p.1).

Greg's references to the 'real world' are echoed in Carrie's assessment as she reports on her expectations:

Upon deciding to apply for the Internship program, I am expecting to gain some insight into the 'real world' of marketing, find out what it is really like and to

test it as to whether I would enjoy pursuing a career in marketing, or if I should stick to public relations (my other major)... I hope that by being set a challenge that will assist me in realising that I have actually acquired some knowledge and skills in my four years of study at university. Whilst that sounds like a low expectation to have, and a strange one at that, it must be understood that sitting in a classroom soaking up theories only to regurgitate them in an exam or essay, doesn't quite feel like my knowledge levels are increasing (RJA_C, 22/08/11, p. 3).

Carrie also recognises that this is a big step and that she has apprehensions:

This internship experience will be my first glance into marketing in 'the real world' so, as is expected, I feel a little anxious at the challenges before me. Whilst at first these feelings are a little discouraging, I am expecting myself to push through it and overcome each challenge with a high level of success that will ensure me that marketing is a suitable career choice (RJA_C, 22/08/11, p.3).

It also seems that Carrie has realistic expectations of what teamwork might look like a Local Sports Club:

I expect that my experience of teamwork at Local Sports Club will differ greatly from my previous experiences of teamwork in class at university for a few reasons. Firstly, it consists of a smaller workforce, especially during the summer season; there are no departments or divisions or even multiple staff. This limits the capacity to form teams to complete the necessary tasks. As I often will be the only one in the office alongside the general manager (my supervisor), I won't necessarily be a part of teamwork whereby a task will be completed by a group of people and reported back to the supervisor. Instead, I shall work alongside the supervisor completing the task as advised, and yet report back to him with the work I have completed and the ideas that I have (RJA_C, 22/08/11, p.6).

Carrie understands that it will be Greg and herself for most of the time on placement and is looking forward to being exposed to the 'real world' of marketing. Carrie has had some work experience with a not-for-profit organisation earlier in the year where she was doing more administrative marketing tasks in an office with a small team. Her 16 day placement is negotiated as a summer internship and she starts in

December hoping to have it finished by March, before the university session starts. She has a full semester coming up as well as casual work in a bakery, but hopes to graduate at the end of the following year.

Placement days

Day one is held in mid-December 2011. Walking in together at 9am, Carrie and I sit at the (what will be 'usual') long table for the daily overview from Greg. Since our previous visit, Greg has set Carrie homework, to revise the 2010 marketing plan, so first thing they do is to go through Carrie's suggestions (Photograph 16). Greg explains that John, the IT specialist and club member, will be coming in another day to teach Carrie the club's website.

As they go through the marketing plan, Greg is supportive and encouraging. He suggests re-writing some negatively phrased sentences such as "we have no advertising budget" to something more like "there are challenges and much opportunity for creativity" (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.1). Where further information is needed to complete a section, he indicates that he will send it through to Carrie via email. After the review he says "(l)ook, it's outstanding. [Especially] coming in and not knowing a lot about the company" (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.1).



Photograph 16: Carrie and Greg in the morning briefing

Carrie is then left to work autonomously to make the suggested changes. I observe her taking it all in:

Carrie sits with her laptop and twirls her hair with her left hand. She is looking at the computer screen, making sense of the marketing plan in light of Greg's suggestions. Eventually she puts her feet up on the seat next to her and reclines against the window. She stares at the screen for about 10 minutes more before moving the cursor (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.3).

Noticing a lot of sitting and reading and not a lot of typing, I ask her how she is going:

She says to me, out of the ear of Greg, "there's a lot of work. I was going to bring in my MARK101 textbook, but I forgot". Greg leaves the building for an appointment, leaving Carrie and I together. Carrie is on Wikipedia looking up marketing theories. She says "it's hard to know how to blend them". She is wondering which theories to use and which to disregard. We discuss marketing theories together (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.4).

Her eLogs express a similar sentiment:

It was difficult implementing the theory that I had learnt in my years at university, especially without any textbooks to confirm my thoughts and ideas with. It was also difficult in that Greg was entrusting the entire marketing future of the organisation with me, without providing me with a clear insight as to what goals and objectives [the club] hoped to achieve (eL, 14/12/11, p.1).

December is the off-season for the club and the grounds are empty. Carrie acknowledges the attention and support Greg is providing and describes the benefits of off-season for having "a dedicated supervisor to mentor and guide me through the entire internship experience" (eL_C, 14/12/11, p.2). She writes further:

Looking forward, I am a little frightened of being trusted with the entire marketing activities...a big step forward as a learning experience [that] will benefit my studies and future job prospects greatly (eL_C, 14/12/11, p.1).

Being the first day for both of us, I start to get the sense of how Greg as a 'one-man-band' works around here. At one point he says to me that while he has internship

supervision, he also has a club to run. I notice that Greg has given us his full attention at the start of the day and again at lunch, but I take notes on what happens in-between:

There are people coming and going all the time: Board members getting ready for the night ahead, people looking for the physiotherapist downstairs, and players popping in with various enquiries. There are contract workers and others that volunteer. The door remains open so that people can come in and chat to Greg. He has a landline and a mobile both with a message bank. He gets calls and texts from sponsors, coaches, board members, and his family throughout the day. His hours are flexible, being the only person there. He tends to start work around 9am and finishes up around 3pm, unless a pressing matter like the board meeting keeps him here later (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.4).

I get the initial sense that this placement will be very different, and perhaps slower paced, compared to my previous research site.

On day two, Carrie continues re-working the marketing plan independently. She feels conflicted with spending time doing quality work, given the importance of the document, and not working fast enough to meet Greg's expectations. Board members, contract workers, suppliers, volunteers and players drop in throughout the day and speak to Greg, some of whom are introduced to Carrie. She begins to notice Greg's ability to network and handle multiple demands at once and hopes to pick up on these skills.

On day three, John teaches Carrie the club's Content Management System (CMS). This system holds the information for the club's website. John is an external contractor and club member, who is passionate about sports and the Club. Greg wants Carrie to learn how to update the website with president's reports, club news, and sponsor information. I observe John teaching Carrie:

He starts with items that change regularly. He explains what things are and how to disable unnecessary items. On the homepage he goes through the items needing updating regularly, such as weekly team's scores and results... He comments "it's not rocket science". Carrie has been quiet. He asks at this point "any questions?" she says "I think I've got it so far" (FN_C, 20/12/11, p.3).

Before they move on to the more technical side of the CMS, John turns and asks Carrie her preferred way of learning:

John	How do you want to learn? Do you want to watch and write notes, or wing it, or just do it?
Carries	Watch and write notes.
John	Next time I come down then you will do it by yourself. Grab your note book then (FN_C, 20/12/11, p.2).

John runs through the system step-by-step while Carrie observes and occasionally takes notes, asking very few questions. She says it seems relatively simple and easy to use. Greg is in-and-out of the office running errands. John delegates jobs for Carrie such as updating the sponsorship section with company abstracts and photos. At the end of the day, Greg summarises his reasons for inviting John to teach Carrie these website technical skills and how this relates to her marketing placement.

Day four takes place one month later because of the Christmas break. Carrie is asked to create some promotional material for an upcoming season launch luncheon, including an invitation to sponsors, a general flyer and an event media release. Carrie finds it hard to get back into work after the holidays. Greg says to me “I feel like I should be here all the time” and explains that “the work is instructional” and that “Carrie’s the expert” (FN_C, 17/01/12, p.2). There have been no visitors a few phone calls. Besides our chatter about Christmas break, there is little else to be heard:

Greg has turned the radio on in his office. Carrie has started typing. Besides the morning briefing, there has been very little interaction between supervisor and intern in the last two hours. I hear Greg on the phone, the occasional sound of typing and low hums of music from the office (FN_C, 17/01/12, p.2).

The room Carrie and I are in is large, open, and quiet. All of a sudden I record in my field notes a strange interaction:

Suddenly, Greg has come from his office to grab a coffee and, speaking directly to Carrie, said “Only John has those backgrounds”. What just happened? Did I miss something? Carrie now shows me an email trail from 9:30am this morning, starting with Greg sending through details on the event. Oh, this now makes

sense; Carrie has been emailing Greg about the backdrop on the website for her flyer (FN_C, 17/01/12, p.2).

In a room full of silence and short bursts of typing, Carrie is communicating with her supervisor – who is sitting less than two meters away. I draw the layout of the office to help demonstrate this strange sense of isolation from sitting in this big room and the silence that penetrates it (Figure 8).

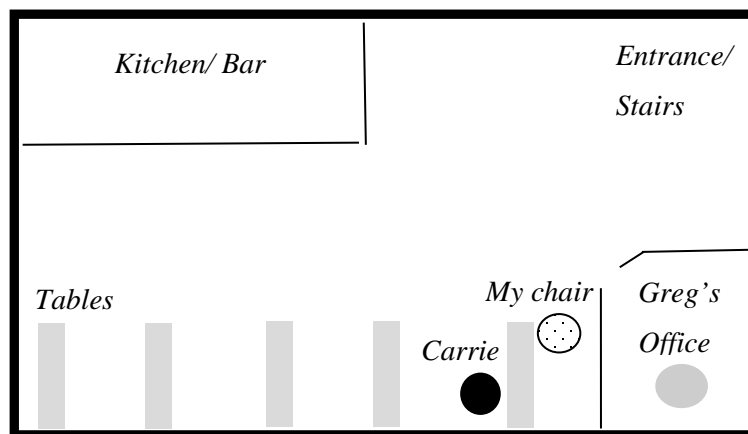


Figure 8: Carrie's office spatial arrangements

On day five, Carrie finalises the invitation and flyer. The promotional material has been checked at the board meeting and changes were recommended. Carrie emails the changes through to Greg in his office. She also updates the website with this information. Working independently for most of the day, Carrie comes into contact only with John who drops by to show her how to send out newsletters and gives her positive feedback on a banner she created on the website for the season launch.

On day six, Carrie is still working on the season launch promotional material including creating a personalised invitation for a special guest and the media release. After a busy morning, Greg takes Carrie out of the office to visit two major sponsors in the local area. While visiting the sponsors, they chat about the sponsor's own marketing strategies and ask the managers questions. Carrie learns a lot from the day, writing in her eLog:

Today was a big learning experience with a lot to absorb. I am thankful for the sponsor trips that Greg took me on, as well as the time we spent discussing the

club, Greg's experience and my thoughts about Local Sports Club. I am enjoying my time and experiences very much (eL6_C, 02/02/12, p.2).

On day seven, Carrie creates a flyer for a political figure hosting a function at the club and teaches a club volunteer, Judy, aspects of the website. Although Carrie happily shows Judy the website, she finds it difficult to know what to cover as Greg has left her little information. At lunch time Judy leaves, and, with Greg busy, Carrie is unsure what to do next. She writes in her eLog:

About lunch time the lady had left and Greg was quite busy with a number of other club duties. This unfortunately left me with not much to do. Greg is a busy man running the organisation so I completely understand that he has other commitments and can't spend a lot of time sitting with me (eL7_C, 09/02/12, p.1).

In her interview she talks to me further about the times Greg was absent:

Sometimes there were days where [Greg] was busy with someone else and I wanted or needed something else to do. So I remember one afternoon I sat there for a while because I'd done everything... I think I tried to do some stuff because I felt bad doing other things. Um, I like read through the website and like sports sites and then ended up like reading the news. Little things. Yeah I didn't know what else to do. I think, no I actually started working on something, going back to something else, trying find something to do... (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.14).

She also expresses her concerns with how long this placement is taking. The placement is only half way through and it is early February now, meaning the university semester will begin in several weeks. She wonders how she will juggle the long travel and other commitments during session.

Day eight is delayed by a few weeks because Greg is having issues organising the competition rounds and needs to meet with the national board standards in Sydney. Greg and Carrie communicate through email to postpone placement days. Walking in on day eight, Carrie is unsure what she is working on. Greg explains that it may be a menial day because he needs Carrie and myself to help send out tickets to sponsors for to an up-coming game. He sends the information through to Carrie via email and

we get to work allocating the tickets to sponsors and putting them in envelopes to be posted (Photograph 17).



Photograph 17: Carrie sorting tickets on day eight

I notice that Carrie is more relaxed now in this environment. Greg is in his office and rather than emailing Carrie shouts, “Do you want the bigger sponsors to get the better seats?” and “Can you tell me which ones I’m sending (by post)” (FN_C, 23/02/12, p.2) to which Greg shouts back with answers. Reflecting on this day in her eLogs she says:

Whilst today’s tasks were tedious, simple and believed to be something more for a secretary to complete, I understand that a career in marketing and communications isn’t all glamour and full of challenges. I enjoy a break from the challenges of writing and designing promotional materials just to relax and get the administrative tasks done (eL8_C, 23/02/12, p.1).

On day nine, Greg takes Carrie through the marketing plan a second time, now a few months after the first revision, to evaluate how the club is meeting its goals. Carrie is starting to think about her career and writes:

Referring back to the marketing plan was helpful as it provided some structure to what I had been working on and highlighted that I had in fact reached milestones in relation to the marketing strategy... Now I am considering Sports

Marketing as a potential career path and am wondering why I didn't think of that before! (eL_C, 01/03/12, p.1)

Judy the volunteer returns to revise her knowledge of the website and learn more functions. Greg hopes that after Carrie's placement, Judy can take over the website updates and maintenance. I observe Carrie teaching Judy:

Judy is focused. She has hand written notes on white paper from last time. She has her left finger pointing to her notes and her right hand on the laptop (Photograph 18). Carrie and Judy sit side-by-side and are oriented toward the laptop screen. Carrie is patient:

Judy	Where is image (on the toolbar)?
Carrie	You wrote it down last time... Do you remember doing this?"
Judy	Um.... No.
Carrie	[Showing her where it is] Do you remember seeing it now?
Judy	I don't remember (FN_C, 01/03/12, p.3).



Photograph 18: Carrie teaching Judy the CMS

Today is Carrie's birthday and she brings in a chocolate velvet cake from the patisserie where she works. We share it at the end of the day with four other club members who emerge suspiciously, just-in-time. In the afternoon, the club hosts a game so we both get to experience a game atmosphere with players, coaches, and

crowds. Before going home Carrie is asked to place a news item on the website promoting their players in a large game that Saturday. However, on Sunday she realises that she has forgotten - so writes it up quickly.

Day ten is spent working from home because university classes have started. From home, Carrie works on the additional changes Greg has suggested for the marketing plan including recording the accomplishments from the last three months (since Carrie started). Carrie describes the challenges of completing this task:

The task was more difficult than originally thought, both because it was difficult to remember everything that Greg had said as we went through the 17 page document and because I hadn't been with [the club] every day of the last 3 months to see how each aim had been reached in some way. To add to this difficulty, Greg must have been busy or forgotten our arranged plans as he wasn't responding to the emails I sent with various questions about the task (eL_C, 06/03/12, p.1).

Without written notes, immediate responses to her questions, and knowledge of the clubs recent activities, Carries finds this day less productive:

As I was working from home and Greg was unresponsive to my emails, I was not interacting with any other people or departments. It was unfortunate that this afternoon didn't go as planned and was therefore less productive than anticipated (eL_C, 06/03/12, p.2).

In early May, Greg comes to the university to have coffee with Carrie. He has been away on holidays and busy with the demands of the peak season. They arrange to have her next placement day in two weeks' time. I worry the time lapse might impact her confidence and wonder if she'll remember the workplace practices she learnt three months ago.

Twelve weeks since her last internship day, Carrie returns to the club for day eleven with a long list of tasks awaiting her. The club has been a hive of activity due to the season being well under way, so there are a lot of sports news items to be updated on the website. She is also asked to review formal documents for the national sports affiliates, update the signage around the clubhouse, and get in touch with the some of

the Club's sponsors. Carrie gets to work independently, occasionally conversing with Greg. She notices her preference for being here rather than at university:

It was good to be back at Local Sports Club, I enjoy the atmosphere of the club and much prefer completing marketing and communications tasks in the workplace compared to studying for university. I think I am more than ready to graduate from university and enter 'the real world' (eL_C, 28/05/12, p.1).

