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Chapter 1: The Creativity Explosion

Introduction

In 2006, New Zealand commentators in the arts, in commerce, in government and academia began to talk about an explosion of creativity. The newly launched magazine *Idealog*, calling itself 'The Voice of the Creative Economy', reported on an "explosion in creative endeavour" as "creativity was being rewritten around the world as a cornerstone contributor to economic growth" (Pearce, 2006, 36). Picking up on a key theme of this new epoch - its appeal to youth - *Idealog* asked

> (a)re we witnessing a creative rebirth - another Renaissance, even? Generation C may be ill-defined and misunderstood but the combination of technology, prosperity, peaceful times and youth is shaping a mega-trend in the way the economy works. Better listen up (Pearce, 2006, 36).

This thesis investigates how young people in Aotearoa New Zealand are learning to labour for a new 'creative economy'. It focuses on the relation of creative identity to new forms of governance in higher education and economic development. Policy-makers and academics have acknowledged that a highly skilled workforce is important for knowledge-based economies, however the discursive role of creativity in reproducing the skilled workers essential for success in a competitive global economy has so far attracted little critical attention[1]. My research draws on interviews with students and participant observations of the recent changes to the tertiary education system and the fashion industry in Aotearoa New Zealand, bringing these together with post-Foucauldian, neo-Gramscian and Lacanian ways of thinking about creativity. This contributes to debate about education and work in knowledge-based economies and thickens

[1] According to the European University Association report *Creativity in Higher Education* (2007, 6), "Progress towards a knowledge-based society and economy will require that European universities, as centres of knowledge creation, and their partners in society and government give creativity their full attention. The complex questions of the future will not be solved "by the book", but by creative, forward –looking individuals and groups who are not afraid to question established ideas and are able to cope with the insecurity and uncertainty this entails. If Europe should not succeed in strengthening creativity in higher education, the very goal of a European knowledge society would be at stake."

descriptions of “the political and dynamic context in which policies and practices of education and learning are developed and enacted” (Casey, 2006, 355-356).

This first chapter introduces the idea of a ‘creativity explosion’ (Albert & Runco, 1999; Osborne, 2003) and describes how it is evident in higher education in New Zealand. I outline some possible theorisations of this explosive growth in the discursive field of creativity, the particular character of which has not yet been empirically explored. I show that although creativity has become a political issue in positioning higher education for a knowledge-based economy, critiques of neoliberalism in education have not been able to engage with it. Finally, I suggest that beliefs about inauthentic creativities might be complicit with a new economic imaginary.

Background

During their term in office, beginning in December 1999, New Zealand’s fifth Labour Government introduced incentives and mechanisms to steer a more strategic and coherent education system in order to produce “more of the kinds of skilled graduates we need to help drive the transformation of New Zealand into a high wage, knowledge-based economy” (Cullen, 2006, unpaged). The idea of ‘creativity’ entered policy statements in New Zealand via the Growth and Innovation Framework (2002) and the Tertiary Education Strategy (2002), both of which were new approaches to economic development and education by an avowedly ‘after-neoliberal’ government which has declared on several occasions that the “ruthlessly pursued market model of the 1980s and 1990s ‘is over’” (Casey, 2006, 354). The stress on developing skills for a knowledge-based, globalising economy has now been joined by strategies that emphasise partnership, collaborative aspirations and civil society sensibilities (Clark, 2002a; Lewis, Larner, & Le Heron, 2007). It seems fair to presume that the increase in discourse about creativity is linked to its usefulness in advancing these government aspirations. Creativity, with its roots in notions of liberal humanist citizenship, simultaneously suggests emancipation and instrumentality (Albert & Runco, 1999; Negus & Pickering, 2004; Pope, 2005; Weiner, 2000; Williams, 1988). Creativity can be imagined as a tool for constructing national identities, transforming economies and as therapy for problems of social diversity. It is

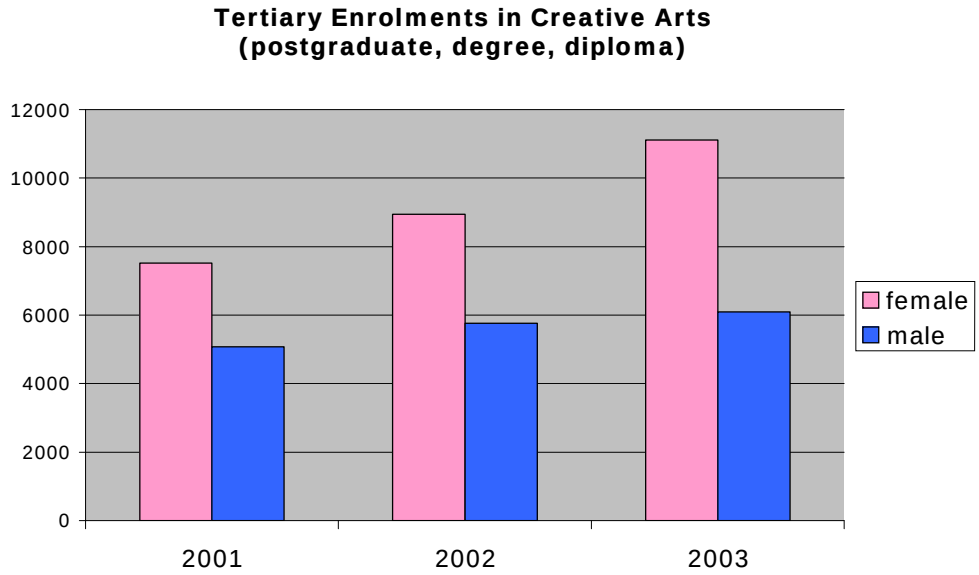
thought to be a generic requirement for new kinds of 'knowledge work' and a skill that is not effectively developed by conventional academic practice. This has led to demands for more creativity in education. Curiously, though, even before the introduction of government creativity initiatives, a creativity explosion was materialising as 'bums on seats' in New Zealand tertiary institutions. Prior to government signals about the value of creativity to economic growth, young New Zealanders were already demonstrating their desire for a creative education.

Why had large numbers of individuals aspiring to be creative turned up exactly "in place, at the right time" (Hall, 1996, 12) to grow a 'creative economy'? One of the original aims of this thesis was to attempt to analyse where the creativity of *Idealog's* 'Generation C' came from, and how tertiary education fitted into the picture. What did this "explosion in creative endeavour" (Pearce, 2006, 36) imply about the role of education in the normative formation of individuals and populations? What did it suggest about how a state "presumes[s] to control the souls of its citizens by means of its educational schemes" (Donald, 1992, 71; Hunter, 1993, 131)?

In the thesis I interrogate this new economic emphasis on creativity, describing how it is manifest in education policy and practice and its implications for social subjectivities. I trace the way assumptions about the implicit and explicit correspondences between workplace performance and higher education (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Lauder & Brown, 2003; Saunders & Machell, 2000) have contributed to strategies for governing tertiary education in New Zealand. Contrary to much of the policy rhetoric, I claim that in as much as 'education' and 'economy' are discursively put together, educational programmes cannot be designed for pre-constituted economic functions and therefore cannot provide, in any direct way, the human resources required for competitive economic performance. I use the case of fashion design education to show how educational and economic contexts have emerged together, through "on-going encounters, engagements, contingencies, outcomes and the active working of agents" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 3) as well as through governmentalised hegemonic operations. For instance, I describe how government projects have been involved in constituting a new field of cultural/economic practice – 'creative fashion design' – that had not previously existed in New Zealand. I show how the contingencies involved in reconciling a range of historically incommensurate educational projects, such as

the need to accommodate a broad access ideology with the preservation of liberal ideals about higher education (Fanghanel, 2007), provided the material conditions for this new field of 'fashion as creative art' to emerge and be taught in New Zealand universities. However, rather than taking the growth of this new field as a functional response to a strategic need for workers in creative industry, I show how fashion design education has been made 'creative' through a discursive opposition between art and industry and through the encounters and mediations of agents as they actively exercise choice.

The creativity explosion is not only a discursive phenomenon. I became palpably aware of it as a design lecturer in the early 1990s, when the numbers of design students began to burgeon. Between 1991 and 1995 enrolments in tertiary visual arts courses, broadly defined as design, craft and fine arts, increased by at least 125 percent (McDermott Miller, 1998, 49). By 1997 there were 2,145 students enrolled (McDermott Miller, 1998, 51)[2] and by 2003, this number had increased to 17,207 (Ministry of Education, 2003). At this stage the Ministry of Education began to statistically identify the field of study as 'Creative Arts'.



Source: data obtained from Ministry of Education (2003)

[2] These figures are conservative. For instance, enrolments in the joint Victoria University and Wellington Polytechnic Bachelor of Design are not included.

Between 2001 and 2004, enrolments in Creative Arts continued to grow by more than 30 percent, which was much higher than the overall growth rate in tertiary participation for the same period. The field of study showing the next biggest increase was Society and Culture, which grew by just under 25 percent, while a decrease of around 4 percent was shown in the Physical and Biological Sciences (Scott, 2003).

Although my focus is local, the creativity explosion is not unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. During the last 25 years, tertiary institutions[3] in many countries have reported increases in enrolments for art and design, well above the average rise in general participation rates in higher education. In the United Kingdom for instance recruitment to these courses more than doubled during the 1980s (Her Majesty's Inspectorate, 1992; Tepper, 2002). In 2000, the British Design Council reported that the total number of design students had increased 24 percent over the previous four years (UC Irvine School of Design Committee, 2002)[4].

In New Zealand 'Tertiary Education Organisations' (TEOs) this vastly increased student cohort required an urgent re-thinking of pedagogy to deliver courses efficiently and effectively. Also, such large numbers of graduating students focused public attention on their 'employability', which in turn generated conflicts over curriculum. Employers regularly complained that students were being misled by a bogus vocationalism to enrol in useless courses in the vain hope of getting work in falsely glamourised industries (de Bruin & Hanrahan, 2003). In 2004 a qualifications analysis by Textiles New Zealand and the Tertiary

[3] The tertiary education sector in New Zealand combines what is known as 'higher education' and 'further education' in the United Kingdom and United States.

[4] According to the British Design Council (2000) there were 255 programmes in design in Britain and since 1998-99 the number of students in 'art and design foundation courses' increased from 13,500 to 15,000. Design courses taught through 'further education' programmes (i.e., continuing education or extension) enrolled 222,573 students, an increase of 62 percent since 1994-95 (vs. total growth in further education of 48 percent during that time)… One other measure suggests the increasing interest in design studies worldwide: from 1994-95 to 1998-99, the number of design students in Britain who came from overseas increased 112%, from 1,223 to 2,598 (UC Irvine School of Design Committee, 2002, 21-22).

"One of the common themes of national and statewide design reviews in Australia over the last 20 years (particularly 1987, 1995, 2005 (Vic)) also have noted the excessive oversupply of design graduates from a field dispersed far and wide throughout private and public institutions, and the consequences difficulties in employment and salaries experienced by this group. This also should give serious food for thought to the design education field" (Pers. comm. 4 April 2008. Dr Gavin Melles, Research Fellow, Faculty of Design, Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia.)

Education Commission, aiming to help the Textile Carpet Footwear and Apparel (TCFA) sector make a successful transition to a lower tariff environment, showed over 2,500 students enrolled in textile and apparel–related degree programmes, up from 1663 in 2002. All but one of these programmes focused on teaching fashion design. To put this into the context of New Zealand designer fashion, this is "a marginal industry. Over 70 percent of firms employ only one or two people and only two other celebrity designers claim exports of more than $2.5 million" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 9). This thesis originated as an attempt to understand why creative degrees had become a popular tertiary education choice for young women in New Zealand, despite assertions by various captains of creative industry that "degrees aren't worth anything"[5], and regardless of the signals from employers and creative industry organisations, that few jobs allowed opportunity for individual creative expression.

My own background as a design lecturer is pertinent to this topic. When I began the project I had been teaching in other areas of design for some years, but had never before taught fashion students. Faced with this prospect due to the expansion of the fashion programme, I began to familiarise myself with their habits, observing them more closely as I encountered them around the campus. They seemed a different species from the students I was used to. One instance that piqued my interest and helped launch this research topic stands out in my mind. I observed a cluster of first-year fashion students standing around a TV screen watching a DVD of the previous year's graduate fashion show. In their rapt and excited engagement with the frocks on the catwalk, I suddenly saw a party of little girls, playing dress-up.

The idea there is a gendered dimension to fashion consumption, and that fashion offers girls a fantasy of self-definition and social empowerment, is hardly new. Gender is a primary field by means of which the power of creativity is articulated and the statistics demonstrate that the creativity explosion is clearly operating in a way that reinforces dominant formations of masculinity and femininity. Angela McRobbie has recently revisited Carole Pateman's (1988)

[5] During 2006, public statements about the uselessness of university degrees for getting employment came from Sir Ken Robinson, former chair of the UK's National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE), NZ film director Peter Jackson of *Lord of the Rings* fame and Mark Champion, chief executive of the Communications Agencies Association New Zealand.

concept of the sexual contract and Joan Riviere's (1929/2004) *Womanliness as a Masquerade*, in order to describe a 'post-feminist masquerade' adopted by 'top girls' as a strategy of personal choice. McRobbie thinks the post-feminist masquerade

> ... operates with a double movement, its voluntaristic structure works to conceal that the patriarchy is still in place, while the requirements of the fashion and beauty system ensure that women are still fearful subjects, driven by the need for 'complete perfection' (McRobbie, 2007, 726).

That students should choose a university programme to play out this masquerade of young womanliness irked me. It tested my own identity as a feminist design lecturer, putting me in the awkward position of having to be both subject and object of my own knowledge. Initially, I was concerned about how to connect these 'creative girls' with the realities of fashion businesses, in order to turn them from fashion consumers into fashion *producers*. My discomfort was also partly related to a problem I imagine might be common to all critical design lecturers, that is, whether to try to 'enlighten' students about the structural dimensions of their programme choice. As with any professional degree, the pedagogical combination of critical plus vocational perspectives is difficult, because one always seems to cancel the other out. For design courses in particular, engagement with ideas about the social construction of consumer fashion might seem especially destabilising and threatening to the ontological foundations of the student's self. After all, fashion students are not studying the fine arts in which, as Foucault said, the "transformation of one's self by one's own knowledge" is the whole point of the exercise. "Why should a painter paint if he is not transformed by his own painting?" (Rabinow, 2000, 131). On the contrary, New Zealand fashion design courses have been founded in learning about 'industry practices' and 'target markets', not in monitoring "the fibres of the self", which is how Raymond Williams described creative practice (Pope, 2005,11).

In the beginning then, my project aimed to identify what 'being creative' meant to students enrolled in tertiary courses in Fashion Design. These courses feed workers into a fashion industry that is receiving unprecedented publicity as a symbol of New Zealand's re-branded economy (Lewis *et al.*, 2007). The media hype reproduces popular cultural myths about individual genius, creativity and freedom of expression, combined with messages about patriotism, enterprise and

entrepreneurial endeavour. A primary aim of this research project was to investigate the possibility of an alignment between these historically unprecedented messages about New Zealand fashion and students' aspirations to become a designer. I was fascinated by the process of interpellation and wanted to understand how fashion design had captivated these students. Had the growth and innovation strategies introduced to foster a knowledge-based economy influenced their perspectives on talent and creativity? How did students understand their creative selves?

At the same time, because I had been 'trained up' as a designer in the earlier vocational polytechnic system, I was troubled by reports that tertiary education for workers in fashion or film or television was 'all wrong', and that the education system was graduating too many debt-ridden students with huge loans and irrelevant skills[6]. Contemporary critiques of higher education did not provide a satisfactory way out of this problem. I hoped that stories told by students about the role of creativity and talent in their lives would help me to understand whether it was important for them to be able to express and realise their creative 'inner qualities', and how this desire might support the kinds of entrepreneurial orientation and casualised, hyper-flexible yet highly-skilled labour that creative industries depend upon.

The industry context

In November 2007, New Zealand fashion designer Doris du Pont announced she was quitting the industry after more than two decades producing clothes for "funky independently minded" women "who want to stand out in the crowd"[7]. In a television interview, Du Pont said her reasons included the shift of the manufacturing industry offshore, the loss of skills in the New Zealand workforce and the growing prevalence of an unsustainable culture predicated on purchasing 'stuff'. Doris didn't make 'stuff', she said, she made 'things'. She wanted to retain the element of individual expression in her clothes and didn't

[6] Julie Christie, chair of the Screen Production Taskforce and Managing Director, Touchdown Productions (*Sunday Morning with Chris Laidlaw*, Radio New Zealand, 13 April 2003)
[7] http://www.tv3.co.nz/VideoBrowseAll/EntertainmentVideo/tabid/312/articleID/38177/Default.aspx#video

want to look like the rest of the world, but “the price of being different is extinction”. Du Pont was reported as “making the fabric of our nation”. But she could no longer make money out of New Zealand originals and refused to follow the exodus of manufacturing to China, because she said that would be like removing a link out of the chain. With 20 percent of New Zealand garment factories shutting down over the last four years she feared there would be a lack of young craftsmen and women coming into the manufacturing industry, and a lack of factories in which they could practise their skills.

This story of an entrepreneurial woman’s struggle to resist globalisation and keep her business afloat amid the challenges of a restructured garment industry and changing global commodity flows has become a familiar one in New Zealand, although it is the winners, rather than the quitters, that usually get the media coverage. Du Pont’s narrative draws on the government-sponsored *Buy Kiwi Made* campaign that encourages domestic manufacture. Other versions of the globalisation story feature alternative political ideologies, also supported by government programmes. What these reports on the designer fashion industry all had in common is that they engaged in one way or another with the discourse about a knowledge-based creative economy, in which value “hinge(s) on the ideas, knowledge and expertise of the elite designers who embed in [goods] those qualities that generate consumer desire” (Weller, 2003,116). However, although designer fashion has achieved a high profile in narratives about economic nationalism, state officials still regard it as a “loss-leader to market” (Sotheran, 2006). According to the director of the Creative Sector for New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, the real economic transformative potential for New Zealand lies with exploiting new technologies for producing wool. How is it, then, that such large numbers of young New Zealand women choose to subject themselves to a precarious existence in a globalising creative economy? This thesis draws on sociological ways of thinking about the affective dimensions of reflexive self-definition in the face of such apparently inexorable global processes.

'The creative age'

The remainder of this chapter outlines how creativity become an issue of concern in positioning higher education for a knowledge-based economy, looking

firstly at how the ‘creativity explosion’ might be viewed through a macro lens on education and training policy and secondly how it might be addressed in academic critiques of neo-liberal ideology in education. I conclude that neither of these perspectives provides an adequate explanation of the creativity explosion.

The explosion of creative endeavour reported in *Idealog* magazine represented not so much another Renaissance as the formation and expansion of a new discursive field. Only since the late 1990s had it become possible to speak about creativity in precisely this manner; an "employment-oriented and economy-based view" of creativity as it was described in one of the latest definitive volumes, *Creativity: Theory, History, Practice* (Pope, 2005, 27). This new way of thinking was exemplified by *The Creative Age: Knowledge and Skills for the New Economy,* a report published by the British left-of-centre think tank Demos in 1999 (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999), designed to bolster the British Labour Government’s new message of "business with feeling" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 142). *The Creative Age* provided a schema for reforms to education policy. Demos’ argument was that "in contrast to more traditional notions of what it means to be creative...creativity is not an individual characteristic or innate talent. Creativity is the application of knowledge and skills in new ways to achieve a valued goal" (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999). In this formulation, creativity is not an innate endowment, a once-and-for-all fixed entity; it is incremental and malleable and can be learned. Thus, in order "to realise the creative potential of all citizens and to boost competitiveness in the knowledge economy, we must make radical changes to the education system" (Pope, 2005, 27; Seltzer & Bentley, 1999,10).

The Creative Age is a good example of what has been called ‘epochal theorising’ (du Gay, 2007). In order to sum up the zeitgeist, Seltzer and Bentley establish their authority by using a "periodizing schema in which a logic of dichotomization establishes the available terms of debate in advance, either for or against" (du Gay, 2007, 138) their "radically different vision" of education. They call upon grand historical themes and dramatically dichotomise old and new economies – although in one reviewer’s opinion, what they actually do is "simply round up various clichés from popular management literature and, adopting a tone of extreme historical righteousness, recast them as political advice" (Frank, 2000). Nevertheless, as British critics of education policy noted, the message of *The Creative Age* supplied a "rhetoric of persuasion, a weapon wielded by those who

[had] not yet convinced policy-makers of the need to change tack" (Buckingham & Jones, 2001, 6). The central idea of *The Creative Age* was the need to use knowledge and skills 'creatively' to compete in the global knowledge economy. Many groups in the anglophone[8] world were deploying the same idea at this time. Creativity, as a numinous but "critical resource of the new age" (Florida, 2002, 6), became the empty signifier around which a range of previously incompatible ideas could coalesce.

'Creative Industry' was another idea that gained momentum from the think tanks fuelling the "bright and sassy post-Thatcher era in Britain" (McLennan & Osborne, 2003, 54; cf. Trotter, 2001). It was first promulgated in a 1987 publication, *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning? From Arts to Industry—New Forms of Cultural Policy*, written for Charles Landry's Comedia consultancy by Geoff Mulgan and Ken Worpole [9]. Creative Industries were defined by the UK Department for Culture Media and Sport & Ministerial Creative Industries Strategy Group as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001, 5). Similar cultural policy strategies had been deployed earlier in Australia through the *Creative Nation* programme, when Paul Keating's administration put A$252 million into cultural infrastructure to build creative industries in 1994 (Hansard, 1994). However it was the statistical work done in Britain through the Creative Industries Mapping Project beginning in 1998 that brought 'the creative sector' into view as the second largest in the British economy (Creative New Zealand, 2000). As a brand proposition, Creative Industry suggested an 'imagination economy', an economy of ideas. It differentiated old from new economy and signified a postindustrial/postfordist shift from 'material to intellectual property'. Creative industry was the absence of 'big industry'; what was left when big industry disappeared. The Rt, Hon. Chris Smith, director of Arts for the British Council, pitched the concept at the New Zealand Arts Festival in Wellington, at the beginning of the new millennium.

Big industries (manufacturing and engineering and motor industries and mining)

[8] In this thesis I use the term 'anglophone' to refer to Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

[9] Mulgan set up Demos and was later made director of the Performance and Innovation Unit for Blair's government (September 11, 2000).

> in many ways have disappeared, we didn't quite know what to replace them (sic) and I think we suddenly realised that for Britain the Creative Industries would replace them. This is very exciting because we have moved from material property to intellectual property, the property of the imagination and [...] our most exciting and [...] fastest growing sector in Britain [...] is ourselves, is our own minds and imagination, ideas and creativity of the Arts and that's a wonderful thing to be able to export to the world (Creative New Zealand, 2000, unpaged).

Thus, under the aegis of creativity, conservative restrictions on arts-based curricula in schools could be contested (National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education, 1999), expansion of tertiary design education could be justified (cf. Friedman, 2000), national arts policies could be legitimated (cf. Bloom & Madden, 2001) and 'techno-economic paradigms' could be challenged by university faculties in the humanities and creative arts (cf. Bullen, Robb, & Kenway, 2004). Creativity was everywhere but also nowhere, given that no-one seemed to have enough of it.[10] To use Nigel Thrift's (2005) felicitous phrase, creativity became a "transcendental haunting".

The rhetorical thrust of *The Creative Age* – that creativity is a form of human capital to be acquired, accumulated and used as a resource for exchange in a knowledge economy and society - was also deployed in New Zealand, but did not make any headway into the education sector until slightly later than in the United Kingdom. In the UK publication of *The Creative Age* had been sponsored by the Design Council and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). It recommended radical reform to the national curriculum, responding to advice from the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE), which had been established in 1998 in order to help "stop schools killing creativity"[11]. According to the NACCCE, the government needed to break the conceptual link of creativity with the arts and rethink it as a universal capacity

[10] The universalisation of the term 'creativity' is a textbook case in the logic of hegemony (Laclau, 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). During the 1990s 'Creative Industries' emerged as an identification that captured new economy enterprise dynamics in a way that terms such as 'the arts,' 'media' and 'cultural industries' did not (Hearn, 2001). Ideas about a broadly distributed, non-elite creativity (developed in Abraham Maslow's humanist psychology) were sutured to the innovation thinking of management gurus and business academics in order to represent creativity as unitary, universal and attuned to the real life functioning of the economy (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Prichard, 2002). Creative Industries were instituted during this period, partly through humanities mounting a 'utilitarian defence' to the challenges of the knowledge economy (Cunningham, 2002; Hartley, 2005).

[11] Sir Ken Robinson was chairman of the NACCCE and continues to give entertaining public lectures on the topic. See 'Do schools kill creativity?' http://www.ted.com/index.php/talks/view/id/66

found in ordinary individuals within a range of applications (Jeffrey & Craft, 2001). Rather than limiting creativity to the acquisition of knowledge in arts subjects, the 'creative self' needed to be developed across the curriculum (Joubert, 2001) in order to produce motivated 'can do' individuals, promote social and cultural development through collaborative practices and teamwork, and encourage an entrepreneurial culture (Craft, 2001a, 28). During the first years of the 21st century, the 'creativity through education' doctrine gained ground in the UK, where academic work is continuing to re-cognise and re-value creativity (cf. Meill & Littleton, 2004; Negus & Pickering, 2004)[12]. Government-funded initiatives such as Creative Partnerships have been introduced to "enrich school life by making best use of the UK's creative wealth" by "unlocking creativity in everyone involved" (Hall, Thomson, & Russell, 2007, 608). Creativity now underpins educational strategies to make self-governing citizens able to unlock their potential in order to achieve the state's purpose of economic prosperity and social cohesion.[13] Despite this, its conceptual link with art has never quite been broken.

In New Zealand the rhetoric of *The Creative Age* was not deployed by local educationalists, although a major school curriculum revision was in progress at the time (Foley, Hong, & Thwaites, 1999). Educating New Zealanders in creativity remained the task of the arts. Rather than the collaborative practices extolled in *The Creative Age*, creativity continued to refer to expressive individualism and the development of a student's own creative ideas (Bracey, 2003; Sharp & Le Métais, 2000). Indeed an OECD official at a Ministry of Education meeting early in 2001 was heard to ponder why it was that ideas about the knowledge economy and society had "permeated" and were "now highly influential in almost all aspects of business and government" but had not, as yet, appeared to have had any influence at all on what goes on in New Zealand schools (Gilbert, 2003, 17). It was not until the introduction of the Growth and Innovation Framework (GIF) in February 2002 which backed "the seeding and development of new, technology-intensive or highly creative enterprises" (Webb & Grant, 2003, 10), that ideas about specifically creative human capital were explicitly articulated

[12] For example, the Higher Education Academy's *Imaginative Curriculum Study* "Subject Perspectives on Creativity: a preliminary synthesis" (Jackson & Shaw, 2005)

[13] See http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/creativity/aboutcreativity/background.asp Updated on: 01 May 2007

in the governance of New Zealand's education system.

In 2002 the Ministry of Education began to follow the British lead and introduced a five-year strategy with a vision of making New Zealand "the most creative, daring and innovative country on this planet" (Ministry of Education, 2002). Did this have something to do with the increasing numbers of young New Zealanders seeking out a 'creative' tertiary education? My research aimed to throw more light on precisely how creative subjects were being sutured to the identities produced by this discursive 'run on creativity' (Rothauer, 2004).

Education and training policy

To provide more context for the project, this section describes the creativity explosion as it might appear in macro perspectives on education and training policy. Here I use the term 'creativity explosion' to indicate a moment when changing conceptions of students intersected with changing concerns about educational and economic government in New Zealand. The creativity explosion describes an episode in an ongoing process of "disentangling state from economy and making education providers self-regulating" (Lewis, 2005, 5). The aim is to show that projects designed to ameliorate the perceived results of neo-liberal agenda have helped to create a perception of a disjuncture between tertiary education and the needs of industry, and how strategies devised to resolve this are resulting in fashion education becoming more 'creative'.

To begin, it is important to recognise that the organization of education and training systems, or the 'skill-labour nexus' as it is termed by regulation theorists, forms one of the major rhetorical dichotomies between neo-liberal and state-coordinated market economies (Boyer, 2005, 537). The organisation of education and training reflects how a state sees itself and therefore becomes an important site in the discursive constitution and enactment of political projects (McLendon, Deaton, & Hearn, 2007). In an article that, according to Cheyne (2002), became a reference point for the project of theorising neo-liberalism in New Zealand, Wendy Larner suggested the 'New Zealand Experiment' be interrogated as a policy concept, as an ideology and as governmentality. Larner claimed that this triangulated understanding would give critics a better fix on the

changing terrain of post-social politics (Larner, 1998). Following Larner's suggestion, therefore, the first way of locating the creativity explosion would be to look at recent policies that have shaped the education and training sector in New Zealand.

According to economic historian Robert Boyer, the institutions that govern various forms of capitalist economy are organised around a "conventional opposition between State and market [which is then built upon] by actors such as communities, networks, associations, and private organizations" (Boyer, 2005. 548). The options for positioning education and training systems also become polarised on this spectrum of market-liberal or state-centric. This polarisation can be seen in Elizabeth St. George's (2006) work, for example, that recommends models of higher educational governance in developing countries should be state-centric. St. George argues that neo-liberal education markets in countries like Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, that require universities to compete with one another, use up resources that would be better managed by encouraging collaboration, thus increasing the capacity of the country as a whole.

The policy consensus seems to be that market economies at the neo-liberal end of the spectrum (including 'advanced liberal', 'post-' or 'after-neoliberal') find themselves prone to imbalances between 'general' and 'sector specific' skills, because individuals tend to invest in generalisable or 'generic' skills in order to spread their risk in flexibilised labour markets (Boyer, 2005; Brown & Hesketh, 2004). So one might argue that students view choosing a general degree-level qualification, such as fashion as a creative art, instead of more specialised training or apprenticeships in clothing production, as a risk management strategy. Students attempt to 'colonise the future' (Giddens, 1991) by achieving a level of 'all-roundedness' that will equip them for an entrepreneurial approach to the labour market. The need to 'keep their options open' leads them to avoid trades-based courses. Employers then criticize the genericism of these degrees for making it difficult for graduates to succeed in specific commercial fields. Because supply-side human capital approaches to higher education cause these tensions over skills (Wolf, 2004), governments that aspire to a more coordinated economy attempt to combine market competition with extra-market cooperation.

Neither a thoroughly free and unregulated market nor the State can provide in and

> of itself, the basis for an efficient system (...). However, the combination can ensure a much more satisfactory dynamic than that which a pure system, governed by a single logic, could possibly deliver (Boyer, 2005, 538).

On this reasoning, market liberal reforms under New Zealand's National Government during the 1990s were thought to have, quite unwittingly, introduced a set of incentives into education and training that favoured certain types of learner and certain, often undesirably leisure oriented, courses and programmes (Mahoney, 2003; West, 2004). In order to neutralise these effects, New Zealand's new Labour administration followed Britain and moved toward 'third way' solutions (Strathdee, 2003), attempting, as the Prime Minister said on a number of occasions, to build "stronger links between employers and tertiary education and training providers, in order to minimise gaps between emerging skills shortages and education and training response" (Clark, 2002a, 2002b, unpaged). Education policy makers, responding to

> the belief that the education system, left to itself, was incapable of recognising economic imperatives [... adopted ...] the ideology of the knowledge economy, arguing that the continued globalisation of markets demanded that innovation, ideas, skills and creativity were the new tools for national success and prosperity (Mahoney, 2003, 4).

A raft of measures followed, which were designed to strengthen governance and maximise return on investment in the tertiary education sector. These were underpinned by the Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act, 2002. The key instruments in this newly designed system, in accord with "the new managerialism" (Fitzsimons, 2004; Olssen, 2002; Olssen & Peters, 2005), required education providers to align their management with the intention of the state and prove the relevance of their institutional direction and courses in order to access funding.

One effect of this re-alignment was to trigger a rush of re-branding exercises by Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs), including the regrouping of many faculties and departments under the convenient new banner of creativity. For example, by 2004 the University of Auckland had formed the National Institute of Creative Arts and Industries by putting together music, dance, fine arts, visual arts, architecture and urban planning. Massey University's College of Design, Fine Arts and Music became the College of Creative Arts. The recently

formed Creative Industries Research Centre (Waikato Institute of Technology) and the Centre for Creative Industries (Wellington Institute of Technology) were joined in 2005 by Auckland University of Technology's (AUT) Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies, which drew together art, design, communication studies, computing, mathematics and engineering. In 2007 AUT formed a Creative Industries Research Unit, consisting of a digital Textile and Design Laboratory, set up with 1.4 million dollars of funding from the government's Growth and Innovation Pilot Initiative (GIPI)[14].

Although the new policy design presumed that the education system had got out of step with the education and training needs of the economy, in 2002 when the tertiary education strategy was first introduced there was in fact no great disjuncture between fashion curricula and the skills needed in the fashion industry. Fashion design courses *were* actually teaching the manufacturing skills that employers said they required. For instance, according to the head of one of the first fashion degree programmes to be established,

….our product, our outcome, our student, our graduate, is highly employable in the European market. Much more employable over the local [European] graduate, because of the wider range of practical skills. And that probably still goes back - I don't think it's a polytechnic versus university thing. I think it's a New Zealand thing, where we're positioned in the world, and it's a small population, and you need to do more (Interview with Fashion Head of School, 2004).

While this position is redolent of '#8 wire'[15] and the rhetoric of "a competitive trading nation that understands itself to be on the edge of the world and to be defiantly punching above its weight" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 4), there is nevertheless plenty of empirical evidence for these claims. Curriculum documents and course timetables demonstrate that fashion students really do spend the majority of their time at university learning production skills such as pattern development, garment structuring, product design, apparel computing, marketing

[14] GIPI regulations specified that funding was not intended for capital equipment, however AUT researchers "hadn't read that bit" when they put in their application (pers. com. 9 Mar 2008, Associate Professor Frances Joseph, AUT).

[15] From http://www.tourism.net.nz/new-zealand/about-new-zealand/kiwiana.html "Kiwis are famous for their ingenuity and self-sufficiency. It is said that Kiwis can create amazing things — all they need is 'a piece of Number 8 wire'. No 8 wire is a certain gauge of wire that was incredibly popular for use as fencing wire around New Zealand's many farms. Ironically, until 1963, it was imported from other countries. Because No. 8 wire was widely available, it was used for a variety of tasks, and it has become a symbol of Kiwi adaptability".

and merchandising. Unlike fashion programmes in larger labour markets, where degree courses might differentiate themselves by specialising in discrete aspects of managerial, professional or conceptual skills (McRobbie, 1998b) required for fashion production, New Zealand fashion degrees aspire to produce 'one size fits all'[16] 'workroom graduates' [17] with the hands-on skills to create their own garments. This is understood by educators as a point of difference for New Zealand fashion graduates in a global job market and aligns the curriculum with the globalisation projects of after-neoliberal New Zealand. However, this is not a curriculum that was developed in response to any governmental ambition, instead it is more of a *post hoc* rationalisation of earlier, vocational programmes. The most interesting point in relation to my thesis is the way these courses have come to be imagined as 'creative'. In the process of re-imagining fashion as a creative industry, government projects have also introduced a set of assumptions that have re-positioned fashion design as a cultural, rather than industrial or craft-based education. This shift in thinking about fashion has been helped along by the supposition that, since TEOs now award degrees in fashion design, the course content also must conform to the ethos of a liberal higher education (Scott, 2002). Ideologies of artistic creativity now began to be attached to fashion education, partly through the political strategies of various agents aiming to reconfigure an ailing clothing industry (Lewis *et al.*, 2007). For instance, fashion industry insider Paul Blomfield in his 'scoping study' of designer fashion, which was commissioned by Industry New Zealand under the Growth and Innovation Framework (GIF), said that:

> (s)tudents nowadays are captivated by the desire to be a designer. They have a fixed idea of what this means, and how it could work for them. For many it is a vision of a person somewhere between Rock Star and Artist, designing mainly with a sketchbook and directing a group of able production people (Blomfield, 2002a, 26).

Blomfield's aim in this characterisation of design students was to stress the need for government training initiatives to support the local infrastructure of apparel manufacture. However, rather than reflecting a pre-existing reality, my research

[16] Deborah Cumming, Bachelor Fashion Design Programme Leader, Massey University. (Pers. com., 12 May 2006).
[17] Donna Whittle, CEO Ragtrade Recruitment. (Pers. com. FINZ Fashion Education Conference, 2005).

shows a new field of creative fashion design education emerging through governmental processes contingent upon this active re-visioning of education and economy.

Neoliberalised creativity?

To continue with Larner's (1998) suggestion for theorising the 'New Zealand Experiment', in the following section I construct an analysis of 'the creativity explosion' as if it was the result of a hegemonic neoliberalism, and then explain why I find this analysis inadequate. These points will be expanded in later chapters.

Creativity itself is a topic that has not attracted significant critical academic attention. Moreover, the many recent critical analyses that regard recent changes in education as the outworking of neoliberal ideology would be hard pressed to account for the creativity explosion. In fact, the more common supposition has been that neoliberalism closes down or constrains creativity. Michael Apple, for instance, presumes neoliberal policies would have the opposite effect on support for creative education in TEOs:

> Neo-liberals are critical of existing definitions of important knowledge, especially that knowledge that has no connections to what are seen as economic goals and needs. They want creative and enterprising (but still obedient) workers. Flexibility and obedience go hand in hand here. Due to this, a creative and critical polytechnic education that combines 'head, heart and hand' is not sponsored by neo-liberals. The possible space for that discussion is closed down by an emphasis on an education whose role is primarily (and sometimes only) economic (Apple, 2004, 190).

Similarly, in an article documenting the ascendance of neo-liberalism in higher education in New Zealand, Olssen and Peters write that "[i]n neoliberalism the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, 315). They describe the way neo-liberal theories represent education as an "input–output system which can be reduced to an economic production function" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, 324). Under these conditions creative education could be expected to be not so much excluded as Apple contends, but *neoliberalised*, so that the only forms of creativity to be

sponsored would be enterprising, entrepreneurial, competitive and "linked directly to the functional imperatives of the world of work" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, 330). If this is the case, the plan has clearly *not* worked, because rather than falling neatly in line with work identities, creative occupations continue to be more popularly represented as anti-enterprise. In media representations, choosing the creative arts as an occupation still means electing to live on the fringes of mainstream society - to be an artist "one must finally get rid of conventional beliefs, like security and career thinking"[18] .

Just why neo-liberal ideology should foster the romantic notion of creativity as an escape from the discipline of work is a puzzle that Angela McRobbie first grappled with in her study of young fashion designers in Britain (McRobbie, 1998a). She found that designers were trained to think of themselves primarily as creative individuals and were therefore ill-equipped to develop strategies that would make their activities more economically sustainable. McRobbie contended that "(I)f governmental rationalities were working so well these young workers would presumably be heading for something which actually fitted more successfully, and certainly more profitably, with the goals of enterprise!" (McRobbie, 1998b, 148). So on the one hand, critics say the liberal autonomy of education is being replaced by "hierarchical forms of authoritatively structured relation, which erode, and seek to prohibit an autonomous space from emerging" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, 324), while on the other it appears that the historically autonomous space of the creative arts is being encouraged and augmented by the same regime. In Gramscian terms, the consent of civil society to the 'un-arted' version of creativity promoted by the rhetoric of the knowledge economy has not yet been won. Just how this could be manufactured, given that artistic creativity has a genealogy that includes the cultural opposite to economic development (Bourdieu, 1993), has not yet been investigated.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the literature about the neoliberalisation of tertiary education would be that the creativity explosion is a direct result of the market–driven reforms of 1989–1996, which forced New Zealand universities to "re-evaluate programme offerings and budget priorities in the context of declining financial support" (Meyer, 2007, 226). 'Popular' courses

[18] For example, Ina Johann, a painter reported in an interview in the urban lifestyle magazine, *Staple* (Scothern, 2003, 50).

were encouraged to increase student numbers (Larner & Le Heron, 2002; Shore, 2007). This allowed "unparalleled opportunities over previous generations" for students wanting to study the arts (McDermott Miller, 1998, 48). However, attributing the creativity explosion to supply-side tactics and the creation of education markets falls short of explaining why creative education would have become so popular in the first place.

One of the most common academic narratives about the neoliberal reform process is that it was permeated by demand for applied vocational education, which caused growth in the polytechnic sector to outstrip that of universities (Dougherty, 1999). Universities had to compete by developing revenue–driven courses, which encouraged the introduction of vocational and professional programmes and applied pressure for courses to be 'dumbed down' (Cheyne, 2000, 7; Olssen & Peters, 2005, 326). This 'new vocationalism' was also thought to be due to the careerist utilitarianism of student choices (Marginson, 2003b) and to herald the capture of the education policy-making agenda by corporate interests (Miller, 2003; Taylor, 2002). In a double move, neoliberal policies constructed an ideology of vocationalism, at the same time undermining the vocational training sector by compelling employers to (reluctantly) invest in training. In New Zealand, apprenticeships disappeared and links between training and employment became a voluntary hit and miss affair (Cochrane, Law, & Piercy, 2004). The newly established Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) found it difficult to engage with small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which are in the majority in New Zealand, and SMEs in their turn objected to the opportunity costs of employee engagement and found the training available through the new National Qualifications Framework too rigid (TEC, 2005). As a result, in New Zealand, as in the UK, the numbers of formally trained, technically competent people entering the apparel and textile work-pool continued to decrease year on year (Guile & Okumoto, 2007; National Textiles Training Organisation (UK), 2002; Strathdee, 2003; TEC, 2005).

None of the above captures or explains the increased student demand for fashion education. Claims that TEOs are becoming more narrowly vocational as a result of neoliberal policies are difficult to support on the evidence of the creativity explosion, which seems to show a desire for university degrees in creative expression, rather than vocational degrees and technical training. Indeed, if there

was such a thing as a coherent neoliberal agenda, it would view the growth in creative enrolments as dysfunctional and ‘out of sync’ with the needs of a knowledge economy on at least two levels. Firstly, graduates of such esoteric studies as the creative arts are not the kind of human capital the New Zealand labour market is thought to need (Lattimore, Hawke, Duncan, & Ballingall, 2002). A recent discussion paper about economic development, for instance, widely reported in the media for its supposed denigration of Pacific Island communities, took for granted that New Zealand's future growth depends on having a population that can create new products and new production processes, which requires a high level of education, especially in technology, sciences and engineering (Ling, 2008), and not in the arts. The author, a Massey University economist, found it

> notable that, when all Pasifika speakers talked about the achievement of Pacific peoples, they provided examples in sport and the arts. "Their failure to provide business examples is exactly what I am talking about. New Zealand policy should reflect a need for future economic growth" (Clydesdale, cited in Ling, 2008, unpaged).

The second reason that the creativity explosion is out of sync with the knowledge economy discourse in education, is that the creativity it promotes is ‘little c’ entrepreneurial creativity, to do with enterprising ‘route finding through uncertainty’, generic resourcefulness and a 'can-do' attitude (Craft, 2001b, 49), which again, is not necessarily education in the creative arts. While it is widely acknowledged that neoliberal globalisation has expanded economic rationality to the arts, creating contingent employment conditions and ‘hyperflexible’ labour markets that artists have been among the first to experience (Menger, 2001), still, the neoliberal subject is not the artist, but *homo economicus*, the entrepreneur (Gordon, 1991).

