Filmmaking education has never been firmly integrated into schooling and in past years has suffered from cuts to funding for youth work and formal and non-formal arts education. It continues to exist only by drawing on creative industry and cultural consumption practices as well as state funding. In this paper we explore the filmmaking education contexts we encountered while doing our own pieces of year-long ethnographic research. These contexts import 'enterprising' ways of thinking, doing and being from the creative workplace and 'bedroom culture'. Located across life's domains, they address enterprising subjects who take pleasure in work, make use of leisure, and who are always learning. We argue that these filmmaking education contexts support young people to develop their private creative practice and introduce them to the possibility of work in the creative industries but, because of the enterprise culture in which they are entangled, uncritically address these young people as enterprising subjects.

Filmmaking education and enterprise culture: an ethnographic exploration of two filmmaking education contexts and their relation to bedroom culture and the creative workplace

Introduction

Filmmaking education in the UK has never been firmly integrated into schooling, despite consistent lobbying by arts institutions and teachers' associations (Bolas, 2009). Although it is now common within further and higher education, when it does take place in school it is mostly limited to stand alone projects and collaborations with outside organisations. Whether a young person has received any filmmaking education at school is a matter of serendipity. Whether they have received any outside school is the result either of initiative or disadvantage. Filmmaking courses in non-formal settings are sought out by privileged young people and offered to the less-so as part of alternative education and targeted youth provision. In the current climate of austerity, the filmmaking education that exists in the arts and youth sectors, has suffered regular funding cuts. In order to survive, filmmaking education must now draw not only on government and third sector funding but also on the commercial and amateur sectors, all of which are today conceived in policy as parts of one 'ecology' (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016; Garnham, 2005). It must rely not only on funding for education, youth and the arts but also on creative industry structures and practices of cultural consumption.

Filmmaking education now has two concurrent purposes. The first - an inheritance of radical work supporting marginalised groups to gain control over their representation in the arts and media - aims to support young peoples' agency, expression and civil engagement. The second aims to educate 'entrepreneurial subjects' with the skills needed in the world of work (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2016). In this paper we explore the place of these two purposes in a range of filmmaking education projects. More specifically, we explore how filmmaking education models

and enacts entrepreneurial subjecthood and how this modelling is ensured by the necessarily enterprising nature of filmmaking education today. We do so by presenting and discussing two ethnographic 'snapshots'.

Key Concepts

Before we present and discuss our two ethnographic snapshots, we will introduce three of the key concepts we use to illuminate them: 'bedroom culture', 'enterprising subjects' and 'education contexts'. We use the concept of 'bedroom culture' to help us understand young people's filmmaking practices, not as part of education or work domains, but as part of media consumption. We use the concept of 'education contexts' to help us understand how the filmmaking education practices we describe exist by locating themselves within and drawing on aspects of all three domains: bedroom culture; formal education; and work in the creative industries. We use the concept of 'enterprising subjects' to describe the form of personhood implicit in education contexts which exist in this way. Together, these three concepts help us explore how the manner in which filmmaking education survives in times of austerity effects the ways of thinking and being it is free to enact and foster.

Bedroom culture

Although filmmaking remains largely excluded from the domain of compulsory education and is under threat in the arts and youth sectors, learning to make film is part of many young people's everyday lives. It is ubiquitous in the online technologies which are central to their 'bedroom culture' (McRobbie & Garber, 1975). 'Bedroom culture' was first specifically explored alongside work attempting to describe and theorise youth street subculture. Like other forms of subculture, bedroom culture was seen as a site of 'symbolic creativity' in which young people could select and

use commodities to produce new - and potentially liberatory - situations and meanings (Willis, 1990). Contrarily, the concept of bedroom culture has since come to be associated with the saturation of life by media and with the types of learning and person formation taking place in the consumption practices of individuals connected through the media rather than in offline communities (Livingstone, 2007). Both uses of the concept are relevant to our work. The filmmaking education we have studied draws on sophisticated skills and practices of self express developed in bedroom culture, but also draws into itself the often limited repertoire of relating and meaning-making implicit in online media consumption.