Day twelve is conducted early June. On this day, Carrie works on several small projects such as uploading information to the website, working on signage around the club, making all communications consistent with the branding, re-formatting game timetables for the website, and updating the club news and merchandise sections. These tasks mean that Carrie is talking with Greg throughout the day, to ask advice and to check on things. John also comes by to show Carrie another part of the CMS and to assist with any questions. Carrie sends him some work that she needs him to complete. Carrie enjoys 'helping out' and working on signage around the club:

Making new signs for the club house also enabled me to put my own footprint on the place! Now there is further physical evidence that shows I was there! (eL12_C, 06/06/12, p.1)

One month later and into the winter month of July, day thirteen is initially spent working on the marketing plan and assisting Greg with some computer problems and email issues. The season is wrapping up shortly and the club seems less busy. Carrie works on promoting a semi-final luncheon to the club's community, by liaising via email with John regarding a banner on the website and creating a news story for the home page that links to another webpage to enable registration. Carrie also cross-promotes the event throughout the website to ensure that the luncheon is advertised at multiple points. She emails a Director on the Club Board with a draft flyer and blurb for the website on another upcoming function. On this cold winter day, Carrie shares an office with Greg and is constant contact with him:

Having been offered the chance to share Greg's office, I feel that our relationship is growing nicely. Also, being able to contact the Board Members directly, rather than using Greg as a middle man, felt a little empowering and enabled me to get one step closer to having complete control of the club marketing activities (eL_C, 12/07/12, p.2).

The university semester is almost over and Carrie has not completed 16 days of internship. Helen approaches Carrie and explains that she needs to complete by the end of July to pass the subject. Helen reinforces to Carrie that she is the 'marketing expert' and needs to find things to do in order to finish her placement. Helen suggests that Carrie approach Greg with ideas of how she can finish these last few days. Carrie sends an email to follow up with Greg, however, struggles with the notion of finding things to make up the reminding time. Carrie submits her final assessment and passes the subject in this semester, still having not completed her final three days.

After Placement

Carrie's reflective journal part B for the internship program summarises the marketing practices she learned on placement. Carrie was responsible for the marketing, promotion and communication strategies of the club, through signage, flyers, invitations, and the website. She describes how learning the CMS system gave her skills to work more confidently and independently on marketing activities. She reflects on the two 'worlds' of university and work:

Workplace learning encourages these skills differently compared to the university setting, as each task and situation is in the 'real world' with real consequences. Additionally, the potential to make a difference, to benefit the organisation, and to see how you impacted the organisation are all greater motives than simply receiving a 'mark' for your all of your efforts (RJB_C, 13/07/12, p. 2).

Carrie reflects on being entrusted with the design of marketing material:

In terms of the marketing activities of the club, creativity was encouraged from the get go. I was entrusted completely with all of the marketing responsibilities and tasks and encouraged to do them as I please with the knowledge and skills that I had acquired through university and my own experiences. I was the 'marketing expert' and therefore was able to produce the marketing and promotional material as I saw fit (RJB_C, 13/07/12, p. 5).

In her reflective journal part A, Carrie had indicated that this internship will help her evaluate a career in marketing. In this assessment, she refers to the organisational culture and sports marketing as something she might pursue:

Combined with my love of sport, my internship placement with Local Sports Club has inspired a desire to work in the sporting industry. The laidback atmosphere and friendliness of the people involved is an organisational culture that I would love to be a part of in the future. I enjoyed spending time at [the club], working on various tasks and challenging myself and whilst initially I felt fear at being dubbed the ‘marketing expert’, I now feel somewhat comfortable and confident in this role that I feel ready and excited to enter the workforce upon graduation (RJB_C, 13/07/12, p.7).

In her orientation, Carrie lacked confidence and said she felt ‘scared’. In this assessment, she writes resolutely about the importance of being challenged:

My time and challenges experienced at the club have brought me to the realisation that one needs to be constantly challenging oneself in order to grow, develop and improve. Fear may be the dominant emotion being felt, but I realise now that one must push through that in order to go somewhere or be something (RJB_C, 13/07/12, p.7).

Although in her reflective journal part B Carrie appears to resolve her initial anxieties, in her interview with me she tells a different story when describing her tasks to produce the marketing plan:

It’s hard to think like that any of it would be... because it’s like a proper organisation using it. But to me it doesn’t seem like a proper marketing thing. It’s just something I did. Does that make sense? I think I’m more scared that they would actually go by that. [Maybe] they should have got a professional marketing person to do it and then they can use it as an actual document (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.30).

She also tells me that the marketing plan was difficult because she didn’t have the whole picture. She explains that the business side of things is run during the day while the decisions are made at board meetings at night and the ‘product’ or games, are held mostly on the weekends.

In December 2012, one year after starting her internship, Carrie graduates from her Bachelor of Commerce degree. She tells me that both Greg and she tried to organise final dates, but even now still doesn't know where she stands. She tells me "I am unsure as to my position with the club due to no final date being arranged – we are both at fault for that" (Email correspondence, 07/12/12). Over the last six months she has 'helped out' on a couple of projects via email, assisting with Facebook and other promotional material such as a poster for a tournament. Carrie, however, has not officially heard back about her final days. She summarises her final thoughts on her placement:

Once I completed the subject I felt that any time and work I did with Local Sports Club was more me happily volunteering my time to work... by then I was doing the same kind of tasks, and was more challenging myself in attempting various Photoshop effects with Google as my teacher =) (Email correspondence, 07/12/12).

These last few tasks are not recorded (in eLogs or otherwise) towards Carrie's placement and her final days remain incomplete.

Interpretive comment

Carrie's placement positions her as the 'marketing expert' in her host organisation, Local Sports Club. As a small not-for-profit organisation, Carrie's workplace practices are shaped largely by the availability of the club's only full-time employee and her supervisor, Greg, who is busy with day-to-day business operations. Carrie's placement, that was meant to be a summer internship, turns into a twelve month, incomplete placement, where emailing and working from home or on the train becomes the norm. Several interesting and overlapping issues arise from this placement:

- The challenges of learning marketing work practices when the norm is an absence of a specialised marketing practitioner: Being the 'expert' when you are the novice
- The emphasis on working independently as being synonymous with working unaccompanied

- The central role of email and the implications this has for face-to-face supervision and communication
- The dependency of Carrie's laptop for work practices and what this means for the where and when work is performed
- The impact of a 'flexible' placement - A 16 day summer internship that remained incomplete after 12 months

Conclusion

This chapter has laid important foundations for understanding informal learning on placement by describing the cases of Anna, Ben, and Carrie. My interpretive comments at the end of the cases are threads drawn across each story to highlight emerging issues. These threads are in no way intended to collapse an intern's experience into one particular prototype, but to rather celebrate that in all their heterogeneity, there are several, shared practices that are performed as interns learn diverse work practices. The proceeding chapter starts to make sense of these cases by expanding on findings from an analysis of the data and by responding to the research aims and questions.

CHAPTER 5: TRANSITIONING TO WORK PRACTICES



FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 5: TRANSITIONING TO WORK PRACTICES

Humans and what they take to be their ‘learning’ and ‘social’ processes do not float, distinct, in ‘contexts’ of work that can be conceptualized and dismissed as a wash of material ‘stuff’ and spaces. The things that assemble these contexts, and incidentally the actions and bodies including human ones that are part of these assemblages, are continuously acting on each other to bring forth objects and knowledge... these objects, including objects of knowledge, are very messy, slippery, and indeterminate (Fenwick, 2010a, p. 105).

Chapter 4 presented the placement experiences of Anna, Ben, and Carrie. This chapter analyses and unpacks those experiences by challenging, explicating, and questioning prevailing assumptions about learning in WIL. Positioned within a wider discussion of epistemologies of learning, in order to examine and interpret these cases, this chapter draws on two enabling theoretical foundations from theories of sociomateriality (Fenwick, 2010a, 2014; Fenwick, et al., 2011; Gherardi & Nicolini, 2000; Orlikowski, 2006; Orlikowski, 2007; Sørensen, 2009) and practice (Nicolini, 2009a, 2013; Schatzki, 1996; 2002; Schatzki, et al., 2001).

This chapter is organised by attending to and unpacking the research aims:

- To investigate informal learning by identifying and explaining what interns do to develop work practices while on placement
- To move beyond perceiving learning as an individualised process by exploring social and material relations entangled with learning on placement
- To propose a practice-based conception of learning as an enriched, contextualised alternative to traditional understandings of WIL

These aims go hand-in-hand with the research questions:

1. What do interns do to learn work practices?
2. What are the social, contextual, and material relations that are productive of informal learning on placement?

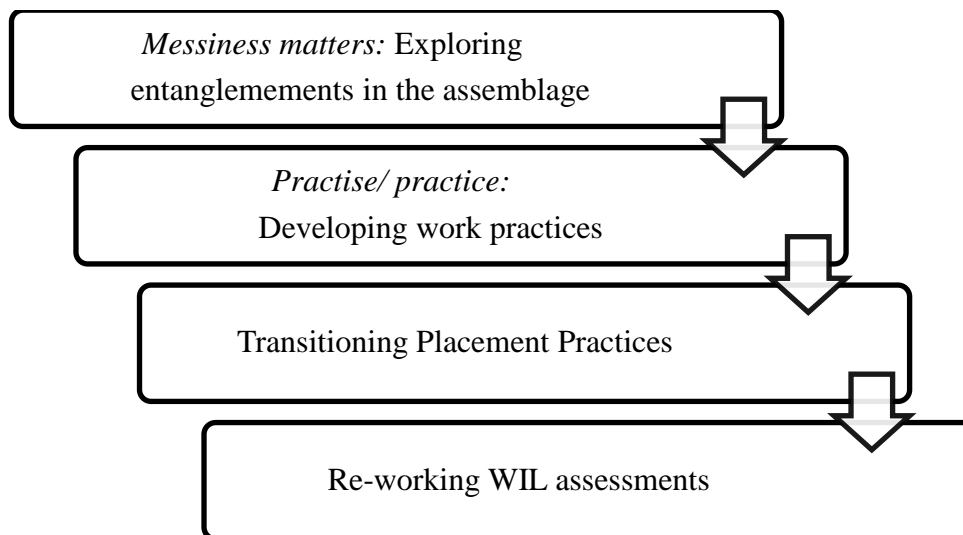


Figure 9: Overview of Chapter 5

As illustrated in Figure 9, this chapter is structured by four main sections. First, following Fenwick's (2010a) arguments in the opening excerpt, this section problematises neat applications of learning by drawing up the complexity in everyday practices to argue that messiness matters. Focussing on the ontological positioning of learning laid out by Beckett and Hager (2002) and Hager, Lee, and Reich (2012), this section opens with a discussion on the limitations of the standard paradigm of learning for understanding entanglements of actions, materials, technologies, and bodies, and their place in learning and suggests learning on placement be reconceptualised to Beckett and Hager's (2002) emerging paradigm of learning.

Second, following arguments that learning transpires in relation to people, things, and practices, this section explores findings from the data on how interns develop work practices. Analysis of the data suggests a larger role of social, contextual, and material relations than previously conceived, in ways that produce, limit, or abandon learning through opportunities to practise.

Third, by exploring entanglements and how interns learn work practices, new spaces for examining learning are revealed. This section uncovers findings relating to a new bundle of temporary, dynamic, and unique practices that have to date been largely overlooked. This new bundle of practices are named transitioning placement

practices and are performed as interns temporarily transition into the workplace and learn in ways that bestride university and work. Fourth, in light of these findings, the chapter concludes by drawing on the opening discussions in Chapter 1 to reflect on conceptions of learning in WIL and offer recommendations for re-working WIL assessments.

Messiness matters: Exploring entanglements in the assemblage

Before embarking on any investigation of learning, literature in Chapter 2 pointed out that the term ‘learning’ is unclear (Fenwick, et al., 2011) and often goes undefined (Fenwick, 2010b). Various distinctions and understandings frame the way scholars talk about, research, evaluate, and plan for learning. Hager, Lee, and Reich (2012) suggested a tripartite framework where approaches to learning are ontologically grouped into cognitive-psychology-based theories of learning, socio-cultural theories of learning and post-Cartesian theories.

Beckett and Hager (2002) proposed that particularly in education most of what gets described as learning sits within this first cognitive-psychology or Cartesian domain, in what they call the *standard paradigm of learning*. In the standard paradigm, students are seen as isolated, individual minds that acquire and hold stock of accumulated ideas where “the best learning consists of abstract ideas (concepts or propositions) that are context-independent (universal) and transparent in thought” (Beckett & Hager, 2002, p. 98). In this paradigm learning can be stored, recalled and applied in response to stimuli.

As the data in the cases show, while on placement Anna, Ben, and Carrie attempted to apply what they had learnt from university. On Anna’s first day for example, she made connections between her HR subjects and the implications for the new OH&S legislation. Carrie similarly attended to marketing knowledge, yet struggled to make such connections, “there’s a lot of work. I was going to bring in my MARK101 textbook, but I forgot” (FN_C, 14/12/11, p.4). In her eLog, Carrie reiterated “(i)t was difficult implementing the theory that I had learnt in my years at university, especially without any textbooks to confirm my thoughts and ideas with” (eL, 14/12/11, p.1). On her first day, Carrie looked for comfort and familiarity in her

textbooks, however, as her placement progressed, little else was mentioned about bringing in her textbooks. Applying university ‘universal’ knowledge on placement was a demonstrated priority, however, it does not describe the extent of learning on placement.

Consider Ben’s situation with the fish boxes. As a finance student enrolled in CIP, Ben found himself saturated in seafood liquid, having picked up a box of oysters and prawns incorrectly. The situation escalated when confronted with Anna and her supervisors sharing lunch in the canteen. In his eLogs we felt his emotions:

Today has been the MOST DEPRESSING AND HUMILIATING DAY and it is an EMBARRASSMENT on my UNIVERSITY DEGREE! I am almost convinced that I should drop this subject! (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.4)

In this moment of Ben’s placement, we get a sense of the messiness of learning. It is messy in that there are multiple things making up this space, in what sociomaterial scholars call ‘an assemblage’ (Fenwick, 2010a), that forms part of understanding how Ben is learning. The things that make up this space, concrete floors, wine cellars, boxes of produce, casual sneakers, a borrowed T-shirt, a trolley, an aching body, and more, are shaping what Ben is learning. It is messy in that what Ben is asked to perform, the things he uses and the way he performs them, require him to do something else than applying canonical knowledge: learning is coming first from the practice (Johnsson & Boud, 2010).

To start explaining what this mess means for understanding learning on placement, Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical framework that brought together two interrelating concepts: sociomateriality and practice theory. Underpinning these theories is the notion that things are related, that “everything that is has no existence apart from its relation to other things” (Langley & Tsoukas, 2010, p. 3). If things only exist within relation to other things, then these ‘other things’ become an important part of any analysis. The way things relate, that is how they are ‘held together’ (Schatzki, 1996) or ‘mutually transform one another’ (Fenwick, et al., 2011), underscores what sociomaterial scholars identify as ‘indeterminate entanglements’ (Fenwick, 2010a) and what Schatzki (2009) names ‘practice-arrangement meshes’.

A sociomaterial lens counters theoretical positions that assume the individual/ social/ cultural to be defining parameters of what it means to learn (Fenwick, et al., 2011). It de-centres human processes of cognition and sociality in learning by claiming that the “materiality is integral to organizing, positing that the social and the material are *constitutively entangled* in everyday life” (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1436, *italics in original*). The material world is entangled in meaning, not separate from it. Learning is seen as performed in embodied actions, rather than as internalised concepts or meanings. Learning does not exist, and cannot be identified, as separate from the assemblage through which it is enacted (Fenwick, et al., 2011).

Therefore, acknowledgment of the sociomaterial assemblage is critical to understanding learning (Fenwick, 2006a). Meanings are performed into existence, things are “not pre-given or fixed, but enacted in practice” (Orlikowski & Scott, 2008, p. 462). That is, “practice – that is, *doing* – is not ontologically separable from learning and human development, but is the very substance of it” (Fenwick, et al., 2011, p. 1; *italics added*). If learning and practice are intimately entangled, then we can say that learning is not something that sits inside one’s mind that can be easily reported, acquired or transferred, but instead learning is performed. To encapsulate these arguments and the theoretical framework espoused in this study, a summary of learning that leans on these foundations is offered: *Learning is entangled in the performance of practices and the sociomaterial assemblage*.