Although a fashion degree certainly carries vocational resonances for the students I teach, nevertheless they do not see the fashion degree as a ticket to a job. They are fully aware that fashion is ‘a hard industry to get into’. In addition, contrary to claims of ‘dumbing down’, tertiary fashion design education is ‘braining up’ – indeed, many think it is being over-intellectualised (Hipkins & Vaughan, 2002a). Over the last few years the introduction of post-graduate level qualifications and courses in the new field of ‘fashion theory’ are seeing the original polytechnic ‘vocational’ curriculum subverted and seduced by a liberal

agenda that 'dies hard' in the university (Salter & Tapper, 1994; Fanghanel, 2007, 191). At the same time, the knowledge-based economy has ramped up the rhetoric about the necessity of education for an "age of increasingly sophisticated and complex technology as well as rapid change", which needs "higher order thinking [...] not restricted to traditional academic domains" but "demonstrated in those who attain master status as chefs, fashion designers, builders, plumbers and so on in the form of problem-solving, creativity and evaluation" (Meyer, McClure, Walkey, McKenzie, & Weir, 2006, 31). Such were the claims made in a report for the Ministry of Education by academics from Victoria University of Wellington's College of Education and School of Psychology, who seem to have fallen into the intellectual trap of associating more sophisticated technology with the need for higher technical skill levels. On the contrary, as the OECD Secretariat (2000) has pointed out, in a 'learning society'

> the lesson from past technology breakthroughs like electricity or the automobile is that as it advances it gets easier to use. [...The] key to a thriving learning society is the capacity of most people to produce relatively simple living knowledge, even if such knowledge is not new or a "first" – either historically or worldwide. The dependence of the knowledge economy on the production of living knowledge, facilitated by more efficient tools, means it can be hugely productive of value-added. The economic viability of such banal, individual-level creativity is no less plausible or justifiable than the success of many other "luxury" sectors in today's marketplace (OECD Secretariat, 2000, 14).

This resonates with the point made by economist Daron Acemoglu (2002), that the skill-biased technical change characteristic of the 20th century was actually *induced* by a rapid increase in the supply of skilled workers, and what is changing now is not the rate of 'technological progress', but the *types* of technologies being developed (Acemoglu, 2002, 9). Instead of developing machinery to replace the skills of workers, such as that which became profitable in the 19th century, in the late 20th century 'skill-complementary technologies' began to be developed in order to profit from the large numbers of people who now had the knowledge, skills and desire to use them.

Nevertheless, under the twin rhetorics of liberal creativity and sophisticated learning for the knowledge economy, fashion education has been positioned as a

mode of higher order thinking, problem-solving and creativity, and begun to shed the reputation of an intellectually undemanding 'cabbage subject' for students incapable of academic success (Hipkins & Vaughan, 2002a). This is partly why tertiary fashion education attracts criticism for being *too* creative and not sufficiently aligned with industry needs (FINZ, 2005). Employers demand that TEOs pay attention to producing a *skilled* workforce, rather than a *creative* one. All this makes it difficult to think of the creativity explosion simply as the result, as Olssen (2004, 231) might suggest, of a "neoliberal policy agenda" for skills development.

To recap, I argue that the critical literature on neo-liberalism in higher education suggests the opposite of a creativity explosion, i.e. it presupposes the material conditions for less, rather than more, creative education and the dismantling, rather than re-assembling, of the creative arts. As well, it tends to represent students as vocationally-oriented rational utility maximisers (thereby reifying notions about human capital), rather than as individuals engaged in 'identity work'. Likewise, critiques of the role given to higher education in the rhetoric of a knowledge-based economy fail to account for an increasing popularity of creative education. Much of this literature is full of warnings about how arts and humanities are seen as a "dispensable luxury by governments sharply focused on the contribution of science and technology to economic well-being" (Munroe, 2005, 14). Bullen, Robb and Kenway (2004) for example, argue that knowledge economy policy precludes the growth of humanities and creative arts disciplines because it is informed by a 'technoeconomic' paradigm. As an editorial in the New Zealand Herald proclaimed, the higher education reforms are supposed to be "directing universities to produce more scientists and technicians" [19] (NZ Herald, 2004) rather than sponsoring creative arts. But the creativity explosion seems to challenge what Apple (2004, 35) refers to as the high status of science and technology in neoliberalised knowledge production. A global concern about the spectacular decline of interest by young people in the science disciplines[20] testifies to this shift in the reproduction and distribution of cultural capital.

[19] Editorial: Academic freedom threatened. *New Zealand Herald* (December 6, 2004).

[20] Haas, 2005; King, 2005; NZPA, 2005; Reuters, 2005; RSNZ, 2002, 2004; Watt, 2005. See also the UNESCO forum on reform in science and engineering higher education. http://portal.unesco.org/science/en/ev.php-URL_ID=4730&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

All of these issues are articulated by the idea that the university is in crisis mode because of its diminished relevance to the knowledge economy. The debate about the changing role of the university is too complex to present in any detail here, however Gerard Delanty (2001) usefully identifies four main positions or theses on the contemporary decline of the university. These are *the entrenched liberal critique, the postmodern thesis, the reflexivity thesis and the globalization thesis.* Firstly, the entrenched liberal "culture of critique or, in its more conservative version, the traditional culture of the canon" (Delanty, 2001, 149), is concerned with the university's diminishing significance as a medium of cultural reproduction.

The second thesis is that the traditional idea of the university is challenged by postmodern knowledges that flow in networks, rather than being fixed in a curriculum (Castells, 1996; Gilbert, 2005; Lyotard, c1984). Whereas traditional knowledge production is linear and academic in orientation, researchers such as Michael Gibbons and colleagues think that knowledge production has now shifted to a new mode that is non-linear and reflexive (Osborne, 2004). As Gibbons *et al* put it:

> [I]n Mode 1 problems are set and solved in a context governed by the, largely academic, interests of a specific community. By contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is transdisciplinary. Mode 1 is characterised by homogeneity, Mode 2 by heterogeneity. Organisationally, Mode 1 is hierarchical and tends to preserve its form, while Mode 2 is more heterarchical and transient. Each employs a different type of quality control. In comparison with Mode 1, Mode 2 is more socially accountable and reflexive. It includes a wider, more temporary and heterogeneous set of practitioners, collaborating on a problem defined in a specific and localised context. (Gibbons *et al*., 1994, cited in Osborne, 2004, 431).

Delanty identifies the third challenge to the university as the idea that 'Mode 2' knowledge is making traditional disciplines irrelevant, because it is based on reflexive relations between producer and consumer. The fourth thesis is that the university is being integrated into global 'knowledge capitalism' (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters, 2003) resulting in a new managerialism and a loss of academic freedom. Altogether these perceived crises tend to induce, as Henry Giroux puts it, the "fall from grace narrative that seems to be the lament of so

many well-established white male academics" (Giroux, 2000, 345).

The creativity explosion can be rhetorically deployed to exemplify all of the above positions. As well as challenging traditional paradigms of science and technology, it is also taken as a challenge to the traditional canon of the humanities, provoking reactions that 'creative' work is 'shockingly banal' and 'not real art'. For example, Roger Scruton, a conservative British professor of aesthetics, previewed his lecture on 'What is Creativity?' by illustrating a contrast between Mozart and the contemporary photographer-model, Tracey Emin. Scruton's argument was based on a "pattern of binary differences and preferences", which Pope (2005, 23) represents thus:

Past genius	*Today's 'creative' artist*
Dead, clothed male	Live, unclothed female
'real art'	'shockingly banal'
'rigorous education'	'let it all hang out'
'trained to excel'	'lacks the skills'
'schooling from his father'	

In contrast to the genius of the past, today's creative artist relies on networking (McRobbie, 2003), rather than 'schooling from the father' or from the university. The challenge to the status of the university as a medium of cultural reproduction not only stirs up conservative responses such as Scruton's, but also undermines the university's liberal culture of critique. Scholars thus strengthen their resistance to 'creative industries' as commodification of the arts, and see creativity as a hegemonic project. As Thomas Osborne says,

> …creativity is a value which, though we may believe we choose it ourselves, may in fact make us complicit with what today might be seen as the most conservative of norms; compulsory individualism, compulsory innovation, compulsory performativity and productiveness, the compulsory validation of the putatively new (Osborne, 2003, 507).

The arguments above support the contention that, despite political promises, there is no simple cause and effect relation between higher education and economic performance (Wolf, 2004). The discursive challenge of the knowledge-based economy is problematised in many ways on many levels and produces a

variety of ideological and material responses to the creativity explosion. Within TEOs these might manifest as liberal resistance to the notion of 'creativity' as the expression of an inauthentic, commodified culture by subjects who misrecognise the way their labour power is being exploited in a market society. Then again, the creativity explosion can be positioned by managerialist forms of governance as integral to the new learning economy of knowledge capitalism. Frequently, as the *Idealog* article witnessed, it is represented as a kind of celebratory humanism – another Renaissance, even – a triumph of the new 'economy of the imagination' (Biggs, 1999; Evans, 2001) that connects with the hopes, anxieties and passions of students and their parents.

As Larner argued a decade ago, the apparent success of neo-liberalism in shaping political programmes and individual subjectivities cannot simply be attributed to a policy agenda that has been shown to be based on "tenuous empirical claims and lack of intellectual rigour" (Larner, 1998, 8). Furthermore, analysis of neoliberalism as ideology shows it to be "a complex and hybrid political imaginary" out of which political arrangements emerge through struggle, "rather than being imposed in a top-down manner". Thus we are "forced to explore the notion that power is productive; that the articulations between hegemonic and oppositional claims give rise to new political subjectivities and social identities" (Larner, 1998, 8). Larner and colleagues have since developed this position in relation to the New Zealand Designer Fashion Industry (DFI), which they argue distinguishes an " 'after-neoliberal' moment in New Zealand" during which the DFI began to take on industry-like qualities" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 2). Their focus on the constitution of the DFI illustrates how industries are made up as governmental spaces and – co-constitutively – how the discursive and material processes of assembling an industry are also mobilized to reinforce the projects of 'after' or 'post' neoliberalism'. For Lewis *et al.* the New Zealand designer fashion industry is distinctively linked to these projects. They argue that the contingencies of this setting have made "the actions and aspirations of particular agents available to these political projects, in such a way that the DFI has become a highly effective means of articulating these political projects and their co-constitution" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007,4-5). Their work engages with the way fashion design identities have been harnessed to various political projects as narratives of success. In a similar vein, Maureen Molloy has traced the way political reforms have manifested in the

aesthetic styles of New Zealand designer fashion (Molloy, 2004). Other work has explored the distinctive situation of the designer fashion industry in New Zealand in relation to the material, political and symbolic processes associated with globalisation, and how these relate to a new, professional, fashionable self (Larner, Molloy, & Goodrum, 2005; Molloy & Larner, 2005). None of these studies, however, extend to how these identities might be connected to the designer subjects themselves.

My research looks in the other direction to that outlined above. Instead of focusing on the assembly of an industry, it investigates the assembly of the creative fashion designer. Proceeding from the third position in Larner's triangulated theorization, I use the Foucauldian notion of governmentality to look at creativity as 'the conduct of conduct': the relation between self and self, as well as relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991, 2-3). I argue that the creativity explosion is indicative of a new apparatus of power/knowledge that structures the beliefs of those critiquing systems of power as well as being immanent in practices governing contemporary society. Therefore, part of my project is to investigate notions of subjectification in order to think about how subjects of creativity are mobilized by 'joined up' modes of governance and technologies of educational choice. I locate the creativity explosion in fashion design education as an encounter between changing conceptions of students and changing concerns of the state about the management of the tertiary education system. I then describe how a new economic imaginary represents specific types of creative subject positions that are encountered by agents in educational settings who perform, through bodily acts of creativity, the categories of the 'new economy'. My intention is to dis-locate or 'queer' the discursive space that creativity occupies in this economy, and in this I am responding to feminist economic geographers J. K. Gibson-Graham (2006,) who write that " [w]hen it comes to economic identity in contemporary society, there are a limited number of subject positions to occupy and identify with – consumer, worker, self-employed, unemployed, capitalist entrepreneur, investor, to mention the most obvious" (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 77). On the grounds that a creative subject position is now becoming an attractive economic identity – one that shores up capitalocentric hegemonic formations – I argue through this thesis that the notion of creativity needs to be disrupted.

Methodology

The structure of this thesis echoes the process I went through in investigating the creativity explosion. I begin where my investigation began; from a 'realist' position that attempted to accurately describe and reflect the fashion design degree as representative of creative education. During the beginning stages of the project I tried to lay out the policies and programmes that ostensibly resulted in the increasing enrolments in creative arts degrees. I analysed policy documents and interviewed key informants in tertiary institutions and government agencies. This also involved participant observation, informal interviews with staff and students at my institution and reflections on student work, as well as in-depth, semi-structured interviews with first–year students enrolled in fashion design degrees in the North Island of New Zealand. Then, identifying the many weak points in my analysis, I began to look at ideological interpretations, trying to make sense of why fashion education is not the way it is represented in policy discourse. Ultimately I began to move away from asking what the creativity explosion meant towards an epistemological approach, beginning to 'empty out' or 'de-ontologise' (Andersen, 2003) creativity and to question how our current perspectives on creativity arose, how creativity had come to be seen in certain particular ways and not others, and how the current situation could perhaps be otherwise.

This methodology could be called a 'post-structural ethnography' (Vaughan, 2004), a blend of ethnographic case study and post-structural and genealogical inquiry that attempts to acknowledge the historical specificity of the creativity explosion and disrupt the apparent self-evidence of creativity as a category. But I prefer to think of my approach as an analytical strategy, rather than a strict methodology. For instance, in order to understand the conditions of possibility for the construction of 'the creative' as a social identity I needed to first establish a lens through which to see the evolution of such an identity. This is not really something that can be attempted by applying methodological standards, which have to depend upon presuppositions about creativity and how it operates. To begin with, I had presupposed that my interview subjects would narrate their development of creative talent, which could then be researched as a mode of inscription and an interpellative device. However, I found no such narratives, and

so had to change my approach. Describing the research process as an analytical strategy is a way to convey that my thesis is a result of a series of deliberate choices and that these choices could have been made differently with "different implications in respect of the emerging object" of research (Andersen, 2003, xiii).

In the following chapters I extend the argument that the creativity explosion is part of a regulatory regime of neoliberal globalisation and show how it is being theorised as a structural necessity for the kinds of investment-oriented entrepreneurship that "take the limelight in those historical moments when capital seeks creativity rather than stable reproduction" (Tsing, 2004, 83). My aim in doing this is not to attempt a final explanation of the creativity explosion but to begin to construct it as an object of investigation, which can then be problematized.

Chapter 2 : Creativity in Education

> "My contention is that creativity now is as important in education as literacy and we should treat it with the same status."
>
> Sir Ken Robinson [21].

All Our Futures

In 1997 the UK government set up the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural education (NACCCE), under the auspices of the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). The Committee's chair was Professor Ken Robinson, who was later knighted for his achievements in creativity, the arts and education. Throughout the 1980s and 90s, Robinson had argued for the centrality of arts education in schools and lobbied for cultural sectors - music, dance, theatre - which were suffering under conservative government. Robinson worked hard to get the NACCCE established and took a leading role in drafting the 1999 report *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education*, which went "beyond the initial brief to call for a thorough reorientation of educational practice" (Buckingham & Jones, 2001, 9). In the preface to a subsequent book, *Creativity in Education* (Craft, Jeffrey, & Leibling, 2001), Robinson says:

> Throughout the world, national governments are re-organising their education systems to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. One of the priorities is creativity and innovation [...] Like the NACCCE [the papers in this collection] argue that educating for creativity is a rigorous process based on knowledge and skill; that creativity is not confined to particular activities or people; that creativity flourishes under certain conditions and, in this sense, it can be taught [...] This is an important and timely contribution to a debate that lies at the heart of what it is

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[21] Sir Ken Robinson *Do Schools Kill Creativity?* http://www.ted.com/tedtalks/tedtalksplayer.cfm?key=ken_robinson&gclid=CPSw5vSkjokCFR_uYAodaVgU8w&flashEnabled=1 downloaded Wednesday 13 December 2006.

to be educated in the twenty-first century (Robinson, 2001).

In this thesis I use the idea of a creativity explosion as a device to 'think subjects and spaces' together and keep in mind the co-constitution of categories of 'the creative subject', 'the culture' and 'the economy'. I suggest that the creativity explosion is indicative of a national state extricating itself from economic and social rule, and relocating elements of its authority through new ways of conducting self-interested conduct. The creativity explosion is implicated in neo-liberal political arrangements that set up the institutional conditions for managing the government of the self by the self. I argue that 'being creative' is a form of conduct that legitimates and advances the rationalities of a competitive after-neoliberal state, which is concerned with establishing 'Brand New Zealand'. However, this is not to say that the creativity explosion is a result of any coherent policy direction aimed at 'educating for creativity' or producing workers for a new creative economy, despite Sir Ken Robinson's persuasive oratory. In the following section I relate the background of the post-Foucauldian notion of neo-liberalism, in order to show how it can be interpreted through the lens of governmentality and what this can contribute to critical engagement with the creativity explosion in tertiary education.

What is neo-liberalism?

Neo-liberalism has been described as a hegemonic project to establish competitive globalisation by means of a minimal state, free trade, flexible labour, and 'active individualism'. The concept of neo-liberalism provided a useful analytic frame for interpreting the macroeconomic crises of the 1970s, which were blamed on Keynesian financial regulation, corporatist planning, state ownership, and over-regulated labour markets (Peck & Tickell, 2002, 388). Neo-liberal discourse was made material in anglophone economies during the 1980s and 1990s (Jessop, 2003), as new forms of political organisation challenged the Keynesian state form. Instead of 'decommodifying' economic activities such as education and the arts and attempting to take them out of the market,as the welfare state was organised to do, a new type of 'competition state' pursued increased marketisation "to make economic activities located within the national territory, or which otherwise contribute to national wealth, more competitive in terms of international and

transnational terms" (Cerny, 1997, 259). However, interpreting neo-liberalisation as a singular ideological move by state and market actors has been unhelpful (Larner, 2003; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Wendy Brown for example has emphasized that neo-liberalism is not simply a set of economic policies; it is not only about facilitating free trade, maximizing corporate profits, and challenging welfarism. Furthermore, in explicating what is 'neo' about neoliberalism, Brown writes that a clear distinction must be maintained between political liberalism and economic liberalism.

> (I)n economic thought, liberalism contrasts with mercantilism on one side and Keynesianism or socialism on the other; its classical version refers to a maximization of free trade and competition achieved by minimum interference from political institutions. In the history of political thought, while individual liberty remains a touchstone, liberalism signifies an order in which the state exists to secure the freedom of individuals on a formally egalitarian basis. A liberal political order may harbor either liberal or Keynesian economic policies (Brown, 2003, 6).

As a governmental rationality therefore, *neo*-liberalism sometimes leans more toward maximizing individual liberty, thus developing a politically conservative tilt; at other times it leans towards maximizing equality, developing a politically liberal tilt. The ever-widening path worn by these administrative twists and turns however, has effectively extended the circulation of market values to all institutions and social actions. And this seems the crux of the matter – neoliberalism is best understood discursively rather than ideologically, as a sort of developing neural network arising in response to specific sets of techniques for achieving economic rationalism. Neo-liberalism has a self-actualising quality (Peck & Tickell, 2002), being both the intention and the outcome of a state rationality that enacts its vision for social, cultural and political life in terms of an increasingly globalised market economy. Crucially, though, this state of 'marketness' is not presumed to be an ontological given; it needs to be brought about by careful design and management, as I shall explain below.

Whereas classical liberalism understood liberty as an essential, pre-given right of the individual, whose rational action the state had better not interfere with, *neo*liberalism posits an artificially arranged liberty (Lemke, 2001, 200), in which the individual can only be relied upon to make economic-rational, prudent choices

in an environment of governmentally arranged mechanisms. However, because government is understood as a "limited sphere which can only operate through forms of regulation that exist outside itself, i.e. through those forms of regulation which obtain within "civil society", these mechanisms must seek to replicate forms of regulation that are already at work in civil society (Dean, 2002, 39-40).

Liberal thought began as a *critical reflection* on governmental practice, founded not on the existence of the state, but on the existence of society. The notion of 'society' – understood as a complex and independent reality with its own laws and mechanisms – provided an answer to the question of why, in the absence of the "doctrine of the prince" and a "juridical theory of sovereignty" (Foucault, 1991a, 91) a governmental state was needed. The idea that the life of the population was constituted by the self-regulating system of society was one of the great discoveries of political thought at the end of the 18th century (Dean & Hindess, 1998, 14). Liberalism required an "art of government" that explained and justified the exercise of that government. It proposed that "one always governs too much – or at any rate, one must always suspect that one governs too much" (Foucault, 2000, 74). It was because of this suspicion that the market provided such a valuable testing ground for the effects of governmental excess. *Homo economicus* became the object of liberal government, and state power could be limited through ideas such as *laissez faire*. In turn, the economic analyses of market mechanisms that aimed to measure when governing was 'too much' had the effect of freeing economic practice from the hegemony of the 'reason of state' and placing it at the farthest limit of governmental action (Dean, 2002, 41; Foucault, 2000, 76; Tikly, 2003,162).

The discursive bipolarisation of economy and society as an effect of liberal governance ensured that economic productivity would always remain a problem. It entrenched conflict about the social cost of productivity on the one hand, and the economic cost of the social on the other. There appeared no solution to this other than "the hegemony of one term over the other or their regressive fusion" (Donzelot, 1991, 261). As Donzelot describes in relation to early 20th century France, on the one hand the two processes could be guided so that the social would win out over the economic, on the other the social could be mobilised to destroy the economic before it turned workers into a totally Taylorized proletariat. The invention of the Keynesian 'providential state' – which administered social

welfare as both a civic moral duty *and* an economic remedy – seemed to provide a compromise.

In his last series of lectures, Foucault was fascinated and disturbed by the idea of "the social market as a game of freedom sustained by government artifice and invention" (Gordon, 1991, 47). The social markets developed in Germany after World War Two had been taken further and given a more radical form by the economists of the Chicago School[22]. By governing society in the name of the economy, the German liberals had begun to render the social domain economic. Now, instead of thinking of the market as requiring social interventions and guidance, this new version of liberalism sought to extend the rationality of the market with its schemes of analysis and decision-making criteria, to areas such as the family and birth policy, or delinquency and penal policy – areas which up until then had not been considered exclusively or even primarily economic (Foucault, 2000, 79). The economic began to be rethought as a way of envisaging the totality of human behaviour, and therefore the totality of governmental action[23]:

> This operation works by a progressive enlargement of the territory of economic theory by a series of redefinitions of its object, starting out from the neo-classical formula that economics concerns the study of all behaviours involving the allocation of scarce resources to alternative ends. Now it is proposed that economics concerns all purposive conduct entailing strategic choices between alternative paths, means, and instruments; or yet more broadly, all rational conduct (including rational thought, as a variety of rational conduct); or again, finally, all conduct, rational or irrational, which responds to its environment in a non-random fashion, or 'recognises reality ' (Gordon, 1991, 43).

So, rather than understanding neo-liberalism as the imposition of markets and a strategy of rule, post-Foucauldian approaches to neo-liberal*isation* take it as the fundamental redescription of individual agency as a form of the economic.

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[22] According to Fitzsimons, Peters and Roberts (1999) and Peters (1999), the main strands of American neo-liberalism arose out of Hayek's classical liberal economics, and were developed through the Chicago School of political economy (Friedman, 1962), public choice theory (Tullock and Buchanan, 1962), human capital theory (Becker, 1964), new institutional economics (Scott, 1997) and a form of managerialism identified as 'New Public Management' (Hood, 1990).

[23] du Gay (2007, 83) cites Gary Becker "... the economic approach is a comprehensive one that is applicable to all human behavior, be it behavior involving money prices or imputed shadow prices, repeated or infrequent decisions, large or minor decisions, emotional or mechanical ends, rich or poor persons, men or women, adults or children, brilliant or stupid persons, patients or therapists, businessmen or politicians, teachers or students".

Homo economici, the objects of liberal government, are presumed to exercise a *bounded rationality*, i.e. they recognise reality, but are unable to "comprehend fully the nature of their environment, to anticipate or devise political strategies to cope with change and to communicate effectively with each other", as Treasury officials argued in their recommendation for reforms to the New Zealand education system in 1987 (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, 11).

Sociologist of education Roger Dale (1989), writing about education policy, explains that the capitalist state has three core problems:

(a) To give support to the process of capital accumulation.

(b) To provide the necessary social cohesion to reproduce the capitalist mode of production.

(c) To legitimate the capitalist mode of production and the state itself (Bonal, 2003, 160 -161).

The legitimation problem faced by the Keynesian Welfare state was related to the importance of education in explanations of

> both the basis of economic growth and the allocation of social positions within the social structure. The state assumed responsibility for making the education system efficient by embracing human capital theory, and thereby the correspondence between education, productivity and private earnings, and social benefits. In addition, the ideology of equality of educational opportunity appeared adequate to legitimate meritocracy and social justice (Bonal, 2003, 162).

In contrast to the Keynesian state, a competition state has to find new ways to manage the social conflict that is associated with stratified labour markets, precarious labour and differential remuneration. According to Dale and Robertson, it does this by privileging the self as an entrepreneur and making individuals responsible for creating and participating in productive activity. "The labour contract is thus located within the self rather than the state and citizen; the self ideologically internalises the state and with it the potential risk of precariousness" (Robertson & Dale, 2002, 166). The state therefore attempts to depoliticise education through discursive and political strategies that emphasise self–responsibility and self-regulation. The old legitimation problem of the Keynesian state thus "becomes converted into one of efficient delivery of public services to individual citizens" (Dale 1998, cited in Bonal, 2003, 166). This, however, hides evidence of exclusion (such as the exclusion of students by institutions, or the exclusion of graduates by employers), encourages segregation (such as that

produced by gender- and ethnically-specific educational 'choices'), and causes market failures in specific occupational areas. The problem is that these educational conflicts must be managed by the state through interventions that contradict the tenets of liberal democracy. Thus a new type of legitimation problem arises for the competition state, and as Xavier Bonal (2003) argues, policies designed to resolve this tend to conflict with those designed to support the process of capital accumulation. Bonal compares the case of New Zealand education, as researched by Robertson and Dale (2002), with aspects of the Spanish state's response to educational problems. He shows that the mechanisms through which globalisation and neoliberalism have changed educational policy-making are specific to different national education systems. This is one of the reasons that a study of the creativity explosion in New Zealand education, which during the 1990s supplied a 'paradigm case of neoliberal governance' (Robertson & Dale, 2002, 465), becomes especially interesting, and adds weight to my speculation that it is related to contradictions between the legitimation and accumulation strategies of a new type of competition state.

As described in chapter one, the term 'after-neoliberalism' is used to indicate the way New Zealand's fifth Labour government has "eased away from the ideological and political certainties of the neoliberal approaches of the 1980s and 1990s [...] 'after' the failures of market-led neoliberalism" (Lewis, Larner, & Le Heron, 2007, 2). Lewis *et al* prefer this term because it suggests new policy foci emerging in a contested and poorly understood political terrain. "The term 'after-neoliberalism' gives expression to this sense of emergence, its embeddedness in neoliberal governing mentalities extended in new directions, and Prime Minister Helen Clark's claim that 'neoliberalism is over' (Clark 2002)" (Lewis et al., 2007,3).

The task of this chapter is to understand the ways in which higher education is being problematised in this after-neoliberal context. To do so, I study the governmental assemblage of creative fashion education, taking this government not as "a definitive, uniform group of institutions nor as the realisation of a certain set of political or constitutional principles" (Dean & Hindess, 1998, 8), but rather as comprising a multitude of mundane and humble practices, techniques and ways of knowing, training and regulating the various agents of education. These could include anything from fashion or design competitions, classroom

activity guides, learning and career plans, 'pathwaying' websites, careers quizzes, curriculum stocktakes, educational doctrines about science, technology and art, qualification regimes, university marketing campaigns, benchmarking and audit processes, even software systems for measuring 'continuous performance improvement'[24].

The creativity explosion and its technologies

In 2005, Gillian Howie wrote a scaldingly polemical introduction to an issue of the *Critical Quarterly* entitled "*Universities in the UK: drowning by numbers"* in which she criticised the "deft" commercialisation of higher education in Britain. Howie railed against the competency-based outputs, the calculable uniformity and the institutional benchmarking and auditing mechanisms that work to bend academics "to the will of central governance" (Howie, 2005, 9). She described the way creativity was being objectified and submitted to a process of review that required academics to "turn that which is most intimate – their ideas, thoughts, creativity – into an object which can be externally processed through a pre-given and unquestionable audit process" (Howie, 2005, 7-8). According to Howie, this is a "coercive creativity" (Morley, 1995, 166), which is irrational because of the way it represses that which it seeks to elicit.

I have some sympathy with Howie's protest but, as this thesis argues, it is too easy to correlate a repression of creativity with a singular governmental will to commercialise education. This is to take a very exaggerated view of the governmental capacities of the state, since, as I have shown, 'creativity' is as much a product of ideological moves *against* a perceived neo-liberal agenda as it is the outcome of political projects to construct a knowledge-based economy, and attendant creative industries. Thinking about the neoliberalisation of higher education as governmentality requires an analysis that is broader as well as more specifically located than Howie's, and that extends from the construction of education markets to the construction of education consumers.

[24] *Quantel* for example, which is being deployed to build knowledge about how creativity and design improves the performance of firms. See http://www.positivelywellingtonbusiness.co.nz/mainsite/tertiary-education-column-for-capital-times.html.

An alternative thesis to Howie's is that the agents of education (in Howie's case the creative academic, in my argument, the creative girl) play a part in the operation of political power; that individuals are 'made up' or 'fashioned' as creative types of person through the actions of authorities seeking the best way to secure the institutions and mechanisms of educational and economic government (Dean, 1999; du Gay, 1997; Miller & Rose, 1990; Rose & Miller, 1992). From this position, human capacities such as creativity are "inevitably and inescapably technologised" (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 1996, 13), but not in the sense of being caged in by a list of restrictive calculative practices, as Howie suggests. Instead, these neo-liberal technologies can be thought of as an "inventive, strategic, technical and artful set of 'assemblages' fashioned from diverse elements, put together in novel and specific ways and rationalised in relation to specific governmental objectives and goals" (Dean & Hindess, 1998, 8). They involve the fabrication of techniques that make responsible and empower sectors, agencies and agents from a distance through complex and heterogeneous networks of relations. Analysing these assemblages requires "describing the consequences, the possibilities invented as much as the limits imposed, of particular ways of subjectifying humans" (Barry *et al.*, 1996, 13). The focus is on the *ethos* and *techne* (Dean, 1999, 31) of neo-liberalism as an "art of government, rather than the ideological conditions under which it may or may not be able to operate" (Barry *et al.*, 1996,11).

As Howie acknowledged, marketisation is not the only technique of neo-liberal statecraft. Other technologies such as the 'new managerialism', audit, bench-marking and calculative practices (Lewis, 2005; Olssen, 2002; Shore & Wright, 1999) are also involved in the making of creative education and the 'making up' (Hacking, 1986) of the creative girl. In the following section I briefly outline some of the ways that political projects, densely organised around economic transformation and globalisation, are changing configurations of creativity and constituting new categories of creative identity via techniques for managing a relationship between educational institutions, enterprise and communities. I argue these technologies of control have not been implemented as flanking mechanisms to disguise the failures of education markets, nor as responses to critiques that marketisation does not deliver appropriately educated persons to transform the national economy. Rather, they are constituted by neo-

liberal governmentalities that formulate and justify a set of practices that aim to make the "idealized schemata" (Rose, 1996a, 42) of a knowledge-based economy/society amenable to political programming.

One instance of how such a technology of control operates is conveyed by the idea that to transform the national economy, one must first 'compose the nation'[25]. This is the discursive tactic by which the newly formed Te Whainga Aronui / Council for the Humanities is aligning itself with strategic priorities of government. The Council formed itself in 2006 in order to be able to increase access to research funding and to respond to the government nation-building agenda (Munro, 2005). While this process was certainly not uncontested, nevertheless The Council for the Humanities can be viewed as an assemblage of political programming and humanities expertise. It was made possible as an 'operant' by the governmental technologies of 'new managerialism' and 'contractualism' that were introduced during the 1990s to separate policy from operations, separate funding, purchasing and provision of services and allow the state or other authority to "provide a framework for isolating and managing the risk of non-compliance or poor performance by separating tasks, assigning responsibility for them to specific sites and incentivizing those carrying them out" (Lewis, 2005, 12). One of the effects of the operation of the Council of Humanities as a governmental assemblage is that it begins to allow the discursive re-classification of designer fashion as 'cultural content'. Thus, in his speech at the opening of the 2007 Humanities Aronui Congress, the Minister for Research, Science and Technology endorsed "the continued growth of the film industry, the global impact of our leading fashion designers and the growth of design intensive companies like furniture designer Formway", which he said were all examples of New Zealand successes in the "realm" of creative industries. He then linked these examples to the humanities by making it clear that "[t]he humanities have a key role in fuelling what's been called the real currency of our creative industries - the content" (Maharey, 2007). Thus we see the Council for the Humanities enrolled in a governmental project to materialise a cultural economy. As Jessop (2004) has pointed out, such discursive construals may or may not materially eventuate, and if

[25] *Transformations 07. Composing the nation: ideas, peoples, histories, languages, cultures, economies*. Humanities Congress, Victoria University, Wellington 27 -28 August 2007

do they may have unintended effects. It is still unclear how this new apparatus will operate, and whether it will, for example, allow fashion in the New Zealand context to be seen as 'fundable art' and thereby help re-fashion designers as artists (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 11).

For the sake of brevity I have tabulated some of the neo-liberal assemblages that are currently operating in the maintenance and expansion of the creativity explosion. I am aware that such cataloguing can override the complexity and density of the linkages that bring techniques of conduct into specific relations with the concerns of government – these governmental technologies and projects overlap in time and space, and interpenetrate on different scales in a manner that is a great deal more intricate than can be represented in a table. The tables need more research, particularly in the technologies columns. Schematically, however, one table shows a set of apparatuses that contribute to the discursive constitution of the creativity explosion, while the other table relates to subjectification. Together, these two sets of apparatus roughly correspond to Foucault's formulation of governmentality as the "encounter between technologies of domination of others and those of the self" (Foucault, 2000, 225).

Discursive constitution of creativity explosion

Governmental authority	***Political Projects***	***Technologies***	***Operation***
Council for Humanities	Nation-building	Contracts, New Public Management	Re-classify fashion design as cultural content
Tertiary Education Commission (TEC)	Knowledge Economy/Society	Contracts, New Public Management, audit, benchmark	'Creativise TEO faculties'
New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE)	Creative industry	Audit, statistics, databases, 'field configuring events'	Make designer fashion 'visible'
Better By Design	Globalisation	Audit 'field configuring events'	Insert creativity into apparel industry
Regional government	Creative cities	Benchmark Audit Contracts	Identify creative subject positions and spaces

Subjectifying operations in creativity explosion

Governmental programme	***Political Project***	***Technologies***	***Operation***
National Qualifications Framework	Globalisation	Audit, benchmark	Responsibilise autonomise - choose degree or diploma pathway
National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA)	Knowledge Economy/Society	Audit, benchmark (transferability/competency)	Responsibilise, autonomise - work to terms of audit, gain competency in co-creation
Performance Based Research Fund PBRF	Globalisation/ Knowledge economy	Benchmark, audit	Responsibilise, autonomise. Fashion academics meet global academic standards of creative research
Growth and Innovation Framework	Globalisation/ Knowledge economy	Pilot initiatives, network events, contracts	Responsibilise, autonomise. Creative research centres

These assemblages are all operants in the subjectification of students as self-responsible choosers. A small reminder of how this is working came to light recently in an essay by a fashion student, citing the view that "New Zealand manufacturing is declining due to the lack of young people choosing manufacturing as a profession". The salient point here is that students have not always been imagined to be *choosers* of a profession. Indeed, during the 1940s a whole educational apparatus existed so that individuals did *not* need to make for themselves the "momentous decision" about choosing a profession for which they were suited (Beeby, 1992, xviii). These days, students have no option but to choose for themselves and in terms of prior assemblages they often make choices that appear wrong. For instance, historian Douglas Lloyd Jenkins recently resigned from his position as Associate Professor of Design at Unitec New Zealand to become the director of Hawkes Bay Museum and Art Gallery. As it was reported, this appointment liberated Lloyd Jenkins

> ...from a workplace where in recent years he's been dogged by dismay.
>
> "Sadly the School of Design is now about bums on seats, quantity not quality. It's so disheartening lecturing to 90 students and knowing that at least a quarter of them shouldn't be there." He says academic prowess in design education is fast declining... (Warnock, 2006)

Lloyd Jenkins' comments call to mind McRobbie's perception that

> ...the ambitious young women flooding into these areas [...] in recent years, and the way in which they quite vociferously choose their options in the direction of gender-related topics, is too much for the old guard of the academy to deal with (McRobbie, 1999, xi).

Not that Lloyd Jenkins deserves being considered 'old guard', but his opinion does represent the resistance of humanities-based cultural producers to the operation of a new governmental apparatus.

How did the idea that students are capable of making their own choices become an acceptable ethos of educational government? When was it decided that creative talent or academic ability are not to be discovered by examining the student's nature, but through students choosing to follow their own desires, aspirations, inspirations and beliefs? How have students been made up as entrepreneurs of the self? The following sections begin to engage with these questions.

Making up 'Choice'

Education systems make up people in particular ways according to specific purposes. Neo-liberal educational governance has mobilised civil society in different ways from the earlier welfarist modes, promoting a self-reliance based in consumption and enterprise instead of thrift and dependency (Edwards, 2002). Critiques of neo-liberalised education often implicitly refer to Gordon's (1991) Foucauldian interpretation of how the concept of human capital allowed education to be thought of as a product, which individuals consume in order to produce 'satisfactions'.

> Human capital is composed of two components, an innate component of bodily and genetic equipment, and an acquired component of aptitudes produced as a result of investment in the provision of appropriate environmental stimuli: nurture, education etc. Economically, an aptitude is defined as a quasi-machine for the production of value; this applies not only to the production of commodities, but also to the production of satisfactions. As one neo-liberal thinker puts it, an education which, for example confers on its possessor the capacity for such satisfactions as logical discourse or the appreciation of works of art can be considered economically akin to a consumer durable which has the peculiarity of being inseparable from its owner. From this point-of view, then, the individual producer-consumer is in a novel sense not just an enterprise, but the entrepreneur of himself, or herself (Gordon, 1991, 44).

James Marshall (1995) has deployed this diagnosis as a form of critique, describing how the autonomous chooser of neo-liberalised education in New Zealand is shaped by "busno-power". According to Marshall, busno-power makes social processes into a form of technocratic rationality

> directed at the subjectivity of the person, not through the body but through the mind, through forms of educational practice and pedagogy which, through choices in education, shape the subjectivities of autonomous choosers. Education, embedded in the frameworks of busno-power and busnocratic rationality, is the first step in the individualising and totalising functions of busno-power (Marshall, 1995).

This busno-power concept is taken up by Majia Nadesan (2006) in researching a behavioural intervention programme in Arizona schools. According to Nadesan,

> Busno-power facilitates the integration of the social and the economic by figuring consumption as the primary realm for the expression of individual autonomy and choice. Thus, busno-power operates by collapsing the culture of enterprise into educational practices aimed at the cultivation of particular constructions of personhood (Nadesan, 2006).

My argument is that this concept of a busnocratic-rationality is really concerned with a phenomenology of students as autonomous choosers, rather than providing a theory of the educational governmentality of choice. As a critique, the concept of busno-power is ineffective, because it simply takes the educated entrepreneur of the self as the result of reformist imperatives centred on "marketisation, the dispersal of responsibility *towards* the self, the constitution of the neo-liberal self and tightened state control exercised remotely" (Lewis, 2005, 11). This formulation leaves two of my central questions unasked. Firstly, how did the notion of the student as autonomous chooser begin to take hold? Secondly, what are the techniques and ways of knowing and regulating agents of education (other than those directly concerned with educational practices and pedagogy) that are operating within the present governmental assemblage of creative fashion education?

Educational problems

If government is a problematising activity, a study of governmental assemblages must include the study of problematisations (Rose & Miller, 1992). Such a study

> would start from particular occasions on which authorities [...] call into question the activity of governing and the attributes of those who govern and are governed. Problematizations in this sense concern both the conduct of government and the government of conduct" (Dean & Hindess, 1998, 8).

The following section explores the emergence of the idea that persons should be able to exercise educational choice and describes the problematisations that have contributed to the central role of the chooser in the present governmental assemblage of education.

For welfarist New Zealand in the 1930s, the educational problem was how to amend unequally distributed social rewards. Practices of educational government were intended to discharge a deep sense of obligation to the children of the poor and disadvantaged who had been "most sorely wronged" by the great depression (Beeby, 1992, xvi). Attempts to ensure equality of educational opportunity were viewed as moral recompense to the new generation. Thus in 1939, Prime Minister Peter Fraser sounded a 'clarion call':

> The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind to which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a pious platitude that the full acceptance of this principle will involve the reorientation of the whole education system (Beeby, 1992, xvi).

The significance of this liberal ethos of government was not so much that it recognised, defined, or defended education as a right of all citizens, but rather that the characteristics of human beings became the focus of a governmental rationality. They became persons with *levels of academic ability* and were thus required individually to play their part in maintaining the systems that potentially defined them. The techniques of delivering free education to every person also created the potential for subjects of freedom – "subjects whose freedom is a condition of subjection" (Dean, 1999, 165) – who identify educational choices with their own sense of self.

Inspired by the vision of equality of opportunity, Clarence Beeby, who was the Director General of Education in New Zealand from 1940 to 1960 [26], oversaw the reform of a system of educational selection and privilege with the aim of treating everyone according to 'the extent of their powers'. Psychological technologies of educational governance were introduced that quantified and measured human capacities and statistically divided school populations into 'quartiles' representing the innate distribution of human abilities on a Gaussian curve [27]. Programmes put in place to deliver equality of opportunity relied upon

[26] Beeby was Assistant Director of Education when he wrote Prime Minister Peter Fraser's 1939 policy statement, as above.

[27] Not everybody agreed with this. Prime Minister Fraser believed differences of ability were produced by economic structures, rather than heredity.

techniques such as the IQ test, which supported and normalised academic and vocational stratification in populations. The aim was to introduce a broadened, more universal, curriculum that would cater for a wider variety of innate abilities. This would be done by providing teachers and facilities for "non-academic" children and by establishing guidance services "to make sure that each found the right educational track" (Beeby, 1992,137). Beeby was passionate in the belief that applying these assessment technologies to each individual was a way to achieve equality of opportunity for the masses.

The hegemony of industrial psychology as the intellectual framework for administering education in the welfare state meant that technologies of choice were not required; the ambitions of educational governance did not include the need for citizens themselves to exercise choice, because the science of psychology did that for them. One of the key technologies for making up either academic or vocational persons was the common core curriculum, which allowed people to be sorted on a *meritocratic* [28] basis. This became the focus of a new rationality of educational governance during the 1950s and 1960s. In an ideological environment of free education for all, in which an individual's success was attributed to their own ability and effort rather than their parents' socio-economic status, a problem for government became how to "capture capacity" from a limited pool of talent for the executive positions in bureaucratic management and production systems (Lauder, Hughes, & Brown, 1990, 62). Techniques such as 'streaming' into academic and technical classes at secondary school and the 'scaling' of examinations selected the few who were to be highly educated (Lauder *et al.*, 1990).

Bureaucratic education systems were geared to the economy through the technology of 'manpower planning', a way of monitoring and regulating the population in response to economic requirements. Manpower planning had been developed during World War Two, when the armed forces tried to deal with shortages and wastage of labour by means of rigorous personnel selection and vocational placement, based on scientific techniques of individual assessment and aptitude testing (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999). The US Bureau of Labor

[28] The term 'meritocracy' was coined by Michael Young in his book *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1958) to warn against a society ridden by stratification according to the results of early childhood testing (Galindo-Rueda & Vignoles, 2003, 44).

