

# Creativity Regime and Internship Practices on MBKM Policy

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**Abstract.** The internship practice has become a regularity in responding to the interconnectedness of the labor market and education system in Indonesia. The Certified Internship and Independent Study Program (MSIB) is part of MBKM policies initiated by the Ministry of Education and Culture. It represents the state's position to capitalize on creativity discourse while continuing the connection between higher education and industry. Based on the literature review, this qualitative research provides an overview of the widespread phenomenon of internships. This research aims to explore the capacity of the creativity regime to exert hegemony through the MBKM policy that encourages internship practices. On one hand, internship programs play a role in making the educational ecosystem more open to new labor market challenges. However, students believe that without internships, their chances of finding employment after graduation are reduced. As a result, through the mechanisms of regulation and the activation of discourse within the creative regime, students have prioritized internships as spaces for exploring subjective experiences in realizing their authentic, engaging, and unique selves. By reflecting the characteristics of contemporary society as described by Andreas Reckwitz, which is a singularized society.

**Keywords:** Creativity Regime, Singularization, Internship, MBKM program, MSIB, Reckwitz.

**Abstrak.** Praktik magang telah menjadi regularitas baru dalam merespons keterkaitan antara pasar tenaga kerja dan sistem pendidikan di Indonesia. Program Magang Bersertifikat dan Studi Independen (MSIB) merupakan bagian dari Kebijakan Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka (MBKM) yang diinisiasi oleh Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Program ini mencerminkan posisi negara dalam memanfaatkan wacana kreativitas bersamaan dengan logika link and match antara pendidikan tinggi dan industri. Menggunakan studi literatur, penelitian kualitatif ini memberikan gambaran tentang fenomena magang yang tersebar luas. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi kapasitas rezim kreativitas dalam menciptakan hegemoni melalui kebijakan MBKM yang mendorong praktik magang. Di satu sisi, program magang berperan dalam membuka ekosistem pendidikan terhadap tantangan pasar tenaga kerja yang baru. Pada sisi lainnya, mahasiswa percaya bahwa tanpa magang peluang mereka untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan setelah lulus berkurang. Hasil dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan melalui mekanisme regulasi dan aktivasi wacana dalam rezim kreativitas, mahasiswa telah memprioritaskan magang sebagai ruang eksplorasi pengalaman subjektif untuk mewujudkan diri mereka yang otentik, menarik, dan unik. Merefleksikan karakteristik masyarakat kontemporer sebagaimana yang dijelaskan oleh Andreas Reckwitz, yaitu masyarakat yang tersingularisasi.

**Kata Kunci:** Rezim Kreativitas, Singularisasi, Magang, Program MBKM, MSIB, Reckwitz.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government released new regulations in the university ecosystem in early January 2020. The Ministry of Education and Culture calls it the policy of Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka (MBKM). The Ministry of Education and Culture has pinned four targets of the new regulation as a form of higher education transformation, namely: bureaucratic ease in responding to the acceleration of the opening of new study programs in public and private universities; automatic re-accreditation at each rank and a faster time interval if the accreditation status is below A; the ease of public universities with the status of Badan Layanan Umum (BLU) and Satuan Kerja (Satker) to increase institutional capacity to become a Public Universities with legal entity (PTN Berbadan Hukum) that has high flexibility to accelerate the resolution of problems at the local level (institution); The right of students to take courses outside the study program and changes in the definition of semester credit units (SKS) (Kemendikbud, 2020).

This MBKM policy is expected to meet the flexibility of student needs and higher education institutions can be accommodated. Especially students where each individual has the flexibility to choose appropriate off-campus activities to replace the learning process in the classroom. Off-campus activities in question are internship practices, student exchanges, humanitarian projects, village building, research/research, entrepreneurial activities, independent studies/projects, and teaching/teaching assistance campuses (Kemendikbud, 2021). The granting of the right to take off-campus learning is based on how the assumption of creativity has been limited to the system that existed before and is no longer relevant to today's young people who are open to creativity, especially the flow of digitalization.