Figure 10 offers a visual representation of a WIL assemblage. The purpose of the figure is to highlight (i) the prominent role of the social and material in learning, (ii) how multiple, overlapping practices prefigure and infiltrate action, and (iii) when taken together, learning is inseparable from the assemblage, it shapes and is shaped by performance of the practice and in sociomaterial configurations.

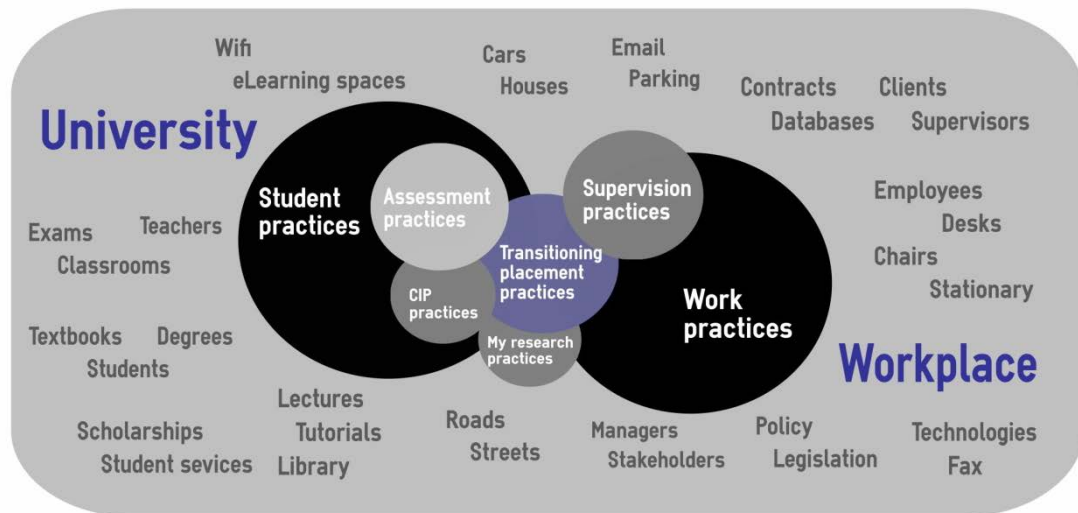


Figure 10: Representation of WIL assemblage

In this figure, sociomateriality is brought to the fore. Teachers, exams, classrooms, students, scholarships, lectures, wifi, and libraries, are some examples of the complex sociomateriality assemblage of a university. In the workplace sociomateriality might include employees, contracts, databases, policies, technologies, clients, legislation, stationary, and managers to name a few. The cases in this study illuminated materiality to show how materials are entangled with meaning.

For example, using rubber bands, ink pads, printers, paper, and manila files shaped how Ben performed the day bags. Through manually handling these office artefacts, Ben was learning the how to perform an accounts receivable work practice. In a way, the rubber bands and other materials acted on him, determining the way he developed this work practice. The learning came from his body having to do things, with his fingers, through touch and connecting with materials to get the job done. It was while performing this largely manual process that Ben said to me “imagine going from uni to here...” (FN_B, 20/09/11, p.4). Compared to the technology used at university, Ben was forced to learn accounts receivable through work objects that he described as ‘ancient’. Having experience at university himself, Felix, who is proficient in this accounts receivable practice, commented “So I’m just trying to make that distinction between coming from a new environment to a - what you need to get the job done” (IN_F, 18/10/11, pp.35-36). While the practice is new to Ben the

materials are novel, however, for Felix for whom the practice is routine, the materials and practice are one and the same.

In the centre of Figure 10, a bundle of practices represented by circles are shown to overlap. These include: student practices of studying, reading, researching, creating and attending classes; assessment practices such as the design of tests, feedback, moderation and grading; and, CIP practices which are those enacted by the coordinator, tutor, and administrator relating to recruitment, curriculum, evaluation, quality assurance, student support, and stakeholder relationships. In my observations, there were some obvious times when student and assessment practices coalesced, for example, Mia helping Anna with a university assignment or Anna working on her assignment to fill in time. The figure also includes my research practices and the (im)position of my body in the space. Again there were times when I was positioned as an insider and my research practices were made apparent, such as Ben and Felix waiting for me before beginning a new task or when Greg asked Carrie and I to sort the tickets for an upcoming game.

In the middle of the Figure 10, is a purple circle labelled *transitioning placement practices*. These are a key finding of this study and describe a unique bundle of practices performed by interns as they work out how to position themselves on placement within workplace norms, routines, and changes. *Transitioning placement practices* will be unpacked in detail in the third section of this chapter.

The remaining two practices on the right side of the figure, situated amongst the sociomaterial assemblage of work, are supervision and work practices. Supervision practices in this study refers to the way supervisors designed and delegated activities, supported interns, responded to questions, and generally where they were and how they were in the space at certain times.

Work practices are the doings and sayings of the employees in organisation. Work practices have been described as series of accomplishments that arise from practising or rehearsing accomplishments over time in routine and contingent situations (Beckett & Hager, 2002). This might include administration, finance, cleaning,

management, or other practices that are performed together. Work practices are important in any investigation of WIL, as learning to perform these practices are the ends, goals or purpose for an internship or workplace placement.

The three cases in this study illustrate how performances of supervision and work practices are entangled with what interns do and how they are learning. At Local Sports Club for example, work practices were seen as performances by mainly one man, Greg. Greg met Carrie first thing every placement morning to set-up the tasks for the day. Carrie would sit in an open space that was the main function room of the club (Photograph 19). Carrie's orientation in the space was mainly towards her laptop which she used to perform her tasks and communicate with Greg. Even though Greg had been sitting less than two metres away, Carrie's approach to asking questions was to send Greg an email. This communication practice began before placement had started, instigated through Greg's 'homework' for Carrie which was to revise the marketing plan.



Photograph 19: Carrie working and communicating

For me as a researcher in this space, the support Greg offered to Carrie through email communication was unobservable. This was particularly reflected on the day that two hours of silence was broken by Greg's answer to a question I didn't know had been asked:

What just happened? Did I miss something? Carrie now shows me an email trail from 9:30am this morning, starting with Greg sending through details on the event. Oh, this now makes sense; Carrie has been emailing Greg about the backdrop on the website for her flyer (IN_C, 20/12/11, p.3).

As an observer, their supervisors/ intern exchange was not visible. Carrie had to make me aware that they had been communicating through email all morning. Emailing as a practice of communication shaped the way Carrie and Greg shared ideas, answered questions and exchanged documents while at the club and extended to work practices while working from home.

Communicating (in silence) was contributing to how Carrie was learning about marketing. I often wondered what Carrie was missing by the limited inter-personal contact. Her responses suggest that she felt far from being the ‘marketing expert’:

But to me it doesn’t seem like a proper marketing thing. It’s just something I did. Does that make sense? I think I’m more scared that they would actually go by that. [Maybe] they should have got a professional marketing person to do it and then they can use it as an actual document (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.30).

Although Carrie was working on marketing activities necessary for this club, her insights suggest that what she was doing didn’t align fully with her expectations with practices of marketing. Yet the way Carrie learned about marketing through performances of marketing on placement notably shaped the way she viewed herself and marketing as a career.

Carrie’s experiences are examples of how learning on placement are largely incommensurate with the standard paradigm of learning that claims best learning comprises abstract, well-ordered, and context-independent ideas (Beckett & Hager, 2002). It is within this complexity of bodies, space, technologies, actions, emotions, procedures, and objects that learning is performed on placement.

Therefore, a more useful conceptualisation of learning on placement is to adopt Beckett and Hager’s (2002) framework of an *emerging paradigm of learning*. The emerging paradigm of learning acknowledges that the standard paradigm is a not

grand narrative - but only one amongst several. This emerging approach to learning is useful in understandings of WIL as it doesn't disregard the standard paradigm and structures around formal learning, but instead recognises that learning can be inclusive of formal and informal dynamics. In Beckett and Hager's (2002) words:

For instance there is no rejection of propositional knowledge...What is rejected is the view that propositions are the epitome of knowledge, and have a timeless, independent existence. The emerging paradigm of learning brings together the propositional with the active... (p.150)

The emerging paradigm, and indeed Beckett and Hager's (2002) depiction of the organic learner, takes a whole of person approach to learning. A notable amendment that this study may take to extend the emerging paradigm of learning, however, is to focus less on the learner themselves and more on their practices and the relations that are produced in performances and within affordances of sociomaterial assemblages.

Extending the emerging paradigm of learning in this way, affords greater attention to the role of relations and materiality. This approach is theoretically aligned more closely with Hager, Lee, and Reich's (2002) third post-Cartesian domain which emphasises rationality, where "everything we do in practice, in being a response to another or otherness in our surroundings, inevitably relates us to them in some way" (Shotter, 1996a, p. 294).

Overall, the aim of this study was not to investigate informal learning by identifying and explaining 'interns' thinking processes' but rather to investigate informal learning by looking at what interns do on placement. This section has stressed that informal learning emerges in practice, it can be messy, unintentional, and difficult to plan. This learning makes it no less important than formal learning and knowledge learnt through relations with textbooks, concepts or teachers, however, it does highlight limitations in approaches that in certain contexts try to avoid the mess to theorise learning. In light of the sociomaterial and practice-based framework espoused here, the following section zooms in on findings from this study pertaining to how interns develop work practices.

Practise/practice: Developing work practices

Over the years, scholars have attempted to capture what happens to a learner over time as they engage in workplace activities. Dreyfus and colleagues (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 2005; Dreyfus, et al., 1986; Dreyfus, 2004) for example have depicted learning as a five-stage process of skill acquisition. They propose that a learner moves through a trajectory from novice, advanced beginner, competence, proficiency, to finally, expertise.

According to Billett (2009), the student is the key driver of learning on placement. He maintains that “it is students who participate in, negotiate and learn in and across both practice and university settings” (Billett, 2009, p.31). Billett (2009) describes students who succeed in practice settings as ‘agentic learners’, those who are proactive, engaged in meaning-making and developing intentional and relevant capabilities and knowledge.

However, as Chapter 4 has shown, learning is far more complex than climbing an incremental ladder from novice to expertise or being responsible for one’s own learning. Things, actions, and bodies in the space, enable, and constrict which practices can and can’t be performed. Take Carrie’s placement for example. Carrie began her 16 day internship planning for it to be completed over three months and before session began. Day 13, however, was Carrie’s last day in the workplace, which was, effectively, 7 months after the starting date. With instruction from Helen, she was told to ‘think of something’ to do to finish the program. As the designated ‘marketing expert’ of the club, Carrie made several efforts yet struggled to allocate herself tasks. Her last three days were never officially completed.

Examining learning on placement has previously been obscured by limitations of particular theoretical frameworks as well as the socio-political structures of WIL programs. Eraut (2004, 2011) for example, identifies problems associated with investigating informal learning including the largely invisible nature of workplace learning, where learning is often taken for granted, tacit, and difficult to describe or not recognised as learning. WIL programs comprise another set of challenges due to a historical distance between WIL educators and work placement activities. This

distance, as Billett (2009) points out, makes learning in the workplace difficult to see or control from within the higher education institution.

Through adopting an ethnographic methodological approach, ‘going beneath the surface’ (Pader, 2006) to explain what we often can’t explain, was made possible. By doing so, the cases in this study show limitations with a staged model of learning, that avoid the messiness and uncertainty that ensues as practice unfolds. Therefore, the findings of this research support others who critique the skill acquisition model for being too linear, overly rationalised, and individualised (Fenwick, 2013; Price, et al., 2009; Sawchuk & Taylor, 2010a). So, if learning is not assigned only to individual agency nor as clear cut as a staged development of skills, how then, do students learn on placement?

To preface this question, let’s revisit the aims and intentions of WIL. The phenomenon of interest in this study was to investigate how interns learn “the practice of work” (Patrick, et al., 2008, p. iv). In a practice-based framework learning and doing are ontological inseparable (Fenwick, et al., 2011), so the question became ‘what do interns do to learn work practices?’

Work practices are those performed by practitioners or employees, who over time demonstrate competent performance. According to Schatzki (2002) a practice “always exhibits a set of ends that participants should or may pursue... and a selection of tasks they should or may perform” (p. 80). Work practices comprise a distinctive (however, do not read ‘stable’) set of ends and goals in their performance: to enable organisational competitiveness and success, to achieve organisational cohesion and sustainability, to work collegiality amongst colleagues, and to be a productive employee and practitioner in the field etc. However, when a new actor enters the scene, one that is temporary and unpaid, one that hasn’t yet learnt the craft/practice, norms, rules, or understandings of the way things are done at this site, the practices they perform are not necessarily aligned with those of the organisation.

The way we learn these things is what Schatzki (1996) describes as learning the intelligibility and sociality of the practice. That is, “we learn how to act intelligibly

through the socialisation that occurs during the performance of everyday practices” (Sykes & Dean, 2013, p.184). Others have linked this to the Heideggerian notion of appropriateness (Heidegger, 1953; Wrathall, 2005), where learning takes place by performing practices that are regarded as appropriate to norms of correct or incorrect practice (Beckett & Hager, 2002; Rouse, 2001). Work practices are performed by practitioners or employees, who, over time have competently demonstrated appropriateness (Rouse, 2001) and intelligibility (Schatzki, 1996) through their performances. Therefore, *learning on placement involves intelligible and appropriate performances of work practices.*

For example, in the finance department, Ben had opportunity to learn accounts receivable work practices. To learn these practices, Felix spent time demonstrating how things were done (Photograph 20).



Photograph 20: Felix performing supervision practices

Supervision practices intersect with work practices, as Felix interprets and breaks down the day bags work practice into steps for Ben to follow:

So you get like, something as, simple as the day bags where *I* think it's just *one job*. Do you know what I mean? The day bag is just one job to me. Where, say for a new staff member, they look at the day bag and they look at a whole bunch of paper and they go, there's probably like 13 jobs in there that I need to do!

Then what I do is take a step back and break it down into all those individual steps (IN_F, 18/10/11, pp.10-11).

To teach Ben a new work practice, Felix suggests his supervision practice goes through several stages of scaffolding. First, he begins with a 'show' where he performs the task himself and Ben observes and writes notes. Next, Ben is put into 'hot seat' to practise himself and Felix becomes the observer who offers advice and support. Throughout the process Felix shares some tips and tricks that he has learnt from performing the practice over time. Through demonstration and explanation of this process, Ben is learning the appropriate ways of performing this work practice.

This is one example of how supervisory practices are prominent in the way an intern develops work practices. However, during the placements in this study, I observed that at times interns were developing work practices with little or no immediate supervision. At these points, the material seemed to play a significant role in affording support to learning and practice. Anna, for example, used the policy information in the folders above the HR coordinators desk as a reference point when putting together contracts. Carrie often used Google to contemplate creative ideas for marketing material. The affordance of materials in learning a work practice demonstrates materials as 'constitutively engantagled' in practice, where materials enable certain practices but are also shaped through the enactment of practices (Orlikowski, 2007).

For example, the to-do-list on Ben's placement (Figure 11) was not a stable object. Ben used it in certain ways to inform his practice and remind him what to do and when. He learned work practices through his engagement with this material artefact. It listed tasks in order, including lunch, with timing allocations on the left hand side. For Ben, the to-do-list was his guiding source of learning the intelligibility of the work practice.

