figure. However, hopefully, our programme will generate more qualitative information. The way we approach it is similar to storytelling: what are the practices that the artists come across while cooperating with other organizations; what did they learn; what aspects went wrong and how did the cooperating partners cope with it? As The Art of Impact, we are more interested in the dynamics and processes through which the partners arrived at an end product, and then, of course, in the end product itself. This is the starting point for the research.

KL: Are you, then, researching the impact on the producers or on the communities with which these producers or artists are working? What are you actually researching in regard to these projects?

MM: In my opinion it can be both in the end. But what we are very much interested in is the process: how do you get there? It's a kind of journey that the artists enter into with their partners. We try to analyse what they come across and what it means for them and for the cooperation. We are interested in how the process affects the cooperation and the end result, the goals they are aiming to achieve.

TG: There are many different questions that can be touched upon by a work of art, or how they [artists] try to change perceptions of a certain topic. For me, I would like to think about impact as a change [that occurs] around a certain issue. This change could be the attitude of the people that are involved or the rules of the mechanism working around a certain issue. Are the people showing different kinds of behaviour or using a different language as a consequence of the project? Are there other goals they are focusing on? It could be on all these different levels that the change is being made through the collaboration.

KL: Previously you mentioned that this subsidy seeks to support sustainable projects. However, The Art of Impact is a temporary fund. In your opinion, how does the temporary nature of this subsidy affect the sustainability of the projects?

MM: We started the programme with the awareness that it would only last two years, and we try to see it as an experiment, as an opportunity to research the processes and dynamics of the funded projects. Therefore, this programme, in a way, is a pilot to learn lessons for the future and maybe one of these lessons is that public funds do not invest enough in long-term projects, or that there is not enough time to create the right context in which the artists want to operate.

Michel Munneke studied sociology and anthropology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen and obtained his PhD in Communication Science at the University of Amsterdam. From 1985 until 2000 he worked at the World Press Photo Foundation, becoming its director in 2001. Next to his position as programme director of The Art of Impact, Munneke is an advisor of the board of directors of Child Helpline International, and follows the Senior Leadership Programme at the Nyenrode Business University.

Tabo Goudswaard studied Fine Arts at the Gerrit Rietveld Academy of Amsterdam, after which he joined the No Academy, a post-graduate programme for social design in Amsterdam. As a social designer, Goudswaard searches for new ways of looking at social problems. He seeks to connect his work with people's everyday behaviour and designs new concrete perspectives for taking action, which are both shared with participants and produced together with them. It is his conviction that artists can play a crucial role in shaping societies.

*Interview by Lara Garica Diaz & Cristina Marques Moran

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**Agents or Objects of Discontinuous Change? Blairite Britain and the Role of the Culturepreneur**

Josephine Berry

In his epoch-defining book on the knowledge economy, Living on Thin Air, Charles Leadbeater advanced a crucial formulation: 'The more rapid and discontinuous the nature of knowledge creation within an industry, the more conducive it is for entrepreneurship.' When seeking to understand the rise of the cultural entrepreneur — or culturepreneur — in Britain in the 1990s, it is important to keep in mind how profound the experience of 'rapid and discontinuous change' was during this time. In a sense, the rise of the entrepreneur per se, as an economic ideal and governmental fetish, registers a popular awakening to the effects of a full-scale implementation of neoliberal policies and their engineering of endemic economic instability. Such policies swept away the social and economic compacts that had undermined and stabilized society since the end of the Second World War. To contend with the 'creative destruction' of globalized and deregulated trade, the welfare state thus began its transition into the innovation state.

But beyond merely registering this systemic instability, the fetishized figure of the entrepreneur provided a conduit by which a general economic condition could be converted into a set of personal responsibilities and motivations. Neoliberalism demanded that an entirely new model of subjectivity be born. In 1990s Britain, it was the invented and unlikely figure of the cultural entrepreneur who must embody the risk-taking individualism that was given as the model of success for thriving in new economic times. Here we will look at how this contradictory figure was engineered, and its lasting impact on the cultural landscape.