One of the off-campus activities that caught the attention of many students was the internship. This can be explained by the number of registrants which is around 98 thousand and continues to climb on each batch (Tim MBKM, 2023). The implementation of internship practices accommodated through the MBKM policy must be a form of interest or a certain ideological framework. The internship

conditions have illustrated the dynamics of political economy in the local and global labor market, where students who are not in the workforce have competed for certain positions to be "safe" in a highly competitive labor competition. The right to study off-campus in terms of internships has become a point to encourage connectivity between industry and universities in creating labor market conditions that are balanced against the needs of competent workers.

Various discussions and research related to internships such as exploitation, the rights of students on internship, and neo-liberalization of education have developed on a global scale, but research with a critical perspective on the context of MBKM internships in Indonesia is still quite limited. A study conducted by Wirman (2021) has helped activate the discussion of education neo-liberalization in Indonesia and Putra (2022) which shows that the policy and implementation of MBKM at the University of Indonesia has changed a lot of educational bureaucratization schemes. The two studies are particularly useful in opening an initial discussion on the development of *field areas* in the context of research related to the right to study outside the campus, especially in the internship section.

At the global level, the escalation of interest in internship programs by students in the United States is not without reason. Perlin (2012) found that the internship explosion has a distinctive form and has become a new reality of the interconnectedness of universities and the world of work. The condition of increasing internships is difficult to capture as a phenomenon, the increase in internship programs in various parts of the world has accelerated very quickly and students have made internships the new normal (Perlin, 2012).

The phenomenon of internships is also developing in the context of Southeast Asia. This shift is related to the post-Fordism work culture that is developing in various parts of the world influencing the global south area. MacDonald & Marsh (2005) explained that in post-Fordism and contemporary neoliberal economics, there has been a gap. Small and medium-sized companies are trying to form the backbone of the economy, while large capital

can contract a network of companies that can support other businesses and compete for business opportunities. This has allowed job security to have eroded and job opportunities to have been polarized, with wide salary and conditions differentials between unskilled service positions on the one hand and professional, semi-professional, and managerial jobs on the other (Furlong, 2013).

Internships are a regular activity because there is not a single practitioner, multinational company, institution, researcher, or even the government that does not encourage the expansion of the internship program globally (Stewart et al., 2021; Trujillo, 2016). Internships are often translated as a work practice that has historically hegemonized society endlessly. The practice of internship work is a normal activity because the process is affirmed by many parties. This pattern can be seen with structured planning in each industry and implemented with the encouragement of so many different actors, different regulations, and different cultures so that the dynamics can vary from country to country (Stewart et al., 2021).

Thus, Contemporary internship work practices did not necessarily emerge in the post-Fordism era but have been firmly rooted in an educational policy and pedagogy that then transitioned to create a new educational culture that is connected to the world of work (Karakiraz et al., 2021; Perlin, 2012). The internship conditions activated by the Ministry of Education and Culture through the Magang dan Studi Independen Bersertifikat (MSIB) program have affected academic activities, especially students as the target of the implementation of the MBKM policy related to the provision of the right to study outside the campus. This article seeks to propose an analysis related to the reality of contemporary society where the concept of creativity has a connection to widespread internship. In connection with this goal, this article seeks to answer the research question: how does the hegemonic process of the creativity regime through the MBKM policy encourage students to be more singular.

## 2. METHOD

The research method used is a literature study. This effort was made to obtain an overview in exploring the problem of MBKM policy implementation, and the hegemony of creativity discourse in internship practices. The use of literature studies is useful in starting conversations between scholar-related concepts connected in previous studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Interrelated concepts are important to be examined and elaborated in this study as well as finding gaps in the explanation of internships in the Indonesian context.