Statistics developed the 'manpower requirements' method in the 1950s, which was adopted for educational planning by OECD countries in the 1960s. However, this kind of macroeconomic occupational forecasting was always far too expensive to be undertaken in New Zealand (Papps, 2001) so that matching training to the demands of the economy was a more of a self-imposed discipline by managers of training institutions, than an exact science of centralist planning (see, for example, Potter, 1970 [29]). Thus in New Zealand, the educational restructuring of the 1980s was not so much a revolution against the *actual* failures of political central planning as a rejection of the knowledge and power of the effectiveness of welfarist ideals (see Rose & Miller, 1992, 32-33). Critiques of welfarist techniques in education that eventually opened a space for marketised education in the 1990s came from sociologically-informed 'left liberals' during the 1970s and 80s, as much as from the 'market liberals' of the New Right (see Lauder *et al.*, 1990).

During the 1960s and 1970s new technologies of liberal freedom aimed to "break the chains of bureaucratic demands" in education (Lauder *et al.*, 1990, 69) and to flexibilise the administration of courses in order to better facilitate the student's ability to choose. Industrial psychology had produced a "far too definite" knowledge of the nature and distribution of human intelligence and the role of inherited qualities in an individual's "passage through the education system and out into employment" (Beeby, 1992, 94-95). One of the paradigms that challenged the hegemony of psychological knowledge in educational theory came out of the subcultural studies of urban youth that emerged from the 1970s in the political context of disillusionment with the welfare state (Besley, 2001). These studies used Marxist analysis supported by ethnographic tools to focus attention on social reproduction in schooling. The subcultural studies that came out of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies framed youth as resisting

[29] B. W. Potter writing in the NZ journal *Designscape* (1970) states; "One of the hallmarks of any technical institute course is that its output is matched by demand. Not social demand, or student demand but output planning of the most rigorous kind. This discipline, self-imposed to a large extent, runs counter to the New Zealand tradition of education for all who desire it and can benefit from it. Such a departure from commonly accepted practice at least safeguards students from embarking on a long and arduous course only to find that their achievements have no price in the marketplace. It also guarantees in some measure that New Zealand will not find itself faced with the problem of redundancy apparently experienced in Great Britain. The Times Educational Supplement (29 August 1969) warns that the majority of students ready to leave design schools with qualifications in graphics or three-dimensional design may not find jobs…"

hegemonic middle-class culture. As well as the problem that they excluded women from the 'classic' oppositional and creative terrain (McRobbie, 1991), these studies also tended to romanticise and universalise the struggles of working-class males as general problems of youth. Ethnographic work such as Alison Jones' (1986) *At School I've Got a Chance... Social Reproduction in a New Zealand Secondary School,* which studied Pacific Island girls' education, offered a corrective to the narrow concern with rebellious male students that typified these earlier cultural studies. Jones says the focus on resistance of working class students was a reaction to images of them as either mindless trouble-makers, or "pawns or role-bearers constrained by the logic and social practices of the capitalist system". This left little to say about the majority of "quiet working class students, let alone middle class students of any variety" (Jones, 1986, 23). Ethnographies such as these contributed to the way education was problematised in New Zealand during the 1980s. Programmes to keep working class people in secondary school were elaborated and enlarged around the problem of 'early leavers'. For example, the Ministry of Education funded the research project *Keeping Them At School At Henderson High*, which offered guidance and techniques for bringing "the experiences, tastes and aptitudes of working class people… more fully into the curriculum so that they would feel less bored and cheated by what school had to offer" (Levett & Lankshear, 1990, 38).

One of the most marked changes of the 1980s was an increase in the numbers of students who stayed at school beyond the minimum school-leaving age. The rise in retention rates was put down to the lack of jobs for teenagers. However, it could also be explained by the 'early leaver' initiatives to improve school completion rates. This increasing retention caused some rethinking of the purposes of the senior secondary school years. Whereas they had previously been oriented to university entrance, destinations such as courses of vocational education and training and direct entry employment for high school graduates became important (see Ainley, Malley, & Lamb, 1997).

This was the beginning of systematic programmes for extending vocational choice into secondary school. The dismantling of a core curriculum effected a further differentiation of secondary school subjects, opening new pathways between school, university and work and feeding the requirements of industry sectors back into secondary education, thus further differentiating secondary

school subjects and creating more ‘choice’ (see Tribe, 2004). The governmental problem now became how to disoblige school leavers from making university the preferential choice after compulsory schooling and how to correct a tertiary system that exposed “university disciplines and related scholarly and intellectual resources to the vagaries of student popularity judgements” (Mahoney, 2003, 13).

Student choices are now being problematised as one of the weak spots in the administration of the single, seamless tertiary education system, which is under the management of the Tertiary Education Commission. The problem is depicted in the minutes of a Fashion Education conference in 2004:

> Many seventh form students are now able to ‘pick-and-mix’ from a wide variety of unit standards, but this often doesn't adequately prepare them for any specific tertiary programmes. In other cases, a huge swell of interest in fashion has seen 'home economics' replaced by 'fashion technology', which does little to manage students' expectations and sometimes overlaps with what is being taught at tertiary level. There is still the feeling among secondary school teachers and students alike that they are not training to create/become machinists (Opai, 2004, unpaged).

The individualisation of secondary school subjects that allowed this ‘pick and mix’ choice got underway with the advancing liberalisation of education during the 1960s and 1970s. It was the temporary articulation of these liberalising concerns about secondary education with a reformist regime of market governance that was to lay the foundation for a ‘third way’ problematic of tertiary education in the 21st century, a problematic that is centred upon students as ‘subjects of choice’. This is a much more nuanced conception than that of Marshall’s ‘busno-power’ which is imagined to operate by collapsing the culture of enterprise into education.

We can see how the characteristic ethos of welfarist education in New Zealand was formed by techniques and language concerned with the problem of universal access, which was supported (put into effect) by a range of psychological and meritocratic technologies – IQ tests, a common curriculum, streaming, scaling examinations, vocational guidance – all of which were arranged to manage the unequal social rewards distributed by mass schooling. During the 1960s, another governmental rationality began to emerge which specified that the powers and duties of educational authorities should be directed towards making populations fit for an ‘information age’. In the following section, I explain how the ethos of this

'proto' knowledge-based economy called into question previous regimes of educational practice, assembled a new range of educational technologies of government and introduced the notion of human capital into discourses and practices of education.

Knowledge-based economy

The educational reforms of the 1980s and 1990s depended upon problematisations of tertiary education provision for citizens in a modernised economy. The discursive field within which this problem gained significance was the knowledge-based economy (KBE) in its nascent form. This provided a consistency to the liberal principles that had been reactivated during the 1970s, and which then began to erode the welfarist governmentality of education. In its discursive proto-formation the KBE provided a way to formulate and justify an idealised schemata representing the need for changes to tertiary education in a welfare state.

This formation included theories about a post-industrial 'information society' that began to be taken seriously during the late 1960s and early 1970s (see Brown & Hesketh, 2004; Gilbert, 2003; Kasvio, 2001; Kumar, 1992; Vaughan, 2003). Writers including Daniel Bell, Alain Touraine, Peter Drucker and Alvin Toffler saw industrial society coming to an end and knowledge becoming a central force in adding to the skill of workers and creating new types of work. Bell, for instance, thought that "Knowledge does not simply govern […] technical innovation and economic growth, it is itself fast becoming the principal activity of the economy and the principal determinant of occupational change" (Kumar, 1992, 50). These ideas had developed out of a systematic body of thought about the "economics of information, communication, transfer of knowledge and know-how [...] including study of how innovations come about" (Bowman, 1966, 112), which had been worked upon since the mid-1950s. These ideas about information society combined in social science literature with theories about post-Fordism and post-modernism, in studies of the 'deindustrialisation' and productivity slowdowns of the 1970s. Prior to this, neoclassical economics had viewed technology as a factor outside of, or exogenous to, models of economic growth. During the 1980s,

however, ‘new growth’, or ‘endogenous growth’ economists began to emphasise that the sources of technological progress, or more generally *knowledge creation*, needed to be encompassed *within* the general equilibrium framework of neoclassical growth theory. This new mindset led economists to attempt to understand and ‘endogenise’ technological progress as a key factor in sustained productivity.

The endogenous growth literature of the 1980s also renewed interest in theories of human capital. Human capital was an input to production – like physical capital, but accumulated through education and on-the-job experience. This notion of investing in human beings had been something of a revolution in economic thought during the mid-1950s and 1960s, when it had generated a “stunning…florescence” (Bowman, 1966, 112) of published works on the economics of education. Before the 1960s, for instance, education policy papers give major prominence to the non-economic purposes of education, whereas “ later ones are concerned almost entirely with education, the economy, growth and ‘employability’” (Wolf, 2004, 316). Economists such as Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker established their global reputations by recognising the importance of human knowledge and skills in models that attempted to explain economic development. Mary Bowman, who was a researcher in economics and education at the University of Chicago during the 1960s, saw this as a dramatic shift in economic theory due to a new “emphasis on *creative* man” (Bowman, 1966, 112; italics in original).

> The economics of information, communication, transfer of knowledge and know-how is growing on all fronts, including study of how innovations come about and their effects upon every aspect of economic life. In fact the 1965 meeting of the American Economic Association was built around the key themes of innovation knowledge and education (Bowman, 1966, 112).

As the economics of educational planning became more methodologically self-conscious it began to generate its own experts, and it became more ‘respectable’ to think that one of the most important roles of education was to raise human productive capabilities. However, this new ethos was hard-won and the economic approach to education did not automatically figure in rationalities of government. As Gornitzka and Maassen (2000) state in the *Journal of Higher Education Policy*,

> ....for some time after the Second World War, the economic perspective was

> not regarded as appropriate for shaping the national framework for steering higher education. Generally, Ministries of Economic Affairs were unable or unwilling to see or use higher education as an economic instrument, while Ministries of Education were unable or unwilling to address the economic role of higher education. Although the first wave of expansion of higher education, which generally took place in the 1960s, was to some extent rationalised and legitimated (e.g. by the OECD) by the claim that satisfying rising social demand would also bring economic benefits, it can also be seen quite clearly that for much of the post-war period in most countries, the political elite wanted to protect higher education from any direct influence of economic interests (Gornitzka & Maassen, 2000).

Although the use of an economic metaphor for human attributes was initially criticised, partly for being difficult to operationalise, over time the notion gained widespread acceptance, and established the grounds for its own elaboration. Tom Healy, the Senior Statistician for Ireland's Department of Education and Science, commented that the metaphor of human capital as an investment and benefit eventually

> …won out because human skills and knowledge were seen to be too important to be relegated to a secondary role in mainstream economic and social analysis on supposed grounds of vagueness or lack of measurability. Spending on education and training is an investment and many commentators (OECD, 1998) have pointed to the need for it to be integrated into a better accounting framework covering key social, personal and economic costs and benefits of such investment (Healy, 2001, unpaged).

Human capital gradually came to be viewed as the main factor of production capable of creating new and improved production processes and goods, in addition to promoting their diffusion through the economy. In fact, human capital was thought to be 'hardwired' into the innovation process because it could modify itself as well as change other inputs, thus increasing productivity and leading to a permanently dynamic economy (Menzies & Barwick, 2000, 42). Over the next 20 years this became a consensus, although Robert Solow, one of the first economists to contribute empirical evidence of the role of human capital in economic growth, commented in 2000:

> We have not learned a lot in the last 20 or 25 years other than the empirical facts. The attempts to learn more about the sources of innovation – to

> endogenise technological progress – have not led very far…not much can be said other than to encourage innovation, to encourage (for small countries) the adoption of innovations wherever they come from, and to get out of the way of the products and the processes. Also, to try to develop human capital – that is, to try to develop an educated, skilled and trained labour force. And most of that could have been said twenty-five or thirty years ago (Menzies & Barwick, 2000, 8).

During the 1990s, the mainstream economists of the OECD began to catch up with these new growth theories and develop an interest in science and technology. Although empirical evidence still proved difficult to capture, the OECD's Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry (DSTI) managed to demonstrate a link between science, technology and productivity by synthesising a range of academic works, internationalising the statistics and developing a visual rhetoric based on a plethora of figures and graphs (Godin, 2004, 686). Thus the OECD became a key agent in promoting the idea of the new economy, organising the conferences and setting the global benchmarks that convinced member nations something important was going on. This added force to the promotion of a 'digital revolution', viewed as a technological breakthrough and an engine of growth and prosperity. The urgency of building 'information highways' was adopted as policy in the United States as well as in the European Union. By the late 1990s, OECD buzzwords such as 'high technology', 'national systems of innovation', 'information economy' and 'knowledge-based economy' had begun to sound more serious. International comparisons began to be made by economic theoreticians from a variety of different schools, as they attempted to understand how different institutional configurations corresponded to different national growth regimes. This work helped to empirically legitimate, validate and elaborate a 'new economy' that was influenced by information and communication technology. It produced what Nigel Thrift has called a "formal body of knowledge which could act as serious confirmation of more general (and rather flighty) business knowledge" (Thrift, 2001, 417).

In New Zealand, the idea of a new economy became common in business and government, and eventually education, as a description and an assumption of a normal future (Gilbert, 2003, 2005). In the late 1990s, the Information

Technology Advisory Group (ITANZ) had been galvanised by new growth economics and the need for New Zealand to become a 'learning economy'. The ITANZ submission to the New Zealand Government (title: *The Knowledge Economy*) stated:

> If we do not heed the call, we will fall further in the rankings, perhaps as far down as Slovenia and Hungary, countries that aspire to our standard of living. In ten years' time economists may characterise New Zealand as one of those unfortunate countries that failed to make the transition to the new economy, and count it among the also-rans. They may call it 'the New Zealand syndrome' (Frederick, Beattie, & McIlroy, 1999, 5).

This report affirmed there was "no alternative way to prosperity than to make learning and knowledge-creation of prime importance"(Frederick *et al.*, 1999, 5).

In summary, human capital began to gain importance in educational governance because of theories that factored human creativity and innovation into post-industrial technological development. It was supported by a global political consensus generated on the concept of lifelong learning through 1970s debates of UNESCO and OECD and the Delors Report (1996). This encouraged an inflation of lifelong learning and 'employability and skills' initiatives based on human capital theory. By the 1990s supply-side human capital approaches to boosting accumulation processes resulted in national targets for educational qualification and participation, based on international benchmarking of "world class" education (Wolf, 2004, 326-327). Throughout the 1990s, this new mode of educational governance put the development of human capital at the centre of political projects that problematised globalisation and the knowledge-based economy (Harvey, Locke, & Morey, 2002; Peters, 2001). The idea of human capital had introduced a way of calculating how differences in education were associated with differences in wage rates. It began to form another part of the technological assemblage that contributed to the subjectification of individuals as rational and autonomous choosers and 'consumers' of lifelong satisfactions.

After neo-liberal problems

If a welfarist ethos of government involved making the right choice for students according to the extent of their powers and the level of their ability, and

neo-liberal technologies made students up as autonomous choosers, then an after-neoliberal rationality seeks to understand their unique preferences and tastes, to know how they make decisions, to soothe their uncertainties, remove barriers and constraints and meet their expectations. The aim is now to mobilise the education consumer, in exactly the same way as consumers of ice-cream, soft toilet tissue or home perms were mobilised in the 1950s, not as a matter of unscrupulous manipulation as Miller and Rose (1997) point out, but as active agents in their own consumption patterns. Thus, current social science research emphasises that, for young people, choice should be recognised as a "process, not an event" (Foskett, Lumby, & Maringe, 2003, 2). Understanding decision-making about future occupations and tertiary study is now expected to expand to encompass the "complex nexus" of "habitus, personal identity, life history, social and cultural contexts" (Bloomer & Hodkinson, 1997, 46; Zepke & Leach, 2005, 7). The capacity of individuals to exercise self-government in choosing their prospective tertiary education has become the focus of research and reviews which aim to interrogate students' decision-making in terms of their interests, predispositions, and social and cultural capital (see Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000; Hurley & Thorp, 2002; James, 2001; McDowall & Boyd, 2003; Zepke & Leach, 2005). The hegemony of this new perspective was underscored for me when, in 2006, I undertook a cursory search for recent educational studies commissioned by the Ministry of Education or the Labour Market Policy Group. I found the following: a description of educational pathways taken by 55,640 students at public tertiary education organisations (Scott, 2004); an empirical study of the formation of educational expectations by young people and their parents (Maloney, 2004); a review and synthesis of international research literature about student decision-making (Zepke & Leach, 2005); a five year project looking at the supply-side and demand-side parameters of career development and social capital (Dupuis, Inkson, & McLaren, 2004); an exploratory analysis of young people's perception of career success (Gardiner, c2006); a project investigating the relationship between the NCEA and student motivation to learn (Meyer *et al.*, 2006). Independent longitudinal studies were also being carried out by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research: for instance, *Innovative Pathways for Secondary School*, which was seeking to unravel the complexity of school-to-work transitions (McDowall & Boyd, 2003), and *Learning Curves: Meeting Students' Learning*

Needs in an Evolving Qualification Regime, which attempted to study how students perceive and make their subject choices within the context of each school's curriculum policies and practices (Hipkins, Vaughan, Beals, & Ferral, 2004). The authors of all of these reports pointed out the need for policy-makers to learn more about the expectations guiding student choices, how decisions are made, and whether they can be predicted and modeled, in order to "inform the facilitation of pathways to and through employment within educational institutions, workplaces and communities" (Gardiner, c2006, 5).

Clearly, as Dean has observed, the problem is not so much how to instrumentalise an education system on behalf of the economy, but how to secure the institutions and mechanisms of educational and economic governance themselves (Dean, 1999, 172). Hence the administrative project of the Tertiary Education Commission concentrates on removing barriers to careers information so that learners can make unencumbered choices about careers and educational opportunities, at the same time trying to integrate the differently subsidised funding systems and bring school and tertiary curricula into alignment. The goals are to make the learner's pathway through the tertiary education system "that much easier and more straightforward", to "see ever-closer school-tertiary-employer links and co-ordination, and ever better careers advice and information" in order to "increase the likelihood of individuals making career choices (more than one each lifetime I might add) that are satisfying to them and that might improve the regional or national relevance of skills supply as well" (West, 2004, unpaged).

After-neoliberal rationalities take it as given that the choice of occupation or prospective tertiary education is "a declaration of how an individual sees her- or himself in terms of their sex role, their social standing and their field of interest" (Harvey-Beavis, 1998, 12). It is precisely because student decision-making is taken for granted as an irrational, non-linear process, that techniques and programmes attempt to take into account the uniqueness of preferences and tastes, uncertainties and expectations, channelling them for the good of the person (to make them "satisfying", as the Tertiary Commissioner said), as well as for the good of the public (and hence the nation/competition state). To achieve this end, education researchers recommend that econometric models of students' decisions use more precise and individualised measurements (Perna, 2004); that activities

identifying student strengths, interests, and skills should be an earlier and continuous priority; that support should be provided for school-leavers' decision-making in the context of trusting relationships and informal, individualised discussions (Hipkins & Vaughan, 2002b; McDowall & Boyd, 2003) and that strategies promoting sustainable employment for younger people capture individual age and gender differences in "career orientations" (Gardiner, c2006, 23). These increasingly individualised – and individualising – educational pathways are supported by ICT-enabled networks that allow for a detailed and systematic flow of information from individual locales to a centre, constituting a single economic domain whose constituent elements can be known and regulated 'at a distance'. This is to be managed through an intricately assembled economic machine constructed by the Tertiary Education Commission with the help of the SDR (single data return) and coordinated through the Ministry of Education with the help of TSPAR (Tertiary Sector Performance Analysis and Reporting) and the new National Student Index. These are linked with the Ministry of Social Development (StudyLink and Kbase), Career Services (KiwiCareer's Pathfinder, CareerCentres and CareerPoint), the Department of Labour's Labour Market Information Unit (WorkSite/PaeMahi, WorkTrends and WorkInsight), the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (National Qualifications Framework and KiwiQuals) and Maori Tertiary Education (TEC, 2004c).

I list these simply to make a point about the level of intricate construction and hugely complex ICT that is needed to mobilise the education population as active subjects and help them to make choices in the educational marketplace. Governing through freedom means trying to make visible a capillary flow of 'information' and 'knowledge' about the labour market, to give education consumers more information about career choices. So the ICT-enabled 'frameworks' (NZ Qualifications Authority), 'pathways' (National Certificate of Educational Achievement), networks and web portals such as *in-transit* and *worksite* construct digital road maps to distribute information about how education and employment are connected, in order to give students more complete knowledge of how to develop their human capital.

The idea of human capital is of course fictive, simply a model of human behaviour designed to be amenable to economic calculation. It was introduced as a technology of governance, not of New Zealand government ideology. Indeed,

under the National-led government in 1994 the Todd Taskforce recommended cuts to the public subsidisation of tertiary education because the human capital model was shown *not* to have a direct effect on national productivity and economic growth. The managed expansion of private tertiary education providers to increase vocational training was justified on this basis (Quiggin, 1999). Nevertheless, as a technology of economic management, calculations of human capital have now become fundamental to the legitimation and design of career and study advice programmes such as the government's *in-transit* web portal for "planning life after school… about real things you can do to work it out, make a smooth move and create the future you want"[30]. The site links to Study Seekers, KiwiCareers, KiwiQuals and the *Sorted* Qualification Value Calculator, all of which aim to "help you work through all your options…think about what you want to do as a job or career and then pick the qualification that matches". The Value Calculator allows prospective students to determine whether the qualification they are contemplating is "value for money" by "putting a dollar value on future earning potential" [31]. This calculation is based on a rate of return model of human capital that considers only level of qualification, rather than subject area. This calculation is a contingent outcome of the statistical aggregation of educational 'pathways' carried out by the Tertiary Sector Performance Analysis & Reporting unit for the Ministry of Education, which supplies rate of return information only about *levels* of completed qualification, rather than showing the relativities between disciplines at each level (Scott, 2004). The destination of learning pathways is therefore represented as a statistical aggregation of *levels* of qualifications, rather than a rate of return based on occupations. This helps establish the salience and desirability of the degree over other qualifications, in direct contradiction to government attempts to diversify qualifications in the tertiary sector. As Richard Florida recently argued, educational attainment is not the best way to measure and account for human capital. He recommends occupationally-based measures, associated with knowledge–based or creative occupations, which outperform conventional human capital measures in accounting for regional development (Mellandera & Florida,

[30] http://www.in-transit.govt.nz/study/

[31] http://www.sorted.org.nz/student_before_you_study_qualification_value_for_money.html

2007). It will be interesting to observe the effects of this new statistical means of making up creative people, if Florida's recommendations continue to take hold.

While these tactics and technologies sometimes seem contradictory and conflicting, they all operate to further subjectify students whose 'freedom to choose' is a condition of their subjection, and who come to identify such choices with their sense of self. In the joined-up government of education, from the *in-transit* website and the *Inzone Experience* mobile careers unit [32], to the economic technologies managed by the TEC, we see the state shifting its authority by developing new ways of 'conducting self-interested conduct' and setting up new conditions for managing the government of the self by the self.

[32] Inzone Experience Ltd delivers career experiences to New Zealand secondary schools via a 14-metre long purpose-built vehicle housing 22 touch-screen pods.
http://www.finz.co.nz/news - features - The Inzone Experience - 06 July 2007.php

Chapter 3: Fashioning Creativity

"Poor Deluded Darlings"

> ...poor deluded darlings…
>
> Susie Walker, chair of Fashion Industry New Zealand, 2005

> I had this idea that when you live your dream everything would be smooth and easy and happy but one of the things I've learned in the last couple of years is that you are always extending yourself. It's not just a business - it has become a lifestyle! It's one of the main ways I express myself in the world.
>
> Fashion designer Trelise Cooper (Bates, 2005, 25).

When first thinking about the increasing numbers of young women wanting to study fashion, I imputed a vocational motivation, presuming that enrolling in a fashion design degree indicated a desire for a career as a fashion designer. As it turned out, this was not necessarily the case and my assumption merely reflected a consensus about the instrumental purposes of tertiary education. But acting on this supposition early in the project, I had many informal conversations about what it was like to work as a fashion designer and asked a range of people about the attributes they thought fashion designers needed; what were the skills and capacities required to be a designer? Teachers, industry representatives and employers thought that designers needed to have a business sense, be purposeful, goal-directed, and be good problem-solvers, as well as having excellent drawing ability, the know-how to sew and construct garments and the imagination to keep coming up with new and original ideas. However, it was not until I asked my fourteen-year-old niece, who was making her own choices about her educational future, that I realised what should have been obvious. To be a fashion designer, said Tessa, "the most important thing is that you need to be creative". Tessa's observation neatly endorsed Angela McRobbie's appeal for more sociological research into "[w]hat is it to 'be' creative? How is talent perceived and mobilized as a strategy for individual success?" (McRobbie, 2002b, 104).

A second aspect that struck me was the number of professional

acquaintances, including my doctor, lawyer, and optician, as well as colleagues in other university departments, who, after asking about my research topic, would respond, "How interesting, my daughter is doing/wants to do music/design/fashion/art at university". Again, as McRobbie points out, middle-class girls have become part of a new competitive elite, expected to gain a tertiary qualification that "in turn provides them with an identity as female subjects of capacity" (McRobbie, 2007, 727). And, because post-compulsory learning is now based on fees, loans and parental support, a substantial financial investment is necessary for would-be creatives to begin to 'live their dream'. This is not only in respect of tuition. In order to 'be seen' at a 'field-configuring event' (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006; Lampel, Meyer, & Ventresca, 2005) such as the New Zealand Fashion Week, designers need to front up with around $20,000 [33]. As well, students are very aware that New Zealand is not at the centre of global fashion and nearly all the students I interviewed hoped to go to London or New York in order to learn the ropes after graduating. These cities have become 'hot desk spaces' for a nomadic creative workforce that never quite generates the income needed to settle (McRobbie, 2003). Clearly, some forms of creativity are beginning to have an unstated dependence on wealth and education.

Consequently I began the project with three areas of concern. Firstly, I wanted to consider the social implications of the creativity explosion in fashion education and how this might contribute to the globalising New Zealand fashion industry. Secondly, I hoped that thinking about fashion design students as subjects of creativity – creative girls – would help resolve my third problem, which involved the contested notions about what these students needed to learn, and how to support that learning. The 'stakeholders' in fashion education – university management, academic staff, government officials, employers, the students and their parents – all had conflicting views about curricula. As a feminist lecturer in design, unexpectedly having to teach fashion theory and research, I wanted a perspective on the instrumentality and utility of these new university degrees. Was it really 'immoral', as a fashion industry 'insider', Paul Blomfield stated, that

[33] Deborah Cumming, Bachelor of Fashion Design Programme Leader. (Pers. comm. 2007)

universities were "…wast[ing] our youth, training them to do jobs that aren't there…?" (Blomfield, 2002b)[34].

Fashion education: thinking culture and economy together?

One of the issues raised by policy discourse about a knowledge economy is a dilemma over what fashion students should learn. This results from a twin set of logics that create two sets of conflicting alternatives for educators. One is an economic logic, where employers' demands contradict policies primarily designed to legitimate tertiary education. This is one of the causes of a conflicted curriculum. The second dilemma is produced by what I call the 'culturalist' standpoint, in which Marxist and liberal arts critique positions 'creative' practice as inauthentic, or as a sort of training in flexible work for a new proletariat. The logics that produce these perspectives intertwine, together producing a normative doctrine about creativity as a 'necessary incompleteness.' In this Lacanian analysis, creativity supplies the symbolic element in a 'politics of lack' (Robinson, 2004), which is culturally performative, in the sense that it produces new ways of being creative.

To explain this further: there is much discussion about what proportion of fashion education programmes should be devoted to developing 'creative' versus 'technical' skills (Jackson & Shaw, 2006, 40). This distinction between the creative and the technical, the cultural and the material, the image and the object, has become integral to contemporary debates over fashion curricula. The conditions for these debates first emerged during the early 1990s, when notions about the sign value of commodities (Baudrillard, 1981; Lash & Urry, 1994) began to inform theories about 'cultural economy'. Ben Fine has discussed in detail how the notion of a cultural economy developed out of a "divorce between cultural studies and political economy" (Fine, 2002, 102). He describes how cultural studies practitioners rejected certain versions of political economy because these proved inadequate for understanding the relations between production and

[34] Ambivalence about the 'morality' of creative industries rhetoric was evident in this article for the business magazine *Unlimited*, which characterised fashion students as victims of the government's hype about fashion (Blomfield, 2002b).

consumption. [35] One of the first of the cultural studies thinkers to deploy the term 'cultural economy' was Angela McRobbie, in a Raymond Williams Memorial Lecture in 1995 (McRobbie, 1999). Later, her influential *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry* helped to promulgate the orthodoxy now current in knowledge economy literature, that professional creative workers wield special cultural knowledge that "actively produces new economies" (McRobbie, 1998b, 5-6). Much of the political economy research into the fashion industry still supports this distinction between a system of fashion as symbolic knowledge and the production of garments as material commodities (cf. Weller, 2003). Although the cultural studies position on 'cultural economy' was meant to be a way of "thinking culture and economy together" to avoid imposing *a priori* distinctions between cultural and economic processes (du Gay & Pryke, 2002, 8) it nevertheless lent impetus to the oscillation between expressive 'culture' and instrumental 'economy' as scholars attempted to show the economy becoming more cultural and the cultural becoming more economic (Lash & Urry, 1994, 64) – or, as Fredric Jameson said, "the becoming cultural of the economic, and the becoming economic of the cultural" (Jameson, 1998, 60). A normative version of cultural economy has been constituted by these attempts to think culture into the economy, rather than thinking culture and economy together[36]. According to Chris Gibson and Lily Kong (2005) this normative cultural economy has provided the script for policy recommendations for economic development, which can be summarised as follows. Firstly, contemporary capitalism is characterised by more recently dominant forms of accumulation, based on flexible production, the commodification of culture and the injection of symbolic 'content' into all commodity production. Some places do better than others from this: those that have highly skilled, creative, innovative, adaptive workforces, sophisticated telecommunications infrastructures, interesting and diverse populations, and relatively low levels of government interference in regulating access to markets, as well as lifestyle attractions, restaurants and arts institutions to attract the new creative class (Florida, 2002). In order to compete in the new cultural economy, authorities should seek to implement particular policy initiatives: encourage

[35] See also Hesmondhalgh, (2007, 33-50) for a discussion of differences and commonalities among political economy, cultural studies and cultural economy approaches to this topic.

[36] See Hinde & Dixon (2007) on the multidisciplinary historical roots of cultural economy theory.

cultural industry clusters, incubate learning and knowledge economies, maximise networks with other successful sites and companies, value and reward innovation, and aggressively campaign to attract the 'creative class' as residents.

I will comment further on the significance of this 'normative cultural economy' later in the chapter. For the present it is sufficient to note how the binary of 'symbolic' and 'material' knowledge structures employers' critiques of creative education. For example, a common assumption is that fashion students have been seduced by the glamorous image of the industry, only to have their dreams shattered when they enter the reality of the job market. The New Zealand scoping study for the Fashion Design Industry, in which design students were described as "somewhere between a Rock Star and Artist designing mainly with a sketchbook and directing a group of able production people" (Blomfield, 2002a, 26) represents this 'upstairs/downstairs' (as one of my interview subjects described it), class-based division of labour, which separates those who design from those who produce, those who sketch from those who sew (McRobbie, 1998b, 38).

Blomfield's opinion about the mismatch in fashion education was subsequently cited in research by the New Zealand Trade Consortium and the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, in support of their argument that the decline in unskilled wages in New Zealand was not due to globalisation and trade liberalisation, but to the rapidly increasing numbers of employees with bachelors and higher degrees. They argued that fashion students

> ...leave three or four year courses in generalist creative studies, sometimes with little operational experience, to find industries in which most people are freelancers, or where permanent jobs for young people are in low-paid support roles. In some cases there is such a large mismatch between the capability and aspirations of the graduates, and the needs of the employers, that potential employers will not even consider such graduates (Lattimore *et al.*, 2002, 9).

Industries were complaining about the shortage of skilled technical people. Too many people wanted to be designers but there were not enough with the technical skills to make the clothes. Design skills alone would not sustain the industry and the students were paying for an education that was not preparing them for employment in the industry. As the economists argued, "[t]here is potential here for a waste of resources" (Lattimore *et al.*, 2002,10).

At a Fashion Industry New Zealand (FINZ) education conference in 2005 the chair of FINZ described fashion degree graduates as "poor deluded darlings"[37] who were choosing to be "impoverished solo designers selling things to their friends"[38] rather than well-paid, professional team members in globally-connected enterprises. Tertiary fashion education also attracted criticism in a FINZ survey of the apparel industry

> ...with 65% of those surveyed indicating a high degree of concern that the curriculums [sic] of many fashion schools are not satisfactorily aligned with industry needs and that the system fails to adequately prepare graduates for the realities of the workplace.
>
> "They seem to take a very creative approach to design, but I worry about the lack of commercial grounding. There is a place in the industry for some of these graduates, but not for the numbers currently being produced," says Chrissy Conyngham, who heads Pumpkin Patch's 30-strong design and support team (FINZ, 2005, unpaged).

So while education policy discourse promoted the development of "a broad set of creative skills" in the "creative knowledge industries" (Ministry of Education, 2002) (albeit in terms *so* broad as to be practically meaningless) employers pointed out that the rag trade could not exist on image alone and that students need to be taught other things than being creative (Whittle, 2001).

These objections could be attributed to multiple factors. For example, as well as the ideologies about creative fashion design identities, they could indicate lobbying by industry agents who were trying to offset the costs of building sector-specific capabilities, or employers' uncertain responses to new 'professional' identities of fashion graduates. Mostly, employers voiced concern about the *numbers* of graduates, who were seen as a waste of tertiary education funding since firms still needed to bear the costs of in-house training (Stevens, 1999; Wolf, 2004). Their negativity towards graduates might also be viewed as an *exclusionary* move. With a glut of similarly qualified design graduates in the labour market, employers needed to find ways to justify *not* hiring them. As Brown & Hesketh (2004) show in their study of employability and jobs in the knowledge economy, graduates find themselves excluded from employment by a

[37] Susie Walker, chair of Fashion Industry New Zealand & Design and Marketing Manager, Hart Industries (FINZ Education Conference, 12 August 2005)
[38] ibid

lack of ability to capitalise on their 'personal qualities' and cultural assets, as much as by the appropriateness of their training. Even when people have all the skills to make them employable they may fail to find suitable jobs. Another factor in employers' objections could have related to the way students have been 'connected to knowledge' in professional training. The way this happens in a university setting results in graduates feeling that they lack experience, which is then read by employers as a lack of knowledge. As Smeby (2007) maintains, this should not only be interpreted as displaying weaknesses in educational programmes because it can also indicate that graduates have developed a 'wanting structure' and have developed a need for continuous improvement of their professional knowledge.

While analysis of the above – i.e. political lobbying, exclusionary moves by employers, students' experiences of professional practice, and no doubt many other causes – could be sought to explain conflicted experiences of fashion curricula, my interest is in the way the signifier *creativity*, particularly when linked to the cultural practices of art, works to unify these otherwise disparate and heterogeneous set of discourses and practices. It is clear that the 'economic' critiques of fashion training have hinged upon a supposition that New Zealand fashion programmes conform to McRobbie's description of those in the UK, which she said were in the tradition of fine art. This tradition informed fashion designers' identities and explained "why they see their work ideally as pieces to be hung on the wall, and more reluctantly as pieces of clothing" (McRobbie, 1999, 13).

McRobbie's work on fashion has been an important influence on my project. She says it is the task of the sociologist to examine the discursive means by which 'inner qualities' such as creativity are "new forms of disciplining, new regimes of power all the more effective because they are connected with freedom and self-realization" (McRobbie, 2002b, 104). However, she does not attempt to answer her own question about what it means to be creative. She suspects that a commitment to notions of personal creativity gives young fashion designers a utopian idea of "breaking down the distinction between dull work and enjoyable leisure" (McRobbie, 1999, 27). According to her analysis, some sociologists see the emergence of the freelance economy and flexible jobs as being forced to live with insecurity and then "learning to love it", while others view the re-definition of

work as creative as a successful way to produce 'docile bodies' for new relations of production.

> A Bourdieusean take would be that the production of culture is internally differentiated by class and by those who possess different levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993). He would see the middle classes being especially anxious to assert a reasonably secure place for themselves in this new economy of culture (McRobbie, 1999, 27).

McRobbie would go with whichever is more "useful" to get across her point about taking the cultural economy, particularly fashion design, more seriously. She argues for labour policies that would make fashion "a better place of work" and provide better support for fashion as a source of livelihoods, pleading for an analysis that gets to grips with the transformations in fields of cultural production that are producing small-scale cultural entrepreneurs across the spectrum of class, gender and ethnicity. According to McRobbie, government policies tend to see fashion design only in terms of the void left by the decline of Fordist industry, and do not recognise transformations in work that sees having one's own label as "simultaneously an overwhelming desire on the part of the many fashion graduates leaving art school every year and also a realistic response to the alternative of unemployment" (McRobbie, 1999, 65).

McRobbie could be accused of being "distracted by nostalgia for forms of government that have now passed" (Dean, 1999, 207). It is important to note that her empirical work was grounded in research carried out over a decade ago, at a time when the relevance of an art school education for fashion designers in the UK faced a double challenge. Firstly, during this period most fashion designers were art school graduates (Crane, 2000), and their frequent business failures were being attributed to a commercially naïve art school education. The second challenge involved the distinctive institutional environment that had developed in the British art school sector. The great majority of art and design education providers were outside the universities, and had little of the academic culture that had developed in universities during the 20th century (Rust, Mottram, & Till, 2007). The shift of art and design colleges to university status in 1992 had fundamentally challenged the way that art school academics worked and perceived their roles. It "brought some dramatic changes and in many ways Art and Design can still be seen as emergent academic disciplines despite their long history" (Rust *et al.*, 2007, 14).

In contrast, New Zealand fashion education has not had a separate art school culture. Fashion design was not taught at university art schools, but was part of the polytechnic system, which did not begin awarding degrees through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority until 1996. The separate trajectory of New Zealand 'creative fashion design' is important precisely because it does not map onto the British landscape where creative industry sectors were first surveyed.

One of the results of contestations over educational cultures in British fashion design was that it became a truism that "fashion departments in academic institutions have favoured theory over hands-on experience and the craft involved in creating a garment" (Duggan, 2001, 254). This was not the case in New Zealand, where until very recently fashion programmes retained much of the curricula of old polytechnic training, were resistant to the incursion of 'theory'[39] and where students are still required to practice the craft of fashion. Indeed, the category of 'unemployable' creative worker, which New Zealand employers were complaining about when the Creative Industries projects began in 2002, is perhaps only now beginning to be produced, ironically as a result of the discourses and practices of educational and economic reform for which the employers were lobbying. For example, the growing cohort of graduates of higher degree programmes in fashion must now engage with contemporary fashion 'theory', which takes their practice well out of the realm of design for industry. Similarly, the requirements of the Performance–Based Research Fund (PBRF) channel research by fashion staff through the Creative and Performing Arts panel, whose reviewers represent the visual arts and crafts; theatre and dance, film and television and multimedia; as well as design. This is a clear example of how discourses of reform that arise in specific political contexts cannot be taken as

> ... merely functional responses to, or legitimations of, already existing economic interests or needs. Rather than simply reflecting a pre-given social world, they themselves actively 'make up' a social reality and create new ways for people to be... (du Gay, 1996 p. 53, cited in Thrift, 2005, 30).

[39] For example, in 2008 Massey University's Honours Degree in Fashion had no core papers in design studies or cultural theory.

Linking creativity to culture

Another 'cultural economy' logic is intrinsic to the second dilemma for fashion educators. This logic is visible in the Marxian 'culturalist' critique of creative industries, which produces a literature that conveys an idea of "vampire" industries (Ursell, 2000, 816) sucking their energy from a "pool of amateur desire" (Gibson, 2003, 205). Avid consumers of cultural products are inspired to have a go at their own creative production. They are willing to invest in an education that holds out the opportunity of working in their chosen field. Universities are important because they generate the cultural milieu that supports the 'soft innovation' networks of the new economy (Crewe & Beaverstock, 1998; Fleming, 1999; Gibson, 2003; Rantisi, 2002; Scott, 1997), providing a valuable labour reservoir of "young romantics who are willing to work for nothing" (Gibson, 2003, 206). As directors of the Queensland Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI) put it, there is a symbiotic but indirect relationship between the development of the creative industries and the education sector via the sharing of human capital (Cunningham, 2004b; Hartley, 2005).

An example of this symbiosis is the relation between fashion schools and fashion shows. One of the ways that fashion has been constituted as a creative industry in New Zealand is through the spectacle of Fashion Week (Lewis *et al.*, 2007) that provides a domestic setting for the staging of individual brands. Fashion Weeks might be described as 'field–configuring events', which in management and organisational studies terminology,

> ...comprise microcosms of a nascent technology, industry, or market. Examples include tradeshows, professional conferences, technology contests, governmental hearings, and public business ceremonies that directly and indirectly affect the origination, gestation, and constitution of new technologies, industries, and markets. They are settings in which people from diverse organizations and with diverse purposes assemble periodically, or on a one-time basis, to announce new products, develop industry standards, construct social networks, recognize accomplishments, share and interpret information, and transact business (Lampel, Meyer, & Ventresca, 2005, 1099).

A key criterion for the media success of a Fashion Week is to have new designer names. Finding designers been no problem for organisers in New Zealand

– there are always "interesting new designers trying to make their name" (Blomfield, 2002a, 59). The issue of concern is not so much how to find aspiring designers, but how to manage the event process so that a constant supply of these aspirants are willing and enabled to show. The problem of maintaining a supply of new generation designers has been investigated by Douglas Keeve in the 2005 documentary *Seamless*. The movie follows the establishment of a competition by the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) and American *Vogue* magazine to encourage upcoming fashion talent who are judged to have the business sense to survive in the marketplace. Each year, one winner and two runners-up receive business mentoring from a team of fashion industry professionals, and $50,000-$200,000 each to pursue their own design plan[40]. The stories of these designers, some of whom already have global retail outlets that would endow them with iconic status in the New Zealand context, provide a salutary lesson about the tiny scale of the New Zealand designer fashion industry on which so much governmental rhetoric is pinned.

Unlike the CFDA/*Vogue* competition, similar talent initiatives in New Zealand are not sponsored by insiders in a system of fashion provision, but are supported by naming rights for brands such as Vodaphone, Westfield or Air New Zealand. Young designers win a few thousand dollars, an overseas trip or the keys to a Volkswagon for a year. They take up short internships with New Zealand's fashion elite and are 'seminared' about business strategy by government officials and entrpreneurial role models. Still, according to a newspaper interview with the originator of the New Zealand Fashion Weeks, Pieter Stewart,

> ...for reasons no one quite understands, New Zealand is strong in fashion. Stewart boasts of being able to put together Fashion Week with 50 New Zealand designers, something she says the Australians can't match. She says the Sydney show would struggle without the New Zealand presence (Corbett, 2003).

However, few of these new generation designers will achieve the business success and celebrity of the established names in New Zealand fashion who benefited from being at the leading edge of the 'Knowledge Wave' (Prince, 2003).

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40 http://cfda2007.com/index.php?option=com_cfda_content&task=education_display&category_id=36

It doesn’t seem like work to me

> *It doesn't seem like work to me. It’s like an artist. An artist just does whatever he wants to, and can just sit around all day and paint when you feel like it* (Fashion student).

