Troubling creativity discourses: A Foucauldian feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis of the idea of 'creative subjects' in public texts and in the context of A level decision.

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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Abstract

This thesis arises from the gender divide that permeates subject choices at A level. It argues that this divide is underpinned by conceptions of creativity which are going unquestioned and unchallenged in schools. This sets a power differential between masculine/powerful subjects associated with STEM (science, technology, engineering and maths) careers and feminine/less powerful subjects associated with the arts and humanities. Through a Foucauldian feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, the thesis casts light on hidden discourses of creativity in the public sphere and in a school context. The thesis aims to reveal the current dominant discourse about creativity in education and how it might this affect subject specialisation. It argues for a more democratic discourse on creativity in order to overcome exclusionary practices. To this end, it asks how the term 'creativity' is used in historical and contemporary political, social and educational discourses. It asks how far these discourses cohere with decisions about subject specialisation in secondary school. It asks to what extent educational discourse on creativity encourages a binary between 'creative' and 'non-creative' subjects, 'creative' and 'non-creative' students, and explores the relationship of this with gender, and especially the uptake of STEM for girls. To do this, this work addresses current debates in the literature on creativity and then analyses these discourses within the public sphere through the analysis of 32 political, policy, media and educational texts and in the private sphere through 24 interviews in a school setting. Five contrasting discourses on creativity emerge through these discourse analyses. The research aims to bring discussion of creativity more strongly into the debate about how to increase female representation in STEM internationally. In short, it sees creativity as a possible key to unlocking the potential for more girls to enter STEM careers.

Keywords. creativity, gender, STEM, A level subject choice, discourse analysis, feminism, post structuralism, Foucault.

Dedication

To Madeleine, Benny and Orlando, may you always be creative.

To Will, the sine qua non.

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List of Abbreviations

A level	Advanced Level, predominant English/Welsh qualification for 18-year-olds
CL	Corpus Linguistics
D&T	Design and Technology
DA	Discourse Analysis
DfE	Department for Education
DHA	A type of discourse analysis; Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach
DRA	A type of discourse analysis; Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach
EBacc	English Baccalaureate
FPDA	Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis
IB	International Baccalaureate
NACCCE	National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education
NFER	National foundation for Educational Research
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Ofqual	Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths
STEAM	Science, Technology, Engineering, the Arts and Maths
STEAME	Science, Technology, Engineering, the Arts, Maths and Entrepreneurship

Terminology

Note on the use of the term ‘gender’

Data surrounding educational choices and outcomes is set up by the terms ‘girl’ and ‘boy’. Girl and boy should be treated as synonymous with ‘female identifying’ and ‘male identifying’ for the purpose of this study. There is little data for non-binary identification in terms of subject choice data or gender pay gap and hence the terms ‘girl’ and ‘boy’ are used throughout. It is understood that gender presents a more nuanced picture than sex however because of the need to look at longitudinal data and trends, these binary terms are employed. This topic is further discussed in section 1.5.

Note on the use of the term ‘student’

I have chosen to use the term ‘student’ throughout this thesis to refer to any school-aged learner. The majority of students referred to are teenagers between 15 and 18 years old who are currently in the English education system. The choice of ‘student’ rather than ‘pupil’ is used to indicate that many of the learners are in post-compulsory education. Quotations and references by other authors may use the term ‘pupil’, which is sometimes indicative of the intended inclusion of a younger age group.

Prologue

To begin this discourse analysis, I would like to first acknowledge some of my positionality and so in this prologue, I provide three vignettes of personal context which serve to motivate this thesis.

The first is a reflection on creativity I wrote during Covid when this research began. It was this period which highlighted to me the widespread use of the word 'creativity' as synonymous with 'arts and craft' as opposed to its more universal meaning of divergent thinking or problem-solving. As most of the study took place during Covid, I thought it might be helpful to have a diary entry from that time. We were encouraged to write reflectively during our research by Dr Pam Burnard at the Faculty of Education in Cambridge. This would serve to highlight the true motivations of our research. For me, it was to explode the myth that creativity was the preserve of arts and humanities for artistically gifted individuals. I wanted to highlight that creativity was an educational universal, and in particular, was essential to the sciences. The second is an excerpt from my pilot study where I interviewed students about their understandings of creativity and how this affected their A level subject choice. It comes from one of the boarding schools I was working in during Covid. Girl A and Boy A are 17 years old and are explaining why they chose their A levels. They explain which subjects are and are not creative. They identify as creative students. This type of discourse is typical of the discourse I wished to trouble. I wanted students to feel much freer to be creative in all subjects, and not to feel compartmentalised by perceptions of their talents, or lack thereof. The third is some autobiographical context. I wanted to show why I am interested in creativity, and how the false dichotomy of creative/academic is and continues to be a problem for girls in particular. The default position is to associate creativity with arts. Even in an

article I wrote on the universality of creativity, an image is created to show the opposing definition of creativity – that of what I'd term 'colouring pencil creativity.'

Together these vignettes hint that the problematic and limiting understandings of creativity are prevalent within discourses, and that these problematic and limiting understandings have a real-world impact in terms of students' life choices. Not only do the students I teach most readily associate creativity with the arts and not the sciences, but I have done this myself over the years and it is because the arts or post-romantic discourse on creativity is so prevalent. Even when it is recognised, we default to using it. These vignettes attempt to trouble the discourse and show that creativity discourses are ripe for study and for challenge. I believe that if we can successfully challenge this discourse, we can open up a much more exciting approach to STEM subjects that has much more universal appeal.

Context 1: Creativity in the time of Covid

July 2020

I write this sitting in a baking-hot, empty school. It would be empty at this time of year anyway, the summer holidays, however, this year it's very different. The boards still have writing on them. The chairs aren't pushed in. The recycling bins are full. The colourful 'Pi Day' (14th March) bunting still adorns the bannisters.

March seems a long time ago. Normality. Assemblies. Finishing syllabuses. Revision advice. We're in tutorial starting off personal statements and UCAS forms. Whispers in the corridor, brisk footsteps to urgent meetings. The pings and the vibrations on the desks start. One girl looks up from her phone 'Is school going to be cancelled?' Within two weeks, this school, and all schools, will be closed.

This thesis is a discourse analysis on creativity. It's about how students' choices are shaped by narratives around creativity. Students and subjects are wrongly dichotomised when creativity should be an educational universal. During the early stages of the pandemic in the UK, the narratives around creativity are ramping up on social media. Creativity is being put forward very much as a psychological remedy to Covid. But creativity is not being seen in terms of scientific breakthroughs, searches for vaccines, for safety measures, for ways to re-design communities to facilitate social distancing, to organise community hubs and outreach initiatives, but it is being seen in an arts and craft, make-do-and-mend, mindfulness, rainbows and colouring pencils sort of way. I am very much in favour of doing and making, but the narratives around using creativity to cope and to distract are very much part of the narrative that my thesis argues against. Rather than creativity being championed at this time as a way to problem-solve, to make progress, to innovate and to ameliorate the situation, the narrative around creativity encourages a cosy, colourful and slightly claustrophobic activities which could almost be seen as state-sponsored soma to a paranoid mind.

The pandemic is a magnifying glass under which we can examine any aspect of life that we choose. It intensifies everything. My thesis on the narratives that surround creativity seems just as troubling and problematic under the fluorescent glare of the pandemic as in the warm glow of the reading lamp of the University Library. We begin to understand more and more about the pandemic on a daily basis. About how false narratives have been embraced by the government with tragic consequences. About how we have allowed the wrong narratives to develop about what we should value and how we should behave. About how narratives around creativity have misled us into believing that we do not have the personal power to affect change, but only to window-dress our lives. The pandemic has reinforced in my mind the necessity for the narratives around creativity to change, and for students to be empowered to realise their own creativity, whichever field that is in, that creativity is vital in every field and most important of all, to realise the potential that their creativity has for change.

Context 2: An excerpt from my pilot study

July 2019

Girl A: My family are quite creative, they work in the theatre and stuff so I feel like that is part of me as well, I like helping out with them a lot and I enjoy it a lot, so that's obviously a big part of…me. So there's a lot of creativity that comes with it. I feel like I am a more creative person than…academic.

Boy A: Yeah, I would say I am a creative person. Like the same as Sarah, it's kind of, in my family. Like my dad's a drama teacher and he is an artist too. Yeah, I have spent my life doing more kind of creative things than academic things. It's like what I prefer. [When I chose my A levels] I was aware that, doing creative subjects I would probably do better. As well as it being what I do better, it is what I will get better grades in and everything.

Girl A: I think Dance is very creative, but it has a bit of theory. Religious Studies is a bit creative as it is philosophical so gets your mind thinking, but it's not very artsy, whereas Business Studies is very academic.

Boy A: In my subjects it is very up to you what you do, well especially Art and Photography are very creative, not so much Business, in Art and Photography you are encouraged to think of your own ideas, the way you want to go. More academic subjects are less creative, whereas if you are doing more artistic subjects, you have more space to do your own thing. They are more open-ended, you can do what you want, whereas in Science, there is very little space, it's just a yes or no answer, and you can't really do your own thing.

Girl A: Yes, so for instance a language, like English, it's very straight-forward, just a yes or no answer, whereas in Art, your mind branches out in different ways, it's more creative.