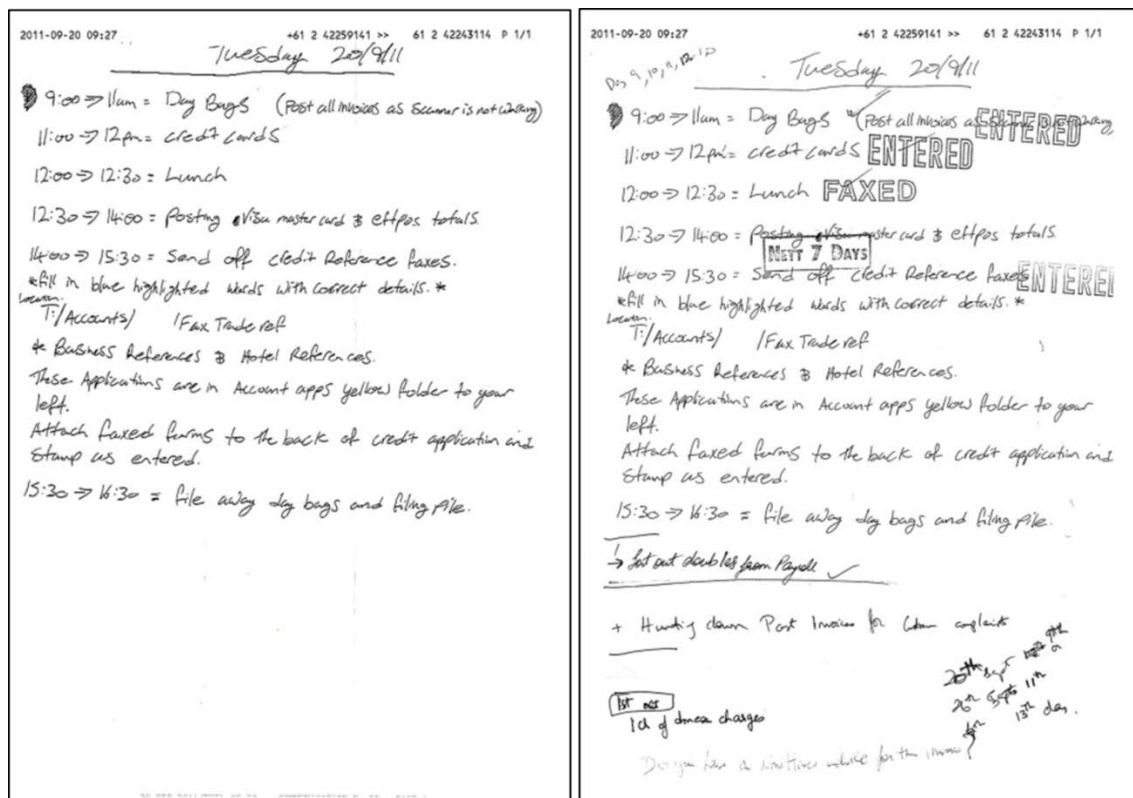


Figure 11: Original to-do-list (left) and transformed to-do-list (right)

As Ben completed a task he ticked it off, signalling the relational interaction between materiality and performance of the practice. On the days that Felix was around, however, I saw Ben check and confirm his tasks with Felix. I saw this as a way Ben evaluated the appropriateness of his practice:

After grabbing a coffee, Ben refers to his to-do-list but hesitates, so he gets himself organised by turning on the computer. He has been working on the same list for four days and knows what to start with this morning. Felix walks into the office. Ben calls out 'do you want me to start with calling clients or day bags?' Felix replies 'I think start with the day bags' (FN, 04/11/11, p.1).

Although Ben's placement had settled into a daily routine, he continued to confirm what he was doing with his supervisor, to assess his take on the understandings and rules of the practice and whether his actions were intelligible.

Ben performing accounts receivable practices, Anna briefly performing a HR coordinator practices and Carrie performing marketing practices, are examples of

how a work practice is being developed through routines and repetition, socially, and intelligibly – through opportunities to *practise*. Beckett and Hager (2002) claim that:

...practi(s)e is the rehearsal of accomplishments... it arises from the fluidity of rehearsals and accomplishments which constitute practice across routine and contingent situations (p. 192)

However, an intern may not experience such contingent (dependable) situations because time for an intern in the workplace is temporary. For an intern, this means limited time to *practise* and turn routine performances into embodied, knowledgeable actions.

In this study, it was found that opportunities to practise were not stable. Several times as a practice was becoming routinised in bodily performances, it was paused, changed, re-directed, or abandoned. Anna's opportunity to practise in a HR coordinator position for example was opened up and taken away by changes in the sociomaterial configuration as employees left and came into the space.

Analysis of the data also suggests that opportunities to practise were limited in a provisional time/space that I've described as 'dead time'. Dead time often came about in new configurations and was linked to an absence of delegation. If an intern had a question or concern or relied on activities to be delegated, the moments awaiting that response produced them as passive in the configuration. Dead time limited bodily movement; it is a pause on practising.

I observed dead time across Anna, Ben, and Carrie's placements. In this passive time/space, I observed Carrie check the news online or Facebook, Ben chat with me or anyone else in the office, and Anna look at her phone or also go on Facebook. Dead time is unproductive and could be seen to limit learning, as Carrie explained "I remember one afternoon I sat there for a while because I'd done everything..." (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.14)

In the last few days of placement, this dead time seemed to be more common. After Anna began in the HR coordinator's role, she lost the chance to practise all she had learned, once delegating tasks to work experience students, now Anna became the

visiting student that was being delegated to. I could see that Anna wanted to be helpful, for example as she sorted through the mail, she whispered: “I need something to do” (FN_A, 30/09/11, pp.1). With a set expiry date, these last few days of placement created an interested space that reduced Anna’s opportunity to practise:

I did sort of feel that my last couple of days weren’t as productive as they had been when I was, when Eleanor wasn’t there I guess. Yeah like I had nothing to do... Yeah. Especially now Eleanor was there I couldn’t do my little jobs that occupied time in the past. So I couldn’t sort of respond to emails or, I tried to do as much as I could but yeah, I figured it was my last day and they probably wouldn’t want to assign me a whole new task from then anyway (IN_A, 13/10/11, pp.24).

Ben experienced a similar reduction of opportunity in his final days relating to the new experience that had been promised with the GM, Lawrence:

I was looking forward to that but ok, that didn’t happen because working with Lawrence would be the exact thing I would want to do, working in finance... Felix just talked about it, because I only had a few days left, so it would take time to learn it and then get used to it and then report to Lawrence. Like I didn’t mind doing that but there was a few days, so... (IN_B, 17/10/11, pp.88-89)

Carrie’s final days were perhaps the least productive. Although she ‘helped out’ on a few jobs from home, her final days were not completed.

Anna, Ben, and Carrie never complained about this unproductive time, nor reported it in their assessments. In these cases, practice was stalled and the social, contextual, and material relations were unproductive of producing informal learning aligned with performing work practices. Yet, isn’t this the very nature of the workplace? In the 1980s, Schön (1983, 1987) referred to this as the “swampy lowland, [where] messy, confusing problems defy technical solution” (Schön, 1987, p. 3). What it does show, however, is that a linear or staged movement from novice towards expertise (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 2005) is not necessarily demonstrative of what happens in practice, or at minimum, a 16 day internship placement.

This section has shown how learning on placement involves performing the intelligibility and appropriateness of the work practice. It discussed how social, contextual, and material relations that are productive of informal learning produce opportunities to practise. When these opportunities are stalled, re-directed or taken away, practising stops – for example through dead time - and learning work practices are limited.

However, in addition to exploring how interns develop work practices, analysis of the data also suggests that there are things interns do to work out how to position themselves on placement within workplace norms, routines, and changes. This finding indicates there are a bundle of placement practices that have to date remain overlooked. This bundle of practices emerged through paying attention to interns' actions, bodies, use of tools, spatial arrangements, emotive responses, social relations, and sayings in the workplace during the period of internship placement. This new bundle of practices unfolds when an intern steps into the workspace and starts to do things: observe, listen, take notes, question, adjust their bodies, follow someone, imitate, use objects, sit somewhere, eat their food, and make conversation. The following section will outline this new bundle of practices, which I've described as *transitioning placement practices*.

Transitioning Placement Practices

When this research commenced, transition as a concept, process or practice was not a point of focus. However, analysis of the data has highlighted transition as a useful term to describe practices that emerged as students set out to learn on placement. There is a wealth of literature on transition that broadly describes transition as some sort of boundary crossing (Tuomi-Grohn & Engestrom, 2003). In the higher education sector alone this has included transitions from school to university (e.g., Brinkworth et al., 2013) and from university to work (Eraut, et al., 2003), as well as concentrations on the first year (e.g., Kift, 2009) or the last year of university (e.g., Bailey, van Acker & Fyffe, 2013).

In this study, *transitioning placement practices* describe the doings and sayings that are distinctive to how interns position themselves and are positioned by sociomaterial

configurations on placement. In all three cases, interns were found to employ a unique group of doings and sayings in order to engage in a temporary transition from university to work. They are described as a new bundle of practices as they align with Schatzki's (1996) definition of practice:

... a temporally and spatially dispersed set of doings and sayings that are linked in certain ways. Through: understandings of what to do and say, explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions, and teleoaffective structures of ends, projects, tasks, purposes and beliefs, emotions and moods (pp. 89-90).

Transitioning placement practices emerged from analysis of the data, as ways of understanding what to do and say on placement. There is no rule book or instructions that talk about how to position your body on placement or unpack the way that sociomaterial configurations will position you in various ways. Yet for interns, this positioning and the way they respond to being positioned is essential for remaining on placement and having opportunities to learn work practices.

Transitioning placement practices are unique to WIL placements for two main reasons. First, they comprise a selection of temporary tasks, to move from one place to another (physically, geographically, emotionally, mentally, metaphorically), which over time and with repetition, help develop professional work practices. Second, the ends, purposes, moods, and beliefs of the practices are linked with pursuing ideas such as career goals, subject credit points and industry experience.

Analysis of the data suggests that some of these ends and goals in transitioning placement practices were revealed in the first reflective assessment task. The range of goals expressed related to broader understandings of work and career, for example to validate choice of career, to confirm professional abilities, to explore feelings about this work, and to be challenged. These ends are saturated with affective provisions such as apprehension, excitement, and anticipation. For example, Anna records in her Assessment A:

I am ready to begin my career as a HR professional and believe sound experience in HR practices before doing so would be truly beneficial. My main

expectation would revolve around job content and the tasks or projects assigned to me during my time with the company (RJA_A, 22/08/11, p.2).

Similarly, Carrie explores her goals for doing well on placement:

This internship experience will be my first glance into marketing in ‘the real world’ so, as is expected, I feel a little anxious at the challenges before me. Whilst at first these feelings are a little discouraging, I am expecting myself to push through it and overcome each challenge with a high level of success that will ensure me that marketing is a suitable career choice (RJA_C, 22/08/11, p.3).

In this excerpt, Carrie describes feeling anxious yet determined. Feelings which are performed along with goals are what Schatzki (1996) calls ‘teleoaffectivity’. Once on placement, Carrie employs a number of *transitioning placement practices* in the workplace, using the work objects, spaces, and people available to her, to carry out tasks to meet these goals.

To examine transitioning placement practices, Schatzki’s (1996) dispersed and integrative practice-orders are useful. Integrative practices are organised by understandings, rules, and teleoaffectivity. Dispersed practices are those that are performed in everyday life and take their meaning when grouped together to constitute an integrative practice (Schatzki, 1996).

Analysis of the data indicates transitioning placement practices as a bundle of dispersed practices that are nested within three key integrative transitioning practices:

Orienting placement practices

Conforming placement practices

Adapting placement practices

In this study, I have found a group of dispersed practices within each integrative practice as listed in Table 5. However, it is important to point out that actions take their meaning through the practice and relations in which they are enacted (Schatzki,

2009). This means that transitioning placement practices are not hierarchal. Nor are dispersed practices isolated to the integrative practice allocated in the Table.

Table 5: Transitioning placement practices

Integrative practices			
Dispersed practices	<i>Orienting practices</i>	<i>Conforming practices</i>	<i>Adapting practices</i>
	Observing	Fitting in	Improvising in uncertainty
	Note-taking	Being appreciative	Occupying dead time
	Questioning, checking and confirming	Showing respect	Working with distractions
	Self-regulating mistakes	Building collegial relationships	Working unaccompanied
	Following instruction	Managing emotions and expectations	Making judgements
	Demonstrating the rules of the practice	Doing your best in the given situation	Being flexible and prioritising
	Listening for feedback	Embodying the look and sound of the organisation	Adapting to significant change
	Working independently	Understanding the bigger picture	
	Using organisational artefacts		

This table is useful for naming transitioning practices yet is limited by way of representing the way transitioning practices overlap. Transitioning placement practices are deeply interconnected and dependent on the effects of the sociomaterial configuration. To demonstrate this interconnection, Table 6 over the page illustrates how these transitioning practices interrelate and manifest together. In Table 6, integrative practices drop away in order to identify the way the dispersed practices overlap and intersect. While I was alongside interns, I couldn't immediately see the three forms of transitioning placement practices. It was only over time, through reflexivity and analysis of the data, did I begin to see how doings and sayings nested within three integrative practices. What do transitioning practices look like on placement? After Table 6, I go on to show and explain each of the three transitioning practices - orienting, conforming, and adapting practices.

Table 6: Interconnectedness of transitioning practices: Examples

Example	Description	Transitioning practices
Learning a new task	Ben describes feeling anxious when asked to fax information to clients by himself for the first time. This being a new task, his supervisor, Felix, has given him some instructions on how to complete this task before leaving the office, “so that alleviated the feeling a bit”	Following instruction; Working with uncertainty; Managing emotions and expectations
Reflecting on workplace mutability	Eleanor, Anna’s supervisor, reflects that internships are fraught with changing circumstances, suggesting that Anna learns to “go with the flow” and that she should be “taking it as it comes”. Elsewhere Anna says “things changed constantly”	Fitting in; Adapting to significant change; Being flexible and prioritising
Recognising/ respecting the busyness of supervisors	Carrie recognises that she doesn’t always have the time she needs from Greg, her supervisor, who is busy ‘running the business’. She says “I did need more time, but sometimes there were days where he was busy with someone else and I wanted or needed something else to do. So I remember one afternoon I sat there for a while because I’d done everything”	Working in supervisor’s absence; Working with uncertainty; Occupying dead time
Creating instructive material for supervision	Felix uses a to-do-list to instruct Ben on his daily tasks. Felix says “What I sort of wanted to do was set tasks for him, achievable tasks to complete. And then, um, it was like a schedule for us to go through throughout the day and then once he completed it he’d tick it off and say ‘yes’ you know I’ve completed an actual, a task”	Following instruction; Self-regulating mistakes; Checking and confirming; Working independently
The last day of placement	In the last few days of internship, Anna is given ‘smaller’ administrative tasks to complete. Anna accepting each new task, reflects “I kept saying ‘Oh, I’d love to do that’” and showed willingness to learn	Following instruction; Showing respect; Being appreciative; Being flexible and prioritising; Managing emotions and expectations

Orienting practices

The first of three transitioning placement practices is named **orienting practices** to refer to how interns orient their body, mind, and actions towards initially learning the work practice. The types of doings and sayings employed included observing, note-taking, self-regulating mistakes, checking and confirming activities, and following instruction. I watched as interns were learning to monitor, move their bodies, and self-assess their practices to learn the work.

For example, Ben's account receivable transitioning placement practice including double-checking the day bag figures (Photograph 21). He first checked them by lining the receipts up in front of him and using the calculator to add up totals, and he checked them a second time after entering the totals into an excel sheet on his computer. On day 9, when Ben found an error on the screen, he highlighted it in red and investigated the mistake, saying afterwards "Oh there it is. I entered the AMEX amount as a VISA. That's why double checking is so important" (FN_B, 26/09/11, p.7).



Photograph 21: Ben orienting himself with daily tasks

Orienting practices are consistent with Eraut's (2008a, 2008b) 'learning actions' in his typology of learning on placement. The learning actions he discovered included asking questions, getting information, locating resource people, negotiating access,

listening and observing, reflecting, learning from mistakes, giving and receiving feedback, and use of mediating artefacts.

But given that we know Eraut's (2008a, 2008b) model was not derived from empirical data in WIL, but instead newcomers to work, it is interesting to see that this orienting practice aligns with Eraut's work. Perhaps then these 'learning actions' or what I've called orienting practices, could be considered as more universal transitioning practices. What is interesting, is that by limiting his data to employees in their first year of practice, Eraut (2008a, 2008b) has essentially overlooked the socio-political and material objects, relations, and structures that affect what interns do on placement.