Fordism's demise in the early 1970s had brought about the end of jobs for life or the notion of a lifelong career. The end of economic stability had also, however, left governments with a historic opportunity. Finally, the on-going argument between those who believed that the collective insurance of the welfare state was an essential buffer to the market's destructive pursuit of profit, and those who believed that welfare costs were unaffordable could be settled. As an apparently unavoidable consequence of the changes in economic conditions, the social would now become entirely integrated into the economic. Neoliberalism is a political ideology that subjects all aspects of life (social, economic, biological, cultural, personal) to an economic judgement or audit; it is a perspective that no longer permits of any outside to the economic. In this respect, we can say that society as a whole was entrepreneurialized as an effect of neoliberalism. But below we will look specifically at culture, rapidly becoming the great white hope of deindustrialized times, and the story of its entrepreneurialization in Creative Britain.

**Entrepreneurial Salvation**

As Jacques Donzelot argues in his essay 'Please in Work', at the very centre of this change is the transformation of the subject of rights who disidentifies with work into the subject of change who embraces and takes pleasure in work. The Fordist worker, protected by statutory rights but threatened by unemployment and hence economic obsolescence, had become a real problem for government...
and the economy alike. The worker’s rigidity and resistance to retraining had become both unaffordable for the public purse and a drag on the commercial need to innovate and compete in a global marketplace. By Donzelot’s account, alienation from work and statutory rights were two sides of the same coin. The development of lifelong training, or formation permanante as it is called in France, as a standard technique of workplace practice from the end of the 1970s, and increasingly a condition of welfare provision from the 1980s, was therefore an essential aspect of neoliberalizing societies. This technique was able to integrate the ‘right’ of the worker to constant on-the-job training with the requirements of capital. The social molecule of neoliberal society is thus the development of what Foucault described as the entrepreneurial self. Donzelot exposes the parallels between lifelong learning and the entrepreneurial attitude by quoting Bertrand Schwartz, the French educationalist who helped to develop its principles:

The objective of Formation Permanente is to make every person capable of becoming an agent of change, capable that is of an improved understanding of the technical, cultural and social world that surrounds him, and of acting upon and changing the structures within which he lives. It aims to give everyone an awareness of his power as an active being […] .

The individual is made autonomous at the same time that their social and economic environment is defined as one of change: these new subjective freedoms come at the cost of perilous and permanent insecurity. Although written in 1971, this description of permanent formation works well as a description of the more contemporary figure of the ‘cultural entrepreneur’ or ‘creative worker’. Pleasure in work is, after all, what cultural occupations have traditionally offered as recompense for chronic insecurity. It is also crucial to emphasize here that neoliberalism espouses a model of the subject that is both individually autonomous and yet collectively responsible. It becomes our duty to develop our skills and exercise our entrepreneurialism in order not to become a burden on collective resources and to help innovate and drive forward social and economic processes that will benefit all. At the same time, it becomes the duty of the government to empower all individuals and businesses through the creation of opportunities for self-realization. This is the role of the so-called ‘enabling state’ which must provide what New Labour leader and prime minister Tony Blair called ‘competitive individualism within a moral framework’. Thus the political transformations brought about by the crisis of the Fordist/welfare state model entailed a remaking of society in the image of the economy, or rather, the neoliberal economy importantly characterized by Joseph Schumpeter’s theory. For Schumpeter, an Austrian economist who became a key neoliberal figurehead, economic disequilibrium is nothing to be feared but rather a sign of economic health. This idea was set out in his 1943 book, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy where he describes capitalism, with its on-going discovery of new markets, production techniques, and forms of organization as a process of incessant ‘mutation’, one that:

revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one. This processes of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. It is what capitalism consists in, and what every capitalist concern has got to live in. Like Marx, Schumpeter believed that capitalism’s inherent dynamic would lead ultimately to its own destruction. However Schumpeter’s theory formulates destruction as the source of the system’s own salvation—albeit a dynamic that will eventually overwhelm it. While every source of profit in a capitalist economy must eventually dry up due to the tendency of the market to imitate, saturate, and exhaust all innovations, such incessant levelling of difference also impels the creative thinking of the entrepreneur. Indeed for Schumpeter, economic value, or growth, does not derive from the surplus value extracted from labour time—as in Marx’s labour theory of value—but from entrepreneurial innovation itself. Entrepreneurial creativity is itself as real an input into economic development as other factors of production—land, labour, and capital—and is in fact the decisive one that increases the total sum of values. While, for Schumpeter, socialist societies have no real mechanism for creative destruction, and therefore stagnate, capitalist societies impel the entrepreneur and are therefore innovative, dynamic, and expansive.