Enterprising subjects

Creativity has come to be considered a key characteristic of a flexible workforce able to negotiate changing economies. The concept of creativity is used to describe both the ability to continually learn new skills and generate new ideas and the ability to manage precarious work situations - to 'stay afloat, to stay sane, stable and alive' (Banaji, Burn & Buckingham, 2010; p.41). The concept of creativity has become a 'dispositif' directing young people to adjust themselves to an enterprise culture that puts emphasis on initiative, competition, individual responsibility and self-improvement (McRobbie, 2016). The creative subject is often described as the 'enterprising subject'(du Gay, 1996; Bragg, 2007). We use the term 'enterprising subject' to describe the form of personhood taught by filmmaking education: one who takes pleasure in work, makes use of leisure, and who is always learning; one who is self-motivated, self-reliant and self-promoting. This form of personhood is not available to everyone, however, and this paper explores the lines of inclusion and exclusion from enterprising subjecthood (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012).

Education contexts

We also use the concept of enterprise to describe the precarious position of filmmaking education on the boarders of state education, consumption and work - domains which are interdependent but fundamentally different. Enterprise culture spans these domains and confuses them somewhat. As consumers create content from which companies profit, consumption acquires some characteristics of production (Bird, 2011; Skeggs & Yuill, 2015). As workers treat their jobs as sites of creative expression and self-actualisation, work acquires some of the qualities of leisure (McRobbie, 2016). State education, meanwhile, has become fragmented and privatised (West & Bailey, 2013). Learning takes place through the consumption of online media - either as recreation or as part of work in precariously organised workplaces that give employees responsibility for acquiring and updating their own skills, qualifications and networks (Sefton-Green, 2003; Field, 2006).

Education contexts can be more or less permanent and exist across domains. They are practices or situations made of tools, techniques, ideas, stories and memories. Like 'pedagogies' they can be thought of as particular ways of configuring conversations, relationships and environments which enact and foster certain ways of thinking, doing and being (Thomson, Hall, Jones & Sefton-Green, 2012; Sandlin, Schultz & Burdick, 2010). Education contexts have been described as achievements of ongoing processes of 'purification', 'separation' and 'translation' through which objects and activities are included and excluded and through which multiplicity is managed (Edwards, 2009; Edwards & Marmion, 2009). This concept has been useful to us as we have explored how a necessarily enterprising form of filmmaking education relies particularly on translation: on its ability to constitute itself from the resources and traditions of formal education, non formal arts education, youth work cultural consumption and the creative industries workplace.

Methods

The two ethnographic snapshots presented here are taken from the ethnographic research around non-formal arts education each of us did while working towards our PhDs. Howard undertook a

year of fieldwork in youth organisations within urban localities across the East Midlands, which were delivering The Young People's Arts Award accreditation. Young people doing the Arts Award were often free to choose which art form they wished to work with and the snapshot presented here deals with filmmaking work. The award is open to young people between the ages of 11 and 25 and participants for this study were aged between 14 and 21 and were considered 'on the margins' of education. Arts Award is often taken up by arts organisations, but is also used by youth and education services for targeted work with young people regarded under labels such as 'NEET' or 'facing challenging circumstances'. According to its website, Arts Award "enables young people to gain a wide range of employability skills and personal attributes" and "provides them with opportunities to learn about enterprise, prove that they have customer focus and marketing skills". Unlike much arts education in times of austerity, it is thriving.

Coles undertook a year of fieldwork in an 'art-house multiplex' cinema (Andrews, 2010), in the Midlands, which houses cafe-bars, a collection of small creative industry companies, and an education department in it's building. She studied the wide range of education activities which happened in the cinema building and the snapshot presented in this paper deals with the work the cinema education department did with two groups: whole classes visiting as part of their secondary school education and postgraduate university students studying for an MA taught partly by the cinema. Like Arts Award, the cinema was oriented towards fostering 'enterprise'. During her research, the cinema produced a strategy document titled 'From Education to Enterprise'. Education strategy, it declared, was from now on to be a "cross-organisational purpose for enterprise": its purpose was to "enable personalised progression routes [...] through to job and business creation".

We share an appreciation of the value of ethnography as a practice of observing, participating and writing, which is sensitive to the details of the social world while having an intrinsic theoretical capacity (Thomson, Hall & Russell, 2007). During our research we arranged, recorded and transcribed interviews, made observations of a planned sample of activities, collected and read the texts produced in our sites and engaged in informal chats and 'hanging out' - all of

which was recorded in field notes. We made rather different methodological choices, however, regarding out approach to 'site' and researcher positioning. Howard focused on a particular programme and followed its young participants across the domains in which they were learning to make film. Her focus was their experience and she engaged with participatory and arts-based methods as a way of capturing this experience. She generated data in the form of visual art, photography, lyrics, sound recordings and films. Coles focused on one site, through which different groups of people passed and different filmmaking education practices passed. Her focus was an institution. Howard sometimes participated with the young people in their creative work, using filmmaking as a research tool to make meaning together with them. Coles more consistently took the position of observer.