Context 3: Beginnings

December 2018

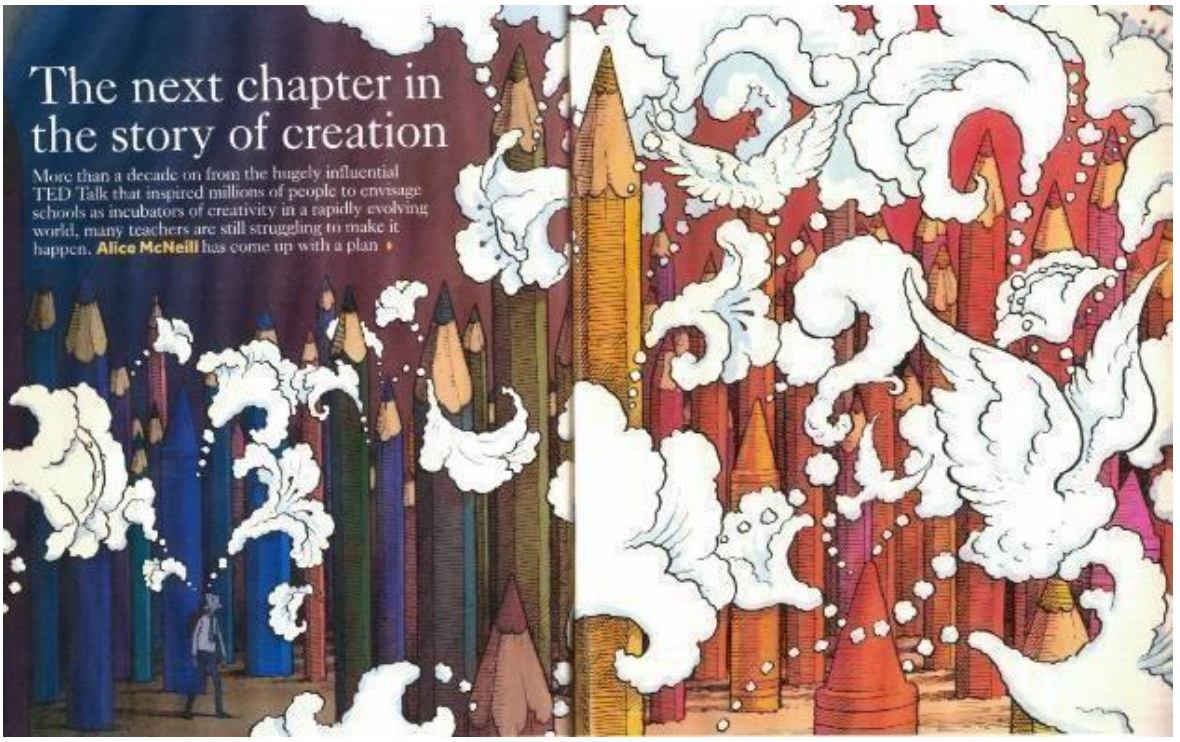
The child of an erudite art teacher, and later the daughter-in-law of a polymath scientist, I now realise that I have always found the creative/academic dichotomy subconsciously troubling, especially in relation to its application to women and girls. As I went through secondary school and onto university, I saw this division systematically categorise all of my friends. Arty or scientific, creative or academic.

I decided to undertake this study as I realised that not only had my life choices been shaped by discourses on creativity, but that, as a sixth form tutor over a period of fifteen years, that the discourse wasn't changing. I was hearing the same thing over and over again both inside and outside schools. My three children were all born in this decade, and I realised that this discourse was even beginning to influence the choices my children were making.

Gender looms large in my thinking on this. Reading that first sentence of the first paragraph, how many would assume I talked of my mother and father-in-law rather than my mother and mother-in-law? Girls are more readily labelled as creative. A seemingly positive label, my concern is that it is used as a label which ends up suppressing ambition and as a means of steering girls into subjects labelled as 'creative' rather than opening up opportunities to use creativity in any subject that they choose.

The beginning of my course corresponded with the publication of a piece I'd written for the TES whilst on maternity leave. The picture the in-house illustrators had chosen to put alongside my piece confirmed to me that these discourses on creativity needed to be challenged. The picture showed precisely what I believe creativity isn't and this one image made up my mind. This thesis is the result of the image below.

Figure 1: Illustration: The Next Chapter in the Story of Creation, McNeill, TES December 2018



Despite the TES article being about changing the narrative on creativity, the picture still showed a junior, multi-coloured image which illustrated the narrative I was aiming to debunk. A school-uniformed girl walking in a bewildered and/or awe-inspired way through a forest of crayons and colouring pencils, as opposed to an image which may hint at the rigour and depth and the power of creativity, and how this needs to be fostered in all subjects for all students by all teachers accompanied the article that was published on the eve of my beginning this study.

I currently am a Deputy Head teacher in a boarding school in the UK and I have taught in British boarding schools for the past 20 years. I base much of my research on my findings in one of the schools I have worked in, however I work at three different schools during the course of this study.

As a Senior Deputy Head, I have overall responsibility for the operations of the school and the experience and outcomes of 11 – 18 pupils whilst they are at school. Academic and careers advice are particularly important to me as I have been a teacher, Head of Department, Head of Year, Director of Studies and Deputy Head Academic before becoming Senior Deputy Head. Working in boarding schools makes this responsibility perhaps seem even greater as pupils live at the school and very often come from all over the world. Pupils interviewed in this thesis often do not have English as their first language, but this serves to emphasise even more the ubiquity and prevalence of what I term the 'post-romantic' discourse on creativity.

Through this study, I question the dominant discourse on creativity in education. I argue that creativity is highly relevant to all subjects. I aim to challenge the misconception that creativity is not relevant to science. I disrupt hidden gender biases through the narrow use of the term 'creative.' And I encourage a more conscious use of language to widen access to the STEM curriculum.

Chapter 1: 'Creative subjects for creative students?' – the problematic definition of creativity that can segregate girls and boys.

1.1 The gendered post 16 curriculum – Introduction

> 'Education does not create the sexual division of labour… but it rarely does anything to undermine [it].' (Deem:1978 cit. Burge 1990:160).

In the UK, as in many other countries, women and men are not equally represented in STEM career paths, and this division has its roots in the UK education system and discourses formed within it. Jerrim and Schoon's (2014) research across 29 developed countries suggests that 'at age 15 boys and girls are equally academically able in science and attach the same importance to being competent in science and math.' (2014: 217) However this is not mirrored in their choices regarding 'tertiary education, subject choices, and subsequent career paths… *boys are much more likely than girls to expect entry into a scientific career*.' (ibid). Jerrim and Schoon note that in almost every country in the developed world, women outnumber men in tertiary education, however men and women are not equally distributed across the disciplines. Women are much less likely to study a STEM subject, including natural sciences, technology, engineering or maths (for example OECD, 2008, table A3.2). Black, Sanders and Taylor (2003) and DIUS (2009) show that US and European graduates from non-STEM subjects earn approximately 30% less than their STEM graduate peers, and hence the question of why girls systemically are either set up for or set themselves up for less lucrative careers is begged. There will of course be many contributing causal factors here.

This study focuses on one of these, the contribution of discourses on creativity and their gendering effects on curriculum choice.

The post 16 curriculum in England is gendered. This genderisation, I believe, contributes to the picture Jerrim and Schoon's research reveals. Students at 16 years old must choose three A level subjects to study until they are 18. These A level subjects will determine what they are able to study at university and what their careers will be. As Deem wrote in 1978, education seems to still be doing too little to undermine 'the sexual division of labour'.

There is a prevalent and underlying gender bias in English post 16 education where girls are much more likely to opt for, and to be encouraged to opt for the arts (perceived as 'creative' areas of the curriculum) and for boys to opt for, and to be encouraged to opt for more 'academic' and less 'creative' areas of the curriculum. Stockard noted in 1980 that 'when students start making choices, girls and boys are encouraged to enrol in different subject areas' (Stockard:1980, cit. Burge 1990:160) and this still seems to be the case in 2024, noting the most recent statistics (for example Ofqual, 2023).

Ofqual statistics show a longitudinal and significant imbalance towards boys in the STEM subjects of Maths, Further Maths, Design and Technology, Physics and Computer Science. In educational discourse, I will show that these are considered to be academic subjects. The statistics also show a longitudinal imbalance towards girls in the arts subjects of Art, Drama and Performing/Expressive Arts. In educational discourse, I will show that these are considered to be creative subjects. The statistics are clear and the patterns are consistent over the last two decades.

In all STEM subjects (aside from Biology and Chemistry), rather than an equal split across subjects which would be expected due to the almost equal demographic between male and female, there is a clear and historic gender divide by subject. There is a clear correlation between subjects and future salaries. In each of the eight most lucrative A level subjects (Further Maths, Maths, Physics, Engineering, Design and Technology, Computer Science, Economics, Business), male identifying students were in the majority for those subjects in

every case. In each of the six least lucrative A level subjects (Art and Design, Health and Social Care, Film Studies, Performance and Expressive Arts, Dance, Performance Studies), female identifying students were in the majority for those subjects in every case. The more lucrative subjects tend to be labelled as academic in common parlance and in discourse. The less lucrative subjects tend to be labelled as creative in common parlance and in discourse. This correlation should not be ignored. The aim of this study is to understand the genderisation of the curriculum along this seeming dichotomisation of academic and creative lines. Why is it that female identifying students tend to direct themselves, or be directed to those areas of the curriculum which are intrinsically less 'powerful' (Mendick, 2003: 169) and less lucrative (DfE, 2019) than their male identifying counterparts? There is much research to corroborate this genderisation of the curriculum, but there is less research into why this is. This research therefore aims to look at the use of the term 'creative' as an epithet applied to students and to subjects to understand why this epithet is more readily applied to, or more readily used by girls, and whether it has tended, over time to lead girls away from STEM subjects and towards the arts and humanities.

When examining post 16 subject choice, gender therefore still seems to play an important role forty years after the observations above by Deem (1978) and Stockard (1980) were made. The idea of an implicit genderisation of the curriculum has become the subject of this study. There still seems to be an academic/creative polarisation which divides sciences from arts and humanities often along gender lines. This academic/creative shorthand comes strongly through the discourse.

It remains the case that arts and humanities are dominated by girls: 'in some arts departments boys do indeed succeed but in the vast majority of departments there are major problems [of genderisation] that are polarised in the arts, more so than in any other area of the curriculum.' (Brennan cit Noble & Bradford 2000:192). The reverse is true in STEM:

‘science and technology… are seen as masculine subjects and they emerge as some of the most strongly sex-stereotyped areas of the curriculum.’ (Gipps 1996: 260). It is not the intention of this thesis to undermine or belittle the value of the arts subjects in the curriculum, however what is troubling is the strong and sustained correlation between certain subjects and earning power, and how this follows gender lines. It is clear that a ‘disproportionate number of girls opt out of powerful areas of curriculum’ (Mendick, 2003: 169).

The aim of my research, as a feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, is to ‘trouble the discourse’ (Zarabadi: 2020) on accepted subject advice normativity about how teenagers categorise and compartmentalise themselves, especially how they nominate themselves as ‘creative’ or ‘academic’ and use this binary to decide upon their futures. Unravelling causality given the nuance of curriculum decision is difficult; hence it is difficult to say that there is a clear discursive causality. However the correlation between subjects deemed to be creative, the female propensity to choose these subjects and the earning potential of these subjects mean that there is a relationship which should not be ignored.