Before exploring in specific detail the nature of cultural entrepreneurship, it is also worth making two further observations. When Peter Drucker wrote his definitive theory of entrepreneurialism in 1985, Innovation and Entrepreneurship, he observed that while ‘smokestack’ industries had been haemorrhaging jobs since the 1970s, the US was undergoing more overall job creation than ever before in peace time. This seemed to run contrary to common sense, since by 1984 the big Fortune 500 companies had permanently lost four to six million jobs, and the public sector had shrunk due to the slowing birth rate. Yet since this permanent shrinkage had occurred, forty million new jobs had been added to the economy in small to medium sized businesses. Unsurprisingly, given the subject of the book, Drucker put this extraordinary anomaly down to the emergence in the US of a culture of entrepreneurship in which individuals were prepared to undertake risks and ‘work like demons’ creating their own start-ups rather than work in big companies and face uncertain futures. As I will discuss in more detail below, Drucker also attributes this cultural and psychological change to the rise of management techniques that had been transforming American society since the First World War. He writes: ‘Management is the new technology (rather than any specific new science of invention) that is making the American economy into an entrepreneurial economy.’ For Drucker, management is a social technique that changes the yield of resources or the value and satisfaction obtained by consumers from resources: an inherently entrepreneurial innovation. Here, he uses the McDonald’s restaurant chain as a key example, since they invented nothing except the process through which staff are trained and provided with the tools to deliver simple hamburgers in an efficient, fast, and standardized form to the consumer. However, what is also very interesting about Drucker’s account is the spin he gives entrepreneurship. Unlike advocates such as Schumpeter, Drucker emphasizes the socially stabilizing effects of entrepreneurship in the context of ‘creative destruction’. Where the contemporary economic climate of the mid-1990s and its systematic destruction of big businesses was posing what he called a ‘genuine social threat to employment, financial stability and social order’, and with the prospect of blue collar jobs shrinking by a third within the next twenty-five years, it was essential for existing businesses to learn to be successful entrepreneurs. It is in this light, I think, that we should also see the discourse and policies that came to cluster around the cultural entrepreneur in the Blairite Britain of the late 1990s.
In a sense, the discovery and hype of the cultural entrepreneur in the 1990s could be described as an act of entrepreneurship in its own right. Cultural creativity which had, by and large, been regarded as something fairly peripheral to the real economy, was discovered and converted into a resource of both national pride and economic growth: the ‘cultural and creative industries’. It took an act of innovation to transform cultural creativity into a profit yielding resource. Furthermore, the discovery of this resource also entailed a very real desire to use it to help stabilize the economy more widely in times of discontinuous, often disastrous change, as per Drucker’s proposal: a very difficult balancing act to pull off.

To retrace this a little, and with the help of cultural historian Robert Hewison’s excellent account of Creative Britain, the discovery of creativity as an economic resource emerged gradually from the early to mid-1990s. It was heavily bound up with attempts to reinvent the Labour Party in the guise of the centrist New Labour. A makeover also entailed a very real desire to use it to help stabilize the economy more widely in times of discontinuous, often disastrous change, as per Drucker’s proposal: a very difficult balancing act to pull off.

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For all the buzz of discovery, New Labour were confronted with the very real problem of how to draft effective policy for this broad new industrial sector that was punching so high above its weight yet lacking any structural coherence. Here, the entrepreneur individual enters the stage once more, this time not as the subject of workplace self-management and lifelong learning, but as an elusive figure sitting at the intersection of creative ideas and new technologies, zones of esoteric knowledge, and the products, distribution channels, and markets of the future—a master of the ‘art of combination’, in Schumpeter’s formulation. If creativity was to be industrialized, it needed to be locatable in an amenable form or figure, and the culturepreneur seemed to offer just that.

The new economy had been producing some veritable giants of entrepreneurship—notably Bill Gates—that helped sell this new, abstract figure. In Leadbeater’s *Living on Thin Air*, Bill Gates is described as the archetypal ‘knowledge entrepreneur’: ‘someone who has built a global business from virtually nothing on the basis of a few good ideas and some ruthless commercial strategy.’