We had different reasons to believe in the importance of ethnography. For Howard, ethnography's strength was the direct involvement, long-term engagement and building of rapport it allowed her to build with her participants. She valued the foregrounding of the practices and creative expression of social agents it encouraged (Willis, 2006; Brice Heath, 2008; Hickey-Moody, 2013; Atkins, 2013). For Coles, ethnography was of value because it could explore an object which it could not immediately define. It allowed her to ask how different education practices were bought into being at the cinema and where they began and ended. As the boundaries between education and life's other domains blur, and as cuts to funding disturb arts education's security in any sector or institution, an ethnographic approach to arts education research becomes increasingly important. Studies cannot presume any particular context can be understood from the perspective of one programme or site. They must discover what exactly constitutes the context being explored during the process of fieldwork and in engagement with its subjects' practices and perspectives (Marcus, 2011).

Both of us engaged in an iterative process of analysis which involved writing and rewriting accounts of what we observed and participated in (Coles & Thomson, 2015). Because ethnography is a highly personal process of engagement and writing, in which the researcher must be allowed

freedom, it is often pursued by researchers working alone. Yet in recent years, many educational ethnographers have been working to synthesise their work, exploring how the different concepts and categories that they discover in their work can be bought together to generate findings which would be beyond the capabilities of single researchers (Troman & Jeffrey, 2010; Jørgensen, 2014; Dovemark & Johansson, 2016; Huf & Raggl, 2016; Eisenhart, 2016). In bringing our work together in this paper, we can present a wider range of snapshots of enterprising filmmaking education than each of us could have collected alone. More importantly, bringing our work together prompted us re-conceptualise our own analytic frames and extend our arguments. While Howard had been interested in the relation between Arts Award projects and their participants' bedroom culture, Coles had been interested in the constitution of education contexts in relation to the creative workplace. Bringing together these concerns - which had arisen from our different engagement with different sites - prompted us to further consider how, in the context of austerity, different filmmaking education contexts were drawing on domains outside that of education. It prompted us to ask about the link between the enterprising aims of different contexts and their reliance on the bedroom culture of their young participants and on the resources of the creative workplace in which their staff were embedded.

Ethnographic Snapshots

Snapshot one: Arts Award

Arts Award filmmaking projects draw on skills their participants had acquired through the active consumption they practiced in their bedroom culture. Many of the projects' young participants were familiar with filmmaking software and with processes of independent learning that involved researching, watching and imitating. The projects also drew on young people's existing creative agendas. Participants were encouraged to bring their influences to the projects, which were often

based in commercial imagery from the domain of consumption. One young person, for example, chose to design a logo. When asked about its resemblance to the infamous Mickey Mouse hands (between which he had placed a camera), he replied that the reference was intentional: he wanted something that people would recognise, just like the big yellow 'M' of the McDonalds logo.

The projects allowed young people to use filmmaking to extend the self-expression that their bedroom culture had facilitated and explore their views of themselves and the world around them. They benefitted from space and time to create work with others and from encouragement to explore and experiment. The poem below appears in the opening credits of one film made during an Arts Award project, called *Life as a Youth Film.* The accompanying quotation is from the description its maker gave of it's meaning and purpose. It is an expression of agency and of civil engagement:

Close your eyes and sleep,

Close your eyes and dream,

Close your eyes from this world,

For you are in paradise, your paradise.

Don't be afraid to change rooms,

You are the president of your dream,

You have the power to do anything,

No more pain, no more suffering.

Close your eyes when danger is with you,

They might not be on earth,

But they are with you.

Close your eyes and be free,

You don't have to stress no more,

Everyone is with you, love yourself.

No need to impress.

Close your eyes and be you,

Just dream because that's all you can do.

Excerpt one. Transcription of a poem featured in a film created by Amos, 15.