If the economic logic of the employers’ critique of fashion design training focuses attention on the seduction of human capital by art, the Marxian ‘culturalist’ critique suggests that art is seduced by the capitalist economy. This perspective shows a particular creative subjectivity becoming an integral part of a new regulatory regime. ‘Creativity’ and ‘flexibility’, which were once attributes of the artist, are now valorised as universally desirable (Vishmidt, 2005). The young 'commercial creatives' of the urban arts, design, music and fashion scene described in the *Idealog* article cited in my introduction are viewed as a “creative proletariat” (Arvidsson, 2007) who are happy to live in precarious straits and who no longer recognise the fordist distinction between free time and working time. These creative subjects are programmed into a new style of living in which the “instrumental action that used to be work, something performed by workers, literally is freed up in order to become something that is no longer work, something that feels more like Art” (Terranova, 2006, 33). Patrik Aspers (2006) argues in his ethnographies of European and American fashion photographers and garment workers that this ‘creative aesthetic work’ occupies a place somewhere on the continuum between economic work and free artistic creation.

> By talking about work, I see it as an economic activity, i.e. something for which you are paid. That is, the activities I refer to are separate from art because they are part of the capitalistic economy; hence evaluated in terms of profit. Design of garments, for example, must be related to the activities of these firms in economic markets, where profit is the ultimate goal. Pure art revolves around values of uniqueness, innovation and creativity (without money as an end goal). This represents creative aesthetic activity, though not work. Creative aesthetic work, thus, can be seen as a mixture of these two ‘pure types’ of activities, artistic and economic (Aspers, 2006, 749).

It is this creative aesthetic work that fashion students aspire to, as I was told in interviews.

> *I've only really thought of fashion design probably starting like, seriously, just last year, because it's a scary thing to get yourself into, I think, with the whole stuff my parents had said about it being [hard] and not much jobs and things, and then, just getting into the design last year, and talking to my lecturer, and my opinions changed. And it was like, "Mm... that would be so cool, it'd be so cool to do", but it was like it couldn't happen, you know? And then it was kind of like "Nope, I can do it!"*

Work in fashion might be precarious, but what matters is that it is 'cool' (Neff, Wissinger, & Zukin, 2005). Marxist theories about these new types of aesthetic work draw on the concept of 'immaterial labour' in which value increasingly comes from a "general productivity of the social body – dispersed through technologies and human bodies, connected in new, shifting assemblages" (Terranova, 2006, 29). This is what Marx foresaw as an evolution of the 'general intellect', "in which abstract knowledge (primarily but not only scientific knowledge) is in the process of becoming nothing less than the main force of production and will soon relegate the repetitious and segmented labour of the assembly-line to a residual position" (Virno, 2007, 3). Paolo Virno (2007) updated Marx's concept as 'mass intellectuality', which he describes as a "real abstraction with an operational materiality" that organises production processes and life-worlds in post-Fordist, post-industrial or network societies. "From the point of view of the evolution of the general intellect, it is the whole of social life – from childrearing to new forms of sexuality, from making music or videos on one's home computer to watching TV, from inventing new ways of dressing to making up a new way of speaking – that produces wealth" (Terranova, 2006, 29).

This is a new, affective type of labour, "a kind of fun that takes a lot of effort" (Himanen, 2001, 19) like the so-called 'hacker ethic', with which it shares many ideological points of contact (Wark, 2006). This new mode of production strains the analytical categories that used to apply to an industrial economy, as noted by the *International Journal of Cultural Studies* in a call for a forthcoming special issue on *co-creative* labour. As one of the journal editors, Mark Deuze, asks in his blog, "Are these emerging phenomena best understood as a form of labor?" "Can this phenomenon be explained as the exploitative extraction of

surplus value from the work of [...] consumers, or is something else potentially more profound and challenging playing out here?" [41]

The notion of *co-creation* (Sanders & Stappers, 2008) refers to the way consumers increasingly participate in the production of products, media content and experiences. Because certain commodities have been able to generate communities around the experience of their consumption, value can be 'co-created' out of obsessions that may not necessarily ever be objectified into industrialised products or objects, but which find their own fulfilment in the activities themselves. According to geographer Nigel Thrift (2005; 2006), consumer co-creation indicates a new tendency in capitalist commodification that reworks "what is meant by the commodity from simply the invention of new commodities to the capture or configuration of new worlds into which these commodities are inserted" (Thrift, 2006, 288).

Yuniya Kawamura's (2006) research on Japanese teens as producers of street fashion furnishes an example of how this new mode of production works. Instead of trained designers and merchandisers, teen-targeted fashion labels rely on producing new styles generated by street-wise consumers and *karisuma tenin* or 'charismatic salesgirls' in Tokyo's Shibuya district. These creative aesthetic workers are forming what employment researchers Warhurst and Nixon (2007) describe as "a new labour aristocracy" whose particular cultural capital and corporeality attracts a cult-like following. In the case of street fashion, the "fast-changing tastes of consumers are matched only by the cleverness of the department store that identifies trendsetters among their young consumers and feeds their knowledge into the production cycle" (Aspers & Skov, 2006, 810). The production of street fashion is an example of the 'general intellect', connected and dispersed through a shifting assemblage of technologies and human bodies. The labour of the young consumer-designers is 'immaterial' in they do not expect to make a profit, neither do they "need formal skills, nor even understanding, of clothes production or marketing in order to do their job" (Aspers & Skov, 2006, 810). The Tokyo department store also has similarities to the networked innovation described by J.C. Herz (2005) in her article 'Harnessing The Hive'.

[41] http://deuze.blogspot.com/2007/10/call-special-issue-on-co-creative-labor.html

Herz writes about massively networked innovation in the software industry, of which computer games are the 'bleeding edge':

> This is the church of open, modular, extensible and distributed platforms for all manner of commercial and leisure activities. The creed is 'let a thousand flowers bloom, as long as they sprout in my garden' (Herz, 2005, 328).

As Tiziana Terranova also argues, the concept of immaterial labour means that 'work' should no longer be viewed as the exclusive domain of economic relations and political struggle. The notion of co-creation also questions the modern emphasis on creativity as an autonomous sphere. Innovative genius lies not in the 'creative singularity' of "one brilliant vision washing onto a million screens" (Herz, 2005, 328), but in community-driven, user-generated content or commons-based peer production, as in the example of Tokyo's street fashion.

Co-creation can also involve brands attempting to bring consumers into a closer relationship by inviting them to take part in the creative process. This includes strategies for letting people customise and personalise their purchases, as with StyleShake [42], an e-store and community that allows customers to design their own dresses. Other co-creation strategies involve creative design competitions or creative workshops with target customers [43]. For example, the sewing machine brand Bernina ('Creating Your World') runs the Young Designer of the Year Fashion Award for secondary schools in New Zealand[44], as well as sponsoring a costume design competition for an annual Shakespeare in Schools event involving tens of thousands of school pupils. Not only do competition organisers promote "the growing significance that costume design has in this country" (SGCNZ & Bernina NZ Ltd, 2005), but the competition can also be assessed for the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), which is the key qualification on New Zealand's "pathway to tertiary education and workplace training" (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2003). Competition winners report their "aim to follow their passion for creativity to pursue study at design school" (SGCNZ & Bernina NZ Ltd, 2005). Clearly this has some relation to the creativity explosion.

[42] http://www.styleshake.com/user/
[43] http://www.customercrossroads.com/customercrossroads/2007/04/cocreation_and_.html
[44] http://www.yda.org.nz/fashion.asp

The relations between the ideas, subjects and institutions of cultural economy and creative industry are complex and co-constitutive. For instance, government strategies for designer fashion have focused on promoting and supporting events such as Fashion Weeks[45] partly because these provide convenient bounded sites for generating measurable outputs from orders and sales figures, but also, as the New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE) website says, because designer fashion is a high-profile industry that has an "…ability to attract media attention (and) influence international perceptions of New Zealand as innovative and trend setting" [46].

So one of the ways designer fashion is being constituted as a creative industry is through the tactical efforts of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise in brokering deals that connect the promotional requirements of luxury and consumer brands with individuals competitively seeking to establish their own name, an example of the after-neoliberal state taking the form of a mediator between individuals and economy, rather than, for instance, legislator of economic and social relations (Osborne, 2004). Promotional fashion events have a role in constructing the creative ecology of designer fashion, and rely on a stream of talent emerging from fashion schools, but they are not integrated into a chain of textile production and manufacture as was originally the case with the French couture shows, or the fashion shows sponsored by the New Zealand Wool Board in the 1970s. Instead they form part of a different system of fashion provision. Vertically disintegrated organizations operate their promotional mechanisms in unrelated industry sectors, so that fashion shows are now vehicles for a variety of other organizational, institutional, or national purposes. For instance, Mercedes Benz became involved in encouraging young New Zealanders to become fashion designers. The Mercedes Benz Start Up Award was set up as an annual incubator programme for emerging designers. It capitalised, as its press release said, on the "huge pool of talent emerging in New Zealand. [It is] a programme that does not dictate a theme for designers to work towards, but rather seeks to understand and critique the true design and business integrity of each emerging brand as they choose to present themselves". Mercedes Benz called its promotion

[45] http://www.creativelondon.org.uk/
[46] http://www.nzte.govt.nz/section/11756.aspx

> …a breeding ground and industry support mechanism to ensure that New Zealand and the world's best new generation designers are seen, heard and importantly supported in their challenging phase of starting a successful new wholesale fashion business. A similar program is also run throughout Asia with finals staged in Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore (Rodwell, 2005).

This award disappeared in 2007, but not before it had generated much publicity about the potential of New Zealand fashion design. Other promotional activities include the Deutz Fashion Design Ambassador Awards, or the Air New Zealand 'Global Search for Karen Walker's New Design Assistant'. These examples of co-creative promotional strategies by brands successfully create star-track ideals for would-be designers, but they are only incidentally connected to New Zealand education programmes or manufacturing, and have no long-term investment in infrastructural 'industry support'. Instead they promote a deterritorialised, transnational system of fashion production and diffusion, in which a new generation of design talent can be 'discovered' and set to work in an informational landscape of new media technologies. As Thrift might argue, these brand strategies extend the commodity to the capture and configuration of the world into which they are inserted (Thrift, 2006, 288).

Thrift contends that consumer co-creation is not simply about consumers becoming vital to the design of new commodities. Rather, we are seeing a new mode of production in which persons are 'trained-up' to be affectively bound to a practice that he attempts to describe as *neuro-aesthetic forethought* and which I would name 'creativity'. This begins to "form a new distribution of the sensible which simultaneously constitutes a living means of generating more and more invention. It is as if someone had found a way to form and then mine a new phenomenological substrate" (Thrift, 2006, 296).

Herein lies the second area of 'undecidability' (Laclau, 1994) for fashion educators. When products are understood to be co-created by the passions, enthusiasms and experiences of consumers, it becomes difficult to determine what constitutes 'production', 'consumption', 'commodity', 'the market', 'innovation' or indeed 'creativity' (Thrift, 2006, 282). This has obvious implications for the way an instrumentalist fashion education can be conceived. If a division of labour between producers, distributors and consumers, or amateurs and professionals no

longer obtains, how are “universities to identify key performance indicators related to their contribution to economic growth” in the form of “increased economic outcomes for their graduates, creation of business spin-offs, or effective research collaboration with business”, as directed in TEOs’ current investment guidance plan? (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007).

Critiques of higher education have paid attention to the various techniques used to encourage institutions to increase their efficiency of provision and strengthen accountability to students and employers (Marginson, 2003a; Olssen & Peters, 2005). However, no critical attention has been given to how TEOs pinpoint who these employers are imagined to be, or how 'industries' are constituted in order that tertiary institutions can be accountable to them.

‘Learning and doing’ in fashion

The current consensus about the role of fashion designers in a knowledge economy, is that

> [t]heir work creates a bridge between the physical characteristics of garments, their social meanings, and the imaginations of consumers...[D]esign workers apply skilled ‘techniques of enchantment’ which saturate commodities with meanings that reflect cultural knowledges...that generate emotional responses in consumers.
>
> The communication of style through its incorporation into objects requires a highly specialised and knowledge-intensive technical division of labour. Designers are a segment of the labour force that provides [...] a ‘critical infrastructure’ of knowledge intensive specialisations (Weller, 2003, 88-89).

The “highly specialised and knowledge-intensive technical division of labour” is thought to have been fundamental to capitalist economies since at least the 17th century:

> Fashion or the alteration of Dress, is a great Promoter of Trade, because it occasions the Expense of Cloaths, before the Old ones are worn out: It is the Spirit and Life of Trade, It makes a Circulation and gives a Value by Turns, to all sorts of Commodities; keeps the great Body of Trade in Motion; it is an Invention to Dress a Man, as if he lived in a perpetual Spring; he never sees the autumn of his Cloaths. (N. Barbon, A Discourse

of Trade, London, 1690 cited in Breward, 1995, 128).

According to Chris Breward (2005), a particular sort of person called a designer began to emerge in all kinds of product areas during the mid-19th century. The designer had the important role of stamping their authority on the production of fashionable styles. He (it was always a he) was a person who could incorporate experience and understanding of modernity into a well-promoted personal vision and whose "practical skills in communicating novel ideas eased the smooth relationship between the production and consumption of goods necessary in a capitalist provision, and ensured the new products carried the requisite cachet to stand out in an overcrowded marketplace" (Breward & Evans, 2005, 23). Fashion designers continued to perform this 'knowledge work' for 20th century clothing production systems, such as haute couture and ready-to-wear, and more recently, the new production and distribution system of 'fast fashion' (Reinach, 2005), which is exemplified by fashion brands such as Zara, Supre, Sportsgirl and Dotti. These also require new types of 'intensively specialised knowledge worker' such as the 'coolhunter', the 'trend advisor' and the 'celebrity stylist' who function as the agents needed to link back into disaggregated commodity chains and forward into the current consumer obsessions (Thrift, 2006).

The cultural economy rationale that sees trends and styles as new forms of knowledge work are challenge enough for contemporary fashion education programmes, which now need to introduce courses in 'trend forecasting' – a kind of pseudo-scientific 'neuro-aesthetic forethought'. However, this is nothing compared with speculation about new moves in capitalist provision that would require fashion education to be founded on the intention of affectively binding consumers to practices of creativity. But this is indeed one way of interpreting the 'creativity explosion' in tertiary education.

Questions about how students are learning to labour for this new creative economy, as well as precisely what tertiary fashion design courses are expected to teach them, tend to be structured by the logic of this normative 'cultural economy'. Gibson and Kong 's (2005) review of cultural economy approaches in cultural geography outlines four distinct interpretations, each of which represents an attempt to think culture into the economy and each of which imposes its own set of difficulties and implications. These approaches are useful to relate to my own research questions. They are "the sectoral delineation of cultural economy, the

labour market and organization of production approach, the creative index definition, and the convergence of formats as a defining feature of the cultural economy" (Gibson & Kong, 2005, 542). According to Gibson and Kong's analysis, attempts to delineate a cultural economy by *production sector* have created enormous conceptual and methodological difficulties, requiring arbitrary decisions about which commodities do or do not have the requisite amount of semiotic content to count as part of the cultural economy. In clothing, for example, distinctions must be made between fashion items and basic workwear, distinctions that obviously become problematic if a workwear item becomes fashionable. Another way of attempting to pin down a cultural economy has been through the study of *labour markets and modes of production* (Hesmondhalgh, 1996, 1998; Scott, 1996, 2001, 2002). Because many of the distinguishing characteristics of work in the cultural economy defy the Fordist/post-Fordist categories that understandings of labour and production are built upon, this approach can be only partially helpful. The understanding of 'work' in a cultural economy now has to expand to include ideas about consumer co-creation and affective labour. A third research approach is the *definition of a creative index*, in which the ability to innovate and carry out research and development across a range of industries is taken as central to economic growth (Florida, 2002). However, the rush to produce indices of creativity leads to a reductive understanding of cultural activity and reduces contradictions and interpretations to a numerical scale. For example, Anne Creigh-Tyte (2005) has studied the difficulty of measuring designer fashion by the standard occupational codes and critiques the unproblematic use of these in the UK Creative Industries mapping document. A fourth research approach tries to define the cultural economy as a sector dominated by the trade in and protection of intellectual property rights engendered by the *convergence of formats* (Aksoy, 1992; Pratt, 2000; Sadler, 1997) and the reliance of creative products on common digital platforms. This requires a strategic understanding of cultural economy that can take into account the way new technologies might be exploited and governed. The effect of the convergence of digital and 'analogue fashion outputs' (Cunningham, 2002) has not yet been studied, although graduate research projects in fashion design are beginning to put the concept into practice (Deonarain, 2008).

While each of these separate accounts has its own specific research agenda, it is their cumulative effect that is more important to my research project. As

Gibson and Kong point out, there has been a "flourish of activity" from researchers in economic and cultural geography, sociology, media and communications studies, urban planning and economics. It is clear that a hegemonic 'cultural economy' has been brought into existence through the processes of academic knowledge production. Discourses not connected beforehand have been brought together by the idea of a cultural economy, partly through the struggles of academics to find a way to represent something that is going on. As Gibson and Kong put it, "(t)here is an ironic circularity at work here: normative cultural economy constitutes that which it seeks to document and becomes part of the cultural economy itself" (Gibson & Kong, 2005, 551). A good example of this normalising work can be seen in Sarah Hinde and Jane Dixon's claim that the conceptual blurring of culture and economy leads to a lack of insight into people's everyday lives, an over-emphasis on the role of culture in shaping economy, and neglect of research into "how cultural systems are being assembled by economic actors and processes whether to aid the economic performance or, as Miller (2002) suggests, as an unintended by-product of it" (Hinde & Dixon, 2007, 409). They call for an application of Bourdieu's ideas about fields, habitus and capital in "doing cultural economy"[47]. In resisting the idea of a cultural economy, Hinde and Dixon's work nevertheless literally assembles economic anthropology, economic sociology, cultural theory, political economy and political sociology into a representation of cultural economy, mapping the contributions of differing theorists, concepts and arguments to this new academic field.

In New Zealand, the cultural economy looms large in governmental fields of vision and new categories of governance have emerged through thinking about how to govern it. For example, a Ministry of Research, Science and Technology request for research proposals (RFP) [48] clearly indicates the way economic and cultural objectives have been imagined as separate but overlapping and how the notion of creative industries has supplied a category that allows specification of creative activities carried out with an economic development motivation. The RFP states:

[47] McRobbie has also described how to deploy Bourdieu in *The Uses of Cultural Studies* (McRobbie, 2005, 126 -137).
[48] This RFP resulted in a report *The Humanities—Charting a Way Forward* (Munro, 2005).

> Owing to the number of cultural and economic agencies working in an arts/culture arena for economic and/or cultural objectives, there may be potential overlaps and gaps in government investment. To the extent that these overlaps and gaps exist, they are likely to be particularly in the intersection of Economic Transformation (creative industries) and National Identity-focused (cultural industries) activities.
>
> NZTE's investments, predominantly directed at Economic Transformation, are providing assistance for particularly large scale or easily commercialised creative industries projects. In contrast, much National Identity-focused support, provided by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Creative New Zealand and other agencies, assists primarily in the development of less commercial cultural sector creative projects in pursuit of cultural and artistic goals. Economic goals in these areas are generally secondary and are often focused more on capacity building and sustainability than on net economic growth.
>
> It is important for government policy, for all government agencies working in the creative and cultural industries arena, and for the relevant sectors themselves, that funding and development objectives, roles and responsibilities are clear and well understood. It is anticipated that the research report intended to be delivered through this contract will be a key instrument in assisting with that understanding (MoRST, c. 2005).

So the 'creativity explosion' is tied in complex ways to new economic imaginaries in which capitalist accumulation can be rejuvenated by producing norms of innovative and creative behaviour in the population. As the Minister of Research, Science and Technology claimed (misquoting Richard Florida), "access to talented and creative people is to modern business what access to coal and iron was to steelmaking" (Florida, 2002, 6; Maharey, 2007). Ideologies of contemporary capitalism rely upon this distinction between material and symbolic culture and are dependent upon assumptions that culture that can be commodified and symbolic 'content' can be injected into all commodity production (Gibson & Kong, 2005). As Thrift suggests though, the myth that a material world can be separated out from the social world of the imagination and from the world of symbols and semiotics, is gradually being replaced by a new myth in which 'learning and doing' bind the symbolic and material together (Thrift, 2005, 27).

Better By Design

As Jeffcut and Pratt (2002, 227) point out, the discussion of organization and management in cultural industries has been arranged around "essentialising dualisms". Creative freedom has implied organizational anarchy, whereas successful management is usually represented as a creativity–free zone. Creativity is something that needs to be strategically 'bought –in' to 'conventional' businesses (Jeffcut & Pratt, 2002) through creativity-enhancing initiatives, such as Better by Design (BBD). Better by Design is a governmental authority set up in order to insert creativity into New Zealand industry and is a good example of how a myth of material versus symbolic culture is 'fashioning creativity'. BBD is a design audit process, a 'technology of agency' (Dean, 1999) that targets SMEs with the object of transforming their status and making them more creative, more 'export-active' subjects. The New Zealand BBD process follows the British version of the same name. It was introduced to New Zealand as part of the Growth and Innovation Framework in March 2005, in order to promote design as a 'business enabler'. The key technology in BBD involves a six-stage 'design journey' which includes an in-depth assessment of current design capability, the production of a prioritised action plan and access to supporting funding to help integrate design into the business [49]. A press release by BBD about the fashion house *High Society* describes how the "process of having the company examined by an outside team of design assessors led to a huge cultural shift" giving them "a stronger sense of self" and the "tools ….to be far more original".

> Even things such as taking steps to ensure that our sample machinists understood they were part of the design process, making crucial prototypes, has helped their sense of purpose and pride [...] Everyone also now understands that our designers need time out of the office to gain inspiration – or to do research – and they're not swanning off to have a latte. That's resolved a previously unspoken resentment about what was seen as unnecessary absence (Better by Design, 2006).

[49] http://www.betterbydesign.org.nz/programmes/

High Society used to call themselves a clothing manufacturer and distributor but "now we know we're fashion designers." Here we see how a firm is organized as a rhetorical space, and how a certain meaning which was "fixated within the horizon of an ensemble of institutionalized practices" (Laclau, 2000, 78) can be displaced towards a new use. In this case the concept of a manufacturing 'industry' in which the worker is alienated (Braverman, c1974) and the designer marginalized (Davis & Scase, 2000), is displaced and rearranged by a new symbolic order of creativity. As Laclau argues, "the space of this tropological movement subverting the symbolic order is the place of the emergence of the Subject" (Laclau, 2000, 78), which for High Society, is Creative Industry.

Not that these new meanings are without contestation. Antagonistic forces in the BBD project try to keep 'innovation' separate from 'fashion' and 'creativity', terms which in modern industrial design discourse connote femininity, domesticity, ornamentation, display and consumption (Dalton, 2001; Sparke, 1995). According to one of the 'expert' design auditors carrying out the BBD initiative, many SMEs are confused about what design actually is. "They have put design into a little box as being more of a fashion thing. Our job has been to introduce design to them in another context - as being about invention and innovation" (Bond, 2005).

What might this mean for the 'poor deluded darlings' studying fashion? How does it impact on the judgement that "it's immoral the way we waste our youth, training them to do jobs that aren't there" (Blomfield, 2002b, unpaged)? Economists and employers have represented creative subjects as being the cause of labour shortages. Cultural theorists have represented creative labour as a new move in capitalist accumulation strategies. The upshot for fashion education is that economic critiques of 'cultural creativity' that privilege material knowledge contradict government programmes that aim to bolster symbolic knowledge, while critiques of the cultural economy suggest that the role of creativity in relations of production needs to be entirely rethought. To develop a more useful understanding of creative conducts, and to rethink the dilemma about what fashion students need to learn, we need first to historicise the context in which this version of creativity emerged as a 'normative doctrine' and treat its theorisation as culturally performative, rather than as empirically descriptive.

So how might a population come to 'be creative'? Rhetorical claims for or

against a creative economy do not, on their own, constitute subjectivities. My intention therefore was to investigate how a population (fashion students) might have come to make themselves governable as creative subjects. Thus this dissertation is not about the way the economy 'needs' creativity in a functionalist sense, in order to renew itself and squeeze ever more value out of accumulation processes (Thrift, 2006). Nor does it have ambitions to look in any detail at the ways in which political economic links between accumulation and the regulation of cultural labour are being strengthened in this new 'creative economy', although hopefully the thesis will help to underscore a shift in the relations between people and their labour and contribute to descriptions of how the reworking of material relations in this new economy are altering personhood (Adkins, 2005; Lury, 2003).

Chapter 4: Queering Creativity

The thesis

In this chapter I clarify and expand my theoretical approach to the topic. In summary– and ignoring the human actors – my thesis is founded on the following assumptions. From the late 1990s, in the UK, Australia and New Zealand, neo-liberal models of education governance (Fitzsimons, Peters, & Roberts, 1999; Olssen, 2004; St. George, 2006; Strathdee, 2003) began to be construed as dysfunctional and unable to deliver the "traits and attributes expected of citizens in a knowledge economy" (Sidhu, 2006, 45). At the same time, liberal humanist notions about creativity as one of the vital grounds of the self, and the practices of creativity as a means of expressing that self, gained a renewed significance as a result of new ways of 'thinking culture and economy together'. The notion of creativity, most commonly understood and performed through the social categories of art, had been built upon by neo-liberal rhetorics, which began to represent creativity as flexible human capital and a generic transferable skill required for new economy workers. All kinds of institutional and individual actors took advantage of the shifting opportunity structures that had been created by governmentally constituted quasi-markets in education to position themselves with 'creative' identities. 'Creativity' drew a range of previously antagonistic views into a precarious unity. Within various cultural organisations, including economic development agencies and universities, moves to strengthen a liberal arts agenda and retain creativity as 'arts knowledge' with high cultural capital rubbed up against counter-hegemonic strategies to enlist and develop more universal concepts about creativity as a collaborative endeavour vital to new forms of capitalist enterprise. An explosion of creativity discourse was produced and expressed in a variety of responses from actors in networks of creative education.

Within the particular field I discuss in this project, that of tertiary fashion education in New Zealand, this doctrine of liberal creativity is becoming hegemonic and is beginning to do significant work in service of an after-neoliberal *raison d'état*. This is interesting on a number of levels. Firstly, at the macro level, it is an example of how the parameters of the state are shifting and how it is relocating elements of its authority. The work that 'creativity' does in this process

helps to reformat, but also to maintain, the distinctions between self, economy and society by which a state can be politically ordered. Because creativity can be understood as an inherent part of human personality, necessary to the full expression of the human self, *and* because this has potential economic utility, various 'creative' conducts can now be represented as rational, self-interested behaviours with sustainable fiscal, as well as affective, payoffs. This is part of the fundamental redescription of individual agency as a form of the economic, which post-Foucauldian approaches have taken to be emblematic of neoliberalisation.

At another level, the rationalities of rule associated with neoliberalism have been generating a new regime of creative subjectification. Neoliberalising logics are said to involve the state governing better by governing less, but more entrepreneurially. As Paul du Gay argues, to govern better, the state must

> mobilise 'society' so that society can play an enhanced role in solving problems that have come to be seen as the sole province of the state to manage. This requires the responsibilization and autonomization of a host of actants – individual and collective – as conditions of its effectiveness (du Gay, 2007, 165).

One of the ways the state is 'managing' is by mobilising individual and collective actors to make the most of their creativity, so that creativity begins to constitute a moral principle that governs organisational and personal conduct. Anything that constrains the ability of individuals or collectives to be creative, whether it be a particular style of bureaucracy, education, government or corporate capitalism, becomes by definition anti-social, destructive of social relations and therefore legitimately subject to management by the national state.

The empirical evidence I present in this thesis is important because it shows that fashion education in New Zealand did not become 'creative' (in the liberal arts sense of the word) until *after* the mobilisation of political projects to facilitate economic and social development by rebuilding institutions " 'after' the failures of market-led neoliberalism" (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 2). The case of fashion design education demonstrates Bob Jessop's contention that "(t)echnologies of economic governance, operating sometimes more semiotically, sometimes more materially, constitute their own objects of governance rather than emerging in order to, or operating with the effect that, they govern already pre-constituted objects" (Jessop, 2004, 163). As fashion sociologist Yuniya Kawamura argues, from a study of how Japanese designers entered the French fashion system, "creativity is a legitimation

and a labeling process. One is not born creative but one becomes, that is, one is identified as, creative" (Kawamura, 2005, 60).

While the first part of this thesis has looked at the governmental assemblage of creative education, the next 3 chapters investigate how the identity of a creative persona is put together and how a certain prestige is attached to it. In the process, I question whether general theoretical accounts of subject formation are useful in developing an understanding of how the creative identities of fashion students are formed. I argue that the technical regimes of subjectification (Rose, 1996c) that 'make up' fashion students as autonomous, reflexive selves are characteristic of a particular after-neoliberal moment in tertiary education in New Zealand.

The remainder of this chapter sets out the main theoretical approaches I took to the first part of my inquiry. It explains how and why I used a variety (but not a miscegeny) of disciplinary tools to think about how persons *(students, business people, academics, government officials*), procedures *(policy-making, curriculum development, management and marketing processes)* and technologies *(assessment and certification regimes, performance-based funding tools, data returns, advertising, student indexes and career advice networks)* helped to bring 'creativity' into being in tertiary fashion education and how creativity is being maintained as an object of knowledge.

Broadly speaking, my concern was with the 'dividing practices' (Foucault, 2003c, 126) – the procedures and technologies – that make creative subjects possible. Exploring these was the first aim of the project and the literature on discourse theory and governmentality was the key influence on my thinking here. These are both indebted to the way Foucault construed liberal government as a productive power "not antithetical to freedom, subjectivity or resistance" (Howarth, 2000, 83). Foucault's problem was to see how people governed themselves and others by the production of 'truth', which he understood not as the "production of true utterances" but "as the establishment of domains in which the practice of true and false can be made at once ordered and pertinent" (Foucault, 1991b, 79). The literature resulting from the 'Foucault effect' (Burchell, Gordon, & Millar, 1991) offered a way to understand the *logic of subjectification* that was forming and transforming creativity though the restrictions and openings created by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations and tactics

assembled to allow educational government to be exercised by the self (Miller & Rose, 1990).

An apparatus of creativity

Foucault's work set me thinking about the proliferating discourses of creativity as a *dispositif* or apparatus, in much the same way that sexuality was put into discourse during the 18th and 19th centuries (Foucault, 1990). As with sexuality, a dispositif of creativity now provides a grid of interpretation that is immanent in many of the regulatory practices that govern contemporary social, economic and cultural relations. To underline this point, and needing some light entertainment, I found that Google currently indexes 77,100,000 pages on 'creativity', whereas 'sexuality' has only 65,300,000. 'Creative performance' also outdoes 'sexual performance' by more than three to one in web presence. This new obsession with the concept of creativity has been noted in scholarly work that engages with public and economic policy and the cultural industries (Jeffcut & Pratt, 2002, 225). Academic conference streams and special editions of journals have been devoted to the "rise of the new 'creative' imperative" (Rantisi, Leslie, & Christopherson, 2006, 1789). This work accepts that creativity has been naturalised, for "Who would want to be 'uncreative'?" (Jeffcut & Pratt, 2002, 225), and "Who could imaginably be *against* creativity?" (Osborne, 2003, 508). However, none of the literature makes the point that these endless discussions about creativity are not so much about its presence but its lack, not about creativity in its positivity but about its absence or constraint [50]. How to *become* creative, or to become *more* creative, or how to enable more diverse creativities to flourish, is the object of these accumulating discourses. For instance, a theme issue of *Environment & Planning A* highlighted the ways in which the "conventional wisdom of the creative economy" could be questioned (Rantisi *et al.*, 2006). The articles in this issue presented a creativity that was being developed, embedded,

[50] Thomas Osborne is an exception here. He writes "Above all, along with the notion of creativity always goes the problem of *inertia*, the resentment against those who are supposed to be preventing creativity, those who are holding things up, those who are saying 'wait a minute', those who are resisting certain kinds of change, against, indeed, all the constraints on creativity…"(Osborne, 2003, 520).

nurtured, thwarted or attenuated, and argued that creativity had to be made more plural, more democratic and more embodied.

We can see how in this way the dispositif of creativity elicits a similar attitude to the Victorian view on sex – creativity is ostensibly repressed, but the appearance of repression is only made possible through a whole series of tactical and positive interventions and surveillance:

> ...by the institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause it to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail (Foucault, 1990, 18).

It is not just that a new vocabulary of creative tactics has emerged by reflecting on the existing field of practices, but that a whole new notion of creativity is growing out of concern with types of conduct deemed problematic, through seeking to render these problems intelligible, and at the same time, manageable. This notion of creativity is being established through the never-concluding battles that attempt to fix the floating elements of signification, some of which I shall describe in the next chapter.

But to continue with the Foucauldian line of thought: when I realised the implications of the repressive hypothesis, I began to abbreviate the 'creativity explosion' in my notes to 'CEX' and to speculate whether art might be to creativity as gender is to sex. That is, as Judith Butler has explained:

> ...if gender is the cultural significance that the sexed body assumes, and if that significance is codetermined through various acts and their cultural perception, then it would appear that from within the terms of culture it is not possible to know sex as distinct from gender (Butler, 2006, 65).

Similarly, I began to wonder whether, within the terms of our culture, it would ever be possible to know what is *creative* as distinct from what we think is *art*. In other words, if art is the cultural significance that the creative body assumes, is creativity a performative achievement, sustained through the production and repetition of the corporeal signs and practices of art? If so, who or what decides and specifies the symptoms creativity is allowed to exhibit?

Hypothesis of constraint

In his introduction to *The History of Sexuality,* Foucault aimed to oppose the *repressive hypothesis* not by showing it to be mistaken, but by "putting it back within a general economy of discourses on sex in modern societies since the seventeenth century" (Foucault, 1990, 11). He saw the repressive hypothesis as being rooted in a *juridico–discursive* understanding of power in Western societies in which:

> …power is seen to constrain freedom by repression and prohibitions, such that the power of truth and knowledge can be seen to challenge power in the name of greater freedom or sexual licence. This model is attractive because it benefits those intellectuals and protesters who speak out against power and domination in the name of a universal truth or reason, and it bolsters the understandings of power in liberal democratic regimes (Howarth, 2000, 74).

Thus the hypothesis that creativity is *constrained, attenuated, occluded or repressed* – in individuals, schools, workplaces, cities, economies, networks and nations – is as prevalent in scholarly articles that challenge contemporary expressions of 'corporatised' or 'neoliberal' creativity as it is in those that seek to advance them. This *hypothesis of constraint* reinforces the idea that creativity plays a primary role in the development of capitalist social relations, and is merely functional to the overarching needs of capitalist production and reproduction. So, for example, Keith Negus and Michael Pickering (2000) write that:

> The residues of Romanticism informing the sense of creativity operating ideally as a free play of productive forces which are always in danger of being shackled by institutional, bureaucratic and economic monoliths provides us with a crude and simplistic picture which serves only to obscure the actual asymmetries of power and resources that distinguish those involved in various sectors and spheres of cultural production around the world. Such a model, implying the need for (an ill-defined) freedom, would seem of little value in trying to account for creative work that has emerged from conditions of outright oppression or social exclusion (Negus & Pickering, 2000, 278- 279).

The structure of Negus and Pickering's critique of Romantic ideology preserves intact a 'true' creativity that can be opposed to oppressive and exclusionary forms of power. According to Foucault, this is to invoke a juridico-

discursive model that pits those 'on the side of power' against those 'on the side of resistance', drawing a line between true and false statements by invoking the power of an underlying causal logic. This opposition occludes the way power relations and fields of knowledge are directly implicated in constituting each other and in producing certain powerful forms of behaviour and experience. The creativity which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle. With this understanding left out of the picture, explanations of the character and operation of creativity must rely upon models of ideology that "always stand in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth" (Foucault, 2003d, 306). Such explanations presuppose a "conception of human subjectivity that is either deceived by the operation of ideology, or able to break decisively with false beliefs and become enlightened" (Howarth, 2000, 79). In relation to my own project, this thinking would cause a three-fold problem. If I was to understand creative students as dupes of a neoliberal ideology, 'poor deluded darlings' whom I might be able to enlighten, then I would be reifying neoliberalism, re-essentialising creativity and collaborating with power rather than finding some way to frustrate it.

The problem is to pose the question of power in a way that does not keep power "subordinate to the economic instance and the system of interests this served" (Foucault, 2003d, 305). In order to do this, it is necessary to:

> ….dispense with the constituent subject…that's to say, to arrive at an analysis that can account for the constitution of a subject within a historical framework…[a genealogy]… that can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects and so on, without having to make reference to a subject that is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history (Foucault, 2003d, 306).

The ideological stance that Foucault tried to avoid is prevalent in contemporary critiques of cultural policy. These typically point out how cultural programmes and institutions of creativity serve state interest by producing self-regulating subjects devoted to capital accumulation. For example, Jenny Lawn in her essay *Creativity Inc. Globalising the Cultural Imaginary in New Zealand* describes "the governmental production of creative subjects who are not docilely regulated so much as adventurously risk-taking and deregulated" (Lawn, 2006,

241). In Lawn's account, these subjects have their creativity claimed by the state in order to build a national brand and bolster competitiveness in global markets. Art, which is the dimension of creative experience privileged in Lawn's argument, must resist by liberating itself from this "attenuated yet compulsory mode of corporatised creativity" (Lawn, 2006, 241) in order to reclaim a creativity that should instead be either un-repressedly critical or un-assimilably Real.

Again, in British cultural policy studies, a key argument is that current conceptions of creativity mirror the dynamics of the 'third way' or social market model of New Labour. 'Creativity has been reformulated in a way that distances it from any serious reflective and arts-driven activity'[51]. Galloway and Dunlop (2007) for example criticize the way public policy subsumes 'cultural creativity' within a wider economic agenda that restricts the central role of cultural activities. Their idea of cultural creativity includes those symbolic ideas and meanings that "play a central role in our ability to communicate and thus in the freedom of human expression", but does not include "industries such as fashion design, whose prime purpose is to persuade people to buy certain types of clothing, or advertising, whose prime purpose is to simply persuade people to buy more" (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, 29). For Galloway and Dunlop, corporatised activities such as fashion allow only a restricted, un-free version of creativity.

I have difficulties with this style of critique. Firstly, it situates the economy outside of culture and keeps culture "subordinate to the economic instance", as Foucault (2003d, 305) would have said. Secondly, it allows the critic, who is the possessor of a 'true-er' creativity, to retain and bolster the power of their particular field of knowledge, which has its own concepts, theories, and diverse disciplines of creativity, and to reinforce the collection of rules that differentiate what is permissible as creativity and what is not; what is ground-breaking, radical creativity from what is normal, everyday innovation; or what is 'cultural creation' from fashion design or advertising. Foucault would call this "the speaker's benefit" (Foucault, 1990, 6). If creativity is said to be repressed, then the person who holds forth about this, whether speaking out against the economic powers-that-be, or debating how creativity can be better aligned with the economy, can be

[51] "The Arts and Artfulness of Creativity." Seminar at the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, Warwick University, Thursday 8th February, 2007 http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/theatre_s/cp/about/newsandevents/pasdtevents/

seen to be leading the way to a better tomorrow, a future full of the promise of creative freedom. To speak *in the name of creativity* is to be able to specify in advance what creativity is allowed to be (Osborne, 2003, 512). In order to see what creativity has become, first we need some historical account of changing ideas about creativity.

A history of creativity

A very brief narrative about the origins of the concept of creativity can be strung together from the literature as follows. Firstly, 'creativity' as an abstract noun was not recorded in English until 1875 (OED, 2004; Pope, 2005, 1; Weiner, 2000, 89). In the beginning, *creation* had been the prerogative of the divine, but by the 18th century *creative imagination* was beginning to be discussed as part of debates about the social and political significance of individual freedom (Albert & Runco, 1999; Pope, 2005; Williams, 1988). During this period the category of Fine Arts emerged as a strategic accommodation to new publics, themselves the unintended consequences of the financial revolutions that established capitalism. The development of Fine Arts was part of these 18th century shifts in definition of public, private, genius, individual, citizen and freedom. How was this contestation of meaning implicated in the eventual construction of a creative subjectivity?

John Hartley (2005, 6 -7), in his introduction to *Creative Industries,* writes that the notion of 'creative industry' combines two older terms, the creative arts and the cultural industries. Hartley associates creative arts with the subsidized or public arts derived from the early modern philosophy of civic humanism, arguing that civic humanism is a still a strong driving force in the rhetoric and infrastructure of creative arts, as well as persisting in the distinction between higher education (universities) and further education (vocational skills training). Hartley views the civic humanist tradition critically for the way it has motivated a continuing distinction between fine arts and commercial entertainment and sustained a "chronic oversupply of individual artists to an economic sector that can't support them". Civic humanism has supported the "myth of the struggling artist in the garret made noble by creativity, even while subsisting in a condition of beggary that is the very opposite of freedom" (Hartley, 2005, 7). Hartley doesn't

problematise his association of 'creativity ' with the myth of the artist, so it is necessary to unpack this to understand their precise relation. How did ‘civic humanism’ become the ‘liberal humanism’ of which Hartley writes?

To answer this question satisfactorily would be more suited to a thesis on the genealogy of notions about liberty in relation to art (cf. Skinner, 1998). Suffice it to say that, as historian Pamela Divinsky (1987) points out, during the 18th century the epistemological paradigm of civic humanism was under challenge, and it is difficult for us now, as the inheritors of the tradition that displaced it, to render the civic humanist discourse intelligible. Divinsky explains how this discourse revolved around an understanding that the individual was considered free only to the extent that he participated in the public realm. Freedom was not something an individual was born to, but was achieved only when the individual became a public person, free from passions, desires and needs such as those that motivated the animal kingdom. In reality, this translated to the possession of a landed estate, the ownership of which bestowed upon the citizen the freedom from matters of petty economy, and hence the ability to consider the public good and the interest of the nation. The Public was the sphere in which disinterested, non-particularized reason was exercised, in order to preserve the republic. However, during the first half of the 18th century, financial and institutional innovations (the establishment of the Bank of England, for example) began to allow the wealth of nations to become for the first time a commodity for private investment, thus creating a new public.

> The distinction between private household economies and public wealth, the wealth of the nation, the purse of the King was irretrievably blurred. The silence, or non-existence, of one's private finances within the public realm, which had been the guarantee of disinterestedness and public spirit, could no longer be maintained. All that which was associated with private economy and financial management, private interests, need, necessity, circumscribed vision, was exercised, managed and active within the public arena (Divinsky, 1987, 93).

The erosion of the Public, together with new modes of consumption, and a supposed decline of manners, human reason and moral virtue, came to be of great concern. The imperative was to reconstitute the principles of the civic humanist tradition, but the working of the new financial machinery made this problematic, because it introduced putatively de-stabilizing effects of "private influence, the

passion for money making and the public exercise of financial concerns" (Divinsky, 1987, 93). A new way of supporting the existence of the nation had to be found. Davinsky argues that the rearrangement and redefinition of the art world replicated the ideals and principles of the civic humanist tradition, as these categories of private and public were being renegotiated in political theory. She outlines the strategies that were adopted by the art world to accommodate capitalist social relations while theoretically reconstituting the nation as a community of seemingly self-interested actors. The idea of a Community of Taste, as envisioned by Sir Joshua Reynolds for example, answered the critique that art was imitative and servile, that artists were mere copiers and trained mechanics, and the artistic profession a technical pursuit. Reynolds' Community of Taste was an attempt to "secure [...] for art the status of liberal profession requiring refined, cultivated taste, reflective knowledge and insight" (Divinsky, 1987, 94).