Jerrim and Schoon (2014) show that there is an economic, epistemic and ethical imperative to understand why this gender disparity exists within areas of the curriculum. They highlight, whilst it may be tempting to look for answers related to ability, that the much more salient questions are about attitude and preference. To understand the relationship attitudes to creativity may have on subject choice polarisation, we need to analyse the discourse. It is interesting that a seemingly innocuous choice should be determined by gender and have such far-reaching consequences for life chances. This problem therefore frames the study. How can discourse on creativity shape such a key life decision?

The study’s focus narrows in terms of time and place as it progresses to try to understand the context and the general before understanding the individual and the particular. By focusing on the use of the term ‘creative’ in an educational context over the last century, I

aim to discover the effect of discourses on creativity may have on curriculum choice at 16. To do this, the term is explored through a literature review. With this historical context, the focus then becomes contemporary public discourse through an analysis of the term in political, media and educational texts. Finally, the study zooms in on a particular school setting, to compare and triangulate how these discourses on creativity are deployed in school and their potential effect upon subject advice and choice.

There are therefore three parts to the study.

- A literature review which will uncover the discourses on creativity.
- A public discourse analysis of texts on creativity in education.
- A personal discourse analysis of talk in a school setting

I will focus first on understanding the main discourses on creativity which have evolved over time. By understanding the discourses, it will be possible to assess which discourses are dominant and which may exert power over individuals, either directly or indirectly, when they make decisions. Inspired by Foucault's (1969) 'The Archaeology of Knowledge', three layers of discourse are illuminated to understand the way in which the term 'creative' is co-constructed, used and applied in education and the potential impact this may have on educational choices. The literature review will survey the use of the term 'creative' in order to map the term's various meanings. The first public discourse analysis of texts sets out to examine the diachronous discursive presentation of creativity in education in the media and educational policy over a fifteen-year period (2007 – 2022). The second personal discourse analysis of talk examines the term's synchronous use in a school setting. The analysis is concerned with commonalities and discrepancies in meaning-making about creativity between and within different discourses and how these may affect the student co-creators and consumers of these discourses.

The focus of the study is the shaping power of language looked at through the lens of creativity. The study shows how an often-overlooked word or shorthand can have far-reaching effects. It is a post-structuralist feminist discourse analysis in that it aims to unpack the hidden binaries implicit in the language used to help students to shape their lives. As a post structuralist discourse analysis it 'challenges … [a] framework that posits some kind of structure internal to the entity in question' (Hoffman, 1992:7). Therefore the aim of this study is to deconstruct the structure set up over years which points girls in one direction, and boys in another. Discourse on creativity, I believe, plays some part in this implicit structuring.

The OECD (Encinas-Martín & Cherian: 2023), Gender Pay Gap Report (2023) and DfE (2019, 2023) statistics show the salience and relevance of this research. The gender pay gap persists globally with women securing only 76% of men's average salary when taking full-time workers only into account. In the UK, the most recent data shows that male financial managers earn on average 28.8% more than female equivalents, male engineers earn 7.8% more than female engineers on average, and male IT analysts earn 13.6% more than female IT analysts. Encinas-Martín and Cherian (2023) conclude their OECD report by affirming the moral responsibility for educators to overcome 'conscious or unconscious biases towards women and girls to give them equal chances for success' which includes helping them to overcome anxiety, building their confidence and educating them to understand the consequences of not choosing subjects which demand higher levels of numeracy. Schleicher (2019) points out that there is now a very small gap between ability of girls and boys internationally in Maths at age 15, however 'while claiming victory in having closed gender gaps in girls' and boys' cognitive abilities, education may have lost sight of other social and emotional dimensions of learning that may have a stronger impact on children as they think about *what they want to be when they grow up*. Amongst the 15-year-olds assessed by PISA, only 1% of girls reported that they want to work in ICT-related

occupations, compared with 8% of boys' (2019:31). Intervention is necessary to ensure that girls are choosing their future careers by making informed choices about the impact of their decision-making, thereby closing the pay gap in lucrative careers and industries.

1.2 Possible solutions and interventions: Getting girls into STEM

Change is needed in STEM education in order to redress the current gender divide. As Hazari, Sonnert et al (2010) emphasise: 'although the gender difference in participation in the field of Physics has troubled science educators for decades (Clancy, 1962), this difference has persisted to the present (Ivie & Ray, 2005)'. The gap has shown negligible improvement in the last 20 years since Ivie and Ray to 2024. Women and girls who currently identify as scientific must do this by 'negotiating a culture characterised by white, masculine values and behaviour norms, hidden within an ideology of meritocracy' (Eisenhart & Finkel, 1998, Johnson, 2001: Nespor, 1994: Seymour & Hewitt, 1997, Traweek, 1988, cit. Carlone and Johnson, 2007). This research suggests a change in culture through a change in pedagogy and in language around STEM. This could disrupt current patterns and ways of thinking and could have an effect in redressing the divide.

1.2.1 Changing girls' science identity development

The psychological process of identity development is of vital importance to the question of why the subject choice statistics are so starkly divided along gender lines, especially in relation to STEM disciplines. For more girls to enter STEM disciplines, the likelihood of females identifying as scientific needs to increase, and for this, the conditions need to change to allow and encourage this psychological identification to develop if appropriate.

An identity is a 'general sense of self with reference to particular groups or particular content' (Renninger 2009: 109). In order for girls to get into STEM, they must to some extent identify as a 'science person' (Carlone and Johnson, 2007). Like creative identities, science

identities are formed over time subject to multifarious factors, and these identities are fostered or thwarted by the context in which they live and learn (Kim and Sinatra, 2018).

Self-perception and experience are highly influential in identity development. (Cribbs and Hazari, 2015:1059). Students will identify in a certain way (whether this is as a 'creative' or a 'science' person) if they believe they are good enough, if they are able to manifest this, and if others give credence to their ability in some form, whether through qualification, commendation or recognition. Carlone and Johnson (2007) delineate this clearly by stating that a science identity is made of up three dimensions: competence, performance and recognition. In Hazari et al's work (for example 2010) interest is also added as a dimension, however this could also be seen as a product of the other three dimensions.

According to this framework, students will become less confident in identifying in a certain way, in this case as scientific, if there is contradictory evidence of their competence or performance or a denial or absence of recognition. The data suggests that, of the three dimensions, the drop off in science identities in girls, is mainly due to a lack of recognition. This is because their competence and performance at age 15 is on average the same as that of their male counterparts internationally (Jerrim and Schoon, 2014:217). This is corroborated by several studies which show a disparity in recognition given to male and female scientists. In Banchefsky et al. (2016) 'women who looked feminine were less likely to be rated as scientists' and in Grunspan et al. (2016) male students nominated their male peers as being more knowledgeable and female students nominated male and females students equally. Gender stereotypes could therefore be seen to play a role in how likely a female is to develop a science identity. This is especially salient when considered in the context of the concept of the 'looking-glass self' (Cooley:1902) which posits that people form a sense of themselves by trying to understand what others think of them. Recognition is therefore a highly influential

factor in identity formation (Cribbs and Hazari, 2015:1060). The responsibility of the teacher or advisor in this context of science identity making cannot be overstated.

Hazari et al (2010:998) conclude that [to redress the gender divide in Physics] 'it may be particularly important to focus on conceptual understanding and contextual relevance {of the subject]', to test 'the nuanced ways in which specific pedagogical devices influence identity development', and to find ways of 'making [Physics] content and pedagogy connect with something particularly relevant to female students' lives'. In order to increase the number of women and girls who identify as scientific, there needs to be both a change in science education and the language which we use about science education.

1.2.2 Changing science education – STEM, STEAM and STEAME

Much work has been done in science education research to look at curriculum change as a means of widening participation in these vital fields. The landscape over the last twenty years has significantly changed. There is the strong intention within academia for a paradigm shift to counter genderisation amongst other moral and practical imperatives for change. The most significant theoretical curriculum groupings are STEM, STEAM and STEAME, which have developed partially in response to 'the progressive incorporation of policy directives seeking to align science education with the priorities of industry' (Colucci-Gray, 2023:13). This study uses STEM, the original grouping, in order to focus on the traditional science subjects as these areas are the ones where a gender divide is shown in the data. I am confident that the interventions which are in place in terms of STEAM and STEAME will have a long-term positive effect on bringing the language of creativity into the science curriculum, however this paper will focus on the problem as raised by the traditional A level subject selection, which does not currently facilitate a STEAM or STEAME curriculum post 16.

The future of science education points to a more integrative, trans-disciplinary approach to science education (Colucci-Gray et al 2019, Burnard et al, 2021). There has been a move away from the exclusive grouping of science disciplines as STEM – which is the acronym this paper uses, to the addition of the Arts to become STEAM (for example Yakman, 2008), to the further inclusion of Entrepreneurship to become STEAME (for example Deveci and Seikkula-Leino: 2023). Dare et al (2019), Katz-Buonincontro (2018) and Perales and Aróstegui (2021) assert that the main reason for the inclusion of the 'A' in STEAM and STEAME is to ensure that creativity is incorporated within science education. It is my contention that to insert creativity into science education simply by adding additional disciplines is to admit defeat in making science education creative. Hence for the purpose of this study, I will focus on STEM in its original form to ensure that the focus is on widening gender participation in Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths.

Colucci-Gray (2023) argues for STEAM being central to giving students and teachers 'the chance to be creative in the exploration of alternative ways of doing things and organising society, practicing with complex causation and creative approaches for deliberation and cooperative action… Reframing STEAM… can bring a radical shift in science education itself, to enable each child [to partake in] the ongoing enquiry of how we can live together in the world.' (2023:23). Her vision of science education is the democratic, inclusive and ungendered one which would resolve the problem which this thesis posits. Currently, the English education system cuts against this by insisting that students make three, necessarily siloed choices about their A levels. Hence, whilst this system persists, there is an imperative to change the language of STEM to incorporate the possibility of creativity, cooperation and problem-solving to move towards the visionary curriculum which STEAM pioneers.