This research was carried out in several stages. In the first stage, the authors collected several relevant studies by examining titles and abstracts related to Indonesian and English keywords such as "*Prekarisasi Magang*"; "*Magang MBKM*"; "*Kebijakan MBKM*"; and "*Neo-liberalisasi Pendidikan Tinggi*". Various journal and book references are obtained through metadata owned by the University of Indonesia Library ([remote-lib.ac.id](http://remote-lib.ac.id)) and *Google Scholar*. This process is called initial screening; during this process, the recording included in the criteria for internship expansion is important to be further examined.

Second, after reading the manuscript, 5 literatures in Indonesia related to internships and 18 studies with a critical perspective related to the expansion of internships at the global level were found. Third, the most important part is that data analysis is carried out by sorting and mapping how most critical studies explain internships. This sorting was carried out by weighing the level of interconnectedness of the 23 selected literature with the concept of the neoliberal creativity regime and hegemony in general in discussing the expansion of internships. By finding substance in each study to see how each theme and focus of the study is interconnected with each other, the emergence of discussions related to paid and unpaid internships is the most dominant thing that arises related to the expansion of internships. Fourth, integrating various study substances collected in the recording that have been successfully identified and selected into this study.

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Discourse on Internship Practice

The internship program is in principle aimed at establishing continuity between students who are undergoing education at university and the needs of the company's workforce. Many lines of business or organizations, both in the government and the private sector, are also aware of the importance of internships, thus increasing the bargaining power for students to access them, and thus the number of positions offered by companies also increases (Anjum, 2020). This logic of attraction and mutual benefit encourages the education ecosystem to be more open to the challenges of the labor market. For example, companies take the opportunity of internship programs registered with the government, which can be a useful form of pre-employment screening for companies (Stewart et al., 2021).

However, the development of internship logic is now more extensive. Internship practices justify exploitative work in shaping neoliberal individuals (student interns) (Wirman, 2021). Unpaid or underpaid internships are used to acquire productive workers that should be performed by paid employees, thereby reducing the labor costs of a company (Cannon & Arnold, 1998). The more companies do this, the more likely it is that other companies will follow in their footsteps because it is considered a competitive thing (Anjum, 2020).

The rise of internships also must be understood in the context of a change in approach to creativity development. Pressure on modern businesses that are more profitable to shareholders, and a lack of predictability in the global market, hinder long-term investment in training, which in turn hampers the creativity of interns (Beard, 2007). Internal training (*In-house training*) which used to be part of the entry-level internship job training, is now no longer visible as part of the internship program, so this causes the lack of development of intern skills.

The work experience gained from the internship program is expected not only to improve students' specific knowledge but also to add other general skills when they enter the workplace, such as problem-solving and

communication skills (Karakiraz et al., 2021). Internships have become popular among employers, employees, and universities around the world. Owens (2016) argues that from the perspective of internship students, it refers to the opportunity to gain work-related experience and apply their knowledge in a professional work environment. Meanwhile, companies see it as an important experience in the work environment and part of the recruitment process. Universities are also increasingly using internships to fill the gap between what is taught in the classroom and what is practiced in the business world (Owens & Stewart, 2016).

The relationship between the three parties such as students, companies, and universities encouraged by the government in organizing internships tends to affirm neoliberal logic that tends to delegate the narrative of subjectivity, especially to interns. Sutopo and Meiji (2017) in their study emphasized the existence of *Unintended Consequences* from an individualized society, especially among young people who are undergoing a transition to the world of work. Young people are also dealing with other modern problems, such as the discourse of a tendency toward consumptive behavior (Harahap et al., 2023). This situation has obscured a lot of what young people are facing, and many structural problems hinder their transition to adulthood.

The risks borne by young people are not supported by the communal but by individuals, so they need reflectivity. Their reflective capacity will be influenced by the cultural capital they have in anticipating risks and structural pressures during the transition period (Novianto & Purnama, 2022; Sutopo & Meiji, 2017). Wirman (2021) has found that the form of internship in Indonesia has become a discipline formed by the state by following the fluidity of the market ecosystem and resulting in the normalization of vulnerability in students. The practice of internship justifies exploitative work in shaping individuals (student interns) who indirectly accept the practice of neoliberal ideology, using the concept of Foucault as an analytical framework of *Neoliberal Governmentality* (Wirman, 2021).