The additional two transitioning practices – conforming and adapting practices – extend the current literature by explicating practices unique to understanding learning on WIL placements. These transitioning practices are entangled within specific relations of positionality, structure, work, agency, sociality, materiality, and change (Fenwick, 2013) that configure and re-configure enactments on placement. Within these arrangements, practices are sustained or abandoned depending on who is there, what needs to get done, what tools are available, what time (day, season, year) it is, what practices have prefigured it, and practices that will come. They are shaped by the changing configuration of the assemblage (Fenwick, et al., 2011).

Conforming practices

Analysis of the data suggests a second transitioning practice that I've named **conforming practices**. I became aware of this practice as I watched interns try and fit into the sociomaterial assemblage. This transitioning practice clusters around doings and sayings that could be described as respectful, considerate, dutiful, and acquiescent. In what I saw and heard, interns went to great efforts to conform in various ways: to fit in, show their appreciation and respect, to build relationships, manage emotions, do their best in the given situation, embody the look and sound of the organisation, and gain an understanding of the bigger (organisational) picture (ends and goals).

This practice became clear in the data in several ways. For example, conforming practices were quite prevalent in how Anna, Ben, and Carrie spoke about the way they ‘just did things’. Anna talked about ‘just doing it’ in her last few days of placement when she was no longer in the HR coordinator role, explaining in her interview:

- Anna Um, I guess cause I wasn’t in the position of having... I don’t know. I kind of felt like as a student going into an organisation you just do what you’re told, their helping you out so you get tasks and you just do them. And I would want to undermine Julie in anyway by saying ‘no that’s not relevant at all’... So, I don’t know, I guess I just did what I could... But, I don’t know I guess I just had to do it.
- Bonnie You just had to do it, you just got to roll with it. And what did you learn from that, from having Eleanor turn up and Julie there as well?
- Anna Um [pause] I don’t know, not really I guess, I just sort of went along with it yeah. It happened pretty late on in my internship as well so I just sort of figured I’ve only got a couple of, you know scheduled days left so I, just, they’re the official employees (IN_A, 13/10/11, pp.17-18).

Although Anna had lost the opportunity to practise activities assigned to the HR coordinator role, her body remains in space as instructed by the 16 day placement rules of the internship program. With this loss of responsibility also comes a loss of agency as the assemblage positions her in a different way. Anna was left to enquire about where and how she fit and what she would do.

Carrie performed conforming practices when she enacted practices of respect and gratitude for the work. For Carrie, showing respect came through as she positioned herself away from core business and instead tried to minimise her space and impact. She said: “I’m sort of thankful for them having me... I didn’t want to impose on his business and disturb him” (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.10). Being in the space with Carrie, I watched how she positioned her body and other materials in use to take up minimal space and even speak very little during the times she was working.

Over time I tried to understand and describe peculiar transitioning practices that related to the way interns accepted a range of tasks with excessive gratitude. To me this over-the-top, ‘thankfulness’ for seemingly mundane tasks was beyond deserving of what was offered or delegated. I came up with the term *obsequious* to describe those performances that combined compliance, reverence, and gratitude. For example, on day 14 of Anna’s placement, my notes describe this obsequious transitioning practice in action:

Mia asks Julie (PA to the GM) to delegate some tasks to Anna. As Mia leaves Julie asks Anna if she would open the mail – to my surprise Anna accepts this job with gratitude “Sure thing! No problem” she says (FN_A, 27/09/11, pp.4).

Ben demonstrated conforming practices such as fitting in, appreciation and building relationships, and at times also obsequiousness. In his first few days in the stores for example, although he experienced a range of emotions, he continued to show that he was doing his best by positioning himself within the wider organisational context of helping out to achieve a greater goal. Despite feeling emotional and bodily discomfort, Ben justified being in the stores in an attempt to conform to the work and organisation:

My back literally hurts today, and after loading and unloading those boxes the whole day, I don’t need the gym – my body’s sore. The purpose of starting there was to provide insight into the purchasing department and learn about stocks, but the labour was unnecessary. Nevertheless, I just put on a smile and got through the day (eL_B, 09/08/11, pp.1-2).

Unfortunately after several days of ‘putting on a smile’ and conforming to direct instructions, Ben was unsettled by the lack alignment of the work with what he wanted to learn: “I was honestly so damn embarrassed to be working today... I do not see how knowing where the damn lettuce or gnocchi goes in the fridge will benefit me in any way possible...” (eL_B, 17/08/11, p.3). The assemblage had positioned Ben to work in a way that misaligned with his teleological reasons for pursuing an internship.

Although it is clear that Ben had spent too long in the stores, what was interesting was how Ben’s supervisor and the internship director interpreted the experience as

commensurate with being an intern. Felix for example, made the comment “You gotta know what the beans are before you start counting them...” (IN_F, 18/10/11, p.20) and justified time in the stores as useful exposure to the hotel’s people, places processes and practices. Helen, along a similar line yet speaking more to the power dimensions at play, also interpreted Ben reactions:

And I think his reaction is the reaction of someone who hasn’t had to problem solve and hasn’t been in a powerless situation. It’s someone who’s always been in a more powerful situation... So although he was like ‘I probably shouldn’t be doing this’ he still bowed down and did it...So I think it was an actual intern thing (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.6).

What Helen is attempting to describe here is what I have named conforming practices. The difference, however, is how this experienced is framed. Although Ben may have wanted to speak up earlier, at the risk of not satisfying internship requirements, gaining credit points, not qualifying for graduation, disappointing or losing face inside the organisation, not becoming the professional he hopes to be, Ben simply did the best he could to ‘keep a straight face’ and yes, even ‘bow down and do it’.

Despite others reporting placements don’t always go smoothly (Bates, 2004; Waryszak, 2000), this finding has highlighted that there are a bundle of doings and sayings that interns perform in order to learn how to be on placement by conforming to social, organisational, and institutional pressures, instructions, and powers. These conforming practices were not the exception - but the ‘rule’ (in the sense that there are understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structures of placement practices).

To my knowledge, these conforming, obsequious behaviours are missing in the literature. This could be because the interns who report their learning, the supervisors who observe them or the academics that theorise learning – simply have not recognised them as significant practices of learning, albeit infusing so much of what interns do, how they are positioned, and what they learn on placement.

Adapting practices

Whereas work practices are commonly understood as emergent, unstable, and responsive, for interns as often ‘unpaid staff’ this instability can be more extreme and can occur more frequently. In order to continue with the internship, interns must learn to adjust to new configurations. Therefore, analysis of the data suggests a third transitioning practice that I’ve named **adapting practices**. Studies in WIL have pointed out that adapting is an important soft skill that interns learn on placement that contributes to their employability (Bennett, et al., 2000; Knight & Yorke, 2002, 2004; Moreland, 2005). In this study, however, adapting is not a ‘skill’ (something you have) but a ‘practice’ (something performed; comprising understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structures) to describe the doings and sayings that are accommodating of workplace changes, including where to sit, who to report to, what tasks to do, and what to wear. As dispersed practices these included improvising in uncertainty, being flexible, and prioritising, making judgements, working with distractions, and occupying dead time.

Anna, Ben, and Carrie performed adapting practices at various times as the sociomaterial assemblage, and changes or shifts within that assemblage, forced them to change and respond. In Carrie’s case for example, she needed to adapt to Local Sport’s clubs working hours and peak seasons, by working from home or not working at all. Carrie explained that working from home was also driven by her feelings of inadequacy in the workplace: “I would feel bad and then go home and get it done. I’d stay up working on it” (IN_C, 03/05/12, p.8). Carrie struggled with orienting herself to fit within this workplace assemblage that comprised one full-time employee and changes in work depending on the time of year. Working from home is an example where orienting, conforming, and adapting practices overlapped.

Anna enacted adapting practices as affordances in the configuration allowed and prevented certain actions to be performed. In the HR coordinator role and inducting new work experience students, Anna enacted adapting doings and sayings such as making judgements and improvising in uncertainty to successfully complete the induction. For example, during one induction Anna noticed that a student was

wearing an incorrect uniform so she adapted to the situation to organise a more suitable shirt.

Analysis of the data also suggests that supervisors feel adapting practices are essential to learning. This is demonstrated through Greg's sporting analogy:

It happens in the real world, that your boss is going to turn around and say 'you know that project you've been working on for the last three months, not yours anymore... it's how you deal with unstructured play that keeps you in the game longer (IN_G, 03/05/2012, p.20).

What Greg calls 'unstructured play' resonates with adapting practices by pointing to how an intern responds to unanticipated events. He also uses other interesting metaphors to describe the range of work one performs in the workplace such as 'You gotta get your hands dirty', 'It's not all beer and skittles...' and 'You know what, someone's got to do the dark, nasty stuff. And she did some nasty stuff... (IN_G, 03/05/2012, pp.15-20).

This third transitioning practice, while purported as an important (soft or generic employability) skill for WIL (Bennett, et al., 2000; Knight & Yorke, 2002, 2004; Moreland, 2005), is different here in two main ways. First, adaptation was essential to fitting in with the organisation, but not because the intern 'was' adaptable but because the sociomaterial assemblages produced interns in different ways throughout their placement, so that adapting practices were essential to ongoing learning.

Second, adapting practices were enacted at various times throughout placements. They were enacted during periods that interns felt confident and could start to make judgements and improvement to the work practice. They were also enacted when tasks were taken away or had not yet been delegated, for instance, when interns were left to occupy dead time or improvise in uncertainty. These findings align closely with sociomaterial studies of professional learning that emphasise the importance of adapting in non-routine conditions (Fenwick, 2014; Mulcahy, 2012; Slade, 2012), where learning occurs as improvisation within unplanned, uncertain, and indeterminate situations.

Taken altogether, the significance of transitioning placement practices as a finding in this study is supported by similar findings in the literature. For example, Eraut's (2008b) learning actions resemble orienting practices and studies in professional learning (Fenwick, 2014; Mulcahy, 2012; Slade, 2012) and WIL (Bennett, et al., 2000; Knight & Yorke, 2002, 2004; Moreland, 2005) correlate with adapting practices. However, transitioning placement practices are unique to WIL in several ways.

First, as students enrolled in a higher education degree, interns are only temporary residents in the workplace. Once they have completed their 16 days, they return to student practices at the university to complete their studies before transitioning into the workplace more permanently. Second, as students of a subject that bears credit points, interns engage in university assessment practices and are responsible for reporting to the university in order to satisfy the requirements for passing the subject. Third, interns act as representatives of the university while in the workplace. They are told this by WIL educators who are also maintaining a relationship with the workplace and the university's public image. Interns are thereby straddling both university and workplace rules and supervision practices. So, what does this mean for the way learning is understood in WIL?

In this section, three transitioning placement practices have been identified and explained. Given these findings, the following section revisits an initial discussion in Chapter 1 that problematised traditional conceptions of learning in WIL as synonymous with assessments.

Re-working assessments in WIL

Over more than a decade, educators in WIL have grappled with issues of assessment. Many of these issues deal with a core lack of understanding of learning on placement. For example over ten years ago, the unknowns of learning in the workplace were being discussed by Eames (2003) who claimed "it is important to educators that learning through work experience is understood so that it can be appropriately assessed" (p. 23). The inquiry into assessing learning on placement continues with recent comments by Richardson and colleagues (2013) that "one of

the main reasons for inadequate assessment in the workplace is the lack of understanding of the nature of learning in the WIL environment - what is being learnt and how” (p. 28).

The WIL literature gives us some idea of what learning looks like on placement. Eraut (2008b) describes eight areas of informal learning: academic knowledge and skills; task performance; role performance; decision making and problem solving; awareness and understanding; personal development; teamwork; and, judgement. Employability models (see Bennett, et al., 2000; Knight & Yorke, 2002, 2004; Moreland, 2005) espousing generic or work-related skills, claim learning in similar areas; metacognition, personal growth, workplace awareness, discipline skills, communication skills, networking, and interpersonal skills.

By examining what Anna, Ben, and Carrie did on placement, we can see some merit in these models of learning. Indeed, if we look at the final reflective assessment journal part B¹⁸, Anna, Ben, and Carrie report learning in quite similar areas. Anna described learning about: recruitment, HR, and other administrative work; social and networking skills; organisational culture; employability skills; and, the connection between theory and practice. Ben reported learning about: time management; multi-tasking; self-motivation; teamwork; independence and flexibility; building rapport with colleagues; and, cultural differences between Dubai and Australian workplaces. Carrie wrote that she learnt about: website skills; independence and other generic skills; an awareness of her limitations; her desire to work in the sporting industry; and, areas of personal development such as growth in confidence.

However, in contrast to earlier work, this study has shown that there are several gaps in both the literature and in what interns describe as learning on placement. This could be for several reasons. One key reason might relate to the representational mode of assessing learning that separates learning from practice in order to evaluate, judge, and make comment. Many traditional assessment approaches are underpinned by assumptions inherent in the standard paradigm of learning, that espouse articulable, mental statements of learning as representative of where learning

¹⁸ CIP Reflective Learning Assessment: Part B “Reflecting on theory in practice”, see Appendix D

happens (Beckett & Hager, 2002). While reflection-on-action and cognitive processes are critical to much learning, it is not the only, nor 'best', depiction of learning overall (Fenwick, 2009a).

A second reason might relate to the materiality of the assessment itself. The wording and structure of questions, suggested academic readings, technology to support submission, and marking rubric, shape not just the cognitive reflective process, but also direct interns' focus to reportable areas of learning, thus, placing boundaries on what is, and isn't acceptable learning to articulate (Fenwick, 2009a). This can be problematic. If analysis of learning were to stop at this level, we could confirm that students are practising relevant activities and achieve the type of learning that meets the expectations for assessment. Yet, as this study has brought to our attention, interns were doing things on placement and learning through practices that are more complex than is coherently represented in post-placement assessment practices.

Inattention to the complexities of practice through assessment has overlooked how much of what is learnt and practised is necessarily messy (Law, 2004). It hasn't been shaped to fit tidy technical tools that suit an evaluator's needs nor a representational epistemology (Fenwick, 2009a). What appear to be missing in the assessment practices of interns in CIP are descriptions of:

- mundane, everyday work practices
- complexities faced especially in times of major sociomaterial change
- in-the-moment confusion or anxieties
- bodily and affective responses

When this research was initially conceived seven years ago, besides the few calls for greater understanding of assessment and informal learning (Boud, 1999, 2009; Eames, 2003), there was very little that sought to unpack these issues. Over time, however, assessment as a critical part of learning on placement has been taken up. The prevalence and currency of this area, signifying the importance of these findings, are now experiencing greater uptake and discussion.

For example, in the final stages of writing up this thesis, I came across a special issue published in mid-2014 in the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Cooperative Education* titled ‘Critical assessment issues in work-integrated learning’. The articles and editors in this issue advocate for a revision of WIL assessment to take into account the complexity of informal workplace learning. Summarising the special issue publication, Fern and Zegwaard (2014) highlight this as an exploration of “the inherent complexities of measuring outcomes in the microcosm of cultural, professional, and social influences present in a WIL learning environment” in response to “the conundrum of applying standardized grading systems when the learning has an intrinsically personalized component” (p.180).

The study presented in this thesis offers an empirical starting place for arguments made in the special issue by Hodges, Eames, and Coll (2014) and Higgs (2014). In an overview of theoretical perspectives that align to WIL pedagogy, Hodges, Eames, and Coll (2014) critique traditional higher education practices that limit heterogeneity and unintended learning outcomes for assessing learning in WIL. Their theoretical touch points replicate selections I have made in Chapter 2, including the proposition for a reconceptualization of assessment away from evaluating the generic application of knowledge. Consistent with the perspectives raised in this study, their perceptions are that:

...performance and learning in the workplace are influenced by unpredictable, authentic, and situated activities that demand different approaches to assessment. The learning is more informal and culturally-determined. It is subject to the guidance provided in the workplace, which may be of a variable educative nature, meaning that quality of learning support is a factor in student learning (Hodges, et al., 2014, p. 204).

While Hodges, Eames, and Coll (2014) take a sociocultural and communities of practice perspective, overlooking the importance of other sociomaterial dimensions, their conclusions on the significance of learning on placement align with positions taken in this thesis. They state, “(g)iven that cooperative education contributes to students’ preparation for employment upon graduation, the learning that occurs on-site during their work placement is of crucial importance” (Hodges, et al., 2014, p. 202).