1.2.3 Changing the language of STEM and creativity

Whilst on a national level, the paradigm shift described above is necessary, work is still needed at an immediate school level to address the gender divide in STEM. Addressing conscious and unconscious bias as educators counsel and influence teenagers about their higher education choices is vital if the gender gap in STEM career areas is to close. Gipps (1996) thinks that the remedy for this gender-based dichotomisation lies in moving towards a more inclusive pedagogy, and the STEAM and STEAME curricula would address this. The degenderisation of education has changed approach, from 'changing girls', to 'changing subjects' to changing the way subjects are taught, a change in pedagogy (1996:264).

This research will show that perceptions about creativity play a part in decisions around A level subjects in the UK. I think a key part of Gipps' recommended change in pedagogy lies in developing pedagogy for creativity so that the place of creativity becomes a much more explicit part of STEM, STEAM or STEAME teaching. In tandem with a change in the curriculum, a key part of this is to move educational discourse away from what I term the post-romantic discourse on creativity, which associates creativity almost exclusively with arts and humanities, and into what I term the democratic discourse, which adopts a more universal approach to creativity. Therefore, a fourth change is necessary, a change in language. Language around creativity has yet not been adequately embraced in scientific educational discourse. Students needs to be able to read all subjects as creative so that students are able to articulate how creativity can transcend, link and span the different subject paradigms.

Employing the pedagogy and language of creativity is an area of intervention which could work to attract girls. The Royal Society (2024) highlighted that 'students are ... increasingly less inclined to pursue a STEM career as they progress through school (especially girls in relation to technology, engineering and mathematics). For those in years

10-13 not interested in a STEM career, 57% of girls say this is because they don't enjoy the subjects (vs 41% boys) and 38% (vs 20% boys) say they don't feel they are good at them.' In the same research, Dr Hilary Leevers, Chief Executive of EngineeringUK says 'We need hundreds of thousands more people entering STEM careers to get on track to meet net zero, to improve sustainability, and for the UK to prosper' (Royal Society, 2024). Girls are as yet under-represented in STEM subjects at A level. Therefore building girls' confidence in STEM subjects and building the desirability of them for girls by focusing on the utility of these subjects to solve real-world problems is vital. A universal discourse on creativity in education could be key to unlocking this.

1.3 Words matter: How discourses on creativity in school may discourage girls from STEM

This research aims to address the gender divide in STEM subjects by focusing on discourses on creativity. By doing this, I begin to explore a potential link between creativity discourses and subject choice. It aims to critically analyse historical and contemporary educational, political and social discourses on creativity and their potential influence on teenagers' creative identity and consequent choices about subject specialisation.

Purposes of Research

- To map discourses on creativity and situate the current educational discourses within this.
- To examine how discourses on creativity may shape A level subject choice.
- To encourage a fuller exploration of the role and potential of creativity in secondary educational discourses, how this may be less gendered, and how this may impact on the uptake of STEM.

The three research questions are aligned with these purposes.

- How is the term ‘creativity’ used in historical and contemporary political, social and educational discourses?
- How far do these discourses cohere with decisions about subject specialisation in secondary school?
- To what extent does educational discourse on creativity encourage a binary between ‘creative’ and ‘non-creative’ subjects, ‘creative’ and ‘non-creative’ students, and does this have any relationship with gender, and especially the uptake of STEM for girls?

1.3.1 Rationale for Research Questions

How is the term 'creativity' used in historical and contemporary political, social and educational discourses?

> Discourse strands have a history, a present and a future. In order to identify the changes, ruptures, ebbings and recurrences of a discourse strand, it is necessary to analyse longer periods of time. To put it into Foucault's words, an 'archaeology of knowledge' or a 'genealogy' is needed. (Jager and Maier 2009: 51)

The discourse strand under examination here is 'creativity' in educational discourse. Creativity has been in educational discourse since the mid twentieth century and in 2024 is at the forefront of educational discourse. The aim of this discourse analysis is therefore to conduct a linguistic 'archaeology' of this discourse strand over this period of time. As Jager and Maier show here, the 'changes, ruptures, ebbings and recurrences' point to the need to examine multiple occurrences of the term over time and within different contexts. Rather than a static meaning, the aim is to understand a wider cultural model which is dynamic, co-constructed and ephemeral.

This archaeology begins in the literature review and then continues in two discourse analyses. Creativity is often used as a cultural model rather than as a situated meaning (Gee and Green 1998:58) in a range of interconnected discourses. Situated meaning refers to the image or pattern that we assemble at a given time in a given context, based on our understanding and past experience (eg Wittgenstein, 1953). Cultural models are storylines, 'families of connected images' ('like a mental movie') or informal theories co-constructed by groups over time (Cole 1996, D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992, Geertz, 1983, Holland & Quinn.

1987, Spradley, 1980). The changing nature of the cultural model is congruent with the Foucauldian post-structuralist approach which I use. Cultural models explain why words have a range of situated meanings (Gee and Green 1998:58). Cultural models are the result of multiple viewpoints and are distributed across the different sorts of expertise and viewpoints found in a group (Hutchins, 1995; Shore, 1996). Creativity as a cultural model has a very broad range of situated meanings, and the storyline connected to creativity in discourses around secondary and tertiary education shape meanings, decisions and futures based on the co-construction of meaning around one's own creativity and the appropriateness of choice based on this.

Gee and Green (ibid) note that 'a cultural model is a group's construction that becomes a resource that an individual may call on to guide his or her actions.' The idea of a cultural model is exactly the educational shorthand that I refer to in the rationale for the study. Educational jargon ('differentiation', 'assessment for learning', 'metacognition' for example) can be useful as a way to efficiently cite a range of praxis within a school environment, however when nuance and subtlety are required, for example in advising young people about their futures and the choices which will inform these, it can be too blunt an instrument. Cultural models if used as educational shorthand, could have the adverse effect of compartmentalising people and pathways without due regard for that nuance and subtlety. Therefore, whilst educational discourse frequently relies on the co-construction of cultural models, there is an inherent danger in this.

As Frake (1977, in Spradley, 1980:9) points out: 'Culture is not simply a cultural map that people acquire in whole or in part, more or less accurately, and then learn to read. People are not just map-readers, *they are map-makers*.' Certainly, this analogy is very powerful in the field of educational advice and choice, and consequently the shaping of educational futures. My concern that, in relation to creativity, the 'map being made' by teachers, advisors,

the media and policy-makers (those in a position of power by dint of the influence they have) is not fully reflective of the extent of the landscape, and therefore the ‘map that is being read’ is not a helpful method of young people finding their way to their desired outcomes.

How far do these discourses cohere with decisions about subject specialisation in secondary school?

The subjects of the second part of the study are teenagers who have just, or are in the process of selecting their A level subjects. There is little recent research on motivations for post 16 subject choice, beyond simple comparisons entered for various subjects (Stables 1996:79) and the influence of perceived relative advantage and perceived career value, (Marsh, 1986, Eccles & Wigfield, 2002, Uerz et al. 2004, Manski, 1993, Trautwein et al. 2005, Dilnot, 2018:118). Creativity enters the A level conversation only in relation to certain 'creative' subjects: art, design, dance, and music, or to describe a student with artistic talent, for example as 'creative'.

In contrast to the lack of conversation around creativity's role in subject choice, the volume of the conversation relating to creativity in the workplace is rising. There is growing momentum and much consensus about the importance of creativity at school and in the workplace (for example, inclusion in the European Reference Framework for Key Competencies 2018:17, description as an essential cognitive ability in The Future of Jobs, World Economic Forum, 2016:21ff, 2023:6ff, inclusion of creative thinking on the PISA tests for the first time in 2021). It is widely acknowledged, therefore, that creativity is of high value to employers, especially given the need to future-proof the workforce of the mid-21st century, particularly in the context of the rise of artificial intelligence. Creativity is seen as the key differentiator between human and artificial intelligence (for example Cropley, 2021).

A level choice and the desire to develop creativity have not thus far been linked in research. If creativity is indeed an essential outcome that is a requirement for success in the future workplace, why is development of this attribute not considered at this first major point of divergence and choice in a student's life?

The lack of discussion of creativity at A level could be attributed to definitional issues with the term ‘creativity’. In political and popular educational discourse, the term is prone to conflation of meaning, and within schools, it is used to compartmentalise and categorise subjects and individuals (Seltzer and Bentley 1999:10). Confusion about the nature of creativity problematises how creativity is approached and promoted in schools, how it is understood by teachers and students both in relation to themselves and their subjects, and its place on the curriculum. No matter how often creativity is cited as a universal in high level policy recommendations, in educational discourse it remains synonymous with arts education, for example in Educate, NEU magazine: ‘In defence of the Arts: Creativity must remain central to the curriculum’ (2024:22).

It is the aim of the second research question therefore to see how the discourse, and perceptions of creativity affect students’ choices at A level, both in terms of their perception of their own creative ability and the level of creativity necessary for the subjects which they select.

To what extent does educational discourse on creativity encourage a binary between 'creative' and 'non-creative' subjects, 'creative' and 'non-creative' students, and does this have any relationship with gender, and especially the uptake of STEM for girls?

These binary perceptions about creativity, whether in terms of student self-perception or curriculum subjects, tend to lead to dichotomisation of student types and subject types. 'Creative' students tend to choose 'creative' subjects and 'non-creative' students tend to choose 'non-creative' subjects (for example Ball et al 2010), or even 'academic' or 'facilitating' subjects (Dilnot, 2018:118). Prima facie, this nomenclature and compartmentalisation of students and subjects seems highly problematic, especially given the need to increase participation and representation in the STEM workforce. Yet this generally describes the status quo for post 16 subject choice. Either a cross-fertilisation of student types and subjects is necessary in order to generate the diverse creative workforce of the future, or the very nature of student type and subject type should be challenged.