The poem is called Dream. And because we all basically dream to be like
successful, or to travel the world and see like our dead relatives. It's basically
like the logo of the film, the beginning of the film, where the lights come on. It's
basically like a message saying 'go for your dream'. And then the lights turn on.
So that was like basically the message for the film. Don't be stuck in darkness.
Turn on the light, because you're always there.

Excerpt two. Interview with Amos, 15.

The projects draw on the entrepreneurial sensibilities participants had developed through
cultural consumption. Many were already knowledgeable about promotion, branding and
commerce, particularly in relation to online spaces of interaction. They were happy to position
themselves as promoters, networkers, organisers and entrepreneurs. Some were setting-up websites,
organisations and even record labels and production companies at home. The below interview
excerpt describes how one young person set up a social media collective to promote films made by
him and others in his online community.

Well it all started when I was around twelve years old. I was making youtube
videos on like a little webcam … And then when I created E-Crew. Back then it
was just small, it was like my own … But when I made the E-Crew, I started to
tell people about it and they were like 'Oh, it's a good idea'. And the first video

that we made was my friend, who was a rapper. And I edited his music and like

the background music and playing it together and put it like on the page. And

people liked it … And most of my friends, who are youtubers as well, were also

trying to get into partnerships and kept getting rejected, because we didn't

really like have the quality of views, of subscribers. And then like it really got to

me and I was like 'Wow, there are so many good youtubers who are like

unknown and they should get known for like what they are doing.

Excerpt three. Interview with Amos, 15.

The projects included components which required participants to reflexively develop and demonstrate their communication, collaboration, organisation, planning and reviewing skills by attending and reviewing art events, taking up roles as leaders or co-ordinators of arts projects and researching pathways to careers in the arts. They also sometimes included work with professional artists and filmmakers and it was working with these professional filmmakers that gave the young people a sense of recognition and fuelled their ambitions. Building networks, using high standard equipment, filming in venues, learning 'tricks of the trade' and being inducted into the culture of working with film was much more important to participants than the Arts Award qualification. These experiences expanded the ways of being and possibilities of action the young people could access, into those of the creative workplace.

For participants entering projects under a deficit label such as 'NEET' or 'facing challenging circumstances' or as part of alternative education programmes, however, less emphasis was put on self-expression and integration into the creative workplace. A focus on the measurement and monitoring of learning restricted the time and resources given to filmmaking. When such young people did make films they often had to demonstrate pre-set skills and meanings. They were

encouraged to make documentaries about their time on the project or about community organisation, rather than to pursue open-ended outputs where they were free to express themselves.

Discussion one: Arts Award and bedroom culture

Some young people are not invited to take up a position as enterprising subjects. As the authors of the special issue of *Ethnography and Education* on 'Education and Precarity' argue, young people are subject to a 'sorting and sifting mechanism' which, by limiting access to various opportunity structures, produces groups destined for unskilled labour, or for no work at all (Smyth, 2016; Thériault, 2016). The precarity of these education practices lays not only in their lack of funding but in their interpolative view of 'student uselessness' and their lack of both vocational and academic content (Dovemark & Beach, 2016). Many young people participating in Arts Awards projects however - even those presumably destined for low paid work - were invited to see themselves as enterprising subjects. The projects drew on the bedroom culture of participants who were already learning how to make film, build websites and proto-companies, network and self-promote, and to express themselves and explore the world through filmmaking. The educational context created in these projects - funded through youth, arts and education budgets – functioned because of the substantial technical knowledge, facility for autonomous skill acquisition and commitment to self-expression its participants bought to it from their bedroom culture.

 The projects bought the ways of thinking, doing and being of bedroom culture - already oriented to independent learning, cultural production and marketing - into relation with those of the workplace. It introduced young people to the skills and subjectivities of professional filmmakers who had local knowledge of how to be and how to get things done in the creative industry workplace. The process whereby the filmmaking projects intervened in participants' everyday practices can be described as an engagement pattern of 'along-together-alone': young people who were learning filmmaking in the domain of cultural consumption came together with new

educational and workplace collaborators to extend their practice in new directions, before continuing it back at home. The projects integrated the active consumption practices of bedroom culture with arts education and the creative workplace, presenting them as they appear in enterprise culture, as one ecology to be navigated by the enterprising individual.