Also examining the complexity of WIL assessments, Higgs (2014) discusses the challenge of measuring the ‘immeasurables of practice’. She asserts that assessment practices need reconceptualising to accommodate the overlooked, unobservable, and individualised components of practice:

In the midst of learning and being assessed on core learning outcomes, the invisibles of practice are typically put aside as being: ‘too difficult (to learn and assess)’, ‘too early’ (and, thus, left to post-graduation learning) and ‘up to the student – or graduate’ (rather than being the educator’s or institution’s responsibility). These are deficient motivations and strategies. In the interests of all the stakeholders – including students, current and future clients, educators, universities, employers, and accreditation authorities – we need students to learn about, and be assessed and receive feedback on, their performance of and engagement with the invisibles of practice (Higgs, 2014, p. 265).

Addressing the invisibles of practice, Higgs (2014) proposes that a communicative and reflexive space is necessary for those involved with mentoring, supporting or guiding novices.

To make visible the complex factors of informal learning Hodges, Eames, and Coll (2014) suggest a balanced assessment approach that enables reflection of highly variable experiences while maintaining quality assurance structures of the university. For Higgs (2014), the implications for assessment are to find ways to unpack the deep aspects of practice and find creative methods to move beyond the limitations of basic assessment tools. To this end, Higgs (2014) suggests greater use of the following strategies:

- Multiple, non-judgemental points of assessment to allow for students to express what they do/don’t know or show what they can/can’t do
- A mix of assessment purposes, e.g., to report on skills, to unpack understandings, to express commitment, and to reflect on understandings
- Multiple sources of assessment including self, peers, and workplace supervisors
- Use of formative feedback to build up to summative assessment

Closely aligned with the strategies suggested above, I turn now to consider the findings of my study in light of this recent WIL literature, to make recommendations for re-working CIP assessments.

Recommendations for revising CIP assessment

In this section, several recommendations for revising CIP assessment are offered. These recommendations include formative and summative processes, in a move away from purely written forms of representation, towards a combination of methods that include a balance of reflection-on-action and a focus on performed learning practices.

First, prior to placement in CIP in reflective journal part A, interns were asked to speculate on their expectations for learning on placement. This assessment practice invites early reflection and is useful for practising reflective techniques, however, as the first assessment it also constructs a particular approach for learning and knowledge. Is there be a better way of re-structuring Assessment A that encapsulates Eleanor's phrase 'expect the unexpected'? Need it be a summative assessment or written in words?

The purpose of this first assessment task would be better framed as preparation for the complexities of work. It could unpack what learning means in various workplaces, invite students to contemplate their personal internship and career goals, and manage these expectations through positioning the internship as a period of transition. With this in mind, this first assessment could be re-worked into small group discussions and activities around:

- Unpacking the pedagogies underpinning formal and informal learning:
 - What is learning in HE and how is learning through work different? (Differences between traditional university assessments and lifelong learning through work)
 - What will I be assessed on in CIP and is that the same as my peers? (Heterogeneity of experiences)
 - Is learning through work the same as learning through assessment? (Representation vs. performative approaches to learning)

- Highlighting the complexities of work:
 - Will I be doing the same thing or lots of different things? (Transition into learning work practices, discuss opportunities to practise, that each placement will be different)
 - How will I know if I'm doing ok? (Self-assessment and reflection-in-action/ encouraged to speak up if there is a misalignment between tasks and discipline area)
 - How can others on placement help me? (Encourage workplace conversations around norms and evaluating appropriateness of performances)

- Positioning CIP as a transition:
 - What does it mean to be an intern? (Unpacking & sharing common feelings & emotions/ goals and expectations)
 - What will I be doing on placement? (In addition to learning work practices you might also be figuring out where you fit in, how to respond, how to use objects and what is appropriate in this space)
 - What does transition mean? (Demystifying the self-regulated learner, transition as a bundle of practices – things you do and say – to learn on placement)

This discussion would: celebrate heterogeneity rather than model uniform learning experiences; clarify the ways in which CIP assessment differs from traditional university assessments; and, offer opportunity to begin reflective, formative processes of learning amongst others. Instead of only written representations, these discussions might include a brainstorming session or a collection of images, songs or articles brought to the class to create a montage of workplace learning.

Second, the reflection-on-action process of CIP assessments is helpful. ELogs for example, being temporally closer to the action are useful for unpacking some of the day-to-day accounts of what interns are practising. This assessment could be opened-up to include evidence (copies of documents, oral accounts with video or photographs with permission) of practice to track developments over time. To address some of the isolation experienced on placement, it could also be well

supported through connecting interns to one another during placement through a safe virtual social space, monitored by CIP tutors, where interns are invited to converse, ask questions and connect with one another.

The final assessment is a useful reflective cognitive process to contemplate new knowledge and consider future possibilities. Understanding the purposes and boundaries of the assessment is important, as there were still things (practices, sayings, responses, changes, emotions) I was picking up on in my observations, conversations, and interviews, which were not being fully recognised or written into the daily or final journals. Unpacking the purpose of the assessments and incorporating an evidence-based approach or including other representations of practice (digital story, movie, song, poem, poster), could help interns draw out what they were doing without needing to articulate the ‘immeasurable’ (Higgs, 2014). This could also help create a better awareness of the sociomaterial assemblage and how the organisational structures, materials, and people shaped learning. If making this move, however, CIP coordinators may want to re-think the role and purpose of the marking rubric.

Third, formative assessment may take shape as conversations between supervisors and other colleagues on placement, those who directly observe interns’ practice when performed. This recommendation follows Sykes and Dean’s (2013) advice, who suggest a non-assessable, developmental activity that engages the supervisor more directly in observations of interns’ practice. This activity is not designed to be a checklist of skills attainment, nor a compulsory university-driven assignment, but instead a learning-centric activity, which should take place over time. Sykes and Dean (2013) propose four prompting questions that draw on Schatzki’s (1996) definition of practices: To what extent [do you/does the student] demonstrate understandings of the workplace practice? How [do you/does the student] perform practice norms and rules of the organisation? Comment on [your/the student’s] feelings towards [your/his or her] commitment to the practice and placement. In which ways can I improve my workplace practice?

In light of the findings of an unproductive time/space in this study, workplace supervisors should be encouraged to consider the impact of 'dead time'. It would be beneficial for the supervisor to implement strategies to minimise dead time and to enable the intern to continue practising in their absence.

Fourth, as currently in place in CIP, at the conclusion of placements it would be worthwhile to draw students together for a discussion and debrief on their experiences. I might suggest, however, that caution be taken not to compare placements or represent any one placement as better than another. Instead, this final discussion might include a space for conversations around:

- Workplace learning, professional learning and lifelong learning:
 - How did you learn on placement? What did you use and how did this shape how you learnt a work practice? Who was (or wasn't) in the space?
 - What did you learn about yourself in the workplace?
 - What would informal workplace learning look like for you as a professional in your area? Why is workplace learning important?
- Reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action:
 - When on placement, in what ways did you reflect-in-action (to improve, adapt, respond, conform or change)? How did it come about and how did you respond?
 - When did you find yourself performing reflection-on-action? What did this process do to help your practice?
 - How might you enact reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action in the future?

In this section I have offered recommendations for re-working CIP assessment. These are by no means an exhaustive set of recommendations and could be used alongside other WIL assessment strategies and practices, however, they are central to the findings in this study. Broadly, these suggestions have implications for other WIL assessments and programs. In light of recently published work, and the findings and arguments made, navigating assessment issues is a critical area for WIL educators that begin with a better understanding of learning on placement.

It seems, however, that these issues may not be going away any time soon:

Assessment has long been a contentious and challenging topic, especially so in WIL, and will likely remain so for some time yet. External forces are mandating a reshaping of all aspects of education, and with advancement of technology, opportunities for new assessment methods and approaches have emerged. With heightened accountability measures, increased stakeholder demand for evidence of graduate capabilities, and student feedback emphasizing the value of authentic and relevant learning experiences, higher education institutions need to rethink traditional assessment paradigms (Ferns & Zegwaard, 2014, p. 186).

The findings of this study are critical to the claims in articles cited here and to their calls for greater awareness of informal learning and assessment in WIL. This study is among the first that offers empirical evidence into the complexity in WIL as well as grounds for acknowledging the sociomaterial assemblage – not just the individual and their social interactions – in the production (or restriction or subversion) of learning on placement.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed together the literature, theoretical framework, data, and findings in the study. It has offered ways in which this study introduces new ideas of learning on placement and ways in which previous theories have been abandoned, adapted or extended. The following chapter will conclude the thesis by drawing all the threads of argument together to summarise the thesis, offer contributions of the study, and suggest further research directions.

CHAPTER 6:

WORK RE-INTEGRATED LEARNING



CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 6: WORK *RE-INTEGRATED* LEARNING

A group of trumpeters at music school practising the brass section of a Bruckner symphony can rehearse repetitively to achieve technical excellence on their instruments – the right notes, the preferred breathing techniques or following the composer's markings for note duration or volume. However, it is not until those trumpeters play that Bruckner symphony in an orchestral performance with the rest of the orchestra that a practitioner really understands how to adapt individual action to produce the needed unity of sounds suitable for that orchestra's chosen interpretative style of Bruckner, that size of orchestra or to suit the acoustics of that particular venue (Johnsson & Hager, 2008, p. 533).

This chapter concludes the thesis by synthesizing the literature, theoretical approach, methodology, and findings, to demonstrate the contributions and importance of this research. As Johnsson and Hager (2008) point out in the excerpt above, this research has similarly highlighted that while practising is imperative to learning, so too are the people, things, sounds, emotions, materials, and instruments that configure the way a performance unfolds. The way a novice positions themselves in this sociomaterial assemblage and how the assemblage positions them, forms part of how they learn professional work practices.

This thesis has questioned and challenged the standard paradigm of learning, where learning and practice are separate functions, as the most useful approach for understanding learning on placement. Instead, I have argued for greater inseparability, where learning and practice are reciprocally constituted (Orlikowski, 2010) to *re-integrate* learning and practice.

To conclude the thesis, this final chapter is structured as follows: first, summaries and implications are presented; second, the contributions of the research are drawn, including both theoretical and practical significance; and third, limitations and future research delineated.

Thesis summary and implications

In the last decade, Australia has taken steps to ready the next generation of professionals to compete at an international level (Bradley, et al., 2008; Cleary, et al., 2007). The emergence of WIL networks, programs, and research, demonstrates this move as one toward preparing work- or career-ready graduates.

However, before making claims as to whether interns in WIL programs are work-ready, concerns have been raised around the adequacy of assessing learning in ways that reflect the complexity of learning in the workplace. In this thesis, I join others (Boud, 1999, 2009; Eames, 2003; Ferns & Zegwaard, 2014; Higgs, 2014; Hodges, et al., 2014; Richardson, et al., 2013) who argue that in order to tackle these assessment concerns, we must first better understand learning on placement.

Two research questions were offered: What do interns do to learn work practices? What are the social, contextual, and material relations that are productive of informal learning on placement? These questions were grounded in a theoretical framework that espoused an inseparability of learning, knowing, and practice (Johnsson & Boud, 2010; Nicolini, 2011). The study was further positioned by a theoretical framework that combined theories of practice and sociomateriality that de-centred individualist and excessive social perspectives of learning, by attuning to practices and the relations between people, things, technologies, objects etc.

An ethnographic methodology was employed that enabled me to go to the source where “we commonly don’t explain why we do what we do” (Pader, 2006, p. 174). It allowed me to observe practices first-hand (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011), the stability and change in sociomaterial assemblages, and the way learning was performed and shaped. By selecting three cases, my research benefited from the value of small ‘n’ studies through detailed explorations and refinement of ideas and concepts (Alvesson, 1996, p. 473; Dawson, 1997; Tsoukas, 2009).

The findings offered empirical evidence to argue for an emerging, materially-significant and entangled conception of learning on placement. Moving away from the standard paradigm of learning by extending Beckett and Hager’s (2002) emerging

paradigm of learning was discussed as a useful approach to take into account both informal and formal learning structures but also to focus on materiality and the role materials play in shaping learning. Analysis of the data demonstrated how interns learn through intelligible and appropriate performances of work practices and highlighted ways the social, contextual, and material factors produced, hindered or shifted learning. The findings suggested a new intermediary bundle of transitioning placement practices that are distinctive to the way interns learn on placement. These transitioning practices take their shape within sociomaterial assemblages, where, through learning work practices, interns must learn to orientate, conform, and adapt to new configurations of people, things, spaces, tools, bodies, and technologies.

These findings suggested that in current conceptions and conversations around learning, particularly in relation to assessment, much of what is missing relates to seeing and celebrating the messiness of workplace configurations. Missing are descriptions of complexity, change, mundane practices, materiality, confusion, and bodily and affective responses. From this mess, learning emerges and takes shape. In light of the findings, recommendations for re-working CIP assessments were offered. In what follows, several implications of this research are explored more broadly for stakeholders of WIL.

What does this mean for WIL? Implications of findings

The findings have three key implications for understanding learning in WIL. First, this study highlights that caution must be taken not to design assessment tasks that focus only on the application and transference of knowledge across work and university spaces. The pedagogical implications of designing assessments this way may reflect the limitations of the standard paradigm of learning, where learning is transparent, something we hold in our minds that is easily transferred across contexts, and a cognitive function with little regard to embodied performances (Beckett & Hager, 2002; Sørensen, 2009). Such assessments might fail to recognise the more complex, invisible, and informal aspects of practice (Higgs, 2014).

Second, learning needn't be synonymous with assessment nor is it more productive if captured through assessment structures. Learning on placement is a transition into

the type of learning that professionals encounter in their day-to-day work practices. Professionals don't receive a grade for their work, they're not benchmarked against a rubric of standards and learning outcomes, nor do they require written reflective statements for the learning to be recognised. However, WIL programs and subjects do require as part of higher education policy and practice, forms of assessment for measurable outcomes and performance metrics. The distinction here is (a) the WIL program can't control the learning that occurs on placement but this makes it no less valuable, and (b) for those required assessments, consideration must be afforded to methods that engage learners with and in practice. Questions that focus attention on practice before, during and after placement were suggested in Chapter 5. These questions contribute to formative development that could be built into summative assessments and demonstrates how a balance of informal and formal processes might be enacted together (Colley et al., 2002; Marsick, 2009).

Third, social, contextual, and material factors play a significant role in shaping learning on placement. This is an important consideration for WIL educators, as it de-centres individual agency and problematises notions of the self-directed learner (Beckett & Hager, 2002). This finding may be difficult for educators to resolve as it affords the educator less control over placements and emphasises again the complexity and heterogeneity of learning on placement. This finding, therefore, might speak more effectively to workplace supervisors. For example, workplace supervisors could re-think learning on placement as opportunities to practise. This could highlight periods of unproductive time that may arise due to uncertainty or task completion, or a shift in the configuration such as supervisor busyness or absence. Workplace supervisors could reflect on strategies that minimise unproductive 'dead time' amidst action or when unaccompanied, to consider the effects of interruptions to practice on informal learning.

Contributions of thesis

This thesis makes both theoretical, research and practical contributions to WIL as well as discipline contributions more broadly to the domains of workplace, professional and informal learning. Specifically, this section elaborates how the study: exposes traditions and oversights of learning in WIL; provides a critique of

existing models and trajectories of learning on placement; contributes new insights into how interns learn on placement; and, develops a practice-based, sociomaterial framework for theorising learning.

Exposing traditions and oversights of learning in WIL

This practice-based study makes a distinctive contribution by framing the ontological orientation of approaches to learning, specifically those that illuminate aspects of informal learning in WIL. Hager, Lee, and Reich's (2012) meta-analysis was used to trace the various shifts in conceptions of learning and their impact on the conduct of education, by demarcating three domains: cognitive-psychology-based theories, socio-cultural theories and post-Cartesian theories. The analysis supports the view that the boundaries between the domains are indeed blurry and that theories, of say reflection or practice, can translate across domains depending on the ontological orientation of the academic.

Studies in the area of workplace informal learning (Beckett & Hager, 2002; Hager & Halliday, 2002) and the more recent collection of publications in WIL (Ferns & Zegwaard, 2014; Higgs, 2014; Hodges, et al., 2014; Richardson, et al., 2013) suggest greater consideration for the informal, complex factors of learning in work spaces. The findings in this study offer empirical grounds for such arguments.