Some research around A level choice relates to gender and the polarised nature of humanities and scientific subjects, for example Garratt (1985). She concludes 'the factors with most influence [on A level choice] proved to be interest value, previous performance and career value. The results suggest that arts students place more importance on the interest value of subjects than science specialists.' The use of the term 'specialist' here demonstrates the concern that there is a long-standing expectation that one must make a binary choice between arts and humanities and scientific subjects, and creativity seems to have become inextricably linked with the former. This is still the case forty years on. The use of the term 'creativity' by influencers, advisors or 'map-makers', and its effect on self-perception and perceptions of subjects, and how this in turn affects choice will be a key focus of the study. Whilst the decision to select 'creative' subjects over 'academic' ones may appear anodyne

given the ‘hoorah’ or ‘halo effect’ of the term ‘creative’ (Gibson 2005:157), as Denmead (2019:11) points out, ‘precisely because it is a positive and ambiguous rhetorical concept’ it can hide a more sinister gender-based dichotomisation. Mendick (2003:169) observes that a ‘disproportionate number of girls opt out of powerful areas of curriculum’ and Damarin (1995:25) argues that ‘regardless of how mathematically competent a woman becomes she can never escape discursive practices that reify the idea that mathematics is, indeed, a male domain’. These two researchers note the opting-out of girls from areas of the curriculum, with the Foucauldian concepts of discourse and power both being cited as contributory factors. In Chapter 2, I discuss how discursive binaries on academia/creativity appear to be stereotyped along gender lines.

1.4 Thesis Outline

In Chapter 1, I have explained the motivation for the study, outlined the research questions and introduced the discourse analysis.

In Chapter 2, I explore the problem of a gendered curriculum and show the evidence for this through looking at the longitudinal data to show which subjects are selected for A level.

In Chapter 3, I explain the conceptual framework for the study, including its style as a feminist post structuralist discourse analysis and to show the influence and use of Foucauldian concepts within the study.

In Chapter 4, I explain the five central discourses on creativity which have arisen over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries. I show how they naturally conflict with each other and therefore why public discourse on creativity can give rise to conflicting agenda.

In Chapter 5, I show the methodology and the rationale for discourse analysis as the most suitable method for uncovering the layers of discourse and their potential effect upon students.

In Chapter 6, I undertake the discourse analysis on talks and speeches, policies and commissions, media texts, other media and educational texts and schools' publicity material. I identify which discourses on creativity are present within each text.

In Chapter 7, I undertake the research in a school setting to see how personal discourse on creativity is used there and how it may affect subject choice. I talk to teachers, students, advisors and attend events to understand the place of the discourse in the context of A level subject choice.

In Chapter 8, I draw the research together and conclude that there is a prevalent discourse on creativity within society and within the school where the research takes place, which is what I term the 'post-romantic discourse'. This prevalence is echoed in the discourse of the pupils and the effect of this seems to be reflected in the statistics in Chapter 2. I conclude that further work is necessary to break down the binary between 'creative' and 'academic' subjects. Creativity should be equally valued and promoted across all subject disciplines for all pupils to promote equity of access to career pathways.

1.5 A note on gender and non-binary identification within the thesis

Gender is a contested term. It could be argued that to base a study upon a term which is contested is problematic. Because girl/boy is the historic organising category across education, I am using gender as synonymous with biological sex at birth. Like Ivinson (2014), I use gender in this study as 'a form of labelling and categorising of persons as either male or female with reference to biological classification(s)' (p. 160). Gender in this study is a binary between male identifying/boy and female identifying/girl because there is insufficient data as yet in terms of non-binary. The use of the two genders only means that it is possible to interpret the longitudinal data and to see trends which have emerged over time as a binary has traditionally been used.

From a feminist perspective, I would include any less dominant identification within the female identifying category/girl. This is because the issue which I am addressing is the unconscious bias within discourse which directs the less powerful within society to the less powerful areas of the curriculum, thereby perpetuating traditional structures and hegemonies. Through a feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, I aim to deconstruct this. The binary understanding of gender is helpful to understand this pattern over time. This is not to diminish gender as a spectrum and other ways of self-identification. It is merely a way to reveal a pattern of the past which needs to be disrupted in the future. Statistics are starting to show non-binary representation in STEM, however the statistics tend to group 'women and non-binary people' together (eg HESA, 2023). These statistics do show, however that there is not strong non-binary representation in STEM A levels or career paths. The statistics from 2015 to 2019, for example, show a fairly static quarter of STEM graduates were female or non-binary. This rose to 27% in 2021/22 (HESA, 2023).

Chapter 2: The problematic and gendered binary of creative/academic subjects

Before embarking on this discourse analysis, it is important to understand the problem that motivates this thesis. It could be argued that the reason level 3 (or A level) qualifications are so well respected nationally and internationally is because they offer a level of free choice and specialism that is not replicated in other education systems. In most other countries, a broader range of subjects is studied for longer.

However, the problem as I see it is that this choice is not as free as it may initially appear. Girls tend towards the less lucrative areas of the curriculum, which are perceived to be creative, and boys tend towards the more lucrative areas of the curriculum, which are perceived to be more academic.

2.1 The root of the academic/creative problem – the early years

> Already in their first years of life, children become affected by stereotypical expectations and norms based on their gender, which are passed down by parents, schools, teachers and other social institutions, such as the media, from early childhood until adolescence, and even later into adulthood. (Brussino and McBrien, 2022).

There is irrefutable evidence that girls are under-represented in STEM subjects in post-optional education (OECD, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2023), and there is a growing understanding that there are elements of causation in early childhood.

Elwood highlights however that 'curriculum resides in relationship with the concept of gender in complex and multifaceted ways' (2016:3). It is not possible to reduce the genderisation of the curriculum to a single causal factor, but it is important to begin to uncover some of the causal factors, many of which will exist within discourse. She therefore

concentrates on understanding curriculum in a cultural sense. Gender divides cannot be reduced to data or linear cause and effect. Rather it is important to understand how this way of being has developed over time through the language we use.

From an early age social conditioning directs girls into more nurturing, aesthetically focused and expressive roles, and boys into more physically and mentally demanding roles. Girls tend to see themselves more readily as 'creative' and this is more often associated with the arts. Girls tend to disassociate themselves from the sciences, succumbing more often to the 'barriers of the mind' (Malcolm, 1997, cit Hammrich, 2002: 81).

This conditioning originates at the very first stages of education: 'My research shows that young children do not have free choice over activities because they learn what is acceptable and valued within nursery communities of practice to which they belong. They learn that some 'masculine' marked objects carry more power and status than 'feminine' marked objects.' (Martin 2010:139). In my research, creative subjects seem to be predominantly feminine-marked objects and academic subjects, particularly referring to STEM disciplines, seem to be predominantly masculine-marked objects. Conscious subversion of these gender norms needs to be employed in order to challenge this gender-based duality. Whilst efforts are made to encourage free choice, the unconscious bias within schooling has a cumulative effect, not least in the expectation of male dominance and masculine hegemonies and the pleasure that females find in conformity to gender roles and expectations (ibid 139).

2.2 The academic/creative problem exacerbated – the teenage years

This desire to 'fit in' and to conform is exacerbated in teenage years and so to reverse the effects of the discourses which affect girls' low uptake of STEM would need significant intervention. Hammrich (2002:82) writes [in terms of participation in STEM subjects] 'the first hurdle that girls face is being female'. Predominant in post feminism, McRobbie (2009:59) argues that girls and young women conform to the 'post-feminist masquerade' in which they disempower themselves so as not to be subject to masculine punishment and she 'regrets that while young women achieve success, they do only by reinvigorating a form of femininity …. that conforms to [male] strictures.' McRobbie makes the point that amongst girls, there can be an avoidance of ambition and an apparent lack of entitlement to success. This can lead girls to default to options that they perceive as safer, it seems to me that creativity inhabits a space which girls tend to perceive as safer and where success is acceptable and there is less of a binary between success and failure.

The OECD notes that the there is no one single locus of power influencing girls away from the sciences: 'gender stereotypes at home are carried forward in the classroom and are often related to teachers' conscious or unconscious biases about girls' and boys' strengths and weaknesses in various subjects, which are invariably reflected in student performance' (OECD, 2019). This analysis shows layers of influence which have a cumulative effect upon girls' decisions about their futures. Lack of confidence, fear of failure, a lack of female role models in STEM are all thought to contribute to girls turning away from STEM in the teenage years.

The statistics show us that the scientific path, as opposed to the creative path, is chosen much less often by girls than it is by boys. Girls are much less likely to become legible as scientific or academic and more likely to identify as creative. This binary

perpetuates a damaging compartmentalisation of both subjects and genders. McRobbie's psycho-social post structuralist argument (Hey 2013:213) that post-feminism which offering a high degree of perceived choice, conversely requires a high degree of conformity to tradition and gender norm expectations and this plays out in the discrepancy between girls and boys in STEM.

2.3 Linking the academic/creative problem to future employability and earning potential

In the Future of Post 16 Qualifications Report (House of Commons, 2023), the Unit for Future Skills identified gaps in the future workforce and identified digital skills and STEM as being 'critical to the future of most jobs', and found that skills such as teamwork, problem-solving and creativity were lacking in many young people.

This study does not intend to undermine the place of the arts within the curriculum. There is not a hierarchy of value and potential earning power is not the only measure of the worth of a subject. The problem is simply that the dichotomy of these subjects is strongly along gender lines, and this is an issue.

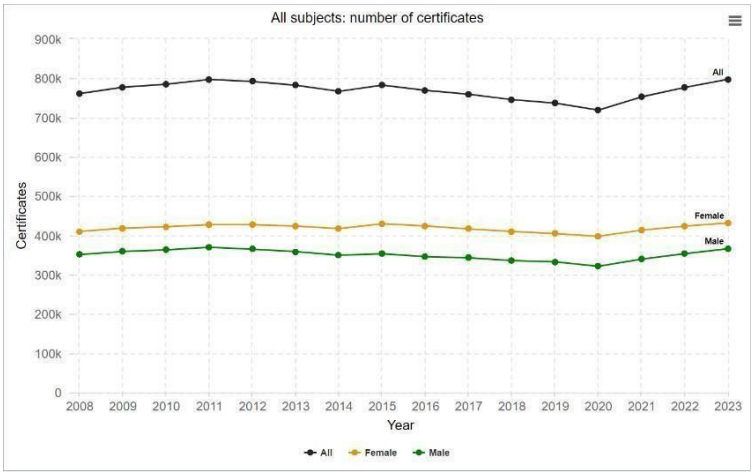
This has been summarised in the introduction, and below the subject-by-subject information is shown. Despite progress in many other areas of education, the results in terms of gender equity in uptake and outcomes across curriculum areas show less progress than expected (for example OECD, 2008).