Leadbeater’s 1999 book was a de facto mission statement for the Blair administration’s radical policy creating the knowledge economy that carried an endorsement by Tony Blair on its cover. In it, Leadbeater emphasizes the nearly alchemical power of the new economy to turn know-how, good instincts, and ideas into money (while all details of Gates’ years of coding graft, not to mention those of the wider developer community remained unacknowledged). His definition of the ‘knowledge entrepreneur’ is closer to Schumpeter than to Drucker, emphasizing personality traits such as ruthlessness, charisma, confidence, inquisitiveness, imagination and above all the ability to act on instinct. By contrast, Drucker stresses time and again that entrepreneurship is based on a systematic approach to innovation: “it is behaviour rather than a personality trait” he writes, and adds, “the entrepreneur always searches for change, responds to it, and exploits it as an opportunity.” And locating or pre-empting change is for Drucker the result of a systematic search, not something that happens to the entrepreneur when the muse kisses him. Leadbeater doesn’t deny the need for systematicity, but he rolls together creative invention with business innovation. On the one hand, the TV cook Delia Smith is upheld as a paragon, able to turn her know-how and craft into a successful product line. On the other, he admits that knowledge-based businesses often bring together two partners: “one with the ideas, the other with the business skills.” Yet what defines a successful idea, and when does creativity really lie? is the commercial application of creativity defined by the Windows operating system, a top charting pop song or the conversion of the traditional hamburger into a management science? This confusion between creativity and systematic innovation will constantly return to haunt not just theories of the knowledge and cultural entrepreneur, but the creative industries sector in general.

**DISCONTINUOUS CHANGE OR SYSTEMATIC DOMINATION?**

But confusion, such as that produced by discontinuous change, also creates the essential conditions in which the entrepreneur can seize opportunities. As Leadbeater explains, “[e]ntrepreneurs in new industries exploit gaps created by disagreements over the value of a new idea; they thrive on the short-sighted arrogance of large companies.” Being able to see through the fog of ideas and rapid churn of new businesses and products is at least half the art. In Leadbeater and Oakley’s 1999 *The Independents* report, written for Demos, in which the term ‘cultural entrepreneur’ was first popularized, the creative urban milieu is itself characterized in conflictual terms: “[c]reative places are rarely settled and cosy; they are usually in the midst of battles between ‘old and new’ sources of wealth, income and identity.” Seeing potential in the decline of the old, and having the social and economic power to act on this, is thus necessary for finding the differentials (such as rent gaps) in which future profits lie. This is a differentially entirely absent from today’s pursuit, built high-rent creative quarters. However, the role of high rents in levelling off potential culturepreneurial returns on risk-taking is a topic worthy of its own dedicated discussion—Richard Florida’s creative quarters immediately having become unaffordable for the very ‘creatives’ who settled them.

Implicit in this image of discontinuous change and the entrepreneurial gift for seeing potential simultaneously creating the knowledge economy that carried an endorsement by Tony Blair on its cover. In it, Leadbeater emphasizes the nearly alchemical power of the new economy to turn know-how, good instincts, and ideas into money (while all details of Gates’ years of coding graft, not to mention those of the wider developer community remained unacknowledged). His definition of the ‘knowledge entrepreneur’ is closer to Schumpeter than to Drucker, emphasizing personality traits such as ruthlessness, charisma, confidence, inquisitiveness, imagination and above all the ability to act on instinct. By contrast, Drucker stresses time and again that entrepreneurship is based on a systematic approach to innovation: “it is behaviour rather than a personality trait” he writes, and adds, “the entrepreneur always searches for change, responds to it, and exploits it as an opportunity.” And locating or pre-empting change is for Drucker the result of a systematic search, not something that happens to the entrepreneur when the muse kisses him. Leadbeater doesn’t deny the need for systematicity, but he rolls together creative invention with business innovation. On the one hand, the TV cook Delia Smith is upheld as a paragon, able to turn her know-how and craft into a successful product line. On the other, he admits that knowledge-based businesses often bring together two partners: “one with the ideas, the other with the business skills.” Yet what defines a successful idea, and when does creativity really lie? is the commercial application of creativity defined by the Windows operating system, a top charting pop song or the conversion of the traditional hamburger into a management science? This confusion between creativity and systematic innovation will constantly return to haunt not just theories of the knowledge and cultural entrepreneur, but the creative industries sector in general.