On the other hand, there are some criticisms related to internships, for example, this activity is often considered not to emphasize specialization and less efficient tools compared to decent quality and specialized training programs, if indeed the goal is to prepare a quality workforce. In addition, each discipline, regulation, institution, and limit of creativity are quite different, so it is prone to creating imbalances in the workforce. Few studies can accurately measure and rigorously investigate the effectiveness of internships in improving job skills or providing meaningful learning experiences, and there is little evidence on how internship structure relates to good result outcomes (Jung, 2017).

### 3.2 Regime of Creativity, Logic of Singularization and Hegemony

The debate of late modernity and theoretical reflection on the development of contemporary society has distinct positions between Anthony Giddens, Zygmunt Bauman, Ulrich Beck, and Andreas Reckwitz. Figures such as Beck and Giddens have succeeded in explaining the context of the emergence of the state of late modernity. However, if you look at the current conditions, there is no explanation for the new reality of late modernity that has surpassed the previous conditions, where the ability to reproduce intensive singular logic creates hegemonic conditions (Carleheden et al., 2022). Reckwitz argues that late modernity has developed the most recent phase, in which creativity has become a new hegemonic space at the level of contemporary society and plays the role of a historical starting point that differs from other theoretical views related to late modernity. In the end, the reality of singularization has become a new hegemonic culture (Carleheden et al., 2022).

The discourse of newness and argumentation from the regime in articulating creativity has a vague interpretation of the temporal, phenomenal, and social dimensions. First, at the temporal level, the argument of the new is not always oriented towards progress, so this situation is only a differentiator from what has been done in the past, present, and future. Second, there is a distinction between what is new and what is the same at the phenomenal level. Third, this position is only possible to categorize what is normal and become a new

regularity or explain what deviates from the existing regularity. In the end, these three positions do not show that there is objectivity that describes something completely new (Reckwitz, 2018).

The new social regime has explained and described the characteristics of contemporary society, the dispositive of creativity developed by Andreas Reckwitz as a set to articulate newness. The argument of newness no longer has the position of only observing what is new. Furthermore, a set of practices, discourses, subjectivity, and artifact systems have transformed in the form of an interest in the new and participating in implementing, enhancing it more than ever before and intensifying the newness (Reckwitz, 2018).

Creativity in the sociological framework does not narrow the analysis into a person's cognitive ability, but a structural role in which it has characteristics and is inherent in practice, interaction between agents in the form of communication, or social processes that have patterns and forms of events that are difficult to predict (Reckwitz, 2018). In general, various approaches to social science view the position of creativity as one of the social dimensions.

The perspective on creativity is also renewed through cultural mechanisms and structural positions. That creativity as a disposable has played a role in late modernity. Dispositive refers to a concept developed by Foucault in his genealogical and archaeological analysis. Dispositive is a position of structural relations that crosses the boundaries between functionally different systems and includes economic segments, mass media, policy planning, and so on. Ultimately aiming to reproduce the expected structure, i.e., aesthetically novel (Reckwitz, 2018). Reckwitz, influenced by Foucault (1978), seeks to show that dispositive analysis of creativity is used as one of the phenomena that plays a role in internalizing the form of production of creativity as natural and at the same time accepting new things as a new form of normal. (Reckwitz, 2018).

Sociological work has been carried out by Reckwitz (2018) by constructing four assumptions and placing them as a frame of reference in understanding creativity

dispositive: Contemporary society is a creative and complex society, this is in a very specific categorization and Reckwitz calls it a new social regime (a regime that encourages a new aesthetic escalation); This new social regime requires a deeper elaboration and is evidenced by Reckwitz as important in the science of sociology to understand creativity; Dispositive creativity can be understood as a certain social constellation consisting of producers, spectators, objects, even elements that organize attention to the understanding of creativity itself; The social sphere in modern art is the blueprint of the structural relationships of dispositive creativity that is awakened.