> There are imbalances across STEM subjects at undergraduate level, with high numbers of female and non-binary students enrolling in subjects such as Psychology and Subjects Allied to Medicine (e.g. nursing), which are often amongst the lower-paid career routes. In core STEM subjects, however, women and non-binary people are dramatically underrepresented. (HESA, 2023)

2.4 Evidence of a gendered academic/creative curriculum

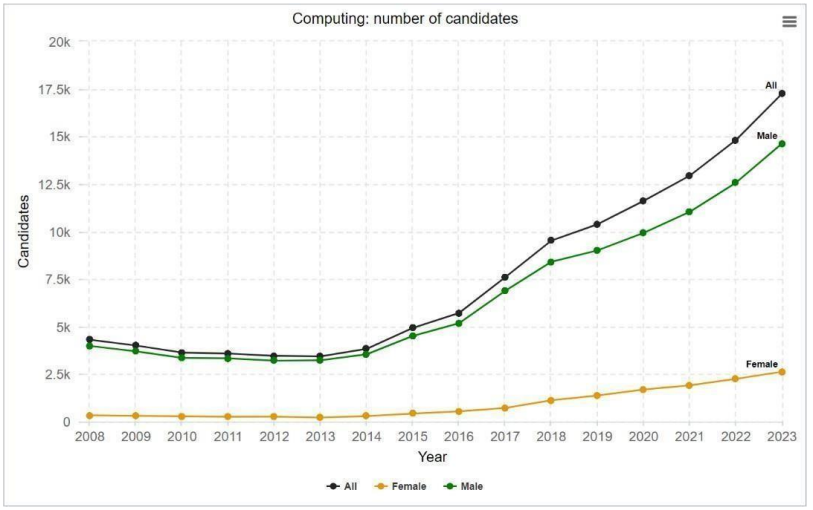
The graph below shows the number of A level candidates each year from 2008 to 2023. One can see that the number remains fairly constant allowing for a slight demographic dip for 18-year-olds in 2020. What is important is that the proportion and relative size of the female and male cohort is relatively constant with female candidates outnumbering male candidates for the last 15 years. Female candidates number 431, 465 and male candidates number 365,890 in 2023.

Figure 2: A level candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



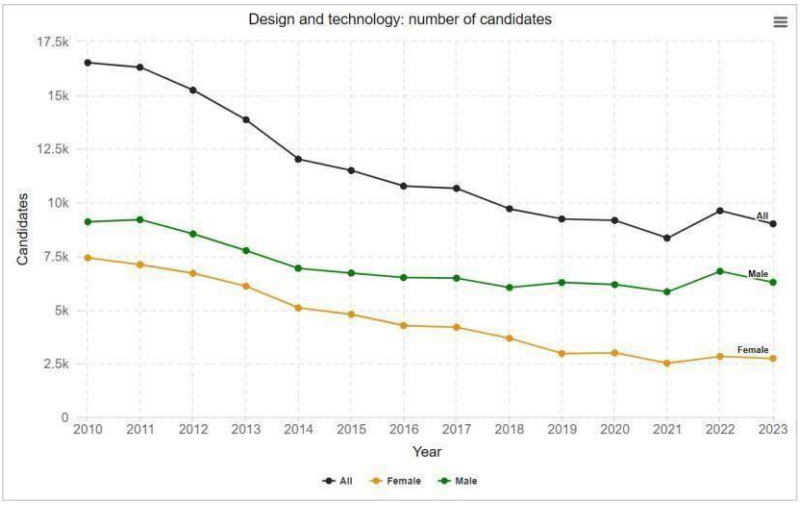
For Computing A level, there has been a near exponential rise in candidates since 2013, however, this rise is predominantly male, as the female uptake, has increased only marginally. There were 2625 female A level candidates in 2023, but 14630 male candidates. As this is a key route to the technology sector, worth $5.2 trillion globally, this is of concern in terms of women in STEM careers and narrowing the gender pay gap.

Figure 3: Computing A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



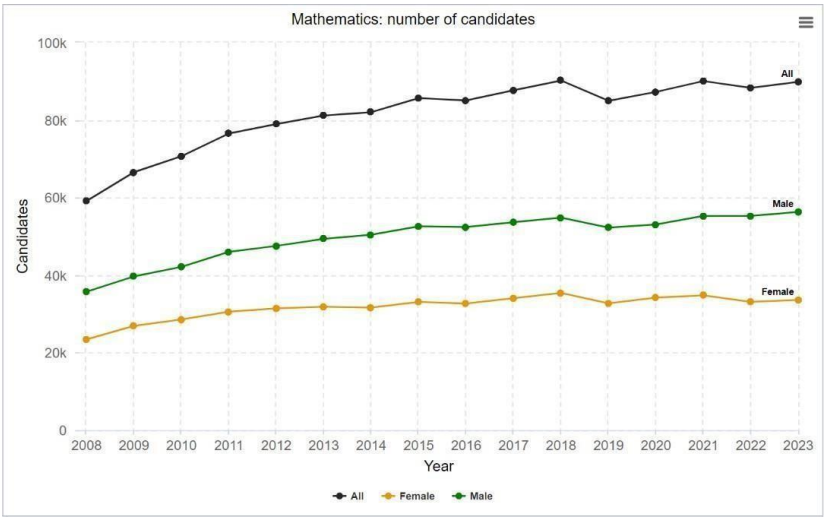
In Design and Technology, although there is a marked decline in entries, there are triple the number of male to female entries. Design and Technology is a key route to engineering pathways, so this is of concern in terms of STEM careers.

Figure 4: Design and Technology A level Candidates 2008-2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



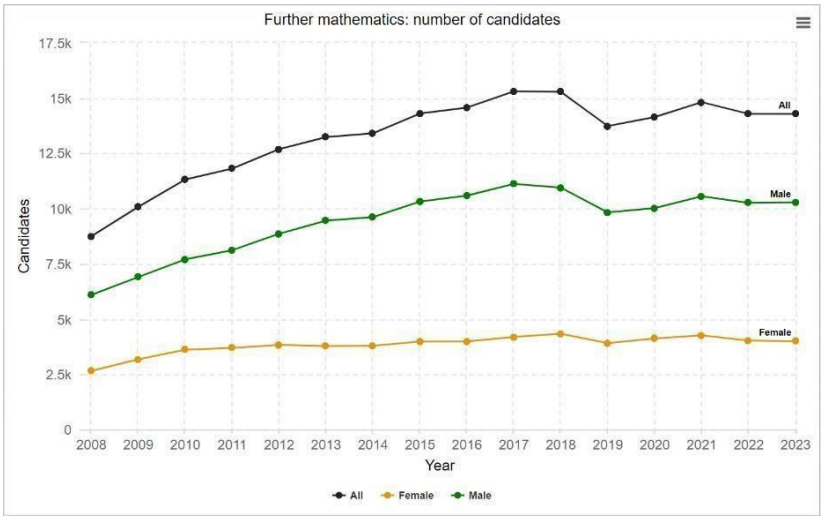
In Mathematics, there is growth in terms of uptake of the subject and this is seen in both male and female entries. However there is a 20000 male majority in terms of candidature. This is of concern as Maths is a prerequisite for most STEM career pathways.

Figure 5: Mathematics A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



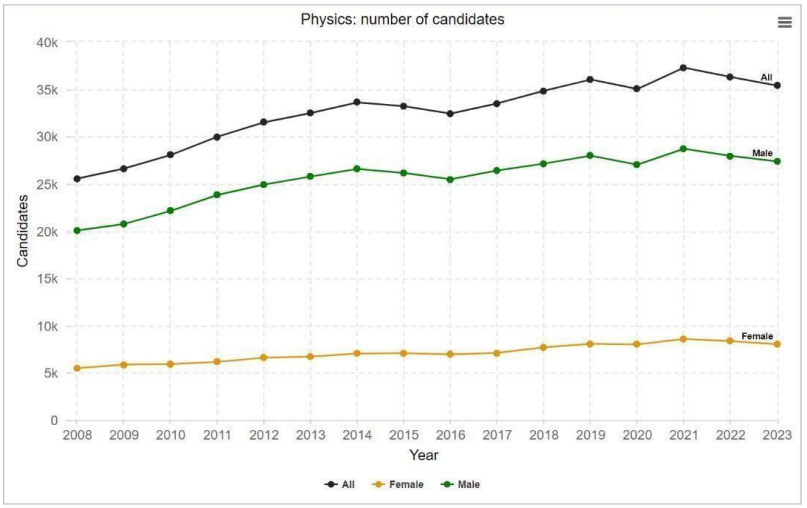
In Further Mathematics, the gap widens amongst the most able mathematicians in terms of proportion. There are almost triple the number of male candidates to female.

Figure 6: Further Mathematics A level Candidates 2008 - 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



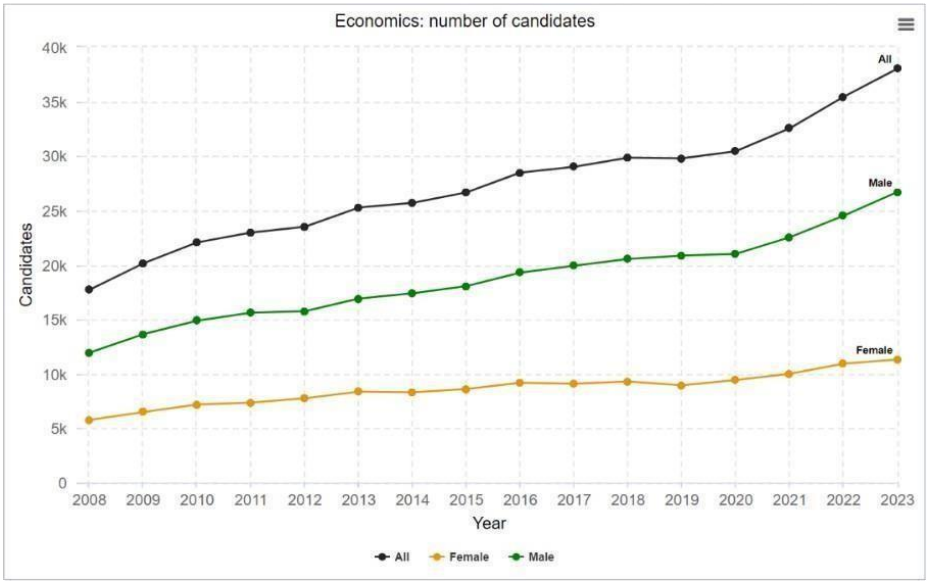
Physics is also of concern. There are almost five times as many male candidates as compared to female candidates. Physics is a subject which will open up architecture, engineering, technology and aeronautics as career pathways and hence there are fewer females able to access these pathways as a result of their A level choices.