A second strategy for reconstituting the idea of the Public was the concept of the division of Labour. Individuals, acting in self-interest, albeit unknowingly, could support and sustain a stable order, which existed, in spite of, if not as a result of, self-interest. In the same way, it was the "purpose of art to reveal, and explain, how its audience of self-interested individuals unconsciously created a durable nation" (Divinsky, 1987,95). Divinsky argues that in art history a narrative about the gradual erosion of civic humanism through its accommodations to capitalism has taken hold. In this narrative, the construction of the category of Fine Arts is thought to mark the point where the conditions of artistic creation shifted from public service to supplying a "commodity of style" for a private audience. If artists were to survive and be economically viable they had to draw income from new audiences who wanted visual confirmation of their new estates, largely for private viewing. Accounts such as John Barrell's (1986) *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: The Body of the Public* for example, depict a demarcation of "civic humanism and capitalism, reflective vision and sensate passion, and public and private" (Divinsky, 1987, 96). Barrell shows how Fine Art developed around this dichotomy of public (civic humanism) versus private (liberal individualism); the "antique versus the modern, the permanent versus the temporary, republican citizen versus self-interested individual, art as public medium versus art as commodity, mimicry versus genius, mechanical skill versus liberal art" (Divinsky, 1987, 95).

It is from Barrell that John Hartley draws his ideas about the contemporary association of the creative arts and civic humanism, and the development of creative industries (Hartley, 2005, 6). Hartley's argument is that the idea of "creativity" now needs to be "re-purposed" "to bring it into closer contact with the realities of contemporary commercial democracies. Art needs to be understood as something intrinsic, not opposed to the productive capacities of a contemporary, global, mediated, technology supported economy" (Hartley, 2005, 8-9). Divinsky's argument, however, is that the construction of an opposition between art and commerce was not due to a breakdown in the demarcation of Public (the arena of freedom) and private (privation, unfree). She suggests that the principle of integrity and connectedness to the community continued to be qualifications for public action, but that these became understood as the Social, rather than Public. She thinks that Hannah Arendt's discussion of the construction of the Social would provide a more nuanced understanding of how theories of art negotiated the Public/Private shift.

> Having to incorporate visual symbols and forms of the private, [art] had to demonstrate that this did not impair its authority to be public. It had to prove, as did individuals, that they were 'free' insofar as they were private. Citizenship became for art, as for individuals, freedom from controlling interests. While these interests were not passion or self-interest (by the end of the eighteenth-century sufficiently emptied of their subversive content) but social, they were still controls to be escaped (Divinsky, 1987, 97).

In this way, art became a project of self-definition and an escape from the demands of social life.

The rhetorics of autonomy and freedom that were so important to the epistemological tensions of the 18th century played an important role in establishing the modern ideal of the creative artist. The 'locus classicus' of such thinking is Kant's Critique of Judgement. However, although Kant emphatically affirms the subjective freedom of genius and the need for art to be free of all external constraints, he does not mention creativity (Rampley, 1998). It is not until the "the middle of the 19th century [...] we have the first firm association of the term 'creative' with an elevated and narrowed view of 'Art' [...] 'High is our calling, friend! Creative Art'", declaimed Wordsworth (Pope, 2005, 39). Thus 'creative' art emerged as a Romantic description of the excess of art over merely

"critical, academic, journalistic, professional, or mechanical" in artistic production (OED, 2004). Socialists such as William Morris tried to accommodate this Romantic ideal to the reality of capitalism by arguing that all human production, mechanical or not, should have a creative side (Faulkner, 1996, 24). Morris's inspiration was Marx, for whom economic work was on a continuum with free artistic creation. Although labour was always a means to meeting material needs, it was also an end in itself; an activity that realised the self (Sayers, 2003). Art was a humaniser that could 'heal wounded spirits' and encouraging the 'creative side' of labour could help workers to advance their condition. This idea of the emancipatory potential of creative work is evident in a 1910 article in the *Journal of Home Economics* about The Girls' Trade School of Boston (which taught millinery, dressmaking, machine garment making, and machine hat making):

> A designer is a necessity in a machine-operating factory. The methods of making machine operator designers are taught in an elementary way to our machine garment makers, in the hope that they will take an intelligent interest in the creative side of their work and strive to advance themselves in their trade. When a pupil begins to volunteer ideas upon the constructing and ornamenting of our products, we know that we have begun to succeed with her (Ripley, 1910, 368).

In the mid to late 19th century another two important streams of thought came together to further develop the concept of individual creativity. One was the role that Charles Darwin gave to adaptation and diversity in natural selection. The other was the influence that Darwin's thinking had on his cousin, Francis Galton. Galton's work was important because he studied and measured individual differences in the British population, using eminence-achieving families as examples of hereditary ability. He also embarked upon a

> deliberate programme of Eugenics, which he believed was needed to increase British talent scientifically [...] Galton gave us evidence for the ideas that genius was divorced from the supernatural and, although exceptional, was a potential in every individual, because ability is distributed throughout populations (Albert & Runco, 1999, 24-25).

Freud incorporated Darwin's idea of adaptation in a psycho-dynamic theory of artistic creation, suggesting that creative acts were a way of making sublimated erotic and ambitious wishes socially acceptable. Later, Ernst Kris introduced the concepts of adaptive regression and elaboration for the study of artistic creation in

psychoanalysis (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999, 6).

From the early 20th century the 'psy disciplines' (Rose, 1996c) began to theorise and represent creativity as a function of behaviour, of personality or of cognitive processes. Psychoanalytic, pragmatic, psychometric, cognitive, and social-personality approaches (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999, 12) began to make up a certain ideal type of person[52] and as the 20th century progressed, creativeness became part of a universal birthright for every healthy, self-actualising, human being (Maslow, 1963). In the 1930s, a creative personality type made its first appearance, along with

> the marked multiplication of the spheres of human activity in which all things creative could go on. The 1930s witnessed some of the earliest recorded uses of such phrases as 'creative salesman' [...], creative education [...] and even courses in creative writing [...] (Pope, 2005, 40).

Serious empirical research into creativity did not take off until after J. P. Guilford's 1950 presidential address *Creativity* to the American Psychological Association (Kaufman & Sternberg, 2005, 13). During the 1950s and 1960s, creative personality became the "new hot topic" and creativity researchers in psychology were "in the avant garde of a new version of individualism. Creative people of all types became our culture's heroes" (Albert & Runco, 1999, 28). By this time, jobs in advertising, design, and television were being labelled as creative, and 'creative' students were already being written about as a problem in science and engineering education (Snyder, 1967).

Female creativeness had a somewhat different quality, of a different order from that of men. Women lacked genius (Battersby, 1989; Parker, 1981), and as John Ruskin said, had an intellect "not for invention and creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, decision" (Singerman, 1999, 57). During the 1950s the Keynesian welfare state model of the 'male breadwinner' meant that gendered creativeness was translated in a distinctive way. Pen Dalton cites advertising copy from the 1959 Crowther Report[53] about the education of 15-18 year old boys and girls in Britain:

> Creativeness is the modern woman's answer to her changed

[52] The existentialist psychologist Rollo May wrote in *The Courage To Create* that "creativity is a stepchild of psychology" (May, 1994, 37). This perhaps conflicts with Sternberg and Lubart's view that creativity is an orphan of psychology (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999).
[53] Dalton (2001, 98) wrongly attributes this to the Newsom Report.

> position in the household. Thesis: I'm a housewife. Anti-thesis: I hate drudgery. Synthesis: I'm creative! This feeling of creativeness also serves another purpose. It is an outlet for the liberated talents, the better taste, the freer imagination, the greater initiative of the modern woman. It permits her to use in the home all the faculties she would display in an outside career (Dalton, 2001, 98).

A similar sentiment is echoed in a more recent encyclopaedia entry on 'Creative Women':

> Perhaps our society has a limited view of creativity, which is generally defined according to male standards of creative accomplishment. Many talented women demonstrate their creativity in different ways. Their creativity is seldom applied directly to one aspect of their life...diffused into many directions of work, family and home. Their creativity may for example be demonstrated not only in their work, but also in the way they decorate their houses...and even the clothes they purchase or, sometimes, design and sew (Reis in (Runco & Pritzker, 1999).

These gendered assumptions about creativity were found to be still pervasive in the 'cult of creativity' which informed the recruitment, management and rewarding of London-based advertising practitioners during the 1990s (Negus & Pickering, 2004, 121). Sean Nixon's work (2003) explored how these (largely male) creatives cultivated a distinct habitus in which the language and signs of a "robustly masculine" creativity was central to the successful shaping of their work identity (Taylor & Littleton, 2008, 277). These creative workers also expressed a tension between 'authentic' and 'second-rate' creativities, which was a product of the distinction between 'pure and applied' creative processes institutionalised in art and design education in Britain by the Coldstream reforms of the 1960s (Nixon, 2006; Peters, 1965).

During the 1960s, the search continued for a variable that could "distinctively be called 'creativity', in contrast to intelligence" (Shulman, 1966, 305). 'Divergent-thinking' instruments were devised as part of a psychometric toolkit that measured an individual's ability to problem-solve their way through modern life; creative thinking was essential for everyone, "…the scientist, writer, artist, musician, advertising man, teacher, salesman, and parent: in fact everyone who lives in any but the most hidebound and unchanging way" (Shallcrass, 1967, 44). The United States Pavilion at Expo '67, in the form of Buckminster Fuller's

geodesic dome, was named Creative America. It was positioned just opposite the USSR pavilion and was intended to demonstrate the superiority of the American system for creating everything from craftworks, paintings, industrial products, to movies and spacecraft. Creative America was a Cold War signifier of the commercial and cultural success of 'freedom'.

In 1969 the Stanford Research Institute produced a report on *Structured Approaches to Creativity*. Tudor Rickards, now Professor of Creativity and Organisational Change at Manchester Business School, writes that this report

> ....coincided with a surge of interest in creative techniques in the USA and which diffused rapidly into Europe. Popular articles in the management literature, short courses and workshops, and audio-visual packages offer ways of doubling idea power, having an affair with your mind, encouraging creativity in the classroom, enhancing group activity and creative thinking and brainstorming (Rickards, 1980, 262).

Reviewing the creativity literature at the end of the 1970s, Rickards described it as comprising three overlapping fields: psychology, education and management studies. Management Studies "yielded a meagre total of less than 100 items" in contrast to a vast literature on creativity in psychology and education (Rickards, 1980, 263). This proportion began to change during the 1980s, however, partly as a result of corporate conversations about productivity slowdowns and a corresponding need to emphasise innovative 'design', understood as structured ways of bringing about creative behaviour (Rickards, 1980). Also, the 'new growth' or 'endogenous growth' economists such as Paul Romer had begun to factor the education and training of human capital into equations for economic development. Theories about human capital had been inspired by ideas about 'creative man' in the 1960s (Becker, 1964; Bowman, 1966). 'New economy' ideas promoted the creativity and innovation of human capital as a source of competitive advantage for organisations, cities and nations. Creative human capital has two components, the innate bodily and genetic equipment, and the acquired aptitudes "produced as a result of investment in the provision of appropriate environmental stimuli" (Gordon, 1991, 44). This creative person, as described by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1996) in an article for *Psychology Today*, is rebellious yet conservative, humble yet proud, smart yet naive, wise yet childlike, playful yet disciplined, carefree but hardworking,

imaginative but grounded in reality, passionate yet objective. Creative persons are psychologically androgynous and combine the best traits of each gender; they balance physical energy with quietude, eros with constraint, extraversion with introversion and are sensitive, yet open to both the pain and the enjoyment of work.

During the 1990s, over 600 books about creativity were published in English (Runco & Pritzker, 1999, xv) and the concept of creativity reached its maturity with the publication of the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Creativity* in 1999 (Runco & Pritzker, 1999, xv). A charismatic economics of creativity now began to ramify through agents such as Richard Florida (2002), John Howkins (2001) and Richard Caves (2000), whose work provided validation for ideas such as 'creative industries'. Creative industries have been described as nothing more than a "national accounting gimmick" (Tepper, 2002), but are currently being named, 'sectoralised' and calculated into existence as key to a knowledge economy (Lewis *et al.*, 2007, 3).

Problematising creativity

So creativity has become part of the "regulatory grammar" of a liberal society, one of the everyday "minute disciplines" that seem so fundamental that we cannot imagine a viable society (or nation) without it (Foucault, 1995, 223). As we have seen, from the 1950s, the creative imagination, a non-intellectual form of behavior and hitherto sacrosanct aspect of the human soul, began to be the focus of considerable research and attention. It was "rendered into thought, disciplined, normalized and made legible, inscribable, calculable" (Rose, 1990, 147) through technologies of psychological observation, measurement and intervention, in order to become a 'teachable' technology of the self (Fendler, 2001, 123).

In this section, I continue to problematise creativity as a metaphysical essence of humanity, a rhetorical deployment and a teleological imperative of the knowledge economy. This is not in order to claim that institutional demands for creativity necessarily dominate people, but rather to point out how choosing 'to be creative' can appear to be an exercise of freedom, but on closer examination may simply repeat and reiterate the status quo (Fendler, 2001, 119). At our present historical location, acceding to an ideology of creativity may offer some affective

payoff, but may also entrench some creative persons in a position of relative subservience. For example, in her latest work, not published when I started this project, Angela McRobbie describes "technologies of young womanhood" (McRobbie, 2006) that embody power relations which permit a "subtle renewal of gender injustices" (McRobbie, 2007, 720), all too easily overlooked because they are "overshadowed by the high-visibility tropes of freedom now attached to the category of young women through processes of female individualisation achieved through a range of technologies of the self" (ibid.).

Three examples of gender injustices for young women in New Zealand that result from choosing to study fashion design come immediately to mind. Firstly, the structural barrier that excludes them from accessing the funding for innovation and design made available through the Growth and Innovation Framework (GIF) (most New Zealand fashion firms are too small to qualify). Secondly, fashion designers are precluded from accessing arts funding through Creative New Zealand (CNZ) by a complex set of relations among the rhetorics of financial independence and commercial industrial success. As Lewis *et al.* write (2007, 11) "Designer fashion is neither serious design in the GIF terms, nor serious art in CNZ terms". Thirdly, the de-regulated workplaces and family-run enterprises that typify the production of designer fashion simultaneously re-traditionalise gender relations and promote precarious, contingent work for women. Indeed, research by the UK Design Council shows fashion and textile designers to be the most 'flexibilised' of the design disciplines, having the largest proportion of freelance workers, who are often employed on very short-term contracts, rather than working in consultancies or in-house teams (Design Council, 2005; National Textiles Training Organisation (UK), 2002).

These 'injustices' resonate with McRobbie's (2007) description of the "new sexual contract" as a "feminist tragedy", which I think was anticipated and concisely analysed by Nancy Fraser (1995) as one of the "dilemmas of justice in a post-socialist age". Fraser predicted a version of the 'redistribution versus recognition' dilemma for political collectivities such as feminism. To briefly summarise Fraser's point, *re-distribution* is the remedy to class identity; but redistribution puts class collectivity out of business. *Recognition* is the remedy to gender or race issues, but recognition reinforces these differences. Redistribution *de-differentiates* whereas re-valuation *regroups*. Fraser points out that remedial

work in the spheres of culture and economy undercut each other, creating a vicious circle that reinforces the way gender structures the political economy. Thus, putting gender 'out of business' in the economy works to reinforce cultural sexism:

> Whereas the logic of redistribution is to put gender out of business as such, the logic of recognition is to valorize gender specificity. Here, then, is the feminist version of the redistribution-recognition dilemma; how can feminists fight simultaneously to abolish gender differentiation and to valorise gender specificity? (Fraser, 1995, 78-80).

Fraser thought the best way to finesse the redistribution/recognition dilemma for feminists was to advocate socialism in the economy and deconstruction in the culture, which is obviously McRobbie's agenda. However, to achieve this, people need to be "weaned from their attachment to current cultural constructions of their interests and identities" (Fraser, 1995, 91). This is difficult to achieve, no less in respect of creativity and art than in sex and gender identities. Not that I am suggesting that creativity is a totalising discourse that inevitably reproduces neoliberalised subjects to re-secure patriarchal law and masculine hegemony. But although neither totalising nor inevitable, the creativity explosion does embody the consequences of power relations at a particular historical moment, and this is what I intend to problematise.

The parable of the horse

One of the problems with the historiographies of creativity that I reviewed was that they all attributed present understandings of 'creativity' to the actions, experiences and motivations of people in the past. They looked for the past of the present, rather than searching for the present in the past. Perhaps I might explain this most succinctly by way of analogy with another notion that emerged out of roughly the same history as creativity, that is, the concept of horsepower[54]. One might imagine that horsepower simply describes an essential quality of the horse

[54] This notion occurred to me while reading Jenny Uglow's book about the Lunar Society who were a group of friends, including Josiah Wedgwood, "who made the future 1730-1810". "In the time of the Lunar men, science and art were not separated: you could be an inventor and designer, an experimenter and a poet, a dreamer and an entrepreneur all at once without anyone raising an eyebrow" (Uglow, 2002, xviii).

and that the concept has existed for as long as the animal. However the term was not invented until the 1780s, when engines were built that could *replace* the work of the horse. At this stage, a proxy was devised for the amount of work that a horse could conceivably perform, in order to calculate the royalties that should be paid for the operation of the new engines. Thus the concept of horsepower was brought into discourse through a calculative technique invented to sell steam engines, and this produced a whole new set of statements about horses. Fortunately, horses did not find this discourse to be subjectivating, which is just as well because individual horses cannot maintain the 'power' that this knowledge attributed to them for any great length of time. Horsepower does not tell a truth about horses, any more than creativity tells a truth about human being.

Somewhat like horsepower, the discourse about creativity that began to emerge in the 18th century might be thought of as a way of calculating *occupations*, in order to gauge their relative distance from the routine processes of 'making' exemplified by industrial production. This is why despite the discursive work of *'creative industries'* it is still difficult to talk meaningfully about creativity if one is involved in developing a new technology or in any kind of business practices (Prichard, 2006; Thrift, 2001).

Neither can creativity ever tell a truth about art – because creativity was never a precondition for art. Instead, art holds the truth of creativity. It only became possible to talk about creativity *after* the arts had been separated from the sciences by the philosophers of the 18th century. It was this work of distinction that eventually directed attention to the capacity or characteristic of creativity that now appeared immanent in many dimensions of human endeavour. Previously unnoticed, creativity now became visible across these newly separated domains of technological and artistic practice. It was a capacity embodied most vigorously, but retrospectively, in Leonardo da Vinci, whose notebooks were first systematically studied and published at about the same time as the abstract noun 'creativity' came into general use in the late 1880s, not coincidentally at the same time as international copyright and patent laws were established (Weiner, 2000, 89).

Once creativity could be recognised, in performances that accorded with various social expectations of art or technology, it would seem to have existed in the practitioner all along and to have emerged as a natural act that expressed the

self. It would also, eventually, become an object of governmental rationalities that aimed "to realise the creative potential of all citizens and to boost competitiveness in the knowledge economy" (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999, 10).

As I said, one of the problems with the creativity literature is that it implies that creativity is a domain of knowledge that has been there all along, just waiting to be excavated and scientifically described. Present understandings of 'creativity' are attributed all kinds of actions, experiences and motivations of people in the past. Choosing an example at random, I find for instance that Weiner (2000) in *Creativity and Beyond* states that the Church in the medieval Europe "...established the Office of the Inquisition and frequently denounced those who transgressed the boundaries of acceptable creativity as 'heretics'" (Weiner, 2000, 50). A little further on, he writes "probably the most powerful force which smothered creativity in Medieval Europe was the Bubonic Plague" (Weiner, 2000, 51).

These examples, and many, many more in the creativity literature are concerned with the self-assuring notion that creativity is common to all humanity and has been experienced in every age. The present desire to 'do something creative', which is evident in the creativity explosion, can therefore be justified and understood as indispensable for a healthy self-image, a healthy economy and a healthy nation. Instead of reconstructing the past through the experience of the present, genealogical renderings of creativity need to try to describe the strange land of the past without being anachronistic and without expecting past formations to provide antecedents for how creativity is experienced in the present (Dean, 1999, 44).

Techniques of the creative self

The aim of a Foucauldian analysis is not to point out that discourses of creativity have only recently emerged, or to attribute to them a straightforward performativity so that the word "brings in its trail the reality to which it refers" (Foucault, 2003b, 58-59). Rather, it is effort to understand creativity as a historically singular form of action and experience involving the association or correlation of a domain of knowledge, a type of normativity, and "a mode of

relation between the individual and himself which enables him to recognise himself as a subject amid others" (Foucault, 2003b, 58-59). It was this last point, the "logic of subjectivisation", that became the focus of Foucault's final writings. This logic entails the way human beings turn themselves into subjects through 'techniques of the self', which are understood as not something the individual invents by himself, but as patterns that are "proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society and his social group" (Foucault, 2003a, 34). Foucault describes these patterns as a matrix of four modes of training and modification that interact "not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes" (Foucault, 2000, 225). These modes are:

> …technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect, by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being, so as to transform themselves, in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 2000, 225).

It was the relation between the last two that attracted Foucault's later attention, in an attempt to problematise and clarify the distinction between power relations and states of domination. This was the encounter between the technologies of domination of others and technologies of the self that he called "governmentality":

> It seems to me that we must distinguish between power relations understood as strategic games between liberties – in which some try to control the conduct of others, who in turn try to avoid allowing their conduct to be controlled or try to control the conduct of others – and the states of domination that people ordinarily call 'power'. And between the two, between games of power and states of domination, you have technologies of government (Foucault, 2003a, 40-41).

This is the ground from which the separate theoretical trajectories of my thesis take off. On the one hand, I draw on the post-Foucauldian *governmentality studies* elaborated by Nikolas Rose, Mitchell Dean and others (Dean, 1999), and

on the other I use *discourse theory*, enlarged from the post-Marxist programme of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. By re-thinking the concept of hegemony, their version of discourse theory helps to "account for the unification of the different sites of … 'micro-physics' of power/resistance so as to produce certain 'society effects'" (Howarth, 2000, 84) of which the 'creativity explosion' is a good example. Both sets of theories seemed necessary to understand the combination of power and domination immanent to contemporary discourses of creativity. The governmentality literature inspires questions concerned with how the self disciplines the self and how creativity is related to "the government of ourselves, the government of others and the government of the state" (Dean, 1999, 2). It helps analyse how educational governance of creativity is conflicted by notions about the autonomous individuality of the artist and the flexible individuality of 'the creative'. The discourse theory literature builds on this and suggests ways of thinking about the multiple resistances and dominations that are forming new creative identities. This literature also introduced a key insight: the way that creativity plays a key rhetorical role in the 'identity work' immanent to regulationist critiques of neoliberal governance.

During my reading it became clear that neoliberalised creativity as an economic subject position is constructed as much in critiques of neoliberalisation as it is in normative versions of the cultural economy. This insight is followed up in the third theoretical strand of my thesis, which draws on post-Foucauldian literature about person-formation. In this I theorise creativity as a performative act that effectively constitutes "the doer behind the deed" (Bell, 2006, 214). Ultimately, considering the historical circumstances under which these creative persons have been formed may suggest different ways of achieving creative personhood. In the following chapter I describe in more detail these theoretical underpinnings.

Chapter 5: Creativity as Governmentality

Governmentality

Governmentality is Foucault's neologism for 'governmental rationality' (Foucault, 1991a). It was introduced as the title of one of his lectures in 1978 and after its publication in English in 1979 inspired a "creative and innovative line of writing" (O'Malley, Weir, & Shearing, 1997, 502) that is credited with radically changing conventional thinking about rule (Burchell *et al.*, 1991; Dean, 1999; O'Malley *et al.*, 1997). Foucault originally used the concept to try to understand the characteristics of liberalism as a mentality of government. He saw liberalism as a mode of governing that was characterised by its reliance on the maintenance of a schematic distinction between 'state' and 'civil society'. Starting with the presupposition that society existed external to the state, the art of liberal government was to create a state that would legitimate itself by limiting the scope of its power over economic freedom (Burchell, 1996, 22; Rabinow & Rose, 2003, x).

The concept of governmentality had the effect of shifting theoretical attention from government, understood as a locus of rule centred on the state, to the broader concept of governance, which recognised that "the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence" (Lemke, 2001, 191). Government in its wide sense as 'the conduct of conduct' could concern the relation between self and self as well as relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991, 2-3).

From the early 1990s, despite Foucault's difficult and uncertain reception in Britain (Gordon, 1996), a number of English-speaking authors began to find governmentality a useful tool for understanding the new political arrangements that had appeared in the wake of

> ...the long-term recession of the ideal of a welfare state and the revitalisation of the claims of a form of economic liberalism in liberal democracies; the collapse of really existing socialism… and the erosion of the claims of the liberal constitutional state by movements for indigenous rights (Dean, 1999, 1-2).

Governmentality approaches were used to diagnose Thatcher's enterprise culture and allowed problems to be addressed in a range of domains without evoking nostalgia for the welfare state and without trying to find the source of state power and uncover how this power was ideologically legitimated. This work tried to focus on "the intersection of policy and ethos" (Bennett, 2003, 47) and drew together micro and macro analyses of power to describe how advanced liberal modes of governing work 'at a distance' (Latour, 1987; Miller & Rose, 1990) by instrumentalising certain versions of autonomy in the service of government objectives. In this way, populations and citizens could be understood as not only the object to which power is directed, but its means as well (Bratich, Packer, & McCarthy, 2003, 18; Dean, 1998, 15). 'Government' in this formulation is taken as a "portmanteau notion" (Rose, 1996c, 152). It is

> any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean, 1999, 11).

As an analytical strategy, governmentality relies on a conceptual distinction between the discourses of government and the practices of governance. This echoes Foucault's ambiguous retention of a dichotomy between discursive and non-discursive practices, which has been criticised for neglecting the point that *every* discursive structure has a material character (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, 108). The distinction is nevertheless useful in that it allows a theoretical discrimination to be made between different political rationalities (and the way these are translated into programmes affecting real populations) and the technologies of governance, which are the techniques, procedures and strategies that are used to put the political rationalities and programmes into effect (O'Malley *et al.*, 1997; Rose & Miller, 1992). One of the primary aims of governmentality literature has been to formulate a genealogy of rationalities of rule (classical liberalism, Keynesian, neo-liberalism, market liberalism and so on) and the programmes devised to translate these into practical government.

Governmentality-inspired studies have tried to understand how categories of governance emerged in relation to governmental fields of vision, for example how

‘unemployment’ was linked to the conception of ‘worklessness’ as a characteristic of populations, or the emergence of ‘poverty’ as distinct from that of previous governmental conceptions of 'pauperism' (O'Malley *et al.*, 1997, 502). In a similar vein, Tony Bennett (1995) described the birth of the museum and the production of new, 'cultured' – i.e. respectable, rather than rowdy – civic publics. Once who or what is to be governed can be ‘pictured’, relations of authority and obedience can be constituted in space, different locales and agents connected to one another, problems solved and objectives sought (Dean, 1999, 30). Later work such as Nikolas Rose’s *Powers of Freedom* (Rose, 1999) explored the material, technical and practical governmental practices that gave birth to a neoliberalised ethic of freedom. As Rose points out, the process of naming these projects individuates them as part of an array of attempts to rationalise the exercise of power but is also “an operative element in political thought itself, which troubles itself ‘reflexively’ over what it is, for example, to govern in a ‘liberal’ [or neoliberal] way” (Rose, 1999, 275).

This is where I locate my own approach to creativity as governmentality. In Chapter 2 I described the emergence of neoliberal and ‘after-neoliberal’ rationales for governing education in New Zealand and the way these are imbricated with the contemporary conduct of fashion design. My work joins a few empirical studies that take advantage of New Zealand’s alacrity in experimenting with political doctrine and its propensity for reading and knowing the world through policy documents (Le Heron, 2006). The New Zealand perspective makes it relatively easy to see how analytical categories such as ‘globalisation’ or ‘neoliberalisation’ have been ‘made’, how they were named as political projects and how they entered the policy process and began to take on governmental dimensions. Also, because the fixing of hegemonic relations in New Zealand is specific to its own location and time, this helps illuminate imported ideological constructs, as described earlier with regard to the positioning of creative education by local ‘fashion industry’ employers. Current work is beginning to highlight the shifts and changes in rationalisations of the ‘knowledge economy/society’ and ‘creative industries’ as they have emerged as governmental projects under neoliberal and ‘after–neoliberal’ rule (Larner & Le Heron, 2002; Le Heron, 2006; Lewis, 2005; Lewis *et al.*, 2007). In the same way, from my situation as a lecturer in a College of Creative Arts, I argue that various “ad hoc, post-facto rationalisations” (Larner,

2005) of political discourse about the knowledge economy and society, as they are contingently lashed into technical devices designed for the economic management of education (Hay, 2004, 502), are putting together new, unexpected and unintended forms of social and economic rule, supplying new cultural subject-spaces and new possibilities for subject formation – including perhaps new ways of performing creativity. This is not to imply that creative identities have sprung fully formed out of specific political projects – rather that the 'assembly', or 'folding together' to use a Deleuzean metaphor instead of Latour's, of different frames of knowledge in specific institutional spaces sets up antagonisms and contradictions that have material effects in the way identities are constituted. They enable the agents they bring into being to conduct themselves in ways that are particular to the circumstances of time and place:

> Thus, we find, for example, in the sociology of art – a specialized domain within cultural sociology – an impassioned debate regarding how to study the relationship between art and society. The dominant paradigm in this field...the 'production of culture' perspective [has generated the] counter-claim that this style of sociology, while able to generate empirical investigations of the 'hard' variables that shape the production and consumption of art, has tended to neglect the content [of art....What] is being asserted by critics is that the 'production of culture' perspective is essentially Classicist. In turn, the Classicist hegemony has been challenged by Romanticists who hope to restore the work of art to its rightful place in the sociology of art....[I]nstead of 'art worlds' – a favourite conceptual tool of recent Classicists [...] – the field should return to the 'work of art'. Similarly, critics of the Classicist position [...] that the 'production of culture' sociologists of art tend to assert the superiority of the sociological perspective over that of art historians, philosophers of art and artists themselves have accused some work in the sociology of art as suffering from 'disciplinary imperialism'. The claim is that the 'production of culture' sociologists of art tend to assert the superiority of the sociological perspective over that of art historians, philosophers of art and artists themselves (de la Fuente, 2007b, 124).

Eduardo de la Fuente's discussion of this "impassioned debate" over the relationship of art to society is worth citing at length because it indicates the contestation that is constituting, and constituted by, a discursive formation of creativity. It is a discursive challenge that motivates agents to support the ideological re-visioning of creativity; for example, in the explosion of recent

publications championing or extricating a 'romantic' ideology of creativity and culture from the classicist 'production of culture' position, and vice versa (see Negus & Pickering, 2004; Pope, 2005; Weiner, 2000). Other positions attempt to establish an entirely new norm of creativity (see Hartley, 2005).

De la Fuente claims that McRobbie's standpoint on 'the becoming cultural of the economy', although it engages in the questioning of power and resistance and "virtuoso readings of popular culture texts", has not "translated into a disciplinary project" equipped to tackle the emergent socioeconomic changes she critiques in the cultural sector (de la Fuente, 2007a, 209). This leaves the field open for economists (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002; Howkins, 2001; Tepper, 2002; Throsby, 2000; Towse, 2004) and geographers (Christophers, 2007; Gibson & Klocker, 2005; Lewis *et al.*, 2007; Peck, 2005a; Rantisi, 2002; Scott, 1997) to sift through the evidence regarding contemporary cultural capitalism.

One of the tasks of this thesis has been to understand how these disciplinary projects help to organise the identity of a new type of creative persona (du Gay, 2007).

Creative identifications

When creativity is understood as a dispositif or apparatus in which certain practices are considered to be naturally occurring phenomena that are constrained by repressive aspects of neoliberalised culture, then the issue becomes which (or whose) practices are to be made free. I have argued that a genealogical reading of creativity is a way of stalling ideological moves that seek to preserve a 'true' creativity to the speaker's benefit. The governmentality literature suggested a way to think about the nature of the work that creativity is doing in the context of New Zealand 'after' neoliberalism. This required an investigation into how creativity is being brought into institutions of economic development and education and how it is being maintained as an object of knowledge.

Tertiary education policy in New Zealand has a reputation for being founded on ideology, rhetoric and anecdote (McLaughlin, 2003) - which makes the sector difficult to work in, but interesting to research. As a result of reforms, New Zealand currently has a unique tertiary education system that tends to function as an experimental laboratory for the international community. In this

experimental mode, hypothesising the creativity explosion as a moment of contact between the multiple and incongruent projects comprising neo-liberal globalisation in New Zealand, helps to reveal the situated specifics of what appears to be a global phenomenon. For instance, the fact that a distinction between a professional rag trade and 'creative' image industry never really existed in New Zealand, either in fashion education, or indeed in the apparel industry, prior to the new ways of speaking, thinking and enacting a creative, knowledge economy (and the accompanying governmental mechanisms intended to ensure that tertiary education paid greater attention to its needs) is a material demonstration of how discourses of neo-liberalism construct their own reality. In Chapter 2 I explained how the reforms to New Zealand's education system through the 1980s and 1990s were given their ethical form through the problematisation of an information-based society, and how the development of the nation's human capital began to gain importance due to theories that factored human creativity and innovation into post-industrial technological development. In this chapter I engage with the idea of creativity as governmentality and explore how the encounter of techniques of government with technologies of self might end up producing 'creative girls'.

The three original areas of concern in this thesis included, firstly, the social implications of the creativity explosion in fashion education: were there some circumstances and contexts developing in which individuals are held to be creative, and others in which they are not, and could not be creative? This aspect related to divisions of labour in a globalising New Zealand fashion industry, and had to be put aside until I had a better understanding of creativity as a discursive formation.

The second question concerned subjectification to creativity. Recent work by Angela McRobbie allowed me to situate my theoretical position in relation to her speculations on 'four technologies of young womanhood' (McRobbie, 2006): the fashion and beauty complex, the working girl, the phallic girl and the global girl. The first of these technologies, according to McRobbie (2006, unpaged), is the fashion and beauty complex, which supplies the context for the emergence of "a post-feminist masquerade as a distinctive modality of feminine agency". The second technology intersects with this space of post-feminist masquerade, producing the figure of the well-educated working girl, where the young woman is understood to be "the bearer of qualifications" that will help her achieve lifelong

employability. The third technology operates through the “hypervisible space of sexuality, fertility and reproduction from which emerges the phallic girl”. The phallic girl is the ‘ladette’, for whom the freedoms associated with masculine sexual pleasures are encouraged and celebrated, resulting in an impression of equality with her male counterparts. Finally, McRobbie describes how the new sexual contract operates on the global stage “in the world editions of young women’s fashion magazines like Elle, Marie Claire, Grazia and Vogue from whose pages there emerges the friendly, but unthreatening, beautiful and somehow pliable, eager-to-please and bearing-no-grudges global girl" (McRobbie, 2006 unpaged). All of these are discursive formations or ‘spaces of attention’, which according to McRobbie re-stabilise gender relations and form a highly efficient assemblage for female productivity. This, as she comments, is significant in that government attention is no longer limited to their reproductive capacities.

I consider creativity to be a similar ‘space of attention’ and suggest that McRobbie could add another category to her technologies of young womanhood, that of the ‘creative girl’. The creative girl occupies a subject position that fits after-neoliberalised social and economic arrangements, not as McRobbie perhaps suggests, because she is shaped by neoliberal ideologies, but because she is made up by techniques and tactics of after-neoliberal governmentalities. The question for me was, *how* did these students become ‘creative girls’ and can they be said to be in a mutually constitutive relationship with a creative economy?

The third issue of concern in my thesis was the curriculum problem. Later in this chapter I will explain how exploring ‘theory’ (Marxism, psychoanalysis, liberalism, structuralism, poststructuralism) cannot help to answer the question of what to teach. As Bourdieu recognised, this is a problem that a sociologist cannot resolve because it emerges out of the relationship between structural divisions of the cultural field and the habitus, which are also mutually constitutive (Deer, 2003, 198).

The following discussion begins to engage with the second concern of the thesis, creative subjectification. Here I give illustrations of how we might acquire the identifications that constitute ourselves as creative. Firstly I draw on my own experience in an essay that describes a personal encounter between techniques of government and technologies of the self, and how this made me wish to identify myself as ‘creative’. I also relate how a local community acquired a creative

identity. The chapter then discusses the way a de-historicised and universalised creativity is currently being produced and maintained – for example, by attributing to creativity a key rhetorical role in ideologies of neoliberalisation. This presumes a 'state plan', in which creativity can be used as policy rhetoric, thereby re-essentialising creativity as 'repressed'. The chapter argues, however, that because one of the aims of this thesis is to resolve a curriculum problem, thinking about creativity only in terms of its social construction is a practically useless endeavour. Rather than deploying theory to 'cure' students of creativity, the goal instead is to distinguish creative subjectivity from creative subjection, and both from subjectification. These discussions set up the topic for the following Chapter 6, which describes student interviews and develops two different theoretical stances on subjectification.

An experience of becoming creative

During 2005, a new funding system for tertiary education began to be implemented in New Zealand universities. This was a result of the strategy to reform all post-school education, underpinned by the Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act, 2002. This Act amalgamated the Resourcing Division of the Ministry of Education with Skill New Zealand, the former purchaser of Industry and Foundation Training and Education. New Zealand is now unique in clustering all the components of post-school training into a single organisation, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), which is

> …responsible for funding adult and community education, adult literacy and numeracy programmes, youth training, training of long-term unemployed, school-industry Gateway training, modern apprenticeships, training of those already working in a very wide range of industries, and all the various certificates, diplomas, degrees, masterates and doctorates offered throughout the country (West, 2004).

The span was, as the Chair of the Commission at the time said, from night school to PhDs, from small community organisations to the largest, research-intensive universities. These are now collectively termed Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs).

The new tertiary strategy marked a departure from the market model to a mixed-model of funding, containing elements of regulation (Tertiary Institution Charters and Profiles) and of competition (the Performance Based Research Fund, or PBRF). The aim is to link Industry Training Organisations (ITOs), polytechnics and universities into a "more robust and seamless 'value chain' for business" (TEC, 2004b) by removing the boundaries between academic and non-academic post-school education and shifting the balance of tertiary education towards a more explicit industry-led approach (Curtis & Matthewman, 2005; Mahoney, 2003). This was meant to achieve a "much closer connection" between research, teaching and the knowledge and skills needs of New Zealand industry (Maharey, 2003). By 2007, roughly a third of all university revenue was expected to come from research. According to the Deputy Vice Chancellor of Massey University, it had become a "matter of principle" that all academic staff were required to be research active or have an agreed set of objectives with their line managers to "assist them to build their research capability to acceptable levels" (Long, 2006).

Thus it came to pass that, at the College of Creative Arts (CoCA), my colleagues and I spent many hours during the 2005-6 semester break 'populating and updating' our research evidence portfolios for the 2006 round of PBRF. The stakes were high. In the initial 2003 PBRF round, an artist or designer had been worth twice as much to the university as a sociologist (Curtis & Matthewman, 2005)[55]. It was therefore imperative that CoCA staff should take the process seriously. We were of course free to choose *not* to become researchers. Contractual options had been developed should any of us wish to be 'research inactive'. Early retirement was one option. Alternatively, we could be transferred to a new 'professional clinicians' pay scale, or take on more teaching instead.

But exactly what *does* constitute research in design and the creative arts? Obviously, it must be more than just any artistic work, design or performance (Ministry of Education & TTEC, 2002). To be counted as a research output, a creative project must be quality-assured and "open to scrutiny and formal

[55] However, a scientist or technician was worth half as much again as an artist. "Not all subject areas are treated equally by the PBRF, and this affects the worth of individual quality scores. All of the subject areas assessed by the Social Sciences & Other Cultural/Social Studies; Humanities and Law; and Education Panels were assigned a weighting of 1 with the exception of Psychology (with a weighting of 2). Similarly, the subject areas in the Creative and Performing Arts Panels were assigned a weighting of 2. (The laboratory-based sciences were weighted 2.5)" (Curtis & Matthewman, 2005, unpaged). See also (Ministry of Education & TTEC, 2002, 27).

evaluation by others in the field through publication or public presentation"[56]. At this point in the process of funding reform, years of assiduous pro-creativity work by the head of the college began to pay off for CoCA. Having had personal experience of the impact of the British Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in art and design schools, CoCA's Pro-Vice Chancellor, Sally Morgan, argued that the RAE had privileged those who wrote books and papers over those who exhibited in major galleries or designed for industry[57]. Determined not to reduce creative research to "[s]trange hybrid projects…more social science than design, or more literary theory than art" (Morgan, 2003, 25), Morgan went into battle with other university faculties and with the TEC on behalf of creativity. According to the account of senior management, her victory was evident in the inclusion of new research definitions/categories in the charter and in the raised status of creative (i.e. non-bibliometric) research outputs in the University's taxonomies of research.

Regrettably, in this contest creativity seemed to operate as a critical primitive, that is, a concept beyond theorisation and therefore difficult to question (Olsen, 2003). From the rarefied realm of senior executive debate (Considine & Marginson, 2000) there emerged no evidence of any serious critique, and the

[56] The idea that research could be 'creative' arose in response to the implementation of the Research Assessment Exercise in the UK in 1986. The RAE was an attempt towards a more objective and equitable allocation of research funding, rather than the prior method of apportioning by government bureaucrats (See Jaffe, 2002; Shore & Wright, 1999; TEC, 2004a; Wolmark & Gates-Stuart, 2002). As Mottram (2006) notes, "In 1989 the CNAA Research Committee in Art & Design did not see creative work as scholarly activity, but by 1992, the RAE convinced us". In the UK exercise, bibliometric data was not used as it was in the US and Australia during the mid 1990s. Peer review panels assessed the quality of institutional research. However, Tribe (2004, 612) says the "Research Assessment Exercise has had to rank not only individuals but the media in which their 'outputs' are published, a task which in the past might have been thought 'Sisyphean' but which today more closely resembles Fantasia's Mickey Mouse". Strand (1998) has covered the effects of developing quantifiable research outputs in the creative arts in a report for the Australian government. This report describes how the instrument developed to allocate tertiary funding in Australia favoured bibliometric data, and had to be modified in order to allow other "economically beneficial" (in the form of patents or software) research to be counted, a move which was ultimately to the benefit of creative arts categories. See CHASS, (2005) for Australia and Rust *et al.*, (2007) for the UK.

[57] Contrary to Morgan's argument, for the 2001 RAE there were 3 times more 'creative' performances, exhibitions, designs and artifacts produced than text outputs (Mottram, 2006). In their debate about practice-led creative research, Durling et al (2002) think the development of paths to tenure and promotion in art and design faculties in UK universities has not been 'sensible', with research degrees "awarded as a path to social acceptability and professional prestige" instead of the needs of the art and design disciplines themselves. They write that just because a category is possible doesn't mean it exists. In contrast to their position, I suggest that the acceptance of creative work as scholarly activity demonstrates how the creation of new categories of research, combined with the need for academic staff in creative and performing arts and design to secure a level social acceptability, have had performative consequences that are effectively altering the reality of disciplinary fields. The blossoming of creative outputs from UK universities seems proof of this.

defensive walls of disciplinarity were re-erected around creativity as an exclusive practice and precondition for art and design (Wolmark & Gates-Stuart, 2002). This was a disappointment for a number of reasons, not the least that although creativity is a term deployed to express some insight about a cultural economy it usually brings with it a crudely reductive view of economic practices[58]. The creative industries, for instance, could be termed a 'vehicular idea' (McLennan & Osborne, 2003), designed to move things along and get us to where we want to be. They present a speeded up vision of creativity so that we get to focus only on the 'conception and consumption' parts, zooming quickly past everything else (Allen, 2002; Osborne, 2003; Warhurst, Thompson, & Lockyer, 2005). This blurred vision of creativity is good for public relations, as the managers of Massey's Creative Campus understand. As part of a strategic partnership to set up a new film school, the University received three-quarters of a million dollars from the ratepayers of Wellington city. When the deal was announced, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor said "It fits well with the city's creative vision. And we only need to get one or two more Peter Jacksons to get the money back in spades" (Jacobson, 2004).