In sociological analysis, individualization and singularization have different starting points so Reckwitz argues that contemporary conditions have shifted towards singularization. McRobbie (2016) argues that individualization is related to new social relations in the context of contemporary society. This individualization condition has a more fluid characteristic because of the many choices so that the relationship is less permanent between each other. This individualization must be understood as contestation and antagonism in social spaces so that the debate about the direction of change between the new encourages the escalation of the contradictions of the discourse (McRobbie, 2016).

Furthermore, Beck is more likely to see an increasingly extensive individualization in the conditions of late modernity. The terminology of individualization tends to refer to the emergence of an openness process that encourages individuals to abandon class assumptions so that they become autonomous individuals and create risks for individuals (Carleheden et al., 2022). The starting point is different from Reckwitz where the concept of singularization plays a role in contemporary social processes and gives rise to the social production of singularization itself.

In a different sense to individualization, singularization is less liberating in the process and tends to be manipulative. The consequence of the new structure can force society and various social elements in it to enter the game of what is new and what is unique. These conditions result in disappointment, produce gaps, and may be frustrating (Carleheden et al.,

2022; Reckwitz, 2022). Reckwitz believed that the main feature of late modernity was the form of singularization and that the narrative of creativity was used as a tool to translate the condition of society that brought it closer to a certain uniqueness, but this position coincided with the new hegemony of late modernity.

### 3.3 Youth and Internship Practices

It is important to start the discussion of internship practices and the perspective of young people in responding to the reality of internships at the global and local levels. The problem of internship is closely related to young people who tend to have high expectations and the courage to try something new. Internship programs are considered beneficial for companies because the tendency requires workers who can adapt to the work environment and understand the job quickly (Cheong et al., 2014). Internships are inseparable from how demanding work flexibility and meeting the needs of a flexible workforce. Wharton (2015) historically noted that the deteriorating economic situation around the 1990s forced various organizations to adopt work flexibility to *survive* in a post-Fordism situation. The industrial ecosystem's position is not much different from the state organizational ecosystem's implementation.

Part of the internship program from an industrial perspective is to meet the needs of the industry for a flexible workforce, student learning opportunities outside of universities become bargaining power that is transacted between students, universities, and industry. State organizations also apply a similar pattern and contribute to the acceptance of work flexibility. Furthermore, their role in intensifying the practice of work flexibility is to encourage policies related to the labor market so that it becomes a normal practice.

The new logic has taken on the role that businesses that do not encourage flexibility have an elevated level of risk of not being able to survive. This consequence is also inseparable from individuals who are not able to adapt to changes in the industrial ecosystem and will be eroded without adopting a flexible model (Wharton, 2015). Young people must now have sufficient cultural capital and be more reflective of the latest situation (Sutopo & Meiji, 2017).

The internship program has been met with expectations from students who see this as an opportunity to learn outside of college (O'Connor & Bodicoat, 2017).

One of the variables of the rampant practice of internship work is the application of what is now often referred to as work-integrated (or experiential) learning carried out by several country's higher education institutions. This often stems from the pedagogical belief that certain types of skills or knowledge are best acquired through experimentation and workplace practice rather than classroom-based learning. However, this assumption may also reflect the acceptance of the increasing demand for graduates who are ready to work. The government is also considered an important supporter of work-based learning, especially in higher education (Jung, 2016).

The development of internship programs is also inseparable from the rapidly changing labor market, presenting several challenges for young people to make a rapid transition from education to the workforce. There are concerns that long educational periods do not guarantee that the younger generation has the problem-solving skills necessary to respond to the demands of a complex labor market (Sides & Mrvica, 2017). There is a general concern in society that higher education fails to teach job skills that are useful for mainstream jobs, so it is unable to improve welfare, and is unable to compete in the business world (Arnold & Cannon, 1998).