Figure 7: Physics A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



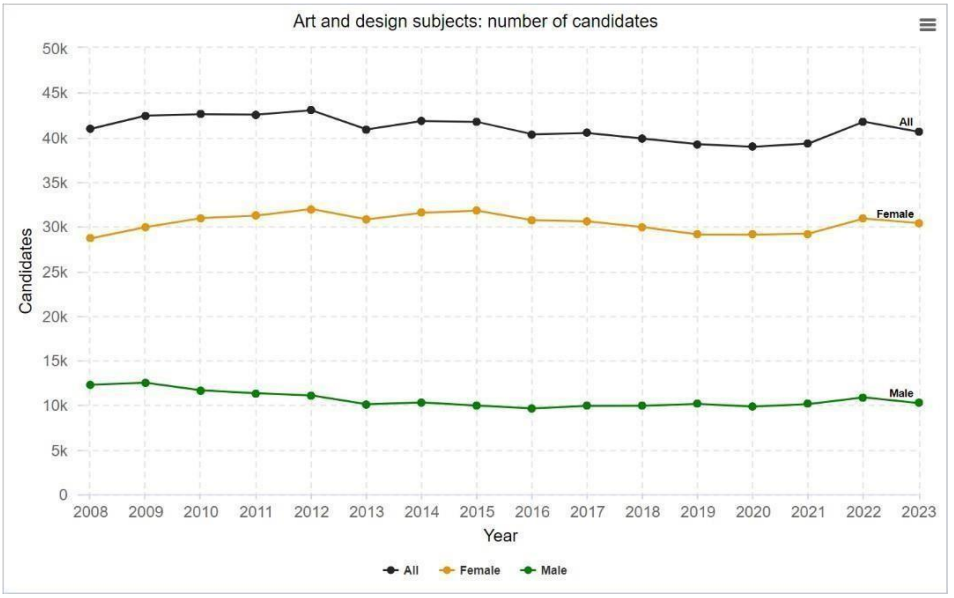
In Economics, there are 11,325 female candidates to 26,700 male candidates. Economics opens financial and political pathways which are thus more readily available to males due to the A level choices made.

Figure 8: Economics A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



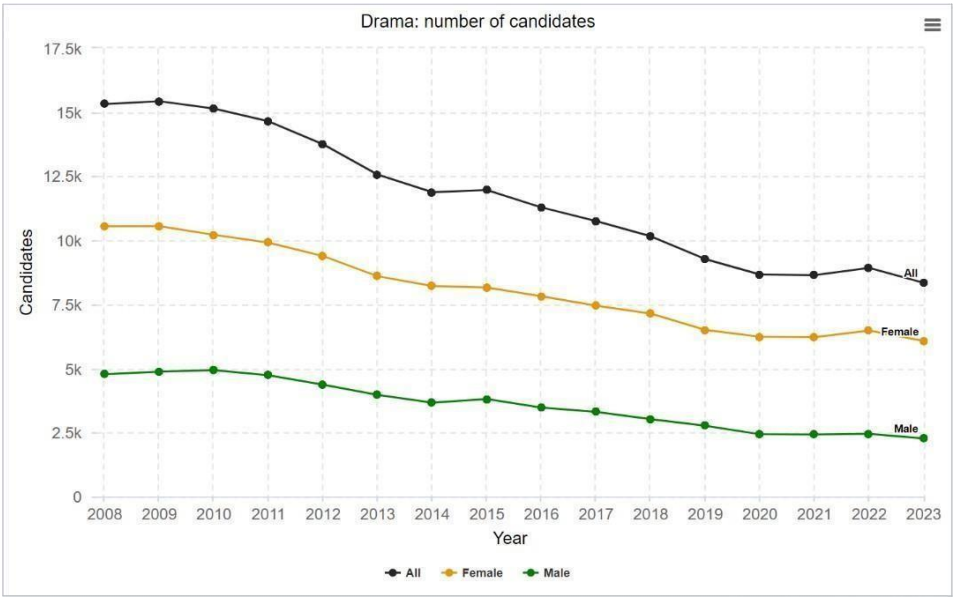
Conversely, entries are markedly higher for one of the less lucrative A levels in terms of career pathways. Female entries are higher than double that of male entries.

Figure 9: Art and Design A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



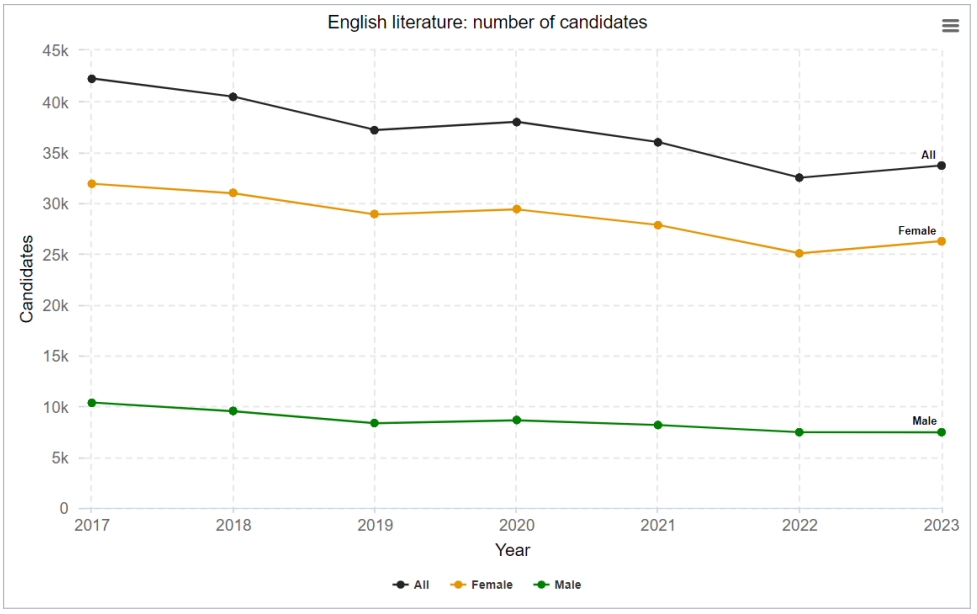
Similarly, Drama entries are higher in females than in males, with female entries more than doubling those of males.

Figure 10: Drama A level Candidates 2008 – 2023 (Source Ofqual, 2023)



Following a similar pattern, two and a half times more females than males study English Literature at A level.

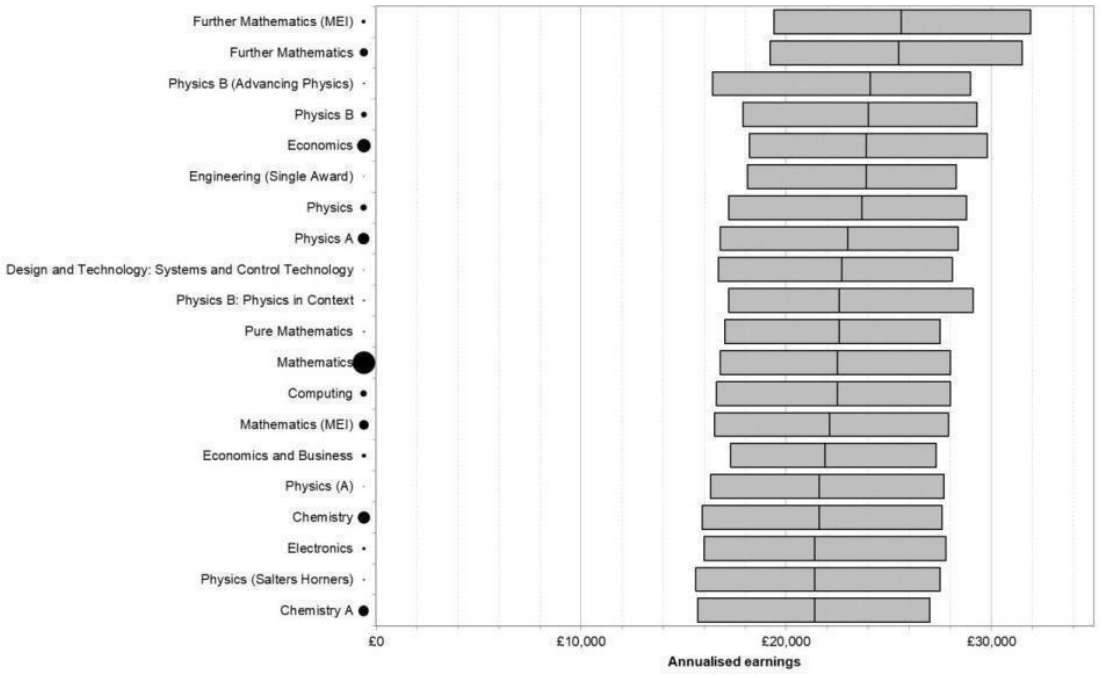
Figure 11: English Literature A level Candidates 2008 - 2023 (Source, Ofqual, 2023)



These graphs are of particular concern when considered in relation to the earning potential of the subjects studied. Whilst potential future earnings should not be used as the only way to make subject choices, not least because the outliers make the statistics a very blunt and inaccurate instrument, in terms of trends, they are useful for the purpose of this thesis and to show that women are indeed directed to the objectively 'less powerful areas of the curriculum' (Mendick 2003:169) either consciously or unconsciously.