Providing a critique of existing models and trajectories

The findings in this study suggest that intern experiences are variable and dependent on a range of factors that prefigure their performances even prior to entering the workplace. What this study has suggested is that the things and people that make up these contexts, matter. It matters if an intern speaks directly to a supervisor, calls or emails them with a problem; it matters if the accounting processes include manual handling of invoices and rubber bands, or if the general manager attends the farewell lunch; it means something to structure assessment questions in advance of undertaking placement. This study has shown how learning doesn't occur as a separate process to action, nor is it separate from the people, spaces, things, bodies that make up the place where it unfolds. Learning is "very messy, slippery and indeterminate" (Fenwick, 2010a, p. 105).

Therefore, the findings of this research put into question individual skill models, such as Dreyfus and colleagues' (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 2005; Dreyfus, et al., 1986; Dreyfus, 2004) and problematise the notion of 'agentic learners' (Billet, 2009). The findings offer evidence to follow others who critique the skill acquisition model for being too linear, overly rationalised, and individualised (Fenwick, 2013; Price, et al., 2009; Sawchuk & Taylor, 2010a).

Contributing new insights into how interns learn on placement

This study contributes to the theoretical domains of WIL, workplace learning, professional practice, and informal learning, by identifying new insights into how interns learn on placement. While it is contextually located in Australia, the findings and recommendations can be translated to institutions internationally that employ similar WIL undertakings. This thesis provides a better understanding of the diversity and complexity of learning on placement and offered three main findings.

First, the findings support a move to the emerging paradigm of learning (Beckett and Hager, 2002) to conceive learning on placement. The ontological inseparability of learning and practice is emphasized (Fenwick, et al., 2011) and in doing so, the findings have worked to *re-integrate* learning and practice. Learning is not something that only sits inside one's mind that can be easily reported, acquired or transferred, but instead learning is performed in action. Given the theoretical framework a summary is delineated: *Learning is entangled in performance of the practice and the sociomaterial assemblage.*

Second, the findings provide insight into how interns develop work practices. These were drawn from Schatzki's (1996) intelligibility and sociality conceptions of practice and the Heideggerian notion of appropriateness (Heidegger, 1953; Wrathall, 2005). Through the data it was shown how developing work practice on placement *involves performing the intelligibility and appropriateness of the work practice.* The analysis demonstrated how social, contextual, and material configurations can be productive of learning through opportunities to practise. Further, it was pointed out that there are certain configurations that are unproductive of learning, including a

passive time/space identified as dead time. Attending to these configurations illuminates how learning emerges or is constricted on placement.

Third, in addition to exploring how interns develop work practices, analysis of the data also suggested that there are things interns do to work out how to position themselves on placement within workplace norms, routines and changes. This was identified as a new intermediary bundle of practices unique to learning on placement that has been overlooked in the literature. *Transitioning placement practices* comprise a bundle of three practices: orienting, adapting, and conforming practices that in this study were explored and presented.

Developing a sociomaterial, practice-based framework for theorising learning

The study has drawn on synergies between two compatible approaches, sociomateriality following the work of Barad (2007), Fenwick (2008b, 2010a) and Orlikowski's (2007, 2010), and Schatzki's (1996, 2002) theorisation of practice. It has been argued that these theories are compatible as both address post-modern concerns with excessive individualisation and socialisation (Rajão, 2008). Both also emphasise a relational ontology, defend a more fluid and decentred view of human agency, and pay close attention to the role of materiality (Rajão, 2008).

Both theories offer significant contributions to exploring and understanding learning on placement. Practice theory offers a richer foundation from which to explain the organisation, prefigurement and combinations of practices. Sociomateriality is useful for analysing and explaining emergence, entanglement, and other-than-human agency.

The synthesis of these theoretical lenses has enabled a richer, thicker account of what interns do on placement. This ethnographic empirical study of learning on placement has served as an example for studies wanting to look 'beneath the surface' (Pader, 2006). Attuning to the social, material, and performative, has brought into focus the provisional, entangled, emergent characteristics of learning on placement.

Other issues and insights

While it is beyond the scope of this study to go into detail, there are several issues around ethics in WIL that arose in the findings that are worth mentioning. The first was around the potential exploitation of students as unpaid labour. This was apparent mainly in Ben's internship where in the first few days he was lifting boxes. This was concerning as such manual duties were not the activities for which he was suited or signed-up for, nor legally was he covered or trained in OH&S to perform. This raises questions around the university's duty of care as well as the potential of one bad instance to throw into question the relationship between the university and host organisation.

Recently ethics has been a hot topic amidst the WIL circuit, with ACEN seminars and conference streams dedicated to ethical issues¹⁹. In the Australian media, ethics and voluntary work experience have received attention due to the release of a government incentivised report detailing concerns of unpaid internships as an alternative to hiring staff (Stewart & Owens, 2013). The CIP attempted to educate students on workplace equal-employment issues through the compulsory online test EO-online. Unfortunately as we saw in Ben's case, this small test was not enough to prepare Ben with the skills necessary to know what to do when he was asked to pack boxes in the stores. Moreover the eLogs which, in Helen's words are designed to "ensure that we're keeping an eye on the students and protecting their well-being" (IN_H, 01/12/11, p.29), weren't effective in this case because there was a time delay between incident and assessment submission. Although ethics was not a point of focus for this study, it is an area that warrants greater attention and possibilities for future research.

Limitations and directions for future research

Because this study is practice-based and employed an ethnographic methodology, it is also necessarily situated and contextual. I presented three case studies following Tsoukas' (2009) advice that small case studies offer greater specificity, can draw

¹⁹ In May 2012 the ACEN NSW/ACT Chapter dedicated a forum to discussing 'Ethical practices in WIL' held at the University of Canberra. Presentations can be accessed via: http://acen.edu.au/?page_id=218. Additionally ACEN conference streams in 2011, 2012 and 2013 also discussed issues of ethics in WIL.

new conclusions and further refine our understanding. While the findings cannot be used for statistical generalisations, these three case studies can offer analytical insight into broader conceptualisations (Tsoukas, 2009). This feature points to both the strengths and weaknesses of the inquiry, however, it also highlights interesting areas that were not an intention of the study.

Further, as I was inextricably located in each of the research configurations, I was aware that at times I may have been productive of something different. My positionality moved fluidly within placements between insider, outsider, and alongsider (Carroll, 2009; Eraut, 2008a). The sociomaterial arrangements that took place also shaped me and my relations within the space. At different times, I felt as though I was invisible, forgotten, included, needed, supported, valued, and useful. I am aware that by being part of the placement I have impacted it in some way. However, this has also helped me achieve greater understanding.

Moving forward there remain a number of questions raised in this thesis that further research and practice might pursue. First, following the issues and insights raised here, an incredibly important area worth pursuing is around legal and ethical practices in WIL. It would be interesting to explore the power relationships between the institutional and organisational stakeholders and impact of these on sustaining relationships and ‘use’ of interns on placement.

Second, the practices performed by participants formed part of an elective subject in a Commerce internship program at a regional university. What learning practices are performed by students’ whose placements are compulsory? Where would alternative disciplines align or divert from the findings in these business-related disciplines, for instance in medicine, education or engineering? To what degree would alternative WIL programs, with various structures, policies and practices, demonstrate transitioning, conforming, and adapting practices?

Third, there is still much to understand about the informal learning in WIL. This thesis only begins to explore these complexities and issues. For example, one could take a focus just on the international student experience or the trans-national

internship experience, which are those placements conducted overseas. Different approaches are needed to illuminate differences and generate new findings (Mäkitalo, 2012). Additional research into informal learning on placement may be well served by selecting a specific sociomaterial theory, such as ANT, complexity theory or spatial theory, to delve deeper into tracing how knowledge and learning as dispersed through systems and patterns in WIL.

Finally, the notion of sociomateriality is an excellent starting point to conceptualise how diverse learning practices are performed, however, more work is needed to theorise in a satisfactory manner how learning practices interrelate in wider institutional processes and how such learning circulates. More research is also required to explore the relationship between WIL learning practices, and specific dimensions, including affect, power, and temporality.

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APPENDICES



APPENDICES

Appendix A: Summary of fieldwork data

The fieldwork data was accessed over a one year period between July 2011 and July 2012. Anna and Ben's placement were held at the same organisation and their timing partially overlapped. Reflective discussions, email correspondence, member checking activities, and other information gathering continued after observations and interviews and contributed to the compilation of data. This list does not include photographs taken or documents collected.

Table 7: Summary of fieldwork

Date	Activity
01/12/11	Interview & notes: Helen, CIP Coordinator
Anna at Seabreeze Hotel	
27/07/11	Observation & notes: Orientation
28/07/11	Informal meeting and notes
22/09/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 12
27/09/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 14
30/09/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 16
13/10/11	Interview & notes
17/10/11	Supervisor Interview & notes: Eleanor
Ben at Seabreeze Hotel	
08/08/11	Informal meeting and notes
20/09/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 7
26/09/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 9
04/10/11	Observation & notes: Placement day 13
17/10/11	Interview & notes
18/10/11	Supervisor Interview & notes: Felix
29/02/12	Member checking meeting & notes

Carrie at Local Sports Club		
07/12/11	Observation & notes:	Orientation
14/12/11	Observation & notes:	Placement day 1
20/12/11	Observation & notes:	Placement day 3
17/01/12	Observation & notes:	Placement day 4
23/02/12	Observation & notes:	Placement day 8
01/03/12	Observation & notes:	Placement day 9
03/05/12	Interview & notes	
03/05/12	Supervisor Interview & notes:	Greg

Table 8: Summary of assessment data

Type	Date	Description
Anna at Seabreeze Hotel		
RJA	22/08/11	Reflective journal part A (Pre-placement)
eL1	20/08/11	Placement day 1
eL2	22/08/11	Placement day 2
eL3	23/08/11	Placement day 3
eL4	29/08/11	Placement day 4
eL5	30/08/11	Placement day 5
eL6	5/09/11	Placement day 6
eL7	11/09/11	Placement day 7
eL8	12/09/11	Placement day 8
eL9	13/09/11	Placement day 9
eL10	17/09/11	Placement day 10
eL11	20/09/11	Placement day 11
eL12	22/09/11	Placement day 12
eL13	24/09/11	Placement day 13
eL14	27/09/11	Placement day 14
eL15	29/09/11	Placement day 15
eL16	30/09/11	Placement day 16

Ben at Seabreeze Hotel

RJA	22/08/11	Reflective journal part A (Pre-placement)
eL1	09/08/11	Placement day 1
eL2	11/08/11	Placement day 2
eL3	16/08/11	Placement day 3
eL4	17/08/11	Placement day 4
eL5	22/08/11	Placement day 5
eL6	29/08/11	Placement day 6
eL7	20/09/11	Placement day 7
eL8	23/09/11	Placement day 8
eL9	26/09/11	Placement day 9
eL10	28/09/11	Placement day 10
eL11	29/09/11	Placement day 11
eL12	30/09/11	Placement day 12
eL13	04/10/11	Placement day 13
eL14	05/10/11	Placement day 14
eL15	10/10/11	Placement day 15
eL16	15/10/11	Placement day 16
RJB	24/10/11	Reflective journal part B (Post-placement)

Carrie at Local Sports Club

RJA	22/08/11	Reflective journal part A (Pre-placement)
eL1	14/12/11	Placement day 1
eL2	15/12/11	Placement day 2
eL3	20/12/11	Placement day 3
eL4	17/01/12	Placement day 4
eL5	24/02/12	Placement day 5
eL6	02/02/12	Placement day 6
eL7	09/02/12	Placement day 7
eL8	23/02/12	Placement day 8
eL9	01/03/12	Placement day 9

eL10	06/03/12	Placement day 10
eL11	28/05/12	Placement day 11
eL12	06/06/12	Placement day 12
eL13	12/07/12	Placement day 13
RJB	13/07/12	Reflective journal part B (Post-placement)

Table 9: In-text referencing of data

Type	Notation	Anna	Ben	Carrie
<i>Field notes</i>	FN	FN_A	FN_B	FN_C
<i>Interviews</i>	IN	IN_A IN_E (Eleanor)	IN_B IN_F (Felix)	IN_C IN_G (Greg)
<i>Assessments</i>				
eLog	eL	eL_A	eL_B	eL_C
Reflective journal part A	RJA	RJA_A	RJA_B	RJA_C
Reflective journal part B	RJB	RJB_A	RJB_B	RJB_C
<i>Interview Helen</i>	IN_H (Helen)			

Appendix B: Participant interviews

Participant interviews were conducted with interns Anna, Ben, and Carrie, supervisors Eleanor, Felix, and Greg, and Commerce Internship Coordinator, Helen (pseudonyms).

Interview to the Double

At one point in the interview, I asked participants to assist in an interview technique named Interview to the Double (ITTD) (Nicolini, 2009b). To introduce this technique, I read out the following passage and asked for any follow up questions before proceeding:

I noticed that on several of your days you performed similar tasks doing [name activity]. I would like to do an interview technique with you called Interview to the Double (ITTD). This is to help me understand in detail your activities. It goes like this, try to imagine that I'm your double and I have to replace you in your job tomorrow. Your role is to explain to me the necessary detailed instructions so that I can go in your place and perform [name activity]. For example: *You should arrive at work at 8:30am and using the swipe card enter the offices...*

At another point I also used the photographs I took to stimulate reflection around specific practices. I would ask questions such as: Can you tell me what is going on here? What is this [object] used for and how important was it to performing your job? Why are these [receipts, chairs, emails] organised this way? And, can you tell me the first thing that comes to mind when you see the following photo.

Sample questions for interns

- Before coming into this placement, what did you think you would learn?
- Can you describe to me in your own words your orientation?
- Tell me about the functions of the laptop/to-do-list/HR templates?
- What did you do when something surprised or troubled you, or when you had a question?
- How did you know what to do at the start of each day?
- How did you learn a new task? Can you give me an example?

- What would you tell the next intern, who was going to start placement at this organisation?
- Is there anything that you would like me to ask your supervisor?
- How did you feel about having me observe you? Were the days I saw you very different to other days?

Sample questions for supervisors

- What are your reasons for having an intern and participating in the internship program?
- What do you hope interns learn from placement?
- What do you think [intern] learnt in their placement?
- Tell me about your approach to supervision. What are some of the challenges you faced?
- How would you describe what you *do* each day? When you have an intern, how does this change what you do?
- What steps did you take to teach [intern] a new task? How would [they] respond?
- If you could go back would you change anything about how you supervised [intern]?
- How did you feel about having me observe you? Were the days I saw you very different to other days?

Sample questions for Internship Coordinator

- What do you expect an intern to learn from placement?
- What do you think they actually learn?
- How do you know when an intern is learning?
- How does the Internship Program design support learning?
- Tell me about the assessment design and structure.
- What is your teaching philosophy?

The interviews were recorded and fully transcribed by me.

Appendix C: CIP learning outcomes

The subject has seven learning outcomes specified in the subject outline. These are:

1. Identify organisational practices and procedures, including work related procedures
2. Apply knowledge learnt at university to critically analyse organisational practices and procedures
3. Demonstrate effective communication skills, orally and written, within a professional environment
4. Demonstrate analytical and problem solving skills in proposing solutions to real business problems
5. Demonstrate an appreciation for your discipline in the context of the workplace
6. Participate as a team member in a work environment for the purpose of resolving work related issues
7. Demonstrate how your contribution in the work place informs your professional practice

Appendix D: CIP assessments

EO-Online Quiz

Due in week 3 of session; Approx. 30 multiple choice questions; weight 5 %

Students work through an online module with several questions designed for university staff, that covers areas such as policy and government legislations on harassment, discrimination, and OH&S.