The notion of a cultural economy in which the "magic dust of creativity" adds value (Jeffcut & Pratt, 2002, 226) has been a godsend for many marginalised identities. It has been deployed by artists struggling for cultural capital and helped de-industrialised zones in the struggle for regional dominance (Gibson & Klocker, 2005; McGuigan, 2005). Creativity has become a global fashion for regional councils and politicians wanting to promote enterprise and urban development. "Just pop the same basic ingredients into your new-urbanist blender, add a slug of Schumpeter lite for some new-economy fizz, and finish it off with a pink twist", as critical geographer Jamie Peck (2005b, 765) writes. Later in this chapter I recount how Richard Florida's (2002) approach to designing creative cities generated a campaign by small business owners and artists against development in Wellington's Cuba Street, in the process drawing together a community that identified itself as 'creative'.

[58] For instance, Anne Creigh-Tyte (2005) has noted the difficulty in measuring 'creativity' in the Designer Fashion industry in the UK, critiquing the way the Creative Industries programme privileges conventional SIC code-based industries and noting with skepticism the inflation found in advocacy documents on the economic impact of cultural industries. She calls for a more spatialized 'production of culture' perspective on Creative Industries.

Represented as the essential ingredient in an "economy of the imagination" (Evans, 2001), at best creativity signifies exemplary artifacts or performances that are "original, valuable and produced by flair" (Gaut, 2003, 151). At worst, it can represent a superficial cultural critique that survives by keeping a contemplative distance from the business of production, with all its material effort and pedagogical expense. In either case, "the last thing the true creator would be concerned with would be working out what a theory of creativity itself actually is and certainly not with outlining any protocols for gaining access to it" (Osborne, 2003, 512). This task is best left to the logicians and problem-solvers in the disciplines of management or technology. The 'true' creator would not make any claim to expertise in creat-ology – she just gets on with it and creates[59].

And so in the absence of critique and surrounded by the charisma of creative industry, the meaning of creativity at the College of Creative Arts was taken as given, foreclosed and imperialised in distinctly Kantian form[60]. Antagonistic frontiers (leftist, liberal, positivistic) were not so much defeated and dismissed, as absorbed and won over[61]. This hegemonic project appeared to be progressing more or less successfully in other tertiary art and design institutions in New Zealand, many of which, judging by their branding strategies, were becoming more creative by the day[62].

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[59] This position follows Heidegger's critique of Cartesian representationalism (McHoul & Rapley, 2005, 439). From this position, to understand creativity one cannot start with a mental representation of it. Rather, to understand creativity is to be able to do creative work in a way that anyone (any *Dasein* – any being of my ontological sort) can recognise as creative. However, on this view creativity could not be restricted to practices of art and design, which certainly dilutes its usefulness as a pro-disciplinary argument!

[60] See Simmel (2007, 71), who describes two different types of European individualism – the "Germanic", which is typified in Kant, in which the core of individuality must be broadcast through a "creative achievement, action or exemplary conduct", and the "Romanic ideal" where a "supra-individual idea of individuality light[s] up with radiant meaning and majesty".

[61] What will be the cultural effect of the mass-institutionalisation of creative practice? Will the requirement for projects to go through ethics committees, and the need for metrics and the counting of reviews in order to justify funding, change the types of art produced in New Zealand? Will it mean the most successful creative practices will be those that generate the best exemplars for incorporation into capitalist production? Is this opposite to the Frankfurt School's mass culture critique, or is it the same argument? In order to be successful in winning funding for research, will it be able to function as critic and conscience of society, i.e. no longer be able to oppose the social? What would a post-social art practice be like?

[62] During the period in question University of Auckland formed the National Institute of Creative Arts and Industries and Massey University's College of Design, Fine Arts and Music became the College of Creative Arts. They joined the recently formed Creative Industries Research Centre (Waikato Institute of Technology) and the Centre for Creative Industries (Wellington Institute of Technology).

It is important to point out that this victory for creativity did not immediately represent a successful implementation of tertiary education policy. It certainly didn't reflect the explicitly industry-led approach to education that funding reforms were intended to bring about. In fact, representatives on Creative Industry Taskforces repeatedly disparaged art and design training, preferring government-supported apprenticeship models instead. But the victory *was* a strategic breach of the academic/non-academic boundary, in that it achieved a consensus on the redundancy of traditional academic apprenticeships to creative research. Unlike the UK (but following the US model – see Durling *et al.*, 2002), the terminal qualification for creativity in New Zealand is now deemed to be a master's degree, which is the qualification held by most of the senior staff of CoCA. In respect of Performance Based Research Funding, this had the immediate benefit of allowing research to be legitimately performed by staff that in other disciplines might be deemed insufficiently experienced.[63] The fact that 'academically' untrained practitioners were already teaching in the College was due to the recent assimilation of polytechnic design training into New Zealand universities. Consequently, staff members who had steadfastly eschewed 'theory' in favour of 'practice' found new levels of institutional validation for practitioner knowledge, so long as it could be categorised as 'creative' and so long as they were able to produce quality-assured evidence for their Evidence Portfolio (EP).

But to continue my own story. In order to 'qualculate' (Callon & Law, 2003) evidence of creative research, echelons of 'research managers' were marshalled to interpret University policy for CoCA staff and to discuss and advise on what forms of art and design work could be reckoned quality assured. Seminars were held and lists of new acronyms swallowed and digested. Corridor conferences took place, discussion papers and emails circulated. The intention was that every person would digitally compose their EP in the Research Information Management System (RIMS) which had been set up to manage research and consultancy contracts across the University to "improve the operational efficiency of research and integrate previously unrelated research systems and processes into one". In a very direct way, the research performances of staff at the College of

[63] This is contrary to the tendency in the global design research community, which increasingly supports the PhD as pre-requisite to professional or research practice. For example, see Biggs, (2000) and Friedman, (2003).

Creative Arts would exemplify the dynamics of the new economy, in which "the celebration of tacit, unstated knowledges is quickly transformed into a recognisable process of codifiable returns which allows for their reproduction and ubiquitous use" (Allen, 2002, 44).

One problem was that neither the Tertiary Education Commission nor the University had designed reporting templates that were capable of being populated by creative Research Outputs (ROs), which by definition do not fit the norms of academic citation. So departments in the College of Creative Arts had to produce their own alternatives and various digital versions of RIMS were laboured over, reproduced and confusingly superseded. Written evidence of creative practice was composed and submitted in hardcopy iterations to superior colleagues and administration staff who pored over it, covering it with notes full of advice about the most advantageous ways to 'spin' the Outputs within the character limits of the Input fields. This process culminated just before the portfolio deadline with an interrogation of individual portfolio authors by a 'polishing brigade' of expert staff whose role was to lift those on the cusp of a grade into a higher ranking.

In my case, perhaps misguidedly in the light of these circumstances, I had spent most of the PBRF assessment period working towards a PhD in an attempt to make my work intelligible to the university under a now outmoded regulatory regime – the one that produced scholarly works and subjects of academic writing (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). Under the old regime I might have had some shelter under a 'new and emerging researcher' category, but the College could not claim this identity for me, because under PBRF rules I had been employed too long ago as a creative staff member and was therefore supposed to have already 'emerged' without needing the valorisation of a doctorate. Consequently, the 'population' of my PBRF evidence portfolio was thin, mean and uninspired – a mere handful of conference papers; no exhibitions, no garments in fashion shows, no drawings published, no fabric designs in production, no embroideries, illustrations, vehicle designs, performances, DVDs, games, websites, compositions or dances. In fact, nothing at all creative. Was I perhaps not creative enough? I started to daydream about the types of research I could do when I finished writing my thesis, that rite of passage now unintelligible within the College of Creative Arts. Rather than trying to be an academic I began instead to wish to be creative.

Being creative was not an identification I would have thought to make pre-PBRF. Then, I might have thought of my professional self as an aesthetic problem–solver or perhaps an academic designer, but not primarily or necessarily 'creative'. Should I therefore regard this hankering after creative practice as subjection to the governmental practices of funding tertiary education? Not necessarily.

> Government is an activity that shapes the field of action and thus, in this sense, attempts to shape freedom. However, while government gives shape to freedom, it is not constitutive of freedom. The governed are free in that they are actors, i.e. it is possible for them to think and act in a variety of ways, and sometimes in ways not foreseen by the authorities (Dean, 1999, 13).

For instance, my writing this thesis is itself a practice of resistance – and as well, *creativities* may be explored in many registers. There is a creativity that is also curiosity. Following Barthes (1990) I could explore 'readerly' or 'writerly' creativities. More excitingly, for my teaching practice, there could be 'passivity's' creativity (Zalloua, 2004), which would not be about mastery or consumption, but would encourage questions about "What kind of creative self am I going to be?" Like Thomas Osborne, I did not think I ought to aspire to the creativity that is compulsorily heterodoxical, "the endless repetition of permanent change under conditions of permanent imitation – production for the sake of production, 'ideas' for the sake of 'ideas'" (Osborne, 2003, 512) (although my perspective on this has now changed).

Nonetheless, exploring whichever modality of creativity, in whatever manner I choose, is still 'be-longing' to creativity (Bell, 1999). There is an affective dimension to this identification that seems directly linked to the intensely individualised process of the administration of Performance Based Research Funding. The overseas member of one of the panels for the 2003 assessment commented on this point:

> As a non-local, I am not really aware of the effects of the individualised assessment procedure at a personal and informal level. But it is a significant issue as there is something uncomfortable and unnerving about contemplating a number of one's academic peers, explicitly running the ruler over, and comparing you with, and rating you against, your colleagues. But looked at another way, the issues raised are not much

> different in essence from those that arise from selection, promotion and granting procedures and we manage to deal with this, though the PBRF system is on a grander scale (Bryson, 2004).

This grandly-scaled yet individualised system is also a feature of New Zealand's other educational experiments such as the National Qualifications Framework and the National Certificate of Educational Achievement. It is characteristic of a regime of government that visualises the field of education as an ICT-enabled network of individual choosers[64]. This is an art of government that relies upon an intricate mechanism of data collection techniques, statistical information and managerial doctrines to bring individuals into its field of visibility. As Stephen Ball (2003) has pointed out, changes in governmental rationalities and the technologies associated with them – the market, 'new managerialism', the performativity of 'qualculative spaces' (Thrift, 2004) – do not simply transform what we, as educators, scholars and researchers do, they change who we are.

We find new ways of 'doing academia' – maybe ways that entail citing a particular creativity – and these repeated, stylized performances "congeal within time to produce the appearance of substance, a natural sort of being" (Butler, 1999, 33). When an advanced-liberal technology of government such as the PBRF is inserted into a system of purposes such as tertiary education in order to 'conduct our conduct' as academic staff, we begin to subject ourselves to these technologies. We are obliged to agree to normalising and training measures that are designed to empower us, to enhance our freedom to "develop (our) disciplines and talents in new and creative ways", as requested by Massey University's Vice Chancellor of Research and External Relations (Long, 2006). These governing practices produce a

> sense of constantly being judged in different ways, by different means, according to different criteria, through different agents and agencies…. a flow of changing demands, expectations and indicators that makes one constantly accountable, and constantly recorded. We become

[64] According to figures released under the Official Information Act, TEC spent $5.9m on externally contracted information technology work in the 2004/5 financial year. This accounted for over half of its external contracts (Quirke, 2006).

> ontologically insecure; unsure whether we are doing enough, doing the right thing, doing as much as others, or as well as others, constantly looking to improve, to be better, to be excellent. And yet it is not always clear what is expected (Ball, 2003, 220).

Whether we manage to deploy the various processes and performances required by Performance Based Research Funding 'from below' for ourselves (if only to manage our own employment risk), or whether it is utilised 'from above' as a way of scoring researchers and ranking universities, it cannot be taken purely as an instrument for regulating our professional activities and making us more accountable researchers. It also directly enjoins us to think of ourselves in particular ways. Regulatory norms on the one hand, obligatory forms on the other, as has been said about a different, perhaps analogous form of regulation, heterosexuality (Schultz, 2002). The combined normative force of these practices sets up a productive tension between being and becoming.

Productive, yes – but as I recognise from my position in a space between 'becoming creative' and 'being creative', never completely successful. This space, as fashion students experience it, became the initial subject of my thesis.

The creative quarter

A second example of how creative identities are acquired is illustrated by a colleague's practice-based design research project that became instrumental in making a local community 'creative'. The project itself was motivated by a similar need to that I have described above; that is, it was developed by communication design lecturer, Tim Parkin, in response to the research requirements of the PBRF. Parkin decided to extend a personal design project he was involved with into a Master of Design (Parkin, 2007). His thesis, *The Creative Class Paradox*, critiqued the way Richard Florida's (2002) "Creative Class theory" had been used in Wellington City Council's (WCC) strategy *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital*[65]. Parkin argued that the WCC policies prioritised businesses and physical environments with high revenue earning potential, and that developing these put at risk the very "environments that conform to Florida's conditions for creative ecosystems and that, according to Florida, the Creative Class are drawn to" (Parkin, 2007, 9). In his thesis, Parkin pointed out that if these areas were to be redeveloped they would lose their diversity and unique character and no longer be an asset in attracting the Creative Class. The gentrification and displacement that goes along with development to attract "talent from elsewhere", also destroys the "diverse, authentic and unique urban dynamic" that the creative class desire in the first place (Parkin, 2007, 40). This Parkin called *The Creative Class Paradox*. His goal was, therefore, to build support for the preservation of Te Aro, an area of the city he considered was making a major contribution to "the creative dynamic of Wellington" and which was threatened by the incursion of a motorway by-pass. Parkin's project aimed to "redefine perceptions of the area's existing character to meet the needs of two audiences – the individuals and businesses with a vested interest in Te Aro and the WCC" (Parkin, 2007, 107). The vested interests included Parkin's partner, Laurie Foon, who is

> ...a high profile local fashion designer and retail owner – Ashely Owers – band manager and editor of a local gig guide The package, Thomasin Bollinger – local

[65] WCC voted $11 million over 10 years to promote the image of *Creative Wellington - Innovation Capital*. In April 2003 the mayor undertook a study trip to visit US cities that had adopted Florida's approach, and although she said wholesale buy-in to Florida had 'pitfalls', his theories "provided the inspiration for our creative vision and the strategies that underpin it, including our economic development strategy..." (Watson, 2004, 3).

> small business owner and board member for the Cuba Carnival, Natasha Naus – local historian and author of Heritage of health: a brief history of medical practices, maternity homes and motorways in Te Aro, Wellington, Steven Jessop – musician, and Jeremy Randerson – actor. Together they expressed concern about much of the development taking place in Te Aro, which they considered to be non-conducive to nurturing or enhancing the existing creative character, values and productivity of the area (Parkin, 2007, 108).

The communication campaign they devised drew on the idea of a creative ecosystem (Forida, 2002), emphasising "Te Aro's role as a creative asset by highlighting the unique benefits that the area's existing characteristics provided for creative and innovative communities." (Parkin, 2007,110). Their proposal included a recommendation to rename the area the Creative Quarter, a designated place for creative practices and small businesses. Parkin believed this campaign would be more likely to succeed than simply mobilising opposition to WCC's *Creative Wellington* development strategy.

The 'Save Our Streets' (SOS) brandmark, posters, tee-shirts, website and advertising that Parkin developed for the campaign were successful in building a sense of community. A local newspaper carried their promotional image of four female campaigners chained to a railing, not for women's suffrage, but for the preservation of their city's "creative quarter". The paper reported how the SOS campaign was seeking support from the "city's creative people" to restore heritage buildings and prevent chainstores taking over. In the article, the women were identified as proprietors of retail businesses in the "creative precinct" of Wellington city (Chipp, 2004). Locals who were interviewed supported the campaign, saying they too were "creatives".

Fundraising for the campaign was helped by selling 'Save Our Streets' tee shirts. Parkin placed 'advertisements' of models wearing the tee-shirts in two full-page layouts in *Staple* - a Wellington based art, design, fashion and culture magazine[66]. *Staple's* style was "appropriated" by Parkin, who chose the magazine as a "credible medium for promoting the tee shirts because it had a bias to Wellington issues and often featured articles about cultural events taking place in and around Te Aro" (Parkin, 2007, 144). He "toned down" the "promotional

[66] See *Staple* magazine, October/November 2004, p.26

emphasis" of the advertisements and gave the tee shirts credibility by "aligning them with the cultural subject matter within the magazine", and also by excluding the sponsors' logos

> ...so that the audience could relate to the statements and take ownership of the campaign without being influenced by any pre-conceptions they held towards the sponsors. [Leaving off the sponsor's logos] also emphasised the charitable nature of the campaign by expressing that the sponsors supported the cause but did not expect any commercial gain (Parkin, 2007, 145 -146).

In terms of my argument, the example of the Creative Quarter demonstrates the contention that projects and policy initiatives to equip people and places to compete in the cultural economy *do* play a role in the constitution of new 'creative' identities, but that this is clearly not a matter of pre-existing identities having new, economically determined cultural niches made available to them. Rather it is through the process of identification with governmental projects and the discourses they articulate, that new creative subjectivities can begin to be formed, stabilized and fixed. Neither governmental projects nor their creative objects pre-exist. Instead, 'creative quarters' or 'creative industries' need to be understood as entities that are "composed of nothing more or less than relations, reciprocal enfoldings gathered together in temporary and contingent unities" (Fraser, Kember, & Lury, 2005, 3).

Parkin's deployment of Florida's Creative Class concept to mobilise support is also a good example of Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) Lacanian concept of how identity and discourse are constituted around a lack, and therefore always inherently 'dislocated'. They argue that one way to 'discursively master' this dislocation, even if it must always eventually fail, is to construct an antagonism, or frontier, that is able to dichotomize a social space so as to form a single space of representation between its poles.[67] The dialectic of this antagonistic relation is necessary so as to create a space for representation. Parkin's project demonstrates an attempt to discursively master the threat of an actual, physical dislocation by dichotomising the interests of the WCC and the business people of Te Aro, thus creating a space for representation. The 'creative quarter' represented a position

[67] Laclau's formulation of antagonism (which he later called displacement) is similar to Derrida's notion of the 'constitutive outside' that shows the limit or extent of every objective relation (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, 10).

from which the proprietors of small businesses could resist development. As 'shopkeepers', 'filmmakers', 'restaurateurs', 'art gallery owners' or 'coffee distributors', the proprietors had no agency to resist the WCC's development projects, but as 'creatives' the council "needed to look after them" (Watson, 2004). Thus we see the category and the people emerging hand in hand [68].

Rhetorics of creativity and the humanist subject

How is the creativity dispositif formed and maintained? How does it construct a de-historicised and universalised creativity? Paradoxically, one of the key ways is through problematisations of neoliberalisation. One of the performative outcomes of the governmentality approach has been to harden up a particular representation of 'neoliberal subjectivity' that has now become commonplace in contemporary left political analysis, particularly that influenced by the writings of the regulation school. [69] This neoliberalised subject is an actively responsible agent "…[a] subject of market choice and a consumer of services, … [who] is obligated to enhance her quality of life through her own

[68] This case can also be usefully interpreted through Ian Hacking's (1986) idea of 'dynamic nominalism', which he describes thus:

> Take four categories: horse, planet, glove and multiple personality. It would be preposterous to suggest that the only thing that horses have in common is that we call them horses. We may draw the boundaries to admit or exclude Shetland ponies, but the similarities and difference are real enough. The planets furnish one of T.S. Kuhn's examples of conceptual change. Arguably, the heavens looked different after we grouped Earth with the other planets and excluded Moon and Sun, but I am sure that acute thinkers had discovered a real difference. I hold (most of the time) that strict nominalism is unintelligible for horses and the planets. How could horses and planets be so obediant to our minds? Gloves are something else: we manufacture them. I know not which came first, the thought or the mitten, but they have evolved hand in hand. That the concept 'glove' fits gloves so well is no surprise, we made them that way. My claim about making up people is that in a few interesting respects multiple personalities (and much else) are more like gloves than like horses. The category and the people emerged hand in hand (Hacking, 1986, 228-229).

[69] Regulation approaches study the interconnections between the 'modes of regulation' and 'accumulation regimes' of capitalist economies. In line with Marx's work, they analyse the crisis-tendencies of specific accumulation regimes and the ruptures and structural shifts that occur as accumulation and its regulation develop in and through class struggle (Boyer, 2005; Jessop & Sum, 2001). Boyer states that a 'mode of regulation' is "a construct comprising all the individual and collective procedures and behaviours that reproduce basic social relationships, guide active growth regimes and ensure the accounting of a myriad of decentralised decisions – without the actors necessarily being aware of these system-wide adjustment principles" (Boyer, 2005, 512).

decisions" (Fraser, 2003, 168). As Fraser explains, this new incitement around 'care of self' makes everyone an expert on herself and responsible for managing her own human capital to maximal effect. This neoliberalised subject is brought centre stage to strengthen critical narratives of neoliberalism as global capitalism's consolidating regulative regime. The globalisation of neoliberalism or 'neoliberalisation', as this process is now named (Peck & Tickell, 2002), occurs as "observed spatial variations of cultural attributes" are interpreted through the ideological frame of neoliberalism (Gibson & Klocker, 2005, 94). For its advocates as well as its opponents, neoliberalisation describes a form of economic development that relies on exports to fuel local economic growth through the 'multiplier effects' of export earnings that trickle down to create local jobs, better social security and higher living standards. In order to achieve this growth, localities need to compete against each other to secure their position in a global hierarchy (Harvey, 1989). Neo-Schumpeterian competition states (Cerny, 1997; Jessop, Peck, & Tickell, 2005) must therefore strive to facilitate the relationship of local firms with transnational capital, negotiating a paradoxical process that engages a local community with world markets "while at the same time seeking advantage from its differentiation from the rest of the world" (Campbell-Hunt, Chetty, & Matear, 2005, 5). National states, which were the central agents of the neoliberalisation process, are now regarded as being under threat as they become subordinated to these technologies of neoliberal governance (Neilson, 2006, 2).

In New Zealand, as neoliberal globalisation has become a governmental rationality (Larner, 2005), much infrastructural support has been aimed at "growing businesses of global reach from thin local soil" (Campbell-Hunt *et al.*, 2005). As part of this neoliberalizing project, fashion design has been categorized as a creative industry, an 'enabling sector' that has high growth potential and the ability to enhance the growth of other sectors by representing New Zealand as "an innovative and vibrant country" (Office of the Prime Minister, 2002). Local fashion designers have been encouraged to go global, loaded with the twin symbolic burdens of creating a national brand identity in global markets and transforming the national economy (Larner, 2005; Molloy & Larner, 2005). Most accounts of neoliberalisation present it as a universal and disembodied process and neoliberalised subjectivities are glossed as the effects of a strategy for replacing out-dated regulatory mechanisms with new techniques of self-regulation (Lemke,

2004). This new neoliberalised regulation is designed to make labour 'hyperflexible' (Menger, 2001), more usefully 'segmented' and generally more deeply subordinated to capital's will.

An instance of this type of thinking, as described earlier, is the way that pre-eminent critics of tertiary education in New Zealand, Mark Olssen and Michael Peters, concern themselves with shifts in the 'regulative modality' of capitalism under neoliberalism that are likely to transform the role of the academic to that of an "enterprising and competitive entrepreneur" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, 315). Likewise in Britain, Nigel Thrift describes "the constant attempt to produce new, more appropriate kinds of subjects, what we might call 'souls' that fit contemporary and especially future systems of accumulation…a new kind of self-willed subject whose industry will boost the powers of the state to compete economically, and will also produce a more dynamic citizenry" (Thrift, 2005, 97-98). These are "knowledgeable and enterprising" subjects able to simultaneously optimize their relationship to themselves and to their work, applying "particular kinds of intense agency that are creative, entrepreneurial and businesslike" (Thrift, 2005, 109 -110).

New Zealand fashion students appeared to exemplify this neoliberalised consumer-citizen. In interviews, they talked about their tertiary education as a stage in an entrepreneurial project of the self (Gordon, 1991, 44). They understood success would mean subjecting themselves to constant competition and working insanely 'crazy hours'[70]. They accepted that after graduating they would need to go overseas to learn the ropes in global businesses. New Zealand fashion designers represent themselves as 'busy girls'[71] and media reports about fashion designers always emphasize that an "ability to get off your arse and get out and do it, and do it a bit harder than everybody else, is a really important attribute in this business" (Enting, 2007). In fashion tutorials I attended, students were made thoroughly

[70] A fashion student reported on her experience of the end-of-year show. "We have all worked crazy hours…I don't even want to speculate how many. We have been living it, eating it, sleeping it and eating it. It has been insane" (*Dominion Post*, Thursday Nov. 16th 2006).

[71] A student who entered herself for an *Air New Zealand Inspiring New Zealanders in Fashion* scholarship with a prize of a twelve week work experience programme and a trip to New York Fashion Week. The deciding factor in her win was the fact she was "a busy girl…her drive and the experience she had already garnered in the industry, including an internship withAustralian fashion magazine *Rush*, work experience as an assistant stylist for *The Dominion Post Fashion* magazine, and writing for Wellington fashion magazine *Lucire*" (Enting, 2007). All this on top of full-time study for an honours degree in fashion.

aware that to be successful in the fashion business required constant networking and, only half jokingly, were told that they should "decide whether to sleep with someone to get the job *before* going clubbing". As well, being successful in fashion meant foregoing parenthood; "Forget kids, you can't be successful at both"[72]. It made sense therefore to see these students as neoliberalised subjects, interpellated – or perhaps 'glamoured' in the original supernatural sense of the word that fashion theorist Elizabeth Wilson (2007) has explored – by the world of consumer fashion, supplying themselves as a constantly refreshed sacrificial stream of labour and surplus value on the altar of national exports.

For example, Anita Harris (2005), in *Future Girl: Young Women in the Twenty First Century,* draws on Nikolas Rose (1990) to argue that late modern states construct youth citizenship through highly managed forms of participation and consumption. She makes the point that young women are differently and specifically affected by these new constructions. The self-made 'girl entrepreneur' symbolises economic independence and the ability to make a success of oneself without the need for state intervention. Representations of the girl entrepreneur carry ideological narratives of self-discipline and motivation and are deployed in order to model youth citizenship and forge national identities. For Harris, the fantasy of entrepreneurial achievement accomplished by good ideas, hard work and self-confidence is more than metaphorical, it is a practical scheme offered to young women to ensure economic self-sufficiency.

> Being self-made and motivated, achieving financial success, and representing one's country become bound up in a story about girls' citizenship as product. Makeup, lingerie, sporting goods, fashion and music are the accessories for citizenship. The positive qualities that these role models represent can in fact be purchased (Harris, 2005, 278-279).

Similarly, McRobbie's 'top girls' are imagined as the ideal subjects of female success, exemplars of the new competitive meritocracy, endlessly working on a perfectible self (McRobbie, 2007, 718).

> Armed with good qualifications and having been encouraged to display enthusiasm and willingness to pursue careers as a mark of new and independent sexual identities, this female participation becomes an important feature of the success of the new economy (McRobbie, 2007, 730).

[72] Fashion Design History tutorial discussion with European trend forecaster and designer Lise Strathdee, Massey University, 11 October 2007.

Within a broadly Marxist framework, therefore, it looks as though designer fashion in New Zealand functions as an ideological fiction through which fashion design subjects 'misrecognise' the reality of their situation (Althusser, 2001). They are victims of a vampire-like fashion apparatus that, like all creative industries, "ingest[s] youngsters at low prices from a large pool provided by the education system, working newcomers and established hands remorselessly, and discarding the older and less accommodating at will" (Ursell, 2000, 816). Gillian Ursell is telling a story about television production here, but the idea that all types of cultural work have exploitative tendencies masked by a 'charismatic ideology' (Bourdieu, 1993) is prevalent in critiques of all cultural industries. Cultural workers are "not merely volunteering to co-operate with the vampire but are actively constituting its life processes" (Ursell, 2000, 816). Thus fashion graduates expect, indeed desire, to have their surplus value expropriated and inserted into global surplus flows, whether this distribution is done by employers or by the students themselves, in the role of the cultural entrepreneur, appropriating their own surplus labour and distributing it as part of a performance of creative identity. As Althusser says,

> the subjects 'work', they 'work by themselves' in the vast majority of cases, with the exception of the 'bad subjects' who on occasion provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (Repressive) State Apparatus. But the vast majority of (good) subjects work all right 'all by themselves', i.e. by ideology (whose concrete forms are realized in the Ideological State Apparatuses). They are inserted into practices governed by the rituals of the ISAs (Althusser, 2001, 323).

This is the upshot of McRobbie's argument about the commitment of young British fashion designers to notions of personal creativity. For her, creativity is part of a new mode of neoliberal regulation that encourages freelance or self-employed entrepreneurship. As a mode of regulation, creativity negates the idea of a politics of work and equal opportunity, obscures the way some ethnicities are being under-represented as 'talented' cultural entrepreneurs and forces women to decide between having children and having work. McRobbie accentuates the 'self-exploitation' in the desire to uncover personal talent, take risks, and put in long hours that are alienating and that weaken social bonds (McRobbie, 2002b, 104). This new ideology of creativity enables fashion designers to break down "the

distinction between dull work and enjoyable leisure" (McRobbie, 1999, 27)[73]. This is not the corporatist governance of 'pleasure in work' that Donzelot described, in which pleasure and work were conjoined "in the interests of their greater efficiency and lesser cost…divert[ing] people from individual egoism as much as from nationalist hysteria, putting before them instead a model of happiness in an updated, corrected social domain" (Donzelot, 1991, 280). Rather, McRobbie's concern is that instead of *diverting* people from individual egoism, the new, neoliberalised governance is *reorganising* labour around egoism – an ideal of self-expressive work in which individual effort, talent and luck are believed to contribute more to success than social class, gender or ethnicity.

The main object and determinant of McRobbie's polemical stance is *neoliberalisation*, which she describes as a state plan to create "a more fully developed mode of neo-liberal governance which complies with the needs and the overall inclinations of the global capitalist economy by means of a transformed social democratic pathway" (McRobbie, 2005, 34). Following Stuart Hall, she suggests that during the Thatcher years, a framework of consent for national unity in the face of capitalist crises displaced earlier antagonisms. This hegemonic project produced the consensus that capitalism plus parliamentary democracy were the only imaginable forms of social organisation, and that social democracy is being reshaped to provide even more effective support for an "aggressive neo-liberal order" (McRobbie, 2005, 18-38).

Bob Jessop also describes the aim of the state to remoralise a neoliberal accumulation strategy around a populist 'one nation' hegemonic project, in order to "reduce social exclusion without undermining the economic well-being of 'Middle England'" (Jessop, 2003, 4). Jessop, Peck and Tickell (2005) acknowledge the dominance of neoliberal forms of globalisation, but call for theoretical approaches that focus on the interplay between global capitalism, the nation state and the local, in order to represent much less totalised, multi-scalar, multi-centric, and multi-temporal neoliberalisations than McRobbie's polemic would tend to suggest. Their argument is explicit in introducing a neo-Gramscian perspective to the processes and objects of regulation in order to stress "the importance of values,

[73] The blending of leisure and work is reflected in a new genre of novel–styled management literature combining 'chick lit' with educational material for aspiring women leaders in business, e.g. *Julia Makes Her Move* (Beck, 2007).

norms, vision, discourses, linguistic forms, popular beliefs…in shaping local accumulation strategies and their related modes of growth" (Jessop *et al*., 2005, 174).

In all these critiques of neoliberal governance, creativity takes on a key rhetorical role. Governments are understood to appropriate creativity "because of its ability to act as a catalyst in the cultural transition of individuals from "citizens" into "entrepreneurs" and "consumers", the idealised companions of the neoliberal state" (Gibson & Klocker, 2005, 94). Cultural workers in general are thought to attract this new political focus because they are in the vanguard of labour relations and a sign of a change in the regime of labour (Ellmeier, 2003, 150). In the critical engagements with creativity that have been undertaken by McRobbie (2002a), Peck (2005b) and Gibson (2005) the primary aim is to objectify neoliberalisation. Thus, in these arguments, even if the mutual constitution of (economic) subject and object is theoretically acknowledged, and even when technologies of economic government are recognised as constituting their own objects of governance, 'creativity' must remain an essentialised category that is repressed, rather than produced, by the new regulatory regime of neoliberal globalisation. Neoliberalised creativity as an economic subject position is constructed as much in critiques of neoliberalisation as it is in normative versions of the cultural economy.

To problematise neoliberalisation as ideological, as in the politics of construing people as consumers (see Fine, 2002, 101-114), the construction of "consumer-citizen subjects" and "girl entrepreneurs'"(Harris, 2005), or "top girls" (McRobbie, 2007) is to presume a 'state plan', in which creativity is used as policy rhetoric. Again, this re-essentialises creativity as 'repressed'. Other contributions to the dispositif or apparatus of creativity come from attempts to establish principles of a knowledge-based economy/knowledge society in educational discourse. For example, works such as *The Creative Age* (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999) or *Creativity in Education* (Craft *et al*., 2001) argue that creativity is not confined to particular activities or people, that it can be taught and that therefore all people can 'have it'. Jane Gilbert's (2005) *Catching The Knowledge Wave? The Knowledge Society and the Future of Education* inadvertently illustrates a key problem with this argument. Gilbert is chief researcher with the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and one of the government's key advocates for changes to teaching and learning in New Zealand schools. Her work is sponsored

by the Ministry of Education as an explicit provocation to New Zealand educators with links to her presentations supplied on the Ministry's website (see Gilbert, 2007). Gilbert writes:

> Teachers can also find ways to help students imagine themselves in new and different 'subject positions'. They can approach the teaching of their subject in ways that help students to imagine themselves, not as a spectator, an outsider looking in, but as a real practitioner of that subject. To do this, teachers need to emphasise, not the subject matter of, say, science, history, and art, but how a scientist, a historian, or an artist might see or think about things. They need to design activities that allow students to imagine themselves being a scientist, a historian, or an artist, and that scaffold scientific, historical, or artistic ways of thinking. Students need activities that get them to look at the rules of the game of each of these different ways of thinking – activities that get them to compare and contrast these approaches, and to look at the strengths, weaknesses, and different uses of each.
>
> If students are to be innovators, they also need to be able to visualise themselves as the kind of people who can put elements from different old knowledge systems together in new ways to make new knowledge. Most people will need support to imagine themselves in this way (Gilbert, 2005, 210).

Gilbert's thesis is consistent with the way knowledge is represented in the Demos publication *The Creative Age*. Knowledge is a verb, not a noun, something we do rather than something we have. It is no longer developed and stored within experts and organised into disciplines, but is a type of interactive energy that runs in networks and flows (Castells, 1996). Old forms of knowledge are important not for their own sake, but as a resource to generate new knowledge (Lyotard, c1984). Knowledge is disembodied, de-autonomised, no longer attached to disciplined persons, able to be used by everyone.

But the reasoning that knowledge is no longer specific to particular persons (such as artists or scientists) only holds if it was conceptualised in the first place as a hermetically-sealed property able to be held by an individual – as, for example, when Gilbert writes that artistic or scientific knowledges can be learned by imagining how artists or scientists once used to think. Even though knowledge is supposed to be detachable from specific persons and transferable between

individuals who then reconstitute it in various innovative ways, knowledge is also re-essentialised as the product of person-specific 'ways of thinking' or 'ways of seeing'. When it is argued in *Creativity in Education* (Craft et al., 2001) that we need to distinguish "high Creativity" which is possessed by people who re-fashion domains of knowledge, from "little c creativity", which "focuses on the resourcefulness and agency of ordinary people" (Craft, 2001b, 49), creativity is, at the same time, being re-universalised and de-historicised. The attempts to establish principles of a knowledge-based economy/knowledge society in educational discourse by showing that creativity is something people can 'have', is to re-instate it as an essential identity and inalienable psychological core. Nikolas Rose's enjoinder to this would be to suggest we pay more attention to the "context within which actual human capacities and attributes [such as creativity] are formed and distributed, and to the practices and techniques through which human beings learn to become persons of a certain sort" (du Gay, 2007, 46).

A further contribution to creativity's field of discursivity is made by the humanities in their "utilitarian defence" (Hearn, 2006) against the knowledge-based-economy. For example, in 2006, the Humanities Society of New Zealand (HUMANZ) invited Greg Hearn, an editor of the *Handbook on the Knowledge Economy* (Rooney, Hearn, & Ninan, 2005) and director of the Institute for Creative Industries & Innovation (iCi) at Queensland University of Technology (QUT), to speak on the topic of 'Knowledge Policy'. Hearn spoke in Wellington and in Auckland as part of negotiations around the reformation of HUMANZ as the new Council for the Humanities. In his address, Hearn argued that the 'Knowledge Economy' should be recognised as a valid term, because it refers to the "innovation imperative, the trans-disciplinary imperative, the network imperative and the cultural imperative", which are together making the economy of the 21st century "specifiably different" to that of the 20th. According to Hearn, the need to map these specific differences led humanities researchers to begin to produce statistics about the value of creative enterprises to national economies.

Stuart Cunningham, who is a director with Hearn in the Creative Industry faculty at QUT, has also addressed New Zealand audiences about creativity in the new economy and its relation to the humanities (Cunningham, 2002, 2004a, 2004b). For Hearn and Cunningham, and for John Hartley who is the Dean of Creative Industry at QUT, "the imperatives of the knowledge economy have

provided the catalyst for much needed change in the arts and humanities" (Bullen, Robb, & Kenway, 2004, 12). Not only are creative industries an integral part of the new economy, but they provide an opportunity to rethink how universities might modernize their curriculum and revive "moribund" humanities faculties (pers. comm., Stuart Cunningham, 17.03.04). These challenges to the humanities, and the accommodations and defences that they themselves make in response to knowledge economy discourse, including the 'culturalist critiques' of creative industry as an economic ideology (Hinde & Dixon, 2007), all help to establish the truth of creativity.

'Theory' versus teaching

As the governmental mechanisms managing the new education system in New Zealand chugged inexorably on, disrupting curricula and enjoining change, as a lecturer in a newly labelled College of Creative Arts, I felt the need to slow down the rush to institute "'New' Knowledges and 'New' Ways of Knowing" (Gilbert, 2003) and make a space for hesitation about what it means to be creative in *The Creative Age*. Initially, taking a post-structuralist view of the creativity explosion seemed to be a good idea. By 'post-structuralist' I'm referring to those methodological approaches that contain a philosophical response to the scientific pretensions of structuralism, and which include a critique of the norms of 'truth', 'objectivity' and 'progress'. As good a summary of post-structuralism as any I've come across is Michael Peters and Walter Hume's 'Editorial' in the *Journal of Education Policy* (Peters & Humes, 2003), which I quote extensively below because of the way they endorse post-structuralist approaches to provide a philosophical corrective to mainstream and post-positivist educational research. In particular, they say, post-structuralism eschews the traditional account of truth as correspondence to reality, and emphasizes the idea that language functions like a differential system. Post-structuralism adopts an anti- or post-epistemological standpoint and an anti-realist position, which rejects the picture of knowledge as accurate representation. It tends to

> ...historize questions of ontology and investigate the cultural construction of subjectivity genealogically. It provides a strong critique of the metaphysics of presence, reevaluating the taken-for-granted humanism underlying traditional

> accounts of the unified, autonomous and transparent self. Post-structuralism does not 'liquidate' the subject; rather it inquires into where it comes from and how it functions - it analyses its positionality, its discursive formations and its historical becomings.
>
> Against transcendental arguments and viewpoints, it pits a many-sided perspectivism. From Nietzsche, post-structuralism inherits a critique of 'truth' and a diagnosis and critique of many entrenched binary oppositions that bedevil Western metaphysics and ways of thinking. It analyses and deconstructs these binary oppositions to unmask the way they manufacture hierarchical tables of value that often arbitrarily privilege one set over others. Politically speaking, post-structuralism aims to expose structures of domination by diagnosing 'power/knowledge' relations and their manifestations in classifications, typologies and institutions. It aims to produce an 'incredulity towards metanarratives', to unhook and disassemble the structures, the 'moves' and manipulations of official discourse: the discourse of the State, the party and political movements that attempt to speak for others. It aims to analyse the power relations in communication and the pedagogies of modern forms of mass media.
>
> Post-structuralism highlights the centrality of language to human activity and culture: its materiality, its linguisticality and its pervasive ideological nature. Through its insistence on the non-referentiality of language, post-structuralism emphasizes the self-undermining and self-deconstructing character of discourse. In this way also it calls into question the naturalness of the disciplines, to stress their historical formation (Peters & Humes, 2003, 111-112).

Peters and Hume are describing here what has become known as 'theory', a "deportment" or "form of inner ethical labour" which Ian Hunter (2006, 86) has controversially described as "oriented to a certain kind of self-transformation" maintained by the pedagogical relations of the academy.

Like Bruno Latour (2004), and exactly as Hunter (2006) and du Gay (2007) have described, I found that taking this post-structuralist approach allowed me a kind of metaphysical detachment from the more immediate problem of adjusting fashion education to apparently incommensurable ideologies of creativity. Regarding the whole idea of creativity as a myth meant there was no point in worrying about the future of students sitting in front of me each semester. If creativity was an artefact of bourgeois culture, my job in a College of Creative Arts would be to simply keep up the symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron,

1990), reproduce liberal tropes of creativity and continue to shore up the differences between creative and non-creative work. In terms of curriculum, helping students to 'be creative' might be introducing them to a corrosive kind of lifestyle, but if creativity *is* a social construct, then there is no mystery about what needs to be taught – instead the question becomes 'To whose benefit?' Accordingly, the initial chapter outline for this thesis tried to sketch a creativity that operates discursively, forming a regulatory ideal that produces creative identities and subjectivities.

My initial argument was that:

- liberal education systems have represented creativity as being repressed
- subjects of creativity are initially interpellated at school, then as consumers of 'lifelong learning'
- 'the material relations' of creative education as they are performed in the university demarcate a certain ethic of creativity. They discipline subjects in creativity.
- performances of 'talent' (an essential requirement for creativity) and 'hard work' (required to be a good student) contradict each other, producing a differential range of creative subjectivities.
- encouraging creative agency typifies and is a way of legitimating decentralised and privatised forms of state governance.
- the formation of 'creative industries' is a hegemonic conflation of the interests of labour and capital. This allows an 'enabling state' to constitute individualised, deregulated 'creative work' as being in the best interest of New Zealand citizens and global businesses.
- the discursive formation of creativity has emerged partly through the agency of traditional humanities disciplines mounting a utilitarian defence to the challenge of a globalised knowledge economy.

My ostensible aim in all of this was to perhaps find a way through creativity, in order to re-imagine it. Maybe there was some way of fighting the compulsory-ness of creativity by turning the tenets of the creative economy back on themselves.