Therefore, public expectations of higher education are beginning to shift, educational institutions are expected to be able to teach relevant job skills before students enter the job market. Campuses must provide information to their students about the world of work, prepare them for future job assignments, and prepare for new work patterns in the future (Beenen & Rousseau, 2010). Additional skills and work experience may be needed to improve student competencies in the world of work. The form of work experience has long been a widespread practice for students in some professional fields, such as medicine, law, and education, and work experience has become increasingly popular in other fields of study in recent years (Jerez Gomez et al., 2023; Karakiraz et al.,

2021). Such market demands make the government cooperate with the private sector to meet public expectations (Beard, 2007).

To face the neoliberal economic situation, especially the tight labor market competition, the internship program is considered a way out to prepare students for the transition from student to worker. Moreover, students have viewed universities in a neoliberal ecosystem as able to facilitate the transition to professional practices that tend to be better than the school level below them (Martin, 2018; Swan, 2015). Young people discover new realities by requiring careful self-planning, adopting entrepreneurial principles, embracing flexibility discourses, fostering independence, and holding values of individualism to be able to undergo today's internship program (Martin, 2018).

Extensive internship practices and fierce labor market competition have encouraged young people to enter the workforce without an internship (Perlin, 2012; Swan, 2015). In today's conditions, internships are considered an inevitable prerequisite for entering the workforce, often required to complete a degree, and not paid. This situation is exacerbated by the equalization of internship levels during the study period (*Internship*) with an *Apprenticeship* carried out after education (training program to prepare for office work and professional career outside of the study period) (Swan, 2015).

### 3.4 Internship Work Practice in MBKM Policy as a Product of the Creativity Regime

The rationality of creativity is inseparable from the rapid shift in technology and new connectivity in today's information society. The creativity regime has made creativity a new goal and order. The way of working of late modernity plays a role in shaping the rationality of the subject so that the assumption of productivity is placed on the intensification of the creative cultural process (Reckwitz, 2016). The intensification of the creative cultural process is inseparable from daily life, especially in the issue of internship practices in Indonesia which continue to be accumulated culturally.

Contemporary internship practices did not necessarily emerge in the post-Fordism era but have been firmly rooted in an educational

policy and pedagogy that then transitioned to create a new educational culture that is connected to the world of work (Karakiraz et al., 2021; Perlin, 2012). Along with the intensification of the creative cultural process, an internship is any form of arrangement to shape performance in a business or organization that is intended to provide experience, skills, and/or relationships intended to help students obtain jobs as well as other job opportunities in the future (Karakiraz et al., 2021).

The practice of internship work now cannot be denied. Internships have been assumed to successfully bridge the transition between education and work. The shift in defining what is creative and the tendency to capitalize on creative culture has encouraged many students to participate in internships to remain relevant to the competition of the labor market. Although its implementation has caused debate at the local and global levels, the flow of internships is difficult to contain. The phenomenon of internships has involved various *stakeholders* in its implementation and state policies are involved in changing the perspective of students in looking at internships.

Owens & Stewart (2016) explained that the government has also taken a role in facilitating or even requiring internships, which are specifically designed to help the workforce enter the labor market. The existence of the government involved in the regulation of internship practices through formal education or training programs is a form of legitimacy in the implementation of internships. At the same time, the hegemony driven by creative regimes who view the creative and innovative ecosystem in tandem with the flow of cultural capitalism is necessary for the creation of productivity. Many companies, non-profit organizations, and government agencies have developed their internship schemes. Some are very well structured, and some are less systematic (Stewart et al., 2021).

The Indonesian government through various ministries and institutions activates the discourse of creativity. The MBKM Policy is felt to offer something new to encourage creative and innovative work through more flexible policies in increasing the bargaining power of students after graduating in the labor market