Snapshot two: Art-house cinema

On the 'launch day' of the cinema education department's new project for secondary schools, 80 young people spend the day at the cinema. They are told, in the assembly that opens the day, that they will make a 'feature film' and be involved in all its aspects and stages, alongside experienced practitioners. The main organiser of the project describes it to them as a break from school. It will teach them, they are told, skills applicable to the real world of work. 'It is hard to get work, and to get it you need experience: experience of real-life work' he says. The young people each attend two of a number of workshops on offer: filmmaking, costume and set design, scriptwriting, acting, production, photography, music production and film studies.

The filmmaking workshop teaches a group of presumed novices to perform the sequence of coordinated actions required to shoot a piece of film using a camera, tripod, microphone and boom. They take four shots - an establishing shot, two over-the-shoulder shots and one close-up shot - which are then edited by the practitioner to make a mini-film they can watch back. The practitioner begins by distributing roles to the young people and gives them each precise instruction in what to do. The camera operator must place the camera, ensure the framing and focus is right, and press the record and stop buttons at the correct moments. The sound recordist must hold the boom in the right position. The actors must say their lines (unconnected sentences picked out of a hat) and the director must co-ordinate the actions of the others using the phrases 'Everybody ready? Action!'. For the first couple of shots, the workshop leader must supervise the work of each person in turn,

but the group quickly become familiar with their parts. Each person learns a little about how to fulfil their role and sees how all the roles are interdependent.

The workshop draws both on workplace procedures and active consumption practices. It is called 'Living in Oblivion' by the department staff, after the 1994 film directed by Tom Ceillo. The film *Living in Oblivion*, set on a film set, comically portrays the difficulty of independent filmmaking. In its first section, a series of mistakes by the various members of the crew prevent them from shooting a scene successfully: the boom is in shot, music from a passing car is audible, a light overheats and explodes, an actor forgets her lines, and the camera man is sick with food poisoning from the bad catering. Each time they start to shoot they go through the sequence 'Ready? Rolling... Action' and a mistake from one person ruins the shot. The workshop is equated with the film, the practitioner tells me, because it demonstrates the teamwork needed on a film set. Indeed, the workshop is tightly structured and fast paced, as if the imperatives of a real film set apply. With pace and energy the practitioner instils a sense of urgency that keeps everyone focused. The workshop is efficient and staccato as if, like on the film set, time is limited and time is money. The name of the workshop also helps understand it as a practice of film consumption. The playful inversions which take place in the film within a film, where actors perform the roles of director, producer and camera operator, also structure the workshop. Rather than earnestly learning a skill, the young people are invited to temporarily take on a particular character: they are a scriptwriter if they pick the lines, an actor if they say a line, or a camera operator if they are the one who stands behind the camera and presses the record button at the right moment.

In the production workshop, this pedagogy which draws on work and consumption is discussed overtly. The young people sit around a table in the cinema's cafe-bar with the practitioner. It has the feel of a behind-the-scenes exposé. They are told that 'giving young people opportunities to get work-based learning' is only the way the project is to be presented and what they all really want is a great 'premiere' party and 'a budget for shoes and red lippy'. Later in the workshop, however, this formula is reversed. The young people are asked to discuss the role of the

producer and say that it involves 'keeping on smiling' and 'keeping everyone hyped-up'. Enjoyment is positioned as functional to rather than the goal of the project. 'You've got to be memorable', the practitioner advises, and talks about the importance of knowing everyone's names. She models a phone conversation in which she attempts to get help with a project from an acquaintance. 'Hi Mark! How are you? How is Tracy? How are the kids doing? By the way, I wondered if you could do me a favour?' she asks with energy and confidence.

At this time the education department were also teaching a component of an MA Film Practice course, partly in order to temper the pressure of project-by-project work such as this project with schools. While the strength of the department, its members acknowledged, was its ability to be flexible, to respond to ever-changing funding structures, and to keep 'a toe in every sector, private and public', they were feeling the strain of this enterprising arrangement. The university students come to the cinema to make their own short films. For a period, around ten attend weekly sessions described as a 'forum' in which they are encouraged to talk together about their project and seek input as they need it. Less explicitly, opportunities to either get help or give help emerge during these sessions. The students are invited to integrate themselves directly into the department and the production going on around it. When it comes to discussing one student's project - a music video using a special effect - the teachers search the internet for existing videos using a similar effect and discuss the shots and the equipment used. The interest they have in discussing how to shoot the video is clear. At the end of the session she is told casually that 'if she wants' she can sit in as one of them edits a music video later in the week. Some students - the most socially confident - take up offers like this more than others. One in particular takes up the offer of workspace in the department office and the use of department equipment. The best thing about studying at the cinema, he says, has been how his contacts have 'snowballed'. The student profile he wrote, which went on to form part of the course information, claims that the connections you can make at the cinema "are foundations from which your career will be built".