However, none of the points in the argument above could help with my third, most pressing concern – how to arrange suitable learning for fashion students

which would not seem sceptical and disillusioned. I found that the practical revision of educational programmes has no use for these post-structuralist moves. Paul du Gay, drawing on Latour (2004), recognises this dilemma and draws a good likeness of the way 'theory' tends to be deployed by critical academics:

> 'Aha! You may think your agenda, project, object, self is somehow obvious, free-standing, natural, but actually it is socially constructed!' The post-structuralist capacity to treat identity as arising only from the manner in which it represses its other is regularly deployed in this move, to chide an object, agenda, project, person for its failure to understand and/or encompass the symbolic (or actual) violence it does to that which it represses in order to be itself. This is a powerful move [...]; it can destabilize, undermine, induce feelings of guilt and all the sorts of affects that the critical mindset wishes to bring about. But really, why? What exactly does this achieve? (du Gay, 2007, 4)

The problem is that critiquing, denying, denouncing, or attempting to transcend the knowledges contributing to the 'creativity explosion' was not the slightest help in an empirical quest for vocational relevance. The persons and states that result from the re-imagining and re-invention of categories of creative power/knowledge fulfil a purpose that is valued and that everyone wishes to see continued. Who could be against creativity? For this reason, I took a sideways move in this thesis. I tried not to oppose the economic logics about labour supply in creativity markets that is producing the current articulation of creative education and creative industry and forming the context for certain individuals to experience themselves as subjects of creativity. Simply theorising about the social construction of creativity does not ultimately help achieve my purpose, for as Isabelle Stengers writes, "the power of a theory is to define an issue simply as a case that, as such, is unable to challenge it. That power prevents the representatives of the theory from giving the issue the power to oblige them to think" (Stengers, 2005, 998). Although fashion design education could undoubtedly provide a good case study in the dynamics of valorisation of the global economy (Sassen, 2004) and an illustration of how 'fashion victim' identities were being reproduced for an 'immoral capitalist order' (Gibson-Graham, 2006), this was not what I wanted to think about in this thesis, and not simply because such a critique would involve biting the hand that fed me. As Ian

Hunter has said “critique cannot escape the orbit of the binary concepts that it seeks to problematise because critique is itself nothing more than a theoretical oscillation between these concepts” (Hunter, 1993, 125). The pendulum has been swung against creativity by others, and somehow I did not think it would be useful to inform fashion students that 'being creative' is currently being critiqued as a “potentially moronic” norm of “compulsory individualism, compulsory “innovation”, compulsory performativity and productiveness, the compulsory valorization of the putatively new” (Osborne, 2003, 507). To do this would be akin to Foucault’s (1993, 201) anecdote about the truth-therapies used in the 17th and 18th centuries, which presumed the mad could be cured if only one managed to show them that their delirium was without any relation to reality. The question was, did I want students to be ‘cured’ of creativity? Following Barbara Cruikshank’s (1996) argument, this would be like curing students of ‘self-esteem’. As Cruikshank points out in relation to self-esteem, what would it mean for individuals to attribute their lack of power and control in the world to a lack of creativity? Cruikshank’s work shows why it is important to distinguish creative subjectivity from creative subjection, and both from subjectification. In the following chapter, I examine two different models of subjectification, in order to make a way through this problem.

Chapter 6: Creative Subjects

Before elaborating on theories of subjectification, I first need to describe the relationship of my thesis to the empirical data generated by student interviews. It was the analysis of these interviews that directed the specific focus of the thesis toward governmentality and the subjectification of students as consumers who seek 'life-long satisfactions' through educational choice.

Interviews

To begin the project, 17 interviews were recorded with students enrolled in the first year of fashion degrees at four tertiary education organisations (TEOs) in New Zealand. The students interviewed were aged between 18 and 33 years, with the majority under 22. All but one was female. This is typical of the age range and gender of students in New Zealand fashion design programmes. The interviews were semi-structured and took between 40 minutes and an hour and a half, after which I transcribed the tapes and roughly coded the transcripts. I also undertook 12 informal interviews with key informants. These were:

- the leaders of three fashion degree programmes at three tertiary education organisations (all women).
- Heads of Schools of Design or Creative Industries at three TEOs (all men)
- the Director of a Creative Industries Research Centre at an Australian university (male)
- a New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission official (male)
- the Director of a private research company specialising in international work, education and business links (male)
- the Director of a New Zealand fashion recruitment company (female)
- two student counsellors (one male, one female).

The interviews were supplemented by my personal experience of teaching in design programmes, as well as many informal conversations with fashion students

and graduates over the years. In addition, during work on this thesis I attended many of the presentations, seminars, conferences, forums and workshops set up by government, university and industry agents as part of the economic transformation project.

Initially, a larger number of student interviews had been planned; however, gaining access to one of the largest TEOs proved virtually impossible. This circumstance gives an insight into the current context of fashion education in New Zealand, so I will explain it in more detail than it would otherwise merit. In order to do the interviews I needed to get approval from each Head of School, and then from a programme leader or lecturer who would sponsor my invitation to students to take part in the project. My information sheet stated that the research was about design and the creative industries and had been chosen because creativity was seen as important to New Zealand's economy. I wrote that I was interested in what creativity meant to fashion students, and how this might impact on their decision to study design. At the university that proved to be problematic, the programme leader arranged a time and place to meet but at the appointed time was nowhere to be found, despite searches by embarrassed staff. The meeting was attempted again a couple of months later. The same thing happened. No explanation was ever given. Eventually I did manage to elicit by email a list of phone contacts for a dozen or so students from this TEO who agreed to be interviewed. I made contact with seven of them, mailed out participant information sheets, then phoned or texted again to confirm interview times and venue. At each stage the students appeared happy, some even eager, to meet with me. However, one after another, six of the seven failed to show up and declined to be interviewed when I contacted them again to see if I could re-schedule. Because this had not happened with students at other schools, I surmised that students at this TEO were either particularly stressed and disorganised, or that someone might have put them off, and my being a lecturer at a 'rival' university could have something to do with this. The latter impression seemed to be confirmed when my request to know the numbers of students enrolled in this programme was declined in an email from the business and marketing department, stating this was "commercially sensitive information". I concluded that managers in this organisation perceived my request as a threat. In itself, this provided a valuable context by demonstrating the extent to which the education of fashion designers is viewed as a commercial product in a

competitive market. It illustrated precisely the reason the Tertiary Education Commission was devising tactics to try to encourage the tertiary system to be more "collaborative and cooperative" (TEC, 2004d) and confirmed what an official at the Commission had earlier told me about the difficulties of getting universities to work together.

Although fewer student interviews were obtained than I initially thought to be ideal, the concept of 'theoretical saturation' suggests that a sample of six is sufficient to enable meaningful themes to be developed and usefully interpreted. "[F]or most research enterprises […] in which the aim is to understand common perceptions and experiences among a group of relatively homogeneous individuals, twelve interviews should suffice" (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006, 79). In the end, 17 interviews provided more than enough material to extract themes for subsequent investigation.

The framework I originally devised for the interviews sought to understand whether students' interpretive repertoires were based in humanistic (genius) or contingent (systems) concepts about creativity. Was creativity about person or process? Was it spontaneous or incremental? Was it about innovation or value, intuition or rationality? In relation to creative industry, questions were designed to discover whether students thought fashion was about manufacturing goods or ideas (symbolic vs. tangible value), how they assigned value (popular youth culture or 'good design') and their levels of autonomy, as displayed by:

- attitude to individual/institutional/industrial responsibility for training.
- entrepreneurship in establishing a career – will they "get a job in industry", or "go it alone".
- attitude to success – reliant on "who you know, or what you know?"

This strategy was developed after reviewing the normative texts on creativity in management and design literature. Eventually I realised that this literature had not allowed the interviews to be embarked upon 'without prior commitment'. The literature took for granted that creativity was incontrovertible – that although it might occur unpredictably and it was still unclear whether it was a special talent or could be managed and taught, nevertheless there was a truth at the heart of creativity that could be discovered. Because the literature took this for granted, so did I, and misguidedly decided that there was little point in asking students

whether they thought they were creative themselves. I could not imagine they would admit they were not! I did, however, ask about what conditions they thought people needed to 'be creative', whether they thought it was possible to be creative when under pressure, as well as questions about creative process that were designed to find out whether students considered creativity to be spontaneous and intuitive or 'incremental'. The interviews were loosely structured so the students could provide a narrative about how they were hailed by the fashion degree. I wanted to see if there was evidence of the designer identity represented in official economic development publicity. Was there a 'designer myth' and if so how did the students encounter it and which aspects of it seemed plausible and attractive to them? Were they entranced by the prospect of working in fashion and where did they think they would find employment?

'Art stars' or 'creative girls'?

Upon analysing the interviews, I discovered there was very little mention of creativity, imagination or talent as the reason for choosing to do fashion. In marked contrast to the stories told by established fashion designers, as an explanation of why students studied fashion design – 'I decided to do the course because I am fabulously creative and talented' – did not figure at all in my interview scripts. There was little to suggest these students were bent on becoming the "art stars" (Smith, 2004) that employers complained about. As well, rather than providing evidence of being "trapped in the narcissistic, self-surveillance world of images" (Boden & Williams, 2002, 179; Frost, 2005, 71), for most students the reasons given for enrolling in a fashion degree were more to do with the possibilities of a degree-level qualification than anything else. In short, the students did not seem to be interpellated by the post-feminist masquerade of the fashion and beauty system, but rather to be hailed as well-qualified "subjects of capacity" (McRobbie, 2007).

The interviews generated a number of themes that led me to problematise the creativity explosion and its relation to a creative economy. Firstly, nearly all of the students I interviewed felt it was obligatory to achieve at least one degree. The stress of having to choose was often palpable in their description of the decision

process.

> *I had no idea what to do whatsoever, when I left school. I was just in absolute turmoil. I applied for business school and stuff, because I thought that's what I was supposed to do.*
>
> Supposed to do?
>
> *Yeah well, you're supposed to be successful, you're supposed to, I don't know ...just do something academic. That's what I thought, anyway.* (Fiona)

Neither had doing fashion been a straightforward or easy choice to make. A number of the students had enrolled in the fashion degree after starting (and in some cases completing) a degree in another subject (science, technology, communication, criminology, or nursing, were among those mentioned). For all but one of the 'first time' university students, doing fashion was a choice made late in secondary school.

> *6th form and 7th form the pressure started coming on, and I went through millions, I went through... I wanted to be a police... join the police force, like seriously going to do it. Then, I was like nah, I want to be a sky-diving instructor, so I did all that, and stuff. I went through so many, I think I wanted to be a doctor once, and then ...yeah, it's always been changing. But when you imagine...like when I was about 10, I wasn't thinking about jobs, but imagining who I'd like to be when I was old…I always wanted to be, cause I really like flamenco dancing, I just really want to be a dancing teacher, but it's like, I'll do that in my spare time!* (Sarah)

So a propensity to study fashion design was not to be found in the students' 'nature' and if success as a fashion designer had any relationship to a student's "underlying ability" (Wolf, 2004, 319) this was not evident in their 'learning pathway' at secondary school. They also felt it incumbent upon themselves to achieve as 'high' an education as possible, in spite of an intuition that as higher education becomes more universal its relative value in terms of social mobility or potential income decreases [74]. As one student said,

[74] Analyses of the market rewards to tertiary education in New Zealand show that during the 1981-1991 period, the rate of return for a higher education stabilised for males and declined for females, stabilising overall around 1996 (Maani, 1999; Maani & Maloney, 2004).

> *When I graduate, I want to graduate with as many things outside of uni as possible. Because there's 80 girls before me that graduate, there's 80 girls with me, and 80 girls are after me... Its like I mean, what's going to make me stand out? And that's why I do these competitions...* (Jane)

Thus another theme that emerged from the interviews was the way a fashion degree allowed students to 'keep their options open'.

> *(In this course) you can, like, do what you want …Definitely want to do fashion, but not necessarily fashion design... Maybe fashion promotion or management or journalism*? (Charlotte)

> *We had a careers expo thing at school, and I wanted to do, like a bachelor, a degree, I didn't want to just do a diploma, in case I didn't want to keep doing fashion? Like I could go into other areas.* (Laura)

Attaining a 'generic' (i.e. general academic) education is seen as a form of middle-class risk management (Taylor & Woollard, 2003). Consciousness of risk is related to one's social location and risk perception varies across communities, so that attempts to 'colonise the future' by calculating and controlling the risks of tertiary education vary according to gender, age, class, ethnicity and nationality. My interview subjects were a very homogeneous group, whose parents had professional, managerial or farming backgrounds. The two exceptions were the only male student I interviewed (who identified himself as gay), whose parents were manual and service workers. The other exception was the daughter of Southeast Asian refugees, who reported that her mother "is a sewer" and her father "cuts hair". Two overseas students (Chinese) had similar middle-class backgrounds to the New Zealanders. One of these voluntarily identified herself as having a strong Christian faith, as did six other students out of the total of 17 I interviewed. All but one of the New Zealand-born students came from provincial cities and towns.

The consistency of the New Zealand parents' risk-management strategies was very evident in the students' stories. Parents' primary concern was the *level* of qualification, rather than the subject area their children were studying. A university education was thought of as a generic education. For example, one

student commented on why she had not wanted to study in her hometown:

> *There is a polytech course there, but I'd rather be getting a bachelor. I'd just like to have that behind my name, to be able to say OK, I've got a bachelor in something, because my parents you know, always pushing the education! And I'd just like to have some sort of a good qualification at least.…at least one.* (Courtney)

It was notable that the parents of the 'atypical' (working-class) students did not share the concern for their children to get a degree. The gay student's mother had discouraged him from attending university when he finished secondary school, and the daughter of refugees had completed work-based training courses prior to enrolling in the fashion degree. Parents did not always have the last word on risk, however. The students' view was different from that of their parents in some respects. They recognised that older generations viewed fashion education as not being a safe option for someone with 'the brains' to do a more 'normal job'.

> *But I just found that, like, people that my parents, like, friends of the older people were, like, "Oh, so you're not doing a proper degree, then", ...I just went to this thing with my parents once, and they were like, "what are you doing next year?" And I would say, "Oh fashion" and they were like, " That's nice, are you going to do a proper degree after that?" But a lot of older people don't think that it was a proper degree… A lot of older people don't think that it's…you know, a 'proper' profession*. (Charlotte)

> *Oh, my parents prefer me...like, they always...like, the whole technology thing, you know? I was doing technology and stuff because it's quite similar to engineering and they're like, (proudly) "Oh my daughter Sarah, she's doing this technology degree", and now its kinda like, design… "Oh, it's a bit airy-fairy, Sarah"... You know. Its kinda hard to get their support sometimes, cause they think it's a bit risky, and "You've got so much brains Sarah, you know you should really be using them", but its kinda like, nah, I'll do what I want. But no, um, just the other day, my Mum sent me a rip-out from a magazine about Trelise Cooper (NZ fashion*

designer) and stuff. That's the first time I've got some good strong support going on, so I'm like, yay! (Sarah)

As I said, when I began this study, I presumed I would be researching narratives of creative talent. I thought that students enrolling in fashion degrees would be keen to develop their talent for fashion design and this would be able to be researched as a mode of inscription and an interpellative device. My aim was related to McRobbie's questions about new work in a cultural economy, in which she flagged issues about "youth, 'permanently transitional' work; and creativity, understood as a sovereign space for finding 'pleasure in work'" (McRobbie, 2002b, 98, citing Donzelot, 1991). As I argued in Chapter 5 McRobbie suggests this new work ethic functions as a means of combating social exclusion through an ideology of self-expressive work, in which luck, individual effort and talent contribute more to success than class, gender or ethnicity. The Cool Britannia campaign epitomised the ambition for a talent-led economy that combined youth, talent and culture, providing the British government with egalitarian role-models and creating a new "youth-driven meritocracy", in which the concept of talent is "aggressively deployed to dramatic effect" (McRobbie, 2002b). These narratives did not feature in my student interviews.

Individuals, persons, subjects

So, how do individuals find themselves to be creative? As well as becoming educated "subjects of capacity" (McRobbie, 2007), did students "have in their heads" (Veyne, 2005, 346) any other reasons for obeying the dictate of the Creative Age? In order to answer this question, my investigation began to crystallise around two models of subjectification. (The schema I developed to think about this is shown on page 162.) The first model of subject formation follows a generalised psychoanalytic theory to account for the ways in which certain practices of the self become inscribed in the subject. In this model, subjectification is taken as a universal process that founds the subjectivity of everyone, in every situation. The second model turns to the material cultural idea of *personhood*, in which this generalised theory of the subject is rejected on the basis that the notion of subjectivity itself has a genealogy and therefore cannot be taken to be the ground of all human capacities (du Gay, 2007).

To follow this argument we need to recognise that 'individuals' 'selves', 'subjects' and 'persons' are not interchangeable terms. Firstly, the development of liberalism in 17th to 19th century is associated with political and legal conducts that encouraged governments to treat persons as individuals.

> The ability to conceive of human beings as individuals standing outside of society and nature, autonomous thinking agents acting on them form without was an invaluable resource in the emergence of those forms of calculative rationality, for example that Max Weber (1978) associated with the development of 'the capitalist spirit' (du Gay, 2007, 23).

The image of a person as closed, biological and psychological individual, a little world unto himself, rigidly separated from the social world outside has led to chicken-and-egg debates about the relationship between individuals and society, as if they were separate and distinct realities (Elias, cited in (du Gay, 2007, 25).

There have been many attempts to overcome this individual/society dualism. Du Gay (2007, 23-39) for example, develops an argument (which he draws from Elias (2000) and Bourdieu (2000) among others) that the forms of personhood ascribed to biological and psychological individuals in their passage through social institutions do not have an essential moral and theoretical ground.

Van Wolputte (2004) usefully refers to 'body-selves', arguing that the body must be understood as a 'relationship', not as the tool for the mind or an empty box, but as the ‘material infrastructure’ of the production of selves, belonging and identities. As Marcel Mauss realised, persons are identified and distinguished by the way they use their bodies and these *techniques of the body* (walking, swimming, nose-blowing, breathing, eating, sleeping etc.) require a “technical education” or an “apprenticeship” in “prestigious imitation” (Mauss, 1973 [1934], 71-73):

> It is precisely this notion of the prestige of the person who performs the ordered, authorised, tested action *vis-à-vis* the imitating individual that contains all the social element. The imitative action which follows contains the psychological element and the biological element. But on the whole, the ensemble, is conditioned by the three elements indissolubly mixed together (Mauss, 1973 [1934], 73 -74).

Techniques of the body are “physio-psycho-sociological assemblages of series of actions. These actions are more or less habitual and more or less ancient in the life of the individual and the history of the society” (Mauss, 1973 [1934], 85). So, human capacities such as those contributing to the discrete set of behaviours we understand as creativity are given their definitive form through particular historically contingent regimes of discourses, practices, activities and techniques. Individuals’ capacities may vary, but they must learn to locate and conduct themselves as particular sorts of persons through these discourses and practices. A creative person in the arts will therefore be seen to display a different 'personality profile' from a creative person in the sciences. This finding is cited by design researcher David Durling (2003) in a conference paper titled *Horse or cart? Designer creativity and personality*. Durling describes creative people in both arts and sciences as tending to be “open to new experiences, less conventional and less conscientious, more self-confident, self-accepting, driven, ambitious, dominant, hostile, and impulsive”. Then he goes on to say that

> ...it is recognised that creative people in arts and science do not share the same personality profile. For example, relative to scientists, painters, poets, writers, and film directors were found to be more aesthetically oriented, imaginative, and intuitive when compared with their less creative peers (Durling, 2003, 6).

In other words, an individual is attributed a creative personality if they practise being creative. Although people *can* be creative in science, they are less "aesthetically oriented, imaginative, and intuitive", so they are less creative. Durling's tautology shows how difficult it is to make creativity mean anything outside of the aesthetic discourses and practices of art. The idea that creativity is an embodied behaviour, a performance belonging to certain aesthetic cultural practices, tends to be ignored when the focus is on the object of creativity, as in Durlings' argument, rather than the creative subject.

The second point to be aware of in thinking about theories of subjectification is that the 'person' is not a given entity. The concept of the person has developed from antiquity and relates to obligations attached to a particular status or role (Hirst & Woolley, 1982, 119; Wickham, 1992). 'Persons' can only be understood through the distinct complexes of socio-cultural attributes and statuses though which individuals conduct themselves, so that different situations involve the constitution of different types of person. Any given individual might support a number of incommensurate personae that cannot be summed up into a whole. Personhood is therefore dependent upon distinctive arrays of instituted statuses, attributes, rights and duties that organise the practical deportment of individuals. Mauss showed that in some societies "not all individuals are or have persons. Moreover, those individuals who are or who have persons do not necessarily bear this personhood in an individual manner – that is within themselves" (du Gay, 2007, 52; Pateman, 1988).

These anthropological and historical approaches to studying the formation of persons and their bodily and mental attributes and capacities in distinct instituted cultural settings were also a central theme in Foucault's work on *techniques of the self* (Foucault, 1993). They suggest that the modern Western conception of the person as an interiorised entity who understands himself or herself as an individual subject – a self – is a historical and cultural rarity. In other societies and times, persons might have been invested in other kinds of 'trans-individual' institutions, such as mask-wearing rituals or name systems. Du Gay contends that becoming a certain sort of person (his object is the state bureaucrat, public administrator or career civil servant) depends upon "historically contingent socio-cultural conditions of training and practice" (du Gay, 2007, 53). According

to du Gay, we need to be awake to the consequences of reforming the roles and functions of the offices to which certain personae are attached.

Following this argument, we begin to see how it is possible to distinguish between creative personhood and creative subjectivity:

> The capacity to conduct oneself as the 'subject' of one's thoughts and actions - and indeed the ability to problematize oneself by treating the latter as 'unconscious', hence in need of reflective ethical work, is [...] rooted in particular conducts of life; it is not something that all individuals pursue at all times with equal vigour (du Gay, 2007, 60-61).

If subject formation can be regarded as a historically specific mechanism with its genealogy in Protestant pedagogies and mass schooling (Hunter, 1993, 127), then a creative subject is a specific type of person with an ability to problematise the self – a person formed through a particular array of socially instituted techniques. It therefore becomes possible to think of non-subjective modes of *creativity,* and this might help to make a way through one of the problems that motivated this project, that is, the slippage between employers' demands and policy discourses in relation to creative education. So how might these different models of subjectification apply to students enrolling in a fashion degree? Are they a productive way to understand how 'creative subjectivities' might emerge?

The first, generalised model of subject formation has been important in studies of visual culture (see Hall, 2001; Silverman, 2001). Based on the Lacanian approach to subjectivity and indebted to structuralism – and repeated by Zizek (1994) and Laclau and Mouffe (2001) – the subject is brought into being through the play of conscious and unconscious representations that generate what has been glossed as a "lack-wanting system" (Knorr Cetina & Bruegger, 2002). In the contemporary world, the dynamic of this system, it is speculated, is

> maintained by complicated and dispersed machineries of professional image production – of industries that produce movie stars and fashion models, TV programmes and films, shopping catalogues and advertisements" (Knorr Cetina & Bruegger, 2002, 173).

To many theorists of the consumer fashion and beauty system, young women have been "*of course* the most clearly trapped in the narcissistic, self-surveillance world of images" (Featherstone, 1991, 179) (my emphasis). This model of the

subject seems superficially consistent with commonsense ideas about fashion students as victims of unrealistic desire, with the fashion system providing the mise-en-scène for 'rock star and artist' fantasies. But according to the Lacanian model, subjectification is more complex than simply identifying or enacting attributes and behaviours prescribed by popular culture – it must progress through the phantasmic, enchanted spectacle of fashion via the detour of the unconscious. As the self negotiates the self-images provided by culture it can never fully recognise itself. It must transmute cultural technologies such as fashion into ideal representations which it desires but which remain forever beyond its reach [75]. Because of this, the subject is marked by a profound sense of lack, which of itself constitutes subjectivity.

Two concepts of subjectification

The tension between these two different conceptions of the subject, the Lacanian and the Foucauldian, is debated in Ian Hunter's (1993) article 'Subjectivity and Government', and the book it critiques, James Donald's (1992) 'Sentimental Education'. Donald's work explicitly challenges Hunter's Foucauldian stance. I found this scholarly dispute useful to help theorise how subjectification to creativity might progress, and to what extent cultural and governmental institutions play a role in forming and regulating creativity as a personal conduct and capacity. Donald (1992, 91-95), writing about popular culture, schooling and the regulation of liberty, takes the view that governmental structures – pedagogies, institutions – are powerful, but that subjects come into being in transgression of, rather than conformity to, the power of any social machinery of government. Individuals reinterpret, resist or over-invest in this power through unconscious desires and anxieties, incited but prohibited, that surface from the unconscious in multiple, shifting and unpredictable ways. Donald's position would maintain that the creative subject is always-already creative, regardless of the way the machinery of government works on the soul.

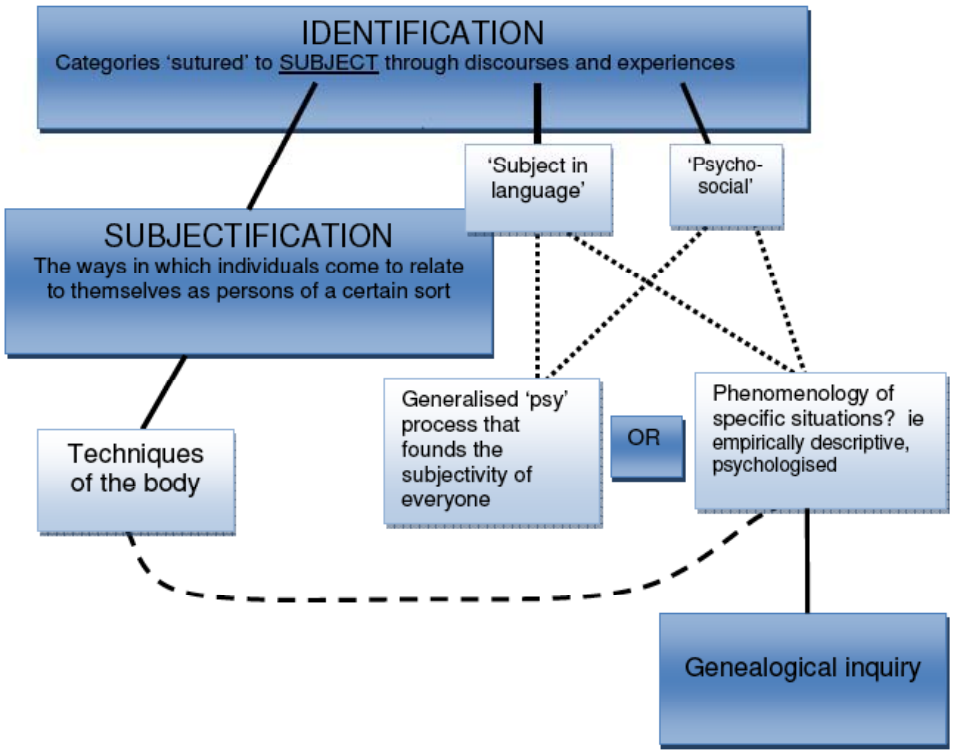
[75] This is represented in Elaine Stone's (2007) recent text for fashion students *In Fashion: Fun! Fame! Fortune!* Exhortations for students to learn the backroom aspects of the fashion industry are counterposed on every page with large runway images of avant garde and celebrity ideals of fashionability.

Thinking back to my earlier metaphor of creativity as ‘horsepower’, in Donald’s argument it would be as if the poor animal could know itself only by what 'horsepower' wants of it, scrutinising and gauging its muscular potential against horsepower’s measure, psychically detouring this representation through its unconscious from where it surfaces – bucking and plunging or gallop and trot – as a manifestation of 'horsepower', whether useful or not. Desire or resistance is an effect of the machinery but also its realisation. On the other hand, Foucauldian Ian Hunter (1993) considers that human capacities are too positive and too various to be harnessed to this general form of making a subject. Neither is governmental power so unified or omnipotent, being both too dispersed and too specific to be exercised on a unified subject. Creativity, Hunter would say, is just one highly specialised mode of self-reflection and practice, historically and contingently formed. Horses, in this case, could come to know themselves through corporeal regimes other than 'horsepower'.

Foucault’s later genealogical writing initiated much fruitful work on disciplinarity and normalising power, which aimed to articulate the historical contingency of present identities and to detect the specific social practices through which such identities are produced. This work

1. placed attention on the way bodies submit themselves through the ‘soul’ to a normalising regime of truth (the techniques of domination, which is the main line taken up by the *governmentality* school); and/or
2. placed attention on the way individuals come to focus on their desires – to “decipher, recognise and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire…to practice on themselves a hermeneutics of desire” (Foucault in Hall, 1996, 12), which Judith Butler later takes up as *performativity*.

According to Butler and others, including Zizek (1994), Foucault’s outline of subjectification needed some “psychoanalytic rethinking” (Butler, 1993, 190), which he was just getting around to in his last work. Stuart Hall (1996) synthesises these approaches in his introduction to *Questions of Cultural Identity,* reaching towards a new way of ‘thinking the subject’ that emerges as one tries to rearticulate the relationship between the subject and discursive practices, or rather the process of subjectification to discursive practices.



The diagram above shows how I conceptualised the relationships among these ideas. The 'subject in language' approach focuses on the discursive scripting and performance of identities, while the 'psychosocial' approach studies the fractured experience of those identities (Hubbard, 2002, 366). From the post-Foucauldian genealogical perspective, these approaches generate empirically descriptive phenomenologies of *specific situations*, rather than *generalised processes* that found the subjectivity of everyone.

How does the initial process of *identification* work? Hall outlines the legacy of the concept, through Althusser to Lacan and through Foucault and Derrida. He explains the notion of identification as a suturing of the discursive and the psychic, a stitching together or articulation of two separate things: the "discourses and practices which attempt to interpellate, speak to us, hail us into place as social subjects of particular discourses" and "the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'" (Hall, 1996, 5-6) – and of course as subaltern subjects (who are also hailed but paradoxically *can't* be spoken). This process of articulation is an overdetermination, not a subsumption.

> There is always ‘too much’ or ‘too little’, an overdetermination or a lack, but never a proper fit, a totality. Like all signifying practices, it is subject to the play, of *difference*. It obeys the logic of more-than-one. And since as a process it operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier effects'. It requires what is left outside, it’s constitutive outside, to consolidate the process" (Hall, 1996, 2-3).

So there is always a set of exclusions, or an abject border’ that founds the subject (Butler, 1993, 188). Identification therefore has to be a result of a naturalised, over-determined process of closure that attempts to arrest the flow of differences without ever being able to conclusively do so. To demonstrate a ‘creative subjectivity’ from my interviews, then, I would need to show examples of these ‘frontier effects’ and symbolic boundaries, demonstrate the ‘taking up’ of subject positions through representations, and show how these representations are constructed across a lack – across a division, from the place of the Other which can never be identical to the subject processes invested in them. And now, of course, I began to realise that my interview methodology was not going to allow me to do this. The problem was largely due to my initially unproblematised thinking about creativity. It was not until I started thinking of it in the Lacanian sense, as a symbolic position and the embodiment of a lack that was irreducible to a social form that I began to understand how creativity works as a regulatory norm.

After realising there was no outstanding narrative of creativity and talent in the interviews, I surmised that if creativity functions as a regulatory ideal – a norm that produces bodies through iteration and citation – and to the extent that this process is performed through and by their university education, students would still be in the process of becoming ‘creative’. The suturing was still in process. Following Butler’s (typically recursive) explanation, the field of reality that is produced by norms of creativity constitutes the background for the surface appearance of creativity in its idealised versions. “One cannot offer a full narrative account of the citational history of the norm: whereas narrativity does not fully conceal its history, neither does it reveal a single origin” (Butler, 2004, 52). The few students who volunteered that they enrolled in a fashion degree because they needed to do something creative – that is ‘took up’ a creative subject position –

always described this in relation to other educational experiences that they found were not a good fit, that did not supply subject positions, because they represented too much of something, or too little, so that this experience had effectively constituted an 'outside' – a symbolic boundary, a frontier – to their creative experience. For example, here are the only students who independently talked about enrolling in a fashion degree because they desired to do something creative.

> *Yeah, well I was never academic, and I'm not sporty, at all! (laughs) So I've always just taken up creativity as just my thing.* (Justine)

> *[H]alf way through 2002 I was actually at [...] doing a BA in anthropology and criminology … but I left there because I just decided that if I finished the degree I'm probably not going to use it, after I finished, and needed to do something creative, so yeah.* (Alex)

> *Mum and Dad were fine with accounting, because there's a definite future – it's hard work, its stress, but there's a definite future in it and you can make lots of money. But I wanted to do something creative as well, just have a creative outlet, somehow.* (Courtney)

> *Actually, last year…I did a bachelor of technology and product development….but it was just, like, too much maths and science. So I flagged that idea [...] I love maths and science, but only... because I like the challenge of it. But um, I like to balance it out with other things that are completely <u>not</u> that. You know what I mean? And I went there, and it was all calculus, computers and physics and ooooh... like stuff I'd done before, pretty much, but it's sooo... I found it really boring, it's like, not creative. There's nothing creative in it, it's all just logic and that way, kinda thing, so yeah. (*Sarah)

> *I'm a very creative person, not like a bookwork sort of person.* (Sue)

Creativity here is 'known' by these students as a representation – it is understood through difference, and constructed across a lack. As a representation it is constantly destabilised by what it has to leave out. In the examples given above, creativity excludes bookwork, logic, money, hard work and stress, sport, boredom, abstract academia. To put it less simply, but more accurately, according to Zizek's (1994) Lacanian interpretation:

> ...reality is never directly 'itself', it presents itself only via its incomplete-failed symbolization, and spectral apparitions emerge in this very gap that forever separates reality from the real, and on account of which reality has the character of a symbolic fiction: the spectre gives body to that which escapes (the symbolically structured) reality (Zizek, 1994, 21).

So, when questioned about why they chose to do fashion, only these five students attributed it to a desire to do something creative. Most, therefore, were not interpellated by an ideology of creativity, for reasons that are consistent with the criticisms of Althusser's theory [76]. That is, interpellation as a 'summoning into place' of the subject cannot work, because the subject of ideology must always-already be a subject, i.e. the subject would have to be already a subject to recognise the subjectifying call. Students need to have worked out the symbolic boundaries of creativity *before* being able to be creative subjects.

Stuart Hall (1996) suggests two important ways through this problem. Firstly, that all that is required of (the concept of) interpellation is that it is enough to set the passage between the Imaginary and the Symbolic in motion. Secondly, Lacan's point is that the mirror stage is not the beginning of something, but the interruption of something – a loss, a lack, a division from something – and it is this that initiates the process that 'founds' the differentiated subject (and the unconscious). In Lacan's formulation, the founding of the sexually differentiated subject is set in motion by this dislocating rupture of the look from the place of the Other, which both provides a coherent identity and maintains the irreducible distance which separates the subject from its ideal reflection. If we take the Lacanian model as a paradigm for creative subjectification, the following

[76] Althusser (2001) based the idea of interpellation on his reading of Lacan's mirror phase – interpellation works because of a mis-recognition through a speculary structure.

examples might show the passage between the Imaginary and the Symbolic being set in motion by an interpellation.

> *I'd been sewing since I was about 9, and sort of always been making my own clothes, um, but, I mean, there was a point where it wasn't cool to wear, you know, homemade clothes, and it was like, "gotta have labels", and ... Ahh, but.... I was working in a winery, and... [it] just wasn't enjoyable, had a terrible boss, and wasn't enjoying the relationship I was in. I was living out of home, and just watching the Fashion TV channel, you know, on SKY at my boyfriend's house [...] and just fascinated with that, just always, you know my eyes would sparkle, and (laughs) it just grew stronger, and stronger. And because my parents had just moved up to Auckland, and also I had missed them, and I was, like, what am I doing here, this sucks!* (Jane)

> *I found it quite interesting because I went in [to the design school] last year, at the end of the year, and just seeing everyone sprawled over the carpets, just doing painting and all the rest of it, just made me so enthusiastic... So I just walked in and said, hey, give me a tour, so they did. And they just took me around the industrial design place and I wasn't quite as interested, but when they walked past here and just showed everyone just working on their stuff, it made me quite enthusiastic for what I was going to be doing, so I thought, oh this looks so good!* (Courtney)

When the subject agrees to inhabit the symbolic order of creativity, it maintains at an unconscious level the pursuit of the intensely satisfying sense of completion and self-identity that it fleetingly felt in the imaginary, but now has lost. Indeed:

> The success of the symbolic is explained by the fact that it seems to hold out for the subject the intense identifications that will return to it the sense of the completeness it now lacks…. The subject's entry into the symbolic order is at the expense of the magical feeling of oneness it had in the imaginary (Mansfield, 2000, 45).

When creativity is effective as a regulatory ideal it is because it works at "*both* 'the rudimentary levels of psychic identity and the drives' [...] *and* at the

level of the discursive formation and practices that constitute [...] social fields" (Hall, 1996,7) such as art and design. But although we can see here how the power of ideology to interpellate works on both these levels, this does not mean to say we can see from this how the two levels themselves are actually articulated – *how* the relation of the subject to the discursive formation is actually made; how a creative 'identity' is formed at the site of their intersection; how the articulation, the suture, the stitching together of identity takes place. The difficulty in understanding this, for Hall, is rooted in the difficulty of 'mapping the divide'; the Cartesian separation of the psyche from the materiality of social practice. As he says,

> We are unlikely ever to be able to square up these two constituents as equivalents – the unconscious itself acting as the bar or cut between them which makes it 'the site of a perpetual postponement of or deferral of equivalence' but which cannot, for that reason, be given up (Hall, 1996, 7).

This is where Judith Butler's work makes such an important contribution to understanding the articulation of identity, because she works with a theory of the performativity of language and the subject, while removing from it any sense of intentionality. The normative force of performativity – its power to establish what qualifies as 'being', works through citation and iteration (Butler, 1993, 188). The declaration of subjection is not a single act but a status incessantly *reproduced* (Butler, 1997, 118).

> [P]erforming skills laboriously works the subject into its status as a social being…. This is not simply to act according to a set of rules, but to embody rules in the course of action and to reproduce those rules in embodied rituals of action (Butler, 1997, 119).

The status of being creative is invoked and cited by bodily practices that also have the capacity to alter norms in the course of their citation. It is very interesting in this regard, that despite the explosion of cultural representations of creativity, most of the students I spoke to - who were enrolled in fashion design, one of the most publicised of the 'creative arts or industries' – had not (yet?) been interpellated by creativity. If creative subjects are ideologically produced to fit neo-liberalised social and economic arrangements, then educational programmes must be instrumental in making up the creative status of these 'creative persons'. The

significance of this to questions of subjectification, I think, is who or what specifies what the idealised appearance of creativity is going to be. If creativity is a performative achievement, exactly which corporeal signs and practices are to be reproduced?

Here is the vision statement for the New Zealand Tertiary Education Committee Strategy 2002-7, written by advertising executive Peter Biggs, who at the time was the head of the arts development and funding organisation, Creative New Zealand:

> This is my vision for this country: that these beautiful islands can be the most creative, daring and innovative country on this planet. So much so that the world looks on us in awe and wonder – not simply because of the beauty of our landscape, not simply because of our legendary efficiency and practicality, and not simply because of our warm and compassionate humanity – but also because of our creativity and our courage, and our openness to risk, to experiment, to innovate and to transform.
>
> And so I see a world in which any exhibition of New Zealand art is a 'must see'; where any performance of New Zealand music or dance is a 'must get to'; any New Zealand poetry, novel or book is a 'must read'; a world where New Zealand products are a 'must have' because of their extraordinary quality, added value and, above all, their integrity; where New Zealand fashion, New Zealand advertising and New Zealand design set the trends for the world scene and cause the globe to marvel because of our boldness and flair; a world where New Zealand businesses are admired and win because they don't just develop solutions for current problems - they create solutions for the problems of tomorrow and open up opportunities that no one had ever thought of. A world where New Zealand researchers and thinkers are revered for their willingness to explore and for their insights and discoveries. This is the New Zealand of the future. And it is our only future – if we are to fulfill the dream of being a prosperous, dynamic and socially harmonious nation (Ministry of Education, 2002).

This is a good demonstration, as Butler (2004) might say, of how norms of creativity produce a field of reality that constitutes the background for the surface appearance of the norm in its idealised versions. It was not a norm of 'creativity' that students taking up fashion desired to approximate. Rather it was the social categories of fashion or art or design, inasmuch as these mapped onto categories of

educational qualification. Or better, their desire was structured by the symbolic order that arranges relations between these categories. In the same way Butler (2006) argues that it is the social category of gender that makes the sex of the body significant, my interviews suggested that for many students it was the differential categorisation of art/design/fashion that made creativity significant.

> *Yeah, I don't see myself as creative. I actually feel like an odd one out in my class, in my whole year. Because, yeah, I don't feel creative. Other people might see me differently [...] but definitely, they [creative people] have to be good at art....* (Lily)

> *When I just say fashion I think of clothes, fashion trends, I think of people just keeping up with the trend. Fashion. But when I say fashion <u>design</u>, its more like you're designing different – you design, but it could be, as soon as you say fashion design, you can be designing clothes, you can be designing fabrics, you can be designing pictures, screen-prints. You can be designing, anything! It's a good word, I think. You know? It automatically makes you sound kind of arty, but not too air-heady. You know, like hippy-type arty. You know what I mean? As soon as you say spatial arts, visual arts, you kind of think of painting, and that kind of... [laughs] I don't want to be judgmental! But that's how <u>I</u> feel. And as soon as you say <u>design</u>, graphics, you know, or fashion design, it automatically sounds technical, as well as fun and art.* (Jane)

This brings me to the third point about making a theoretical distinction between person, self, and subject. If the body-self is taken as the raw human material – the singular body of the human being that forms the 'material infrastructure' for the production of selves and identities (Van Wolputte, 2004) and if personhood represents that body-self's experience in distinct instituted socio-cultural settings, so that the 'subject' is a particular type of self-reflective and self-responsible person that is the result of the distribution of certain cultural techniques for achieving and monitoring a self – that is, a distinct set of 'technologies of the self' – then a 'creative subject' may be understood as a sub-category of this singular mode of self construction. And following this line of

reasoning, it becomes possible to imagine non-subjective modes of inculcating creative personhood. Ironically, some of these might very much resemble old models of vocational training. This makes sense in relation to a study about the future of apprenticeships in the creative and cultural industries, which recommends that occupations such as "costume-making are best learnt as situated forms of practice" (Guile & Okumoto, 2007, 565).

However, the paradigm for contemporary creative practice in universities is also the process that founds the modern subject, a process that involves "a grappling deep within the self and within one's relations with others" (Pope, 2005, 11). As Raymond Williams maintained in *Marxism and Literature*, creativity and 'social self-creation' are alike in that they are both practices involving "struggle at the roots of the mind – not casting off an ideology, or learning phrases about it, but confronting a hegemony in the fibres of the self and in the hard practical substance of effective and continuing relationships" (Pope, 2005, 11). Monitoring the 'fibres of the self' has been one of the main technologies of creative pedagogy throughout the 20th century and learning to become 'creative' has involved this intense hermeneutical processing of the self, through a variety of techniques all designed to encourage representations of the student's own thought about anything and everything. In design schools, these techniques have included the 'sitting-by-Nellie' studio mode of teaching and the one-to-one tutorial under the pastoral ears and eyes of the tutor. Work-in-progress is required to be discussed, oral presentations required to be made, workbooks with original drawings required to be presented for critique. Creativity is thus performed by attending to oneself, by analysing and diagnosing one's stories of inspiration, all of which are technologies of the self that produce a specific configuration of creative subjectivity. Few of these practices had been part of New Zealand fashion education before 1996 when the newly formed New Zealand Qualifications Authority accredited the first fashion degrees. These new degrees extended existing vocational programmes to include critical thinking and reflection. They required new individualising teaching and assessment procedures that were closer to those used in university humanities programmes. Although it has taken a decade for these changes to bed in, fashion education in New Zealand is now becoming the kind of instituted setting in which individuals might turn themselves into creative subjects:

> ...to effect, by their own means or the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality (Foucault, in Martin, Gutman, & Hutton, 1988, 18).