(Kemenko Marves, 2024). The government has regulated internships as a form of learning as stated in Permendikbud No.3 of 2020 related to national standards for higher education. Article 19 Paragraph 4 as a legal basis and justifies the existence of internship practices as part of the learning process by stating "*The learning process is in the form of practicum, studio practice, workshop practice, field practice, work practice, research, design, or development, military training, student exchange, internship, entrepreneurship, and/or community service, 170 (one hundred and seventy) minutes per week per semester*" (Permendikbud Nomor 3 Tahun 2020, n.d.). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Culture does not only regulate but allocates funds to internship programs like the MSIB program for the sustainability of labor market needs.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Culture is actively involved in recruiting partnerships such as private companies and various government institutions that can work together in the implementation of the MSIB program (Putra, 2022). The private sector and government institutions are referred to as MBKM Partners (Mitra MBKM), in the implementation of the internship program, partner recruitment is carried out openly and various financing for the implementation of internships such as allowance, supervision of the implementation of internships, and so on will be borne by the Ministry of Education and Culture. With a large state financing capacity and symbolization of support, the MSIB Program has been legitimized to encourage high participation from university partners and students.

The creativity regime aligns internships as a reference to encourage students to be more creative and innovative. The emergence of the MSIB Program, especially in the internship program, is aimed at solving problems *linking and matching* industry needs and availability of labor (Putra, 2022). The assumption is that the implementation of this program requires the involvement of universities to cooperate with the government (Kemendikbudristek) to encourage the labor market so that it can balance the needs of a creative workforce in technological advances and digitalization. Putra (2022) explained in the statement of the



Director General of Higher Education that the main goal in an independent campus is to provide challenges and opportunities to find field dynamics and real problems from performance demands to getting used to targets and achievements.

The statement of finding real problems and capitalizing on culture on what is creative has created hegemony in internships. Findings from Jerez Gomez et al., (2023) work experience in government-initiated internships does not always find creative spaces. Activities like doing work tasks, imitating the work of more experienced employees or watching and observing what they are doing. In some government internship programs, students must perform basic or menial tasks, sometimes for the personal benefit of other employees or managers, not for the organization they work for (Jerez Gomez et al., 2023). The reality of internships cannot be simplified as a plan without a specific ideological basis. The social process formed in activating the narrative of creativity by the regime of newness inherent in the logic of cultural capitalism has another consequence which is the dark side of the implementation of the internship program.

Wirman (2021) views the state's hegemony in discipline at the level of regulations related to internships has created students as neoliberal subjects. The same thing happened to the MBKM policy in the era of the Minister of Education and Culture, namely Nadiem Makarim, which placed the education ecosystem more neoliberal and fuller of interest to support institutional flexibility which had an impact on students who had to be more adaptable to global challenges. Not only institutional flexibility but subjects in the education ecosystem are challenged to meet the expectations of the transition process to a more neoliberal direction in Indonesia.

In the creativity regime, hegemony prevails in a new culture in shaping the subject shifting to something that is felt to open irreplaceable subjective potential and experience. The new culture in the internship program's implementation has been able to shift the work culture and structural relations in it. Reckwitz (2016) argues that creativity is initially placed as a set of subjective traits, but at the same time, creativity can be applied in

general and is expected to encourage the emergence of new things and continue to update in unusual ways. With this kind of creativity nature, uniqueness, and subjective experience have become fluid along with the post-Fordism economy, as evidenced by the acceptance of internship programs by students as a place of self-realization.

The Ministry of Education and Culture plays a role in the implementation of the internship program and positions its importance to shift the perspective of students in the learning process. That the newness brought in the initiation of the internship program is based on the productive process of creating a singularity, inherent in something unique and new. The audience is students who take part in the internship program. Reckwitz (2018) argues that the audience is always related to something they observe, receive, and use. Not only as an incoming information process, but something in the form of symbolic, sensory, and emotional stimuli in characterizing the late modernity that is always interested in something specific and unique.

The hegemony of the creativity regime has succeeded in shifting the perspective of students in reflecting on contemporary situations. The fulfillment of the uniqueness profile and qualitative differences in students is problematic, but this fulfillment continues to take place as there is an urgency for the need to be different. The narrative of uniqueness found in various relationships, especially the education ecosystem, has attracted many parties to continue to capitalize on the culture of newness. The singularization process is ongoing and continues to be accumulated by students along with self-reflection that illustrates the fulfillment of qualitative differences.