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[1] John Myerseour, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain, Policy Studies Institute, 1988*. This was a far more moderate than the Blair government’s Creative Industries Task Force would in their Creative Industries Mapping Document of 1998, in which they claimed the sector contributed 4% to GDP. When they released a second mapping document in 2001, the figure had jumped again to 5%. However this figure has been shown to alter dramatically depending on whether or not, for example, sectors of software production deemed ‘uncreative’ are included or not. See NESTA’s A Dynamic Mapping of the UK’s Creative Industries, 2013 for a discussion of the difficulty of defining and thus measuring the creative industries, and the need to disentangle kinds of (uncreative) labour from kinds of (creative) products.


[4] The neologism ‘creative and cultural industries’ was coined by the Creative Industries Task Force after a definition blurring of the arts with the knowledge economy more generally. Key to this governmental reordering was the reevaluation of the arts in terms of their economic contribution and the way in which the mapping of the knowledge economy’s aggressive attempts at intellectual property expansion by invoking its creative contribution. See Simon Roodhouse, “The Creative Industries: Definitions, Quantification and Practice” in Christian Eisenberg et al. (eds.), *Cultural Industries: The British Experience in International Perspective*, Humboldt University Berlin, Edo-Server, 2008. Accessed through: http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/conferences/ culturalindustries/pros/culturalindustries.pdf, on 8 May 2016.


[7] Ibid., p. xii.


[9] Ibid., p. 105.


[14] Ibid.


[16] Ibid., p. xxv.

[17] Ibid., p. 2.

[18] Ibid., p. 105.

[19] Ibid., p. 105.


[21] Ibid., p. 105.

[22] Ibid., p. 105.

[23] Ibid., p. 105.


[26] Ibid., p. 105.

[27] Ibid., p. 105.

[28] Ibid., p. 105.

[29] Ibid., p. 105.


[31] Ibid., p. 105.

Drukker, op. cit. (note 8) p. x.

For instance, workers in Silicon Valley will get paid handsomely in order to develop the design and brand values which allow Apple to charge such excessive amounts for its products that in reality are extremely cheap to produce. The low cost of production is guaranteed by the company’s exploitation of cheap Chinese labour in factories like Foxconn (which were recently found to have broken up to 86 labour laws, including forcing pregnant women to work 11 hour shifts, six days a week, standing up). Their global supply chains also make it possible to produce goods at a grassroots level. See Sander, ‘Artificial Scarcity in a World of Overproduction: An Escape that Isn’t’, Mute Vol 2 #16 2010. Accessed through: www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/artifi- cial-scarcity-world-overproduction-escape capsule-print, 8 May 2016.


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of the UK’s Creative Industries, and concluded that there was a strong case for ‘public investment’, i.e. subsidy for those creators of the ‘expressive core’. But instead, 2011 saw the Arts Council budget cut by 29.6%. The situation is quite circular: without funding, cultural producers are compelled to entrepreneurialize or change careers altogether.

Thus ‘pleasure in work’ is becoming ever more nakedly an alibi for the imposition of ‘formation permanente’ and its economic analogue, creative destruction. While the entrepreneur historically implied the catalyzing ‘agent of change’ referred to by Schwartz and eulogized by Schumpeter, today it tends to be associated with obligatory and conformist forms of subjectivity. Thus, paradoxically, free creative action is imposed on workers, artists, and capitalists alike as a generic behavioural injunction within a highly precarious economic climate. The values of creativity are everywhere lauded, yet in their forced embrace with entrepreneurship, hunted back to a minimum of possibility. As mass creative workers we are all thus increasingly objects, not subjects, of discontinuous change. And as we have seen, entrepreneurialism is something quite distinct from cultural or technological invention, requiring time, management skills, organizational resources, and the right kind of instincts. In the UK and beyond, the impact of culture’s enforced entrepreneurialization is still emerging. Yet what seems undeniable is that for those working in the creative sector, whether hub or rim, their output will need to be highly market compatible if they are to stand a hope of surviving. The toll this will take on what once was called autonomous or critical culture is apparent. In the increasing absence of any alternatives, the age of the culturepreneur is at last truly upon us.

Josephine Berry edited Mute magazine from 2004-2010, and is now a co-editor. She convenes the Culture Industry MA at Goldsmiths College, and teaches on Biopolitics and Aesthetics. She is co-author with Anthony Iles of No Room to Move: Radical Art and the Regenerate City (2010), and currently writing a book titled Art and Bare Life.