However the method by which technologies of the self are acquired in New Zealand tertiary institutions no longer resembles the way the liberal model of the university instilled *bildung*, by creating a space for self-formation. For the large numbers of school leavers enrolling in creative degrees, learning to become creative must happen within the educational structures generated by neo-liberal reforms. Tertiary institutions are now highly managerialised, marketised and subject to performative discipline [see Considine & Marginson (2000) for an overview], but students and staff are still working within older cultural expectations of a creative discipline. Thus, for students, the 'hermeneutic of the self' is still required, but is performed through modularised programmes, and meagre institutional resources of time, space, equipment and personnel. However, students still have to dredge up something 'individual' from somewhere, 'just-in-time' for each new deadline. This is not psychically easy and the performance takes its toll; student counsellors at my university see many more design students than students from other faculties, to the point where they wrote to management with "….grave concerns over the 'blood, sweat and tears' that are sending students in alarming numbers to visit the counsellors…at the Health Clinic". The "blood sweat and tears" comment came from a student newspaper headline reporting a fashion student's experience of her final degree show. While concerned about the stress experienced by design students, counsellors also thought the high number of visits from design students could be a positive thing, because it meant they were learning coping strategies, instead of just withdrawing from the course. One counsellor had set up a white board and drawing materials in her office so that fashion students could talk about and show her their design ideas. It could be argued that through these visits students were learning to outsource the individualising inputs that are needed in order for students to 'become creative'. As the "labour intensive individualising focus" (Fraser, 2003, 166) drops out of creative pedagogy, we begin to see how subjects might acquire the form of 'flexibilised' discipline that represents creativity in a neo-liberal regime. The

people who learn the technologies of self that enable them to survive in these institutions are also learning to become competitive, actively responsible, self-regulating "entrepreneurs of themselves" (Gordon, 1991, 44).

Neo-liberal governmentalities specify education as a 'merit good' that spills-over from its individual producer-consumers to create positive benefits for economy and society. Education is a 'consumer-durable' that is inseparable from its owner (Gordon, 1991, 44). However, as I have explained above, this not to say that government of the education system is reducible to the logic of capital or the will of the state, or that it forms an apparatus for disciplining subjects in the interests of social domination (Hunter, 1996, 144). The implications of differences between neo-liberal and after-neoliberal governmentalities of education have already been described in Chapter 2.

In relation to McRobbie's (2006) 'four technologies of young womanhood' – the fashion and beauty complex, the working girl, the phallic girl and the global girl – I found the main subject position that the young women I interviewed aspired to occupy was not that supplied by the fashion and beauty complex, but that of the well-educated working girl. Choosing fashion indicated an attempt to gain agency through being in *control* of the fashion and beauty system, without needing to deploy the 'post-feminist masquerade'. They wanted to *learn* it, not necessarily *be* it.

> *A lot of the fashion students, I think, make a lot of effort in the way they look. It's really neat to see, they're really kinda getting their own clothes out on view, its kinda cool, but, yeah, I dunno, it takes a lot of effort to do that too, and sometimes its, "Nah I'll just learn it", you know.* (Sarah)

> *When you tell them, oh, I'm doing fashion design, they think you're some ditsy tart, who just thinks about her appearance and blah, blah, blah, and then they kind of look you up and down to see if you actually measure up to the whole…. "Hmm, does she look stylee enough to be doing fashion design?" Yeah, they actually do that! I find it quite funny actually, because every time you mention it, you just know the eyes are going to go up and down, look you up and down, size you up.* (Courtney)

In the contemporary university, creativity can be thought of as a type of 'performative knowledge' (Bell, 2006), an act that effectively constitutes 'the doer behind the deed'. Creativity sustains subjectivity as a condition achieved and re-achieved through the production and repetition of corporeal signs and practices made socially and culturally significant through the categories of art, design and fashion. As I explained via 'The parable of the horse' in Chapter 4, once creativity can be recognised, in performances that accord with these social expectations, it seems to have existed in the practitioner all along and to have emerged as a natural act that expresses the self. Creativity also becomes an object of governmental rationalities that aim to realise the creative potential of citizens and boost competitiveness in the knowledge economy.

What might creativity look like performed through corporeal regimes other than the technology of a creative arts education? For instance, as described in Chapter 3, the cultural capital and 'corporeality' of the salesgirls in Shibuya district is not dependent on creative education (Kawamura, 2006). It would be useful to learn about the specific cultural constructs that play a role in forming and regulating these girls' creative conducts and capacities – the technologies of self and techniques of domination that make them up as creative.

Both of the approaches to subjectification outlined here are needed to understand the creativity explosion. The psychoanalytically informed account of the self-reflexive formation of creative subjects shows the importance of the staging and imaging of the subject and its desire in relation to complex social–symbolic scenarios, including that of a neoliberalised education system (Donald, 1992, 95). In addition, a genealogical interrogation of the creativity explosion focuses on the different strategies and tactics of subjectification that have taken place and been deployed in relation to particular practices of creativity at different moments in relation to the various classifications and differentiations of creative persons. Both positions help to throw some light, firstly on how creative subjectification happens, and secondly, why there currently seem to be more and more creative persons and what their relationship might be to the 'creativity explosion'.

Whether creative persons need also be subjects of creativity is an interesting problem. The fashion industry wants to specify the limits of the *persona* attached to the roles and functions of commercial fashion design. They deem tertiary

graduates “too creative”. However, the creativity they attribute to students relates to only one specific way in which individuals come to understand themselves as a certain sort of person: that is, as the self-expressive, rule-flouting, anti-commercial and technically incompetent young artist, who exists in a constant but impossible state of becoming ‘creative’. This is possibly a truth constructed through the discourses of creative economy, which makes imagination into a product, divides symbolic from material knowledge and positions creativity as belonging to the image industry rather than the rag trade. The notion of a creative economy is therefore perhaps a technique for hailing individuals as creative subjects, persons who are affectively bound to ‘neuro-aesthetic forethought’ and who invest their identity in a ‘naturally’ creative self. It bears no necessary relation to the specific range of technologies of self that are experienced in all tertiary fashion institutions in all places and at all times. The governors of tertiary education would do well to understand the tensions between the pedagogical strategies and techniques that make up persons with identities that ‘work’ for the fashion industry, and those that generate subjects for a creative economy.

In this chapter I have considered creativity as a ‘reflexive ethical instrument’, a means by which individuals invest in new existential relations to themselves, and the creative self as historically cultivated to meet the purposes of a particular way of life (see Hunter, 2001 cited in du Gay, 2007, 70). I have worked with two different approaches to subjectivity and to the role of cultural and governmental institutions in subjectification. The first is the Lacanian view that sees subjectification as a generalised process that founds subjectivity of everyone, in every situation, through a ‘detour of the unconscious' into representation. For example, Donald (1992) argued for the power of governmental structures of education while also trying to ‘keep the subject’ (or ‘rescue agency’). He did this by showing resistance as the possibility of ‘outflanking’ structure, by detouring to the unconscious and then reappearing in a governmental ‘blind spot’. Cultural studies approaches tend to take subjectivity as a generalised process, in order to show how ‘identity’ categories are sutured to the subject through discourses and experiences (Saukko, 2003). Genealogical work (du Gay, 2007; Hunter, 1993; Rose, 1996b) distinguishes between the ‘subject in language’ and ‘psychosocial’ accounts of identity used in cultural studies and brings these accounts into dialogue (see Hubbard, 2002). This genealogical work understands these

generalised psychologised explanations of subject formation to be simply a phenomenological description of subjecthood in a distinct, specific location. As Mauss and Weber both knew, personal attributes can also be an outcome of habitus (du Gay, 2007, 52-53). However, historical studies of the development of identity categories have tended to provide 'thin' accounts of how people come to understand their identity. An alternative framework is needed to produce 'thicker' descriptions of the formation of creative categories by carefully considering the negotiation of identity in particular spaces of encounter (Hubbard, 2002). This is what I have attempted to do in relation to university students 'choosing fashion'.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Tying it up

Threading my final argument together, we see the creativity explosion in New Zealand tertiary education taking shape as a consequence of 'governmental problematising' of contradictions generated by the accumulation and legitimation strategies of a competition state. 'After-neoliberal technologies', assembled in order to manage "both the conduct of government and the government of conduct" (Dean & Hindess, 1998, 8), have contributed to the making up of persons as creative – that is, these arrangements have changed the space of possibility for creative personhood. Along with this new potential for agency has come a particular, historically contingent mode of creative subjectification that allows bodies to be inserted into the machinery of production and helps to adjust the phenomena of population to economic processes. 'Creativity' is now present at every level of the social body and, like heterosexuality, has been utilized by diverse institutions operating in the sphere of economic processes, their development, and the forces working to sustain them (Foucault, 1990, 141). Think of how 'creative girls' learn to revel in 'blood, sweat and tears', expect to 'go global' upon graduation, negotiate the choice of 'career before children' and (more or less) unconsciously deploy their sexed and gendered bodies networking and developing 'a label' for themselves, all in the name of 'doing something creative with their life'. In this way creativity – creative subjectivity – is a technique of power "capable of optimizing forces, aptitudes and life in general without making them at the same time more difficult to govern" (Foucault, 1990, 141). The assemblages involved in the creativity explosion allow 'producer-consumers' (Gordon, 1991) to become entrepreneurs of their selves, to 'internalise' the state's purpose and to regard precariousness as normal (Robertson & Dale, 2002, 166). As a form of biopower, creativity is an indispensible element in developing new forms of capitalism.

My analysis finds some support in Nancy Fraser's (2003) re-reading of Foucault 'in the shadow of globalization'. Fraser has argued that empirical

evidence demonstrates fordist forms of social regulation are on the wane. She proposes an emerging mode of regulation different from the 'fordist governmentality' of the post- war welfare state. No longer nationally organized, this is a mode of regulation that is marketized (i.e. the characteristic institutions of 'the social' are no longer the governmental and nongovernmental agencies that constitute a counterpart to a regime of capital accumulation), and it is increasingly "repressive as opposed to self-regulating" (Fraser, 2003, 166). Fraser points out how the incarceration of male minority youth in for–profit prisons as a preferred policy on unemployment in the United States, for example, speaks of outright repression rather than any attempt to foster self-regulation. Whereas fordist regulation aspired to the welfare of the population as a whole by engineering a system of 'bread for everyone and jam for the deserving', postfordist governmentality establishes new forms of segmentation.

> Sorting the capable-and-competitive wheat from the incapable-and-noncompetitive chaff, postfordist welfare policy constructs different life courses for each. The result is a new kind of segmented governmentality: responsibilized self-regulation from some, brute repression for others. In this "dual society", a hypercompetitive, fully networked zone coexists with a marginal sector of excluded low-achievers (Fraser, 2003, 169).

Fraser's sketch begs the question of whether such a 'segmented governmentality' of creativity might begin to work in New Zealand. Indeed, my first concern in this project was the social implications of the creativity explosion in fashion education. Clearly, the 'creative girls' I studied are in Fraser's 'capable-and-competitive' category. But were there some circumstances and contexts developing in which certain persons could be held to be creative, and others in which they could not be? Were creativities being differentially distributed along the familiar lines of class, gender and ethnicity, or were new, more complex narratives of capitalism producing new creative subjectivities?

I have already outlined how the notion of creativity operates to segregate and hierarchise. I showed how the humanities, for example, put the notion of creativity to work in a way that attempted to guarantee relations of domination and the effects of hegemony in the new 'creative' disciplines. Their tendency has been to demand "that the successes of the past be the goals for the future", as Sander Gilman (2004, 388) wrote in his essay *Collaboration, the Economy, and the*

Future of the Humanities. The successes of the recent past were maintained by a bifurcated education system that provided high skill levels for some and low skill levels for others, allowing two groups of workers to operate within segmented labour markets (Piore & Sabel, c1984; Watson, 2001). Meritocratic educational technologies allowed the sorting of wheat from chaff to proceed with little antagonism. Under a welfare state, creativity was indexed to the elites trained in the humanities. But if the training of elites is no longer a paradigm for higher education, how will creativity be ascribed? According to McRobbie (2002b, 98), New Labour in Britain have created a meritocracy out of youth, talent and culture, which is "aggressively deployed to dramatic effect" in order to encourage self-exploitation. McRobbie suggests that new, individualised, neoliberal ideologies attribute success to luck, individual effort and talent, rather than class, gender or ethnicity. I have argued however, that the new creative subject positions fit after-neoliberalised social and economic arrangements not just through ideological manipulation, but because they are made up by material techniques and tactics of after-neoliberal governmentalities. I have tried to flesh out McRobbie's suggestions, with empirical work on how a specifically located education system has worked in a mutually constitutive relationship with a 'creative economy'.

Creativity divides

While there are a number of recent descriptions of the social and ideological divisions structuring creativity, these tend to follow the dominant anglophone representation of creativity as art, confirming my thesis about how difficult our culture finds it to 'think creativity differently'. For instance, in *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value*, Negus and Pickering (2004) take a chapter to focus on three sets of issues;

> the way that institutionalisation of social divisions has acted to inhibit and deny certain creative opportunities to specific groups and individuals [...] whether these social divisions might imply different forms of creativity [and] how movement out from and dialogue across social divisions becomes possible (Negus & Pickering, 2004, 116).

The cover blurb of Negus and Pickering's book proposes an approach that comprehends creativity as both 'ordinary and exceptional', which suggests they

will deal with the ordinary 'little c' creativity of the knowledge economy discourse. Nevertheless, their entire discussion is framed in terms of the creative arts. They outline how the "whole question of creativity has been riven not only by class but also by gender" (Negus & Pickering, 2004, 118), reviewing the historical division of labour that established artistic creativity as masculine genius from the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries.

Critiques based on relations of capitalist production have regarded creativity as a bourgeois or masculinist myth, and many writers[77] have analyzed the concept of creativity in terms of these dialectical nuances. Such critiques usually refer to developments in Europe from the time of the Renaissance, the emergence of early capitalism and the separation of the producer from the means of production. The theory is that the capitalist division of labour led to artists' work being viewed as special and different to other forms of production (Bürger, 1984). As more people's work lost its character as 'free, creative labour', work not affected by the domination of the market came to be seen as an ideal form of production, appearing to be free in a way that other production was not (Wolff, 1993). Creativity is therefore constituted as a Romantic view of cultural labour (Maxwell & Millar, 2005), which as Raymond Williams has said, formed one of the main lines of criticism of the new industrial society (Lee, 2003, 21). As Lawn and Beatty (2005, unpaged) point out, it has now become a commonplace in "cultural studies-based analyses of institutions, that cultural policy serves state interest in producing self-regulating subjects devoted to capital accumulation".

Reviewing the thesis

The trajectory of my argument has been as follows. In Chapter 1 introduced the idea of a creativity explosion and described the 'excessive' oversupply of design graduates currently alarming educators and employers in countries such as Australia, the UK, and New Zealand. I used the term 'creativity explosion' to indicate an episode in the ongoing "project of disentangling state from economy and making education providers self-regulating" (Lewis, 2005, 5). I showed how

[77] See for example, on aesthetics (Rampley, 1998), feminism (Pollock, 2003), sociology of art (Wolff, 1993), critical management theory (Prichard, 2002).

recent political projects aimed to shift the tertiary education sector away from the perceived results of neo-liberal policy, so as to ensure the more successful development of a knowledge economy and refocus tertiary education on the needs of industry, produced unexpected results. For example, one outcome of the reforms was to shift fashion design education even further away from the vocational needs of an apparel manufacturing industry, by making it more 'creative'. Chapter I tried to interpret the creativity explosion for the three different audiences; design educators, policymakers, and social theorists. I outlined how creativity become an issue of concern in positioning higher education for a knowledge-based economy, and pointed out that current theoretical and critical positions on education have not satisfactorily accounted for the creativity explosion. For instance, literature that critiques neo-liberal education policy maintains that it destroyed vocational training by pandering to consumer desire for 'popular', rather than strategically useful, tertiary courses. However, interpreted as part of a 'new economy', creative arts are both instrumental *and* popular.

The critical literature in education suggested that neoliberal policies foster less, rather than more, creativity (Apple, 2004; Bullen, Robb, & Kenway, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005). The warning they give is that, in developing a knowledge-based economy, the arts and humanities are dispensable when compared with science and technology subjects. I argued however, that the 'creativity explosion' is evidence to the contrary and that this indicates a shift in the way cultural capital is being reproduced. The creativity explosion also shows that, despite political ambition, there is no simple relation between higher education and economic performance, and that governmental programmes based on functionalist assumptions about correspondences between workplaces and tertiary education can produce contradictory effects. The case of New Zealand designer fashion demonstrates that educational and economic contexts emerge together, so that educational programmes cannot be designed for pre-constituted economic functions and therefore cannot provide, in any direct way, the human resources required for competitive economic performance.

In Chapter 2 I filled in the background of the post-Foucauldian notion of neo-liberalism. This was in order to show how the neoliberalisation of tertiary education could be theorised through the lens of governmentality, which would allow a more nuanced engagement with the creativity explosion. The argument in

this chapter was that whereas a welfarist ethos of government made choices for students 'according to the extent of their ability', and whereas neo-liberal technologies made students up as 'autonomous choosers', 'after-neoliberal' rationalities aim to understand and enhance students' capacity to exercise self-government and to become more active subjects of educational choice. Chapter 2 traced the emergence of the ethos of choice and described how the discursive field of the knowledge-based economy called into question previous regimes of educational practice, and required the assembly of new technologies of educational and economic government. The notion of a lack of human capital emerged as central to political projects that problematised globalisation and the knowledge-based economy, and began to form part of a technological assemblage that contributed to the subjectification of individuals as rational and autonomous choosers and 'consumers' of lifelong satisfactions. I argue that in this we see the state shifting its authority by developing new ways of 'conducting self-interested conduct', and setting up new conditions for managing the government of the self by the self.

Expanding on this idea, it now becomes apparent that tropology of the creative economy sets out a new moral plan "based, in part, on the affective and the ludic" (Thrift, 2005, 4), and privileging the entrepreneurial values of physical action rather than those of cognitive reflection. It is a pragmatic 'creativity of action' (Joas, 1996) rather than a rational process. It presupposes creativity as an entrepreneurial "temporal process which actors are actively engaged with" (Spicer, 2005). This ethos of entrepreneurialism is represented in education and arts policy as 'navigating' along 'pathways'. A recent forum on strategic directions for New Zealand's regional creative economy for example, was organized around the metaphor of travel and visualized 'Grand Tours' and 'Trails of Discovery and Adventure' that would take the creative worker on "the journey of lifetime" during which "you are responsible for making your own way" and where "success is enabled through accessing 'maps' of well worn pathways and through acquiring relevant documentation and validation" (Creative New Zealand, 2005, 3).

The 'pathways' metaphor has been pervasive in policies on the transition between education and work since the 1970s (Raffe, 2003, 3). It represents the ambition for a linear movement between education and labour-market destinations, along pathways that can be engineered to encourage desired levels and patterns of

participation and ensure adequate opportunities for all (Raffe, 2003, 10). 'Pathwaying' is thus one of the techniques of after-neoliberal government that justifies itself in terms of freedom and practices of the self. Pathways render young people governable in particular ways, because they represent certain interests: employment interests, social capital interests, equity interests and educational interests (Vaughan, 2003), all of which must be connected up by social actors in 'fateful moments' of choice (Giddens, 1991).

Chapter 3 provided more detail to problematisations of the creativity explosion. It explained how policy discourse about a creative economy produced a double dilemma for fashion educators in New Zealand. The dilemma was experienced firstly because the emphasis on creativity contradicted employers' expectations of what should constitute a fashion curriculum. There was simply no formal labour market demand in New Zealand for creative fashion designers. Secondly, the policy discourse was problematic, at least for me as a critical design lecturer, because of the way 'creativity' is positioned in Marxist critique as an ideological fiction that regulates a new proletariat. Both positions cast students enrolling in 'creative' degrees as political economic victims. 'Creative' tertiary education was therefore positioned as an unethical use of taxpayers' money that was raising unfair expectations for students. Sidestepping these problems, I argued that these dilemmas were themselves structured by a logic of 'symbolic' versus 'material' knowledge generated by attempts (in political economic and cultural studies) to theorise how cultural knowledges produce new economies. In the case of the New Zealand apparel industry the 'essentialising dualism' of 'signs and things' led to the construction of a new category of 'creative' fashion design, which is only now beginning to be materially constituted as an industry. The constitution of designer fashion as a new 'image industry' was partly due to discourses and practices of educational and economic reform and partly a result of liberal resistance to 'inauthentic' creative practices. This resistance tended to reinforce the cultural hegemony of art as a paradigm for creativity. The outcome for fashion education in New Zealand was that the practice of fashion design began to be imagined as self-generated artistic problem-solving, rather than a process that serves the needs of business stakeholders. The tension between these concepts is especially highlighted in New Zealand, where representations of fashion as a 'creative industry' initially referred to businesses that were only

marginally viable. The image of a thriving designer fashion industry demonstrably preceded the reality. The task of Chapter 3 was to lay the grounds for the broader argument of the thesis, which is that creativity can be understood as part of a regulatory regime associated with discourses of neoliberal globalisation, and that the hegemonic claims of a cultural economy have been discursively formed through representations of creativity as an essence of humanity and a universal possibility.

Chapter 4 took a genealogical approach to explain how creativity became part of this regulatory grammar and why it is now framed as imperative to the development of a knowledge-based economy. I used Foucault's position on ideological critique to argue that a notion that creativity has been 'repressed' occludes awareness of how creativity constitutes a relation of power and a field of knowledge, which produces powerful forms of behaviour and experience. The chapter teased out the three theoretical strands of the thesis, proposing that post-Foucauldian *governmentality studies* and theories about *person-formation*, together with the post-Marxist *discourse theory* developed by Laclau and Mouffe, provide a way to understand the power of the contemporary dispositif of creativity. The governmentality literature, concerned as it is with "the encounter between technologies of domination of others and technologies of the self" (Foucault, 2000, 225), suggested a way to think about the work creativity is doing in the context of New Zealand 'after' neoliberalism. On this, I argued that a doctrine of creativity is an important after-neoliberal *raison d'état* because it supports regimes of subjectification that 'make up' autonomous, reflexive selves, and because it redirects the state's authority toward the management of this creative conduct. Thinking about the creativity explosion as governmentality also helped to understand why the educational governance of creativity is conflicted by notions about the autonomous individuality of the artist and the flexible individuality of 'the creative'. The discourse theory literature suggested ways of thinking about the multiple resistances and dominations that are implicated in the formation of these new creative identities, while post-Foucauldian literature about subject formation helped theorise creativity as a performative act that effectively constitutes 'the doer behind the deed'.

Chapter 5 further engaged with creative subjectification, illustrating how the identifications that constitute a creative subjectivity are acquired. Two

empirical examples of creative identification were described and discussed. One example was drawn from my own experience of a new technology of educational governance, i.e. Performance-Based Research Funding (PBRF). The second example described how Richard Florida's (2002) theory of the 'creative class' became a rationality of government for Wellington City Council and how this was deployed to draw together a community that identified itself as creative. These examples served to illustrate that, with regard to the labour needs of a creative economy, it is not a matter of pre-existing creative identities having new, economically determined cultural niches made available to them. Rather it is through the process of identification with governmental projects and the discourses they articulate that new possibilities for creative subjectivity are formed, stabilized and fixed. In this chapter I went on to explain how critiques that approach neoliberalisation as ideology have helped to objectify creativity and maintain it as an essentialised category and subject position. The techniques and tactics of after-neoliberal governmentalities are preserving this dispositif of creativity, making it possible for individuals to articulate the power of creativity to a political identity. The flipside is that individuals might also attribute a *lack* of power and control in the world to a lack of creativity. Because one of the aims of this thesis was to resolve a curriculum problem, the chapter concluded that continuing to think about creativity solely in relation to its social construction, as above, is in some ways a practically useless endeavour. As with Cruickshank's (1996) discussion of self-esteem, once the discourse exists, the genie is out of the bottle. Rather than trying to 'cure' students of creativity the goal should be instead to become aware of creative subjectification.

Chapter 6 therefore drew on interviews with fashion students to describe different theories of subjectification and their implications for creative education. For example, Lacanian psychoanalytic theory generalises subject formation as a universal process that founds the subjectivity of everyone, in every situation. On this model, the creative self would emerge as a psychical response to the incitement and repression of desire through representations of creativity. A different theory of subjectification turns to the idea of *personhood*. Here, the proposal is that the ways in which individuals come to understand themselves as persons of a certain sort are historically contingent. Indeed, the notion of subjectivity itself has a genealogy, and therefore cannot support a generalised

theory of the subject. The Lacanian model cannot describe the way that all human capacities (such as creativity) are inevitably formed. It follows that we need to distinguish between creative personhood and creative subjectivity and also that we should be able to imagine non-subjective modes of creativity. I suggested that understanding creativity as a result of certain cultural techniques for achieving and monitoring a self would help resolve much of the slippage between employers' demands and policy discourse in relation to creative education. I also suggested that neoliberalised higher education provision is premised on producing *persons*, not *subjects*. However, it is the activity of creative *subjects*, rather than creative *persons*, that is fundamental to the new regime of accumulation indicated by 'the creative economy'. This chapter explored how fashion students negotiate a creative identity in a particular educational space of encounter. Drawing on the two versions of subject formation, creativity came into view as a 'reflexive ethical instrument' by which individuals invest in themselves. This then poses the question; how do these theoretical accounts of the formation of subjectivities fit with the 'after-neoliberal' assumption that the success of tertiary education and training depends on individual persons choosing their own 'pathway'?

The uses of theory

I have argued that to simply 'blame' the creativity explosion on neoliberalisation is to leave its forms of power discursively intact, as a predictable effect of the economy and the state apparatus it serves. It then becomes difficult to imagine interventions that would be able to liberate individuals from this neoliberalised creativity that do not continue to 'think creativity' as part of the make-up of the individual, a *constituent* of the subject, rather than a specific form of knowledge constituting the subject. This is why Thomas Osborne (2003) grappled with the problem of creativity by trying to do away with the concept altogether, rearticulating the practice with the less romantic notion of 'inventiveness'. He suggested that inventiveness is a "more anonymous, more collective, more processual" term than creativity; it is not counterposed to inertia or to lack of progress in the same way as creativity, and has desire rather than fulfilment as its ethos. This "makes it more or less wholly at odds with most versions of the doctrine of creativity today" (Osborne, 2003, 521). Attempts to

displace a neoliberalised doctrine of creativity, either by deconstructing it as in Osborne's example, or by proposing attention to 'alternative creativities' that recognize it to be, if not an innate biological presence, at least a potential element in all human endeavours - for instance as in Chris Gibson's and Natascha Klocker's critique of how creativity is deployed in regional economic policy in Australia (Gibson, 2005, 101) - simply serve to illustrate creativity's power as a mode of subjectification. As Foucault might have said, the more challenging problem is not to find a way to liberate people's creativity from the economy, "but to liberate us both from the economy and the type of individualization that is linked to the economy. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries" (Foucault, cited in Gibson-Graham, 2006, xxxv).

This is where Foucault's work on discourse, for my purposes, fell short. While it explores the 'micro-physics' of power/resistance, it does not account for how these individual instances are imbricated with macro–strategies of global systems of domination nor does it show how these might be formed and dissolved as outcomes of power struggles that are sedimented over time. In order to understand creativity in the Foucauldian sense as a type of individualization that is linked to the economy, and to see how this has imposed a certain form of creative subjectivity and produced a creativity explosion in New Zealand tertiary education institutions, Laclau and Mouffe's post-Marxist conception of hegemony and subjectivity is more useful. This is because their approach to discourse draws on broader theoretical roots than that of the governmentality tradition, synthesising recent developments in psychoanalytic approaches from Freud, Lacan and Zizek, Gramscian Marxism and Nietzschean rhetoric, as well as the poststructuralist work derived from Foucault and Derrida[78].

"Theory, as Stuart Hall has famously stated, 'makes meanings slide'" (Brown, 2001; Scott, 2006a, 395). In the following section I discuss where I think research on creative girls and the designer fashion industry in New Zealand might be taken 'post theory'.

[78] For helping me to make sense of how these can be drawn together, I am indebted to Alejandro Groppo, Lasse Thomassen Aletta Norval and David Howarth, at Victoria University's Australasian Discourse Theory Summer School, 2005, 2006 & 2008.

Moving forward?

In *Rethinking Globalisation: Theorising the New Zealand Designer Fashion Industry,* Molloy and Larner (2005, 25) have argued that for young, middle-class, first-world women moving into the labour force, the production of a "culturally savvy, fashionable self" is "an essential credential" in new labour markets and an important way for women to position themselves as active players in a global economy. They think women have a more central role in the globalizing economy than the literature recognises, and that increased female participation in the labour market is re-gendering some types of professional work and creating new consumption patterns and occupations. New Zealand's small, female-headed, entrepreneurial designer fashion firms, who are both producers and consumers of fashionable identities, exemplify these new and distinctive ways of working that are associated with rise of the new economy. Political economic approaches to the new economy highlight the complicated gender effects associated with trade liberalisation and women's labour force participation, and Molloy and Larner question the way gender has been articulated to globalisation in the academic literatures relating to creative industries and the new economy. They argue that these literatures do not connect with the experiences and observations of women involved in the New Zealand designer fashion industry. They identify three major disconnections:

1. The literature on globalisation as political economic transformations tends to represent women in the fashion industry as passive victims of macro-economic processes. Much of this empirical research focuses on the active production of gendered economic inequalities.
2. The globalisation literature is divided between writing about the clothing industry, in which the central character is the third world factory worker, or literature on fashion consumption, which focuses on the desire–driven, identity-constructing consumer. This doesn't account for workers in the new networks of cultural mediation – or in my account, the 'co-creators'.
3. The literature on cultural and creative industries is largely gender-neutral; what little research there is focuses on the constitution of white, middle-class masculinities and there is almost no attention paid to how the gendering of new industries and occupations drives consumption.

Molloy and Larner conclude that "[a]s aestheticization and stylization have become critical aspects of the workplace, so too has fashion become more integral to the performative arrangements that underpin the structure of the labour force" (Molloy & Larner, 2005, 24). A new type of fashion consumer has emerged who is not the haute couture consumer of earlier eras, nor the cultural dupe of the broader literature on fashion consumption. "Rather, they are busy working women who are quite consciously using 'high casual' designs to position themselves as active players in a globalizing economy" (Molloy & Larner, 2005, 25).

There are at least three ways I think we could proceed with research that will connect the New Zealand designer fashion phenomenon with the academic literature. The first would be to deploy a 'production of culture' (Peterson & Anand, 2004) perspective to analyse how careers and labour market segmentation are being enacted in this new industry, so as to explore the idea that the "new occupations – publishing, marketing, public relations, new media, design and fashion – have created new labour force opportunities for women" (Molloy & Larner, 2005, 22). This supposition needs to be examined in more depth. Careers do not emerge simply as a result of new technologies ('ICTs' in Molloy and Larner's article) generating new occupations, which therefore inevitably supply new opportunities for women. Careers shape industries, as much as industries shape careers (Peiperl, Arthur, & Anand, 2002, 253). To understand how fashion careers are enacted, it would be useful to employ the organization theory concept of an 'industrial field'. New industrial fields such as fashion tend to 'institutionalise' around new technologies, evolving legal arrangements and newly constituted markets. According to Peterson and Anand's (2004) 'production of culture' model, the field of New Zealand designer fashion is now beginning to shift from an entrepreneurial form that had neither clear-cut divisions of labour nor a many-layered hierarchy, to larger types of fashion firm which try to take advantage of the potential flexibility of the bureaucratic form, without giving up central control. This is done in part by acquiring services through short-term contracts, internships and so on, an employment situation dubbed 'Prada-ization' when it occurred in the British fashion industry in the late 1990s (McRobbie, 2002a).

The evolutionary epistemology of Peterson and Anand's 'production of culture' heuristic I find to be useful, but also flawed, since it misses the important

factor of the power relations in firm development (see Christopherson & Clark, 2007). In relation to the politics of firm networks, New Zealand fashion is now perhaps beginning to take on the configuration of the British fashion field studied by McRobbie (2002a) over a decade ago, when the power of larger fashion firms began to limit small firm innovation so that it became increasingly difficult for new fashion designers to gain recognition for being innovative (Crane, 2000). Clearly, we need to understand these dynamics better, in relation to the education and employment of 'creative girls.'

An obvious way to do this would be to follow Bourdieu's thinking about the "discrimination and aesthetic taste, education and the reproduction of belief" (Negus & Pickering, 2004, 116-117) that inform the struggles which constitute fields of cultural production. For Bourdieu, creative education would be part of a process of 'cultural differenciation' (McRobbie, 2005, 124) that works to proliferate social divisions and inequities through different modalities of symbolic violence. Education systems reproduce social inequality, even in those societies that see themselves as "the promised land of social fluidity and individual achievement" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, xi). In liberal democracies this happens "behind the impeccable appearance of equity and meritocracy, by a systematic bias in favour of the possessors of inherited cultural capital" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, xi). For Bourdieu every 'pedagogic action' regarding creativity would be symbolic violence, re-produced through the arbitrary selection a group or class objectively makes in and through its 'cultural arbitrary' - arbitrary because 'the structure and functions of that culture cannot be deduced from any universal principle, whether physical, biological or spiritual, not being linked by any sort of internal relation to "the nature of things" or any "human nature"' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, 8). In his introduction to the re-issue of *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, originally published in 1977, Bourdieu wrote his later research had showed

> ... that educational titles [...] fulfill, in a different historical context, a social function quite analogous to that which befell nobility titles in feudal society [...I]f the degree of achievement and of technical proficiency actually required of the dominant has no doubt never been higher, it nevertheless remains that it continues to stand in very close statistical relationship to social origins, to birth, that is, to ascription. And in societies which claim to recognize individuals only as equals in

> right, the educational system and its modern nobility only contribute to disguise, and thus legitimize, in a more subtle way the arbitrariness of the distribution of powers and privileges which perpetuates itself through the socially uneven allocation of school titles and degrees (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, xi).

So for Bourdieu, what would be of interest with regard to the attribution of creativity would be the credentialing function of a creative tertiary education. The curriculum would only be significant inasmuch as it "encourages the inclination of the habitus to the field, ensuring that social legitimation is more easily secured" (McRobbie, 2005, 126). Changes in the symbolic configuration of what is taught are only relevant in that they form "the means by which [a] new surplus of cultural producers struggle to assert themselves as unique or differentiated providers of services for the expansion of lifestyle and cultures of consumption" (McRobbie, 2005, 129). Teaching creativity, for Bourdieu, would be a matter of taste, which is exactly the opinion of Vivienne Westwood the celebrated British fashion designer and Professor of Fashion at Berlin's Academy of Arts. As Westwood says "as a teacher you have to have taste and judgement, that's what the real value of a teacher is, knowing the difference between the good and the best…" (*Mastering Fashion Design*, 2000).

Westwood is exemplary of the 'new cultural intermediary' (Bourdieu, 1984), an upwardly mobile woman (Mulvagh, 1998), for whom fashion design has provided a habitus of work and produced a 'disposition' that allows her to endorse dominant cultural fields, despite appearing to challenge them. She sends her students to museums and art galleries to learn the codes of high cultural capital so that they can play the game of reorganising them, a mode of operation that has been the prerogative of the artist since Vasari wrote about *The Lives of The Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* in 1550 (Rampley, 1998). As a fashion designer-cum-professor, Westwood occupies a subject position highly "germane to the 'ethical retooling' of consumer capitalism" (Nixon & du Gay, 2002, 497), from where she is able to exert her cultural authority as a shaper of taste and inculcator of new dispositions within - but not beyond - the space between production and consumption[79]. This is the subject position privileged by the discourse and practices of the creative economy. Indeed, it provides the

[79] See http://www.viviennewestwoodonline.co.uk/acatalog/shop.html.

proforma for professorial appointment in the design department at my own university, and is endlessly re-presented in the texts and governmental technologies of creative industry.

Bourdieu's work presents a powerful tool for the disenchantment of creative education, stripping it down to the reproduction of classificatory regimes of taste. Yet from another perspective, sociologically 'naïve' examples of 'taste in action' such as that embodied by Professor Vivian Westwood remain important considerations for my thesis, as a reminder that an analysis of taste, like creativity, cannot be reduced to a simple opposition between social causes and individual determinations. A video of Westwood teaching (*Mastering Fashion Design*, 2000) shows that for all her pronouncements about the reliability of her taste, it is in no way pre-established. In the video we are shown Westwood confronting her students' work for the first time. Her evaluations are tentative; she adapts her responses to the way the garments are 'performed'. She responds to the student's different postures as they model the garments, deferring to their explanations and their verbalisations of concept and process. Moving from a position of "why would you want to do that?" to "you're right, it's lovely like that", her judgements gradually stabilise and make themselves sensible. This demonstrates the point that actor network theorists are keen to make; that taste is 'an attachment' between things and persons, "a meticulous activity…to bring forth through contact and to infinitely multiply differences indissociably 'in' the things tasted and 'in' the sensibility of the taster" (Hennion, Teil, & Vergnaud, 2005, 673). Taste is not something that is decided in advance.

> It is in the act of tasting, the gestures that permit it, the know how that accompanies it, the supports sought in other people or in guides or reviews, the little ongoing adjustments that favor its felicity or its reproduction, on the basis of the responses that the objects give back to those who take an interest in them [By the act of tasting] one becomes attentive to the situation, producing in the same actions the proficiencies of an enthusiast and the repertoire of the objects around which he or she gravitates (Hennion et al., 2005, 670 - 672).

That both 'things' (clothing) and 'identities' can have a mutual genesis is important in understanding the creative economy and the potentialities and limits it offers for becoming creative in New Zealand's after-neoliberalising tertiary education system.

Bourdieu's work helps to understand the creativity explosion, especially insofar as it shows that "[t]he choices which constitute a culture ('choices' which no one makes)" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, 9) appear to be arbitrary when related to the historical conditions of their emergence and perpetuation. What is most interesting in regard to my thesis, however, is that New Zealand designer fashion, as the field of cultural production being 're-produced' by these choices which no one makes, was never there in New Zealand in the first place. This suggests a globalised mode of regulation that transcends national boundaries. However, it is important to remember that while creative workers share globalizing discourses and technologies, they continue to be influenced by the national institutions that govern competition, employment, and industrial relations (Christopherson, 2004). I have argued through this thesis that we need to understand the history of the present arrangement of these, and the way they have been implicated in tertiary education policy, in order to understand the conditions of emergence of the 'creativity explosion'.

To return to Molloy and Larner's paper, a second way to connect the New Zealand designer fashion phenomenon with the academic literature would be to increase the focus on the gendering of creativity. To the extent that it establishes distributions of power (in the differential control or access to material and symbolic resources), "gender becomes implicated in the conception and construction of power itself" (Scott, 2006b, 143). How is the power of creativity being articulated by means of gender, and how is gender structuring perceptions of creativity and the material and symbolic organization of fashion and creative industry? I have already mentioned in Chapter 4 that choosing to major in fashion design limits graduates access to various forms of government funding and support. Fashion is positioned as feminised; too frivolous to be serious design, and too commercial to qualify as art.

Discourses of globalization have become increasingly masculinised (Mohanty, 2006), and Molloy and Larner's article is an important move to 'add women' to largely androcentric stories about the drivers of globalisation; to make women empirically visible as active agents as well as victims of globalising processes. Further than this, it signals that gendered culture and the new economy are co-constituted, a position that Spike Peterson (2005) has made explicit in her argument for the importance of the meaning of gender in political economy

analyses. Peterson's point is that the concept of 'feminisation' acts as a cultural code that naturalises the economic (material) devaluation of feminised work. If gender stereotypes depict women as especially suitable for entrepreneurial jobs in fashion and the creative industries, then gender inequalities also render women especially desperate for the income they provide. "In short, as more jobs become casual, irregular, flexible and precarious, more women – and feminised men – are doing them" (V. S. Peterson, 2005, 509). From Peterson's perspective, New Zealand's new, middle-class, entrepreneurial fashion designers would embody the few elite, educated young women who are able to benefit from the feminisation of employment. As she argues, 'informalised' economic conditions allow some groups to prosper, especially those who are able to take advantage of entrepreneurial opportunities where innovation may breed success and multiply, such as in the 'stars and styles' system of cultural commodification (Ryan, 1992)[80]. However, while it is certainly important to 'add women' to literature on new economy work patterns, it is equally important not to uncritically celebrate female entrepreneurialism as evidence of increasing female agency. The flexible work patterns characteristic of entrepreneurialism may be attractive to women seeking 'work-life' balance, but there is, of course, an important difference between the 'opportunity entrepreneur' who identifies available opportunities and exploits them, and the 'necessity entrepreneur' who creates self-employment when other options for work or participation in the economy are absent or considered unsatisfactory (Frederick et al., 2002). It is still unclear how the gendering of creativity is operative in these distinctive entrepreneurialisms.

A third way to proceed with research in this area would be to deploy Discourse Theory as a research programme and pay more attention to Molloy and Larner's idea that fashion has become integral to the *performative arrangements* underpinning the structure of the labour force. An attempt to specify these performative arrangements would help to slide the meaning of creativity someplace less potentially corrosive. According to David Howarth (2000), 'Discourse Theory' is a 'third phase' in the genealogy of discourse analysis in the social sciences, which takes discursive practices as synonymous with systems of

[80] Not to mention those engaged in the "criminal activities that are 'big business' worldwide (for example, traffic in drugs, arms and the bodies of sex workers and illegal immigrants)" (V. S. Peterson, 2005, 512).

social relations, rather than as simply the semiotic dimension of a prior social practice (Howarth, 2000, 8). In this sense, as a research programme, Discourse Theory begins to move beyond the dominance of cartesian representationalism that underpins much of the work in cultural studies, particularly visual cultural studies (see Hall, 1997, 2001), which tend to posit the self as made up of a set of internal, private cognitive processes that are separate from the objective world of culture.[81] One of the things a more relational view of discourse allows is an embodied theorisation of 'becoming creative', in which material things, such as clothes, are important for more than just being visible or spectacular. Cultural practices around dress include much more than the consumer fashion system. Fashion is also important because it is part of a set of bodily practices – creative practices – that can be regarded as both a precondition of agency and the physical effect of social structures (Shilling, 2005). We need to think of practices such as fashion design as 'effectuating' a way of being that goes beyond the surface of the body - what is put on the body and how the body looks in clothes – perhaps to encompass a bodily practice of 'becoming creative'. As Mike Lloyd says, adapting Woolgar (2003), "the more material these practices are, the more effectuating they might be" (Lloyd, 2004, 561). We need to think of a creative education in fashion as a resource used in attempts to become somebody, a type of being – a creative person – and the practice of putting on clothes in different spatial locations, even in a mirror or in a internet chat room, as a modification of habitus.

In order to do this, we might think of creativity as a type of 'performative knowledge' (Bell, 2006), an achievement sustained through the production and repetition of corporeal signs and practices that are made socially and culturally significant through the category of art. If we presume that art is to creativity as gender is to sexuality, as I suggested in Chapter 4, then in the same way that the category of gender makes the sex of the body significant (Butler, 2006), it is the category of art that makes the creativity of bodies significant. The significance of creative identity is thus co-determined through performative acts and their cultural perception. The experience of creativity, like gender, has its reality constituted by the performance itself. When art is performed in accord with social expectations, it seems as though creativity has existed in the practitioner all along, and has

[81] For a discussion of 'a counter-representationalist re-specification of the concept of culture' see (McHoul & Rapley, 2005).

emerged as a natural act that expresses the self. Gabrielle Ivinson (2004) has researched how the dominant social representations and expectations of art as it is practiced in schools imposes the limits and possibilities of individual experiences of creativity. She writes that objects produced as art are interpreted as "the outward manifestation of interiority" (Ivinson, 2004, 98). If art practices are understood to be performative, rather than expressive, then these practices effectively constitute the creative nature they are said to express or reveal. There is no pre-existing creative identity by which an act or attribute might be measured, and the postulation of a true creative identity can be recognised as a regulatory fiction.

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