Initially, creative people referred to a certain job profile (creative profession) with a certain way of working as a creative industry activity. At the same time, creative people have brought a certain way of life and lifestyle not only professionalism in creative activities (Reckwitz, 2016). An internship with a new twist of the creativity regime is not something technically new, but rather a symbolic new and an experience modified by the post-Fordism economy. The student internship program implemented by the Ministry of Education and

Culture is not something new. However, with new touches, the student internship program is promoted by the government to promise new things along with the country's legitimacy by bearing the program's financing.

The implementation of the MBKM Policy, especially the internship program and various regulatory sets that were formed to ensure the running of the program, is the main feature in forming a dominant structure in students as an audience to receive the idea of singularization. Where the idea of developing authenticity, individuality, self-realization, developing culture in a certain aesthetic and ethical sense, and developing a single element in an unstandardized world (Reckwitz et al., 2023). The new reality in the MBKM policy no longer describes the logic of standardization but encourages something more diverse according to the interests of each student to develop in areas outside the campus and line with the logic of singularity.

With the existence of an internship program that encourages more extensive internships, it has triggered an increase in applicants. Rationalization, which means newness and the idea of singularization, is well received, and well approved by students. Interestingly, higher education is a safe space for the middle class or the new middle class, so the competition in internships represents a high acceptance of the internship program and it is evident from the number of applicants for the internship program that continues to increase sharply. The form of reflection that appears in students on the needs of qualitative differences between students and each other is a benchmark for realizing what kind of students are desired by each individual. Involved in an internship is defined as a position of students who compete to achieve prestige values from the struggle for internships in classy companies and take care of the existence of universities that come from leading universities are used as reasons for taking an internship program. The capacity to self-actualize is becoming more circular than ever, the practice of internship work becomes a space for what students can add to certain subjective experiences to highlight their uniqueness.

Globalization expands the internship phenomenon to industrial areas, and the

evolving educational logic of cultural capitalism has reproduced creativity as a global and local discourse. Until now, it has become common for educational programs to make internships a requirement for vocational or professional graduation, even at the university level (Stewart et al., 2021). Unconsciously singularization represents less freedom, and the process tends to be manipulative. The consequence of the new structure can force society and various social elements in it to enter the game of what is new and what is unique. These conditions result in disappointment, and gaps and may be frustrating (Carleheden et al., 2022; Reckwitz, 2022). Reckwitz believed that the main feature of late modernity was the form of singularization and that the narrative of creativity was used as a tool to translate the conditions of society that brought it closer to a certain uniqueness, but this position, along with the new hegemony of late modernity, had acquired the way of thinking and acting of contemporary society.

The consequence of this situation has created a new current of late modernity conditions, the freedom offered has reversed and has become a restriction. The implementation of internships that are free to choose and open new spaces for students to develop in certain industrial sectors shows another dark side. With the capacity of this kind of creativity regime, uniqueness and aesthetics have become the new hegemony and internships are one of the tools to affirm it. Instead of exempting students from choosing various off-campus activities that can be converted into credits, internships have become a top priority where young people no longer believe after graduation will work without previous internship experience (Perlin, 2012; Swan, 2015). Policies that are attached to neo-liberalization and the development of creativity discourse have delegated risks to every individual in the form of freedom of choice and activation of creativity discourse.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The exposure from the discussion of this article can at least be concluded that the Ministry of Education and Culture capitalizes on creativity discourse through the MBKM Policy, especially the internship program aimed at achieving productivity so that internship

practices are translated as a new form of culture of creative and innovative ecosystems. Through the tools of regulation and the activation of the discourse of the creativity regime, students have prioritized internships to be a space for the exploration of subjective experiences in realizing themselves to be authentic, interesting, and unique. The culture of creativity has succeeded in encouraging students to become more contagious, but freedom of choice is no longer relevant because the significance of the internship program continues to soar. However, the connection between an internship and getting a job is the gray part of the internship issues.

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