ELogs

Due each week and all submitted by end of session; 200 words; weight 15 %

Students respond to four questions:

1. Activities undertaken today (1-2 sentences): *Discuss or list the tasks or activities you engaged in today*
2. Your role in given tasks (2-3 sentences): *Discuss how you contributed to the tasks, what your role was in these tasks and what you thought about your role*
3. Interactions with people or departments (2-3 sentences): *Discuss who you came into contact with*
4. Thoughts or impressions (1-2 sentences): *Overall ideas, feelings or impressions*

Reflective journal: Part A “Theoretical role of workplace experience and your learning goals”

Due in week 5 of session; 2000 words; weight 40 %

Students are required to read six nominated academic journal articles and respond to seven questions covering three generic areas:

Workplace environment

1. What do the readings suggest will be of some of the benefits and challenges of your internship in the workplace?
2. What are your overall expectations as you enter into a professional workplace environment associated with your Commerce discipline?

Teamwork

3. In theory, according to the readings, how should teams work in order to be most effective?
4. How do you think teamwork in the workplace environment during your internship will be different from teamwork at university?
5. What have been some of the challenges you have experienced with teamwork so far and what strategies have you already developed to overcome these if anything similar happens during your internship experience?

Critical and creative thinking

6. According to the readings, what role does critical and creative thinking play in the workplace?
7. What role could your critical and creative thinking skills play in your internship?

Reflective journal: Part B “Reflecting on theory in practice”

Due in week 13 of session; 2000 words; weight 40 %

Students respond to the same three generic areas and an overall reflection on experience:

Workplace environment

1. Provide an overview of the organisation where you undertook your placement and identify the key tasks and roles that you performed.
2. Outline how and which skills developed by your university studies were applied on this internship placement and, alternatively, identify specific new skills you began to develop during your placement and discuss how workplace learning encouraged the development of these different skills compared to the university setting.

Teamwork

3. Provide an overview of the team structures in your internship workplace before discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the teams in this scenario.

4. Identify and explain how you contributed to a team before comparing this experience with those discussed in the theory plus those you have had at university or in other scenarios.

Critical and creative thinking

5. Thinking back to the theory, identify a critical thinker in your workplace and detail examples of their characteristics and how their skills were applied. How is critical thinking related to your discipline in the workplace?
6. Provide examples of how creative thinking is encouraged/discouraged in your workplace and then identify ways that management might foster a creative culture in your workplace.

Overall experiences

7. From a person perspective, identify what you have learnt during your internship placement, including any strengths or areas for improvement that you have identified via personal reflection and workplace feedback.
8. Reflecting on your overall experience, discuss how your internship will now inform your future university studies or progression into the workplace/ career development.

Appendix E: CIP marking rubrics

eLogs

Unsatisfactory	Satisfactory
Does not respond to the requested topics and does not clearly indicate the progress or wellbeing of the intern.	A clear and concise response to each of the themes that, overall, indicates your successes and concerns in the workplace. It is expected to be approximately 200 words.

RJA: Theoretical role of workplace experience and your learning goals

Unsatisfactory	Satisfactory
<p>Simplistic descriptions of the internship process and the potential tasks that maybe allocated.</p> <p>Little discussion of professional/disciplinary knowledge or the potential relevance of theoretical understanding to the internship process.</p>	<p>Honest, in-depth, reflection that reveals the experiences (educational and professional development / personal) that you anticipate having during the internship experience.</p> <p>Discussion that demonstrates understanding of the theories discussed in each of the themes; workplace environment, teamwork and critical & creative thinking.</p>

RJB: Reflecting on theory in practice

Unsatisfactory	Satisfactory
<p>Simplistic descriptions of the internship process and tasks allocated.</p> <p>Little discussion of connections between professional/disciplinary knowledge or theoretical understandings and workplace experiences.</p> <p>Little discussion of connections with personal learning and/or change derived from the workplace experience.</p>	<p>Honest, in-depth, reflection that demonstrates how you were changed by the internship experience.</p> <p>A clear critique of how theory was similar or different from your actual experiences in the workplace.</p> <p>Provides discussion of positive and negative aspects of your performance during the internship with insights into how this will affect your future behaviour.</p>

Appendix F: Pre-placement meeting check-list

This checklist is to be completed by the Relationship Manager for each student placement within their responsibility. These forms are to be given to the Internship Administrator by Week 1 of session.

Partner Name	
Student Name and Number	
Relationship Manager	
Session and Year	

Activity Required	Details
Start Date Within week 2 of session	
Legal Documents Partner completed legal documents	
Student completed legal documents	
Risk Assessment Faculty of Commerce representative has visited workplace and undertaken brief risk assessment	
On the Job Information Partner advised of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What to do if student sick 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dress code • Etiquette • Who does the student report to on their first day 	
Student advised of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What to do if student sick • Dress code • Etiquette • Who does the student report to on their first day 	

I confirm that the above checks and information has been undertaken for the named student, partner and placement.

Relationship Manager
Name

Relationship Manager Signature

Date

Appendix G: Participant information sheet (interns)

Examining informal learning: Transitioning practices in work-integrated learning

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

This study is the empirical investigation of an Australian Postgraduate Award PhD project. The aim of this study is to investigate the informal learning of internship business students. This study will research informal learning through observing the development of business students' practices while undertaking their internship work placement. The study will involve students from the Commerce Internship Program at the University of Wollongong. The research will employ ethnographic principles and methods such as interviewing stakeholders and observing the intern in the workplace as they participate in their activities. Findings of this study will inform WIL coordinators and directors to better prepare students for work placements as well as inform managers and researchers of organisational learning.

INVESTIGATORS

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METHOD AND DEMANDS ON PARTICIPANTS

You are being invited to participate in this project because you are undertaking an internship through the Commerce Internship Program at the University of Wollongong this upcoming session. During your placement, we are interested in placing a student researcher alongside you to observe and participate in your activities. This requires the student researcher to enter your host organisation on simultaneous days as you. While the internship runs for 16 days, the researcher will only be present for 8 of these days.

The work and learning practices of you is the main focus of interest in this study. You may wish to contribute to this study in the following ways:

- **Consenting to be observed** by a student researcher, investigating the practices of interns and their supervisors in the workplace.
- **Interviews** with the student researcher, informal interviews throughout the placement and one semi-structured interview pre-placement and one post-placement.
- **Photographs** taken by yourself, your supervisor and the student researcher to capture practices and spaces of informal learning during the placement. When you are taking photographs, as discussed with the researchers or Internship Program director, you must be aware not to capture anything confidential or potentially harmful to the organisation.
- **Assessment analysis** from your submissions to Commerce Internship Program COMM390 subject, after release of subject marks.

A consent form will be given to you and your supervisor(s) prior to commencing the research on placement. By signing this document you may wish to consent to the researchers to observe your practices in any of the above mentioned ways. The consent form will also request permission for the interview to be audio taped and for photographs to be taken for the purpose of data collection and analysis.

POSSIBLE RISKS, INCONVENIENCES AND DISCOMFORTS

Apart from the presence of the researcher in the workplace, capturing of practices through photographs and informal and formal interviews, we can foresee no risks for you. To prevent any potential inconveniences the following steps will be taken:

- Questions arising throughout workplace activities will be asked through informal interviews on one occasion throughout the day. This will be at the end of day, or at a time arranged by the researcher and yourself. This allocated time aims to minimize interruptions to you and your work.
- As discussed with your manager or CEO photographs will be taken by yourself, your supervisor and the researcher based on specific clauses. These clauses are to prevent any possible risks or inconveniences to you and the organisations, These clauses are:
 1. Caution is taken by the photographers, the student researcher, the intern and the supervisors, not to capture other employees without their permission, logos or other potentially identifying organisational information.
 2. Photographs do not identify the organisation through the display of logos or other potentially identifying materials
 3. In the case that staff are present in a photograph the faces of any staff are blurred
 4. Blur out any organisational materials such as policies or other information that may be featured on the walls of the organisation

Your involvement in the study is voluntary and you may withdraw your participation from the study at any time. Refusal to participate in the study will not affect your relationship with the University of Wollongong or Commerce Internship Program. The researcher will also respect your privacy and confidentiality. Choosing to participate in this research will NOT affect in any way your assessment in the Commerce Internship Program.

During the study, the data will be stored securely on the student researcher's computer and in a locked secure location in the researcher's office. After the study, data will be securely stored in the principle investigator's secure computer and office.

FUNDING AND BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

This research is being funded by an Australian Postgraduate Award. The findings of this study will inform Work-Integrated Learning or Internship coordinators and directors to better prepare students for work placements as well as inform managers and researchers of organisational learning. Confidentiality is assured and you will not be identified in any part of the research.

ETHICS REVIEW AND COMPLAINTS

This study has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Social Science, Humanities and Behavioural Science) of the University of Wollongong. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the way this research has been conducted, you can contact the UOW Ethics Officer on (02) 4221 4457 or email rso-ethics@uow.edu.au.

Thank you for your interest in this project.

Dr Chris Sykes on behalf of the Team.

Appendix H: Participant consent form (interns)

Examining informal learning: Transitioning practices in work-integrated learning

Research Team: Dr Chris Sykes, Ms Bonnie Cord and Dr Jan Turbill

I have been given information about the Australian Postgraduate Award PhD project *Examining informal learning: Transitioning practices in work-integrated learning* and discussed the research project with one of the team members named above who is conducting this research at the University of Wollongong.

Please indicate your consent by ticking the boxes for those which you give permission:

- ☐ I agree to allow the researcher to observe me and my work practices while on placement in the Commerce Internship Program and participate where suitable for the duration of the placement.
- ☐ I agree to participate in two semi-structured formal interviews, pre- and post-placement.
- ☐ I agree to participate in informal interviews throughout the placement.
- ☐ I consent to the interviews being audio-taped for the purposes of data collection and analysis.
- ☐ I consent to performing member checks on research field notes or interview transcriptions to ensure accuracy of my intended actions and meanings.
- ☐ I understand that the data collected from my participation in this research will be used for academic and professional publication, and I consent for it to be used in that manner.
- ☐ I consent to allowing the research team to examine my reflections and assessments from the Commerce Internship Program COMM390 for the purposes of revealing learning, accessed after the release of subject results.

Photographs

- ☐ I consent to the student researcher taking photographs of me during placement for the purposes of data collection and analysis.
- ☐ I agree to take photographs during my placement in accordance with the agreed clauses as discussed with the Director of the Program, Organisational Manager and/or research team.

I have had an opportunity to ask one of the researchers named above any questions I may have about the research and my participation. I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and I am free to refuse to participate and I am free to withdraw from the research, up until two months after the field work has taken place. My refusal to participate or withdrawal of consent will not affect my relationship with the Commerce Internship Program or the University of Wollongong. My contribution and any materials I choose to provide will remain confidential. There will be no personal or organisational identification in the data or resources.

By signing below I am indicating my consent to participate in the research. If I have any enquires about the research, I can contact Dr Chris Sykes on 4221 4507 or Bonnie Cord on bcord@uow.edu.au. If I have any concerns or complaints regarding the way the research is or has been conducted, I can contact the Ethics Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong on 42214457 or email rso-ethics@uow.edu.au.

Signed

Date

.....

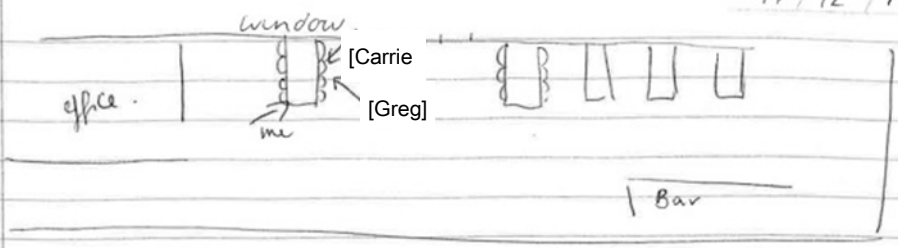
...../...../.....

Name (please print)

.....

Appendix I: Example of field notes

14 / 12 / 11



[Carrie] clayfin, 'is there a definite to that?' 'yep' responding. (C) asks 'So you would put this in there?' 'Yeah, is that right?' 'Yup, I'll just copy paste figures in.'

The office is quiet - has said earlier if too quiet put tv on. Go through SWOT in place. She says when it is not clear, they go through wording 'Maybe if you can think of something for a weakness while you are here, I think the disease is a weakness, also location & accessibility ya said you walked here from bus'. Questions how 'can that be more of an opportunity than weakness'. 'Yup, good that's a really good opportunity so work that into it' (S) 'Can that be a strategy?' (C) 'Yup I'm really happy with that.'

-(C) 'Do you think that says enough about our product?' (R) 'I think that could be reworded' (C) 'Yup again re from a marketing perspective'.

-(C) 'Yup very happy with that. That can be worded up into more being encouraging, gives direction + action. C will provide more information. As going through recommendations, provides hinting to help make decision, for instance 'Yup that has already been raised from \$77 to \$100'.

- Praises more hinting + background - 'and how did you get the donation' 'we did the 'two fund rows' for ladies day. 'I hope you can read my writing'.

- Tells story about previous events and what this did to raise money + advertise through colored socks/umbrellas / donation buckets for 'cure + awareness' cancer fund-raiser.

- 'Do we need this 'we don't have a large advertising budget' do we need another negative?' Way he frames critique though questioning shape about recommendation, directing attention.

- 'Do we could it this?'

- Writes down action for himself - providing more info.

- 'Yeah I'm happy to get rid of that if you want to. Give happy with that'.
- 'Look it's outstanding. Company are not knowing alot about the company. I'll need you on events plan etc'.

Finishing going through, gives support & encouragement. 'That's the brain'.
C decided to track change. She got a friend to show her how.
Talks to me and says that she can do outstanding work, in her own time.

I ask her do you feel about that? 'I'm a bit of work. I was going to bring in my manuscript but forgot'.

[Greg] makes me a coffee & says [Carrie] will now do independ work.
He says when [Name] (web site) guy comes, often go to cafe down the road when there aren't any distractions. Here, being a one-man-band can get interrupted easily.

How are you going to ^{start} start? 'At the start, go through it. Approved some of the track changes & wording change'.

[Greg] left her to work independently, because while he has a club, his son-in-law also has a club to run.

[Carrie] looks comfortable with her laptop going through & changing the document. [Greg] is in his office doing club work. The phone rings & he deals with that. The phone conversation is the only thing to hear apart from the wind making whistles outside. My coffee smells beautiful, like caramel. [Greg] says he will be in and out and will leave them to help myself.

Before [Greg] said he had a meeting at Vow Health & Behavioural Sciences, to get the learning physio sports students up here to help out. He says to me 'we are all Vow'. Smiling.

They have an event next Wednesday night that they may do some marketing for too.

[Photo taken] [Carrie] sits with her laptop and twirls her hair and is looking at the document. [Greg] has his finger on the screen. Using track changes is a great way of making recommendations.

[Name] comes in and says hello. Talks about doing something to the grounds. I think he is a board member. He is given [Greg] encouragement so I think he is their boss. There are two guys in there now talking about colors of jerseys & [Greg] is saying what he did. I over hear a conversation about players expecting free things, they say 'we are trying to run a business'.

Appendix J: Example of coding process

B
What I saw was that he'd be doing something over here then someone would come in and then he'd go and do something over there. The next person come in 'oh' go do something over there, the phone rings go over there 'oh, don't worry about the phone' that kind of thing. So I sort of saw him has doing a lot of things at once. That's what I saw.

C

A lot of multitasking.

B
A lot of multitasking. Yeah, do you think he spent enough time with you?

C

Um, I think with what I was working on the, I did need more time, but sometimes there were days where he was busy with someone else and I wanted or needed something else to do. So I remember one afternoon I sat there for a while because I'd done everything.

B
So what did you do to occupy your time?

C

I think I tried started to do some stuff because I felt bad doing other things. Um I like read through the website and like rugby sites and then ended up like reading the news. Little things.

B
Because it's like dead time isn't it. You can't move forward with it because you don't know how.

C

Yeah I didn't know what else to do. I think, no I actually started working on something, going back to something else, trying find something to do...

B
Um, do you think he gave you enough information for you to do the tasks?

C

Yeah and if he didn't, then I'd ask him and he'd fill me in so, that's fine.

B
There was one point there were he was really busy and he came past us and he goes 'oh, I feel like I should be here all the time'. Do you remember him saying that?

C

Yeah, I think so yeah. I didn't think he needed to.

Supervisor busy

Dead time

Dead time

trying to find something to do...

waiting to feel useful

Protecting supervisor

Protecting supervisor