Discussion two: Art-house cinema and the creative industries

The cinema's project with schools shared the Arts Award projects' aim to educate enterprising subjects. It bought young people from school into an enterprise culture where work, learning and cultural consumption are already well integrated. It dramaticised this culture in workshops which drew on the professional procedures of the workplace and also on the playacting and carnivalesque of contemporary film consumption, in which films function as backdrops to complexly layered social events (Kenway & Bullen, 2001; Corrigan, 1991; Casetti, 2011). The necessity of drawing on the resources one possesses across life's domains was even explained: the young people were told that, in the 'real world', learning, work and leisure are complexly intertwined and interdependent. This work was also different from the Arts Award projects. It drew on neither the skills nor the meaning-making of participant's bedroom culture. Its cultural and workplace references belonged to the department staff who delivered a tightly designed learning experience.

The cinema's method of working with university students had more in common with the Arts Award projects. This work did rely on the motivations and ideas students bought from their ongoing creative work - either in or outside formal education - and presumed they came with existing skills and a knowledge of what they wanted to learn. It gave the students the space and control to develop their own creative practice, inviting them to explore and experiment with the work they were already doing and to develop it with knowledgable and passionate practitioners in a workplace context. As with the Arts Award projects, some young people excluded from this way of being and learning. In order to be fully included, the university students had to already have a clear sense of how to operate within enterprise culture. As in the creative industries more generally, they had to be proficient at social networking and self-promotion and have pre-existing confidence in their ability and goals. The divide between those that were able to operate this way and those that were not, fell along the traditional lines of gender, class and race (McRobbie, 2016).

Although the cinema was working with funds from formal education in both these projects, both were nevertheless also deeply reliant on the domain of the creative workplace. Collaborating with formal education was one kind of work among many from which its staff maintained their education department and their careers. They existed in an enterprise culture in which work had to be continually sought out at their own initiative and in which their experience, interests and networks had to be continually updated and expanded. Their students could only be offered the opportunity to informally integrate into enterprise culture because the staff, and a wider group working around the cinema, already inhabited it. Such filmmaking education has been able to weave its contexts in ever lesser funding streams by being innovative, flexible and open and spanning not only the arts, education, and youth work fields but also the domains of state funding, bedroom culture and the creative workplace. It does not only *choose to dramatised or explain* enterprise culture, it *is structurally a part of* enterprise culture and thus integrates students directly into enterprising ways of thinking, doing and being.

Conclusion

The filmmaking education contexts described here were all vocationally oriented - oriented to the 'real world' of work - and this is of course no bad thing. In Arts Award projects, young people appreciated seeing how their pre-existing creative practice, based in the domain of online consumption, might take place in a professional context. At the cinema, school students were shown the process of professional filmmaking and university students came specifically to develop their own filmmaking practice from within the creative industries. Educating enterprising young people - both for work in the creative industries and for work in all sectors requiring creative abilities and subjectivities - was also a common explicit aim. The Arts Award and the cinema education department projects showed their participants, often very clearly, how they must be able to build and draw on skills and networks in the domains of education, leisure and work if they are to

succeed. In their best moments, the projects also supported young people to pursue their own creative practice for its own sake. Education contexts often exclude working class cultural practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Willis 1990). But in the Arts Award projects, participants they were invited to explore and extend the meaning-making of their bedroom culture.

In order to survive austerity, these filmmaking education contexts drew on the interests and technical knowledges young people had already acquired in their bedroom culture and in education. They drew on a creative industries scene staff had access to due to their precariously organised careers which spanned the domains of film education and production. The great disadvantage of this situation was that an orientation to enterprise was uncritically translated from bedroom culture and the creative workplace into education. There is more at stake for arts education in funding cuts than a lack of funding: austerity undermines the relative autonomy education contexts enjoy from the world of work and consumption. It undermines their basis in a domain of creativity and expression able to pursue ways of thinking, doing and being other than those of the worker or consumer.

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