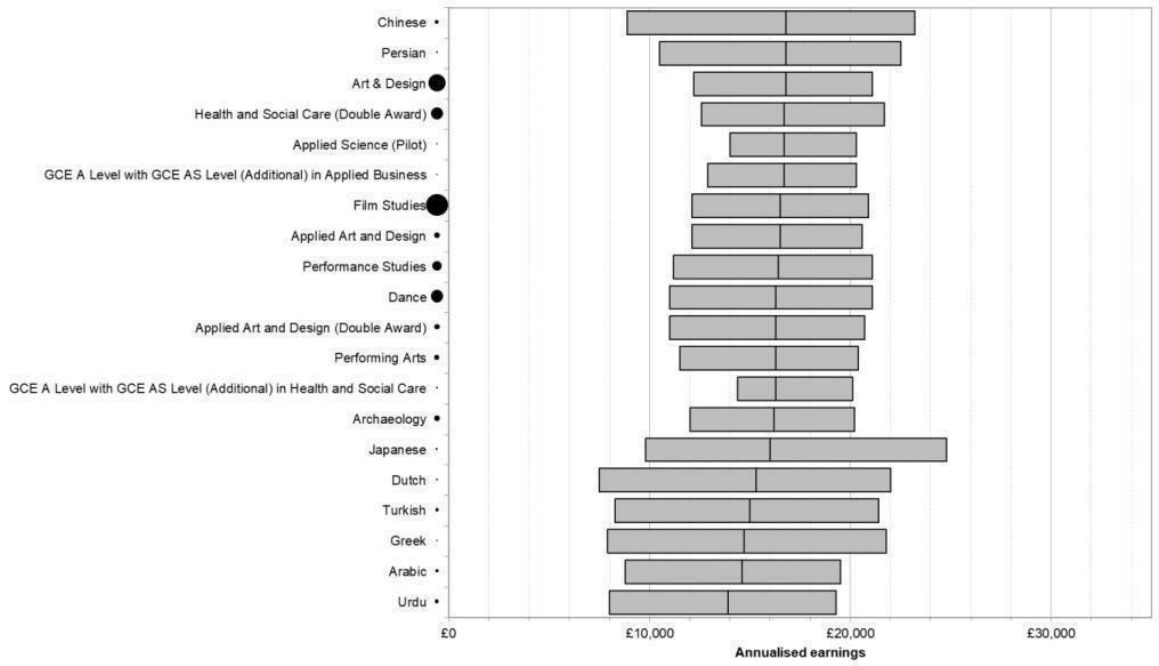
Annualised earnings are calculated for each A level qualification. In the first graph, the top twenty A levels which lead to the highest annualised earnings are shown, and for all of these, except chemistry, there is a higher uptake by males.

Figure 12: Annualised earnings in 2016-17 tax year for A level qualifications achieved in academic year 2010/11 by qualification title - Top 20 qualifications (Source: Longitudinal Education Outcomes Study for Department for Education, 2019)



Conversely, in the subjects with the lowest annualised earnings, the uptake is predominantly female in the majority of the subjects, including Art, Performing and Expressive Arts, Dance, Health and Social Care, Applied Art and Design and Film Studies. Statistics are not available for the languages shown and Archaeology.

Figure 13: Annualised earnings in 2016-17 tax year for A level qualifications achieved in academic year 2010/11by qualification - Bottom 20 qualifications (Source: Longitudinal Education Outcomes Study for Department for Education, 2019)



The correlation between the gender of the uptake, the annualised earnings and the common use of the term ‘creative’ to describe the majority of the subjects within this graph cannot be ignored. To uncover and challenge the connection between these factors is the aim of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Examining educational discourse on creativity through a Foucauldian lens – The Conceptual Framework

3.1 Challenging the binaries: A feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis

This research is a feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis of the discourses on creativity which may affect teenagers' educational choices at 16. It aims to expose hidden binaries through this analysis. The discourse is analysed in three phases. Firstly, the literature review looks at the socio-historical, socio-political and philosophical context which forms the five dominant discourses on creativity in education. Secondly, the public 'text' discourse analysis will aim to identify these discourses in social, political and education texts identified. Thirdly, the personal 'talk' discourse analysis will aim to identify these discourses in an educational setting, through interviews with the co-creators and recipients of the public discourse.

This study takes a Foucauldian and feminist post-structuralist approach. As a Foucauldian discourse analysis, it is understood that 'reality is in a constant process of construction' (Walshaw, 2007:5), and hence the analysis attempts to triangulate different discourses to locate the salient current discourse on creativity. This gives due importance to those who write and speak of creativity, whether in public or private arenas in terms of meaning and reality making. That is, rather than *reflecting* meaning, the discourse analysis will show how discourse *constitutes* meaning and that this meaning is fragile and problematic (ibid, p5).

Central to this study is the need to challenge the structures and binary oppositions inherent within creativity discourse. The dominant theoretical framework of this study is therefore a post-structuralist paradigm. Post-structuralism is a distinct response to and a critique of structuralism; it 'challenges any framework that posits some kind of structure internal to the entity in question' (Hoffman, 1992:7). Creativity should not have an internal

structure of meaning in that it should not be attributed to any one domain. Creativity is an educational universal and must therefore be in constant flux in terms of meaning and attribution, and its power as a term should be open to any and all, rather than a specific domain.

Post-structuralist approaches seek to 'problematize power' (Anderson and Holloway 2018:6) and how this comes to be established through 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1980). These approaches also focus on how identity is fashioned though 'technologies of self' (Walshaw, 2007: 24) as well as understanding 'power as the product of systems or knowledge that have been discursively constructed and normalized over time'. (Anderson and Holloway 2018:6). These four Foucauldian concepts: power, regimes of truth, technologies of self and discourse underpin the study.

This thesis posits that creativity strongly correlates with the arts and the feminine, in juxtaposition with academia, the sciences and the masculine. This binary position shows a Foucauldian 'regime of truth'; it is a hegemonic discourse which suppresses freedom to self-identify in ways which challenge this binary. After showing that this dichotomisation exists, this thesis represents a challenge to the assumed binary opposition of 'creative' and 'non-creative'/'academic' identity. To do this, a post-structuralist approach is taken.

Post-structuralism interrogates the binary oppositions that are common within structuralism. These binary oppositions are a major focus and target of this study, both epistemically and normatively. The main binary opposition which is being interrogated is that of 'creative' and 'non-creative'/'academic' both when applied to students and to subjects. This binary opposition is used as a way of interpreting tendency and ability within discourse, but this pre-established social-construct ought to be discarded, or at least challenged. The rigid categorisation and compartmentalisation found in the discourse in my experience thus far makes this dichotomisation the target of this post-structuralist thesis.

The way that the term ‘creative’ is used in schools and in discourse implies that there is a binary opposition or word-pair, where ‘non-creative’/’academic’ is the implied counterpart. The implied ‘non-creative’ is sometimes in a subservient role (for example in a creative environment) but more often ‘creative’ plays the subservient role, for example when used as a signpost to demonstrate that other paths would be more suitable (for example in order to deter a student from taking a scientific route in terms of subject choice). This structuralist pairing is rejected as an adequate paradigm due to the bias and misinterpretation which come about through the conditioning influences of history and culture.

One can situate many feminist approaches in a post-structural epistemology. As my study progressed, I was more and more drawn to how binary paradigms about subject choice and creative identity have affected girls in particular. Feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) is therefore an important reference point in the talk discourse analysis.

Through a feminist lens, ‘creative’ can therefore be understood as a way to (consciously, subconsciously or unconsciously) ‘other’ female students and to preserve ‘academic’ disciplines for males. This binary opposition could therefore be seen as a proxy for the maintenance of a hegemonic discourse which suppresses female potential through the limitation of perceived choice.

> Derrida (1982) and Irigaray (1980) have suggested that binaries always involve a hierarchy and ... men and masculine discourses occupy the dominant centre of rationality, displacing women and femininity to their seemingly emotional margins. What Derrida describes as masculine logocentric or legislative reason reduces the ‘feminine’ to an absent or wholly subordinate ‘Other’. (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004: 431)

The binary between creative and academic in public and personal discourse seems to be transposed onto female and male, arts and sciences in a shorthand which used to see pink and blue as identifiers of female and male until very recently.

FPDA, as formulated by Baxter (2003) and Weedon (1997), guards against such a clear binary and views language as social practice which is constantly changing reality. It considers that people's identities and relationships are 'performed' through spoken interaction which is so fluid and fragile as to have only ephemeral power. FPDA analyses the positioning by discourses and the often-competing discourses according to Foucault's (1972: 49) definition as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak'. According to this, speakers constantly move between powerful and powerless subject positions as they talk and interact. In line with the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, no actor in the discourse is wholly powerful or powerless, victim or perpetrator, and this speaks to the multilateral method. Added to this, the diachronic nature of the historical and contemporary public text discourses in the background of the synchronous talk discourses mean that to disentangle the power dynamics will be challenging. The challenge to binary oppositions as descriptive, let alone normative, is welcome, however it is so important to note their existence and influence as a first step in order to be able to counter and deconstruct the binaries. In FPDA, speakers' subject positions are highly dynamic according to the interplay of these competing discourses within specific settings. However ephemeral this power may be, it is important to analyse it, given the important nature of this self-identification (as creative or not) in life-decisions (here, over A level subject choices).

Like Knights and Kerfoot (2004:431), the concern of this research is to expose and reflect upon the implied hierarchy of genders and how this correlates with creativity and how that in turn correlates with subject disciplines. By being conscious of and exposing the language used, and the gravitational pull of 'gender norms', those in positions of power and influence

will be able to challenge assumptions, thereby giving freer choice to those making important life decisions.

3.2 'Not map readers but map makers' – the power of language to co-create reality and truth in school setting – a Foucauldian view

In this section four key Foucauldian concepts are explored: power, technologies of self, regimes of truth and discourse. These concepts are key to understanding the crucial influence of discourse upon decision making, especially within a school setting where the power of the advisor and other influencers can have a disproportionate impact upon the teenager.

Power

It cannot be overstated how important the choice of subjects is for a teenager at 16. This is the first moment for most teenagers when they make a conscious decision to envisage the future and to make conscious steps towards that future. This should be a moment of empowerment. Self-determination and autonomy are more 'in play' than they have ever been earlier in life, and yet there are multiple influences and discourses which could be seen to undermine or diminish the autonomy of this choice. The locus of power constantly shifts as advice, influence and information entangle to shape the choice made.

Teenagers are faced with curriculum choices aged 16 that have a profound influence on their futures. The discourses affecting these choices need to be scrutinised. It is important at the outset to recognise the power dynamics of these discourses as the teenagers seem to be very much subject to these, rather than co-constructing the discourses. The power of politics, educational policy, the school institution, and social pressures and expectations seem to far outweigh the autonomy of the teenager at this moment of choice.

Therefore, subject to the discourse analysis will be the hegemonic power structures inherent in politics, the media and education in terms of construction of 'creative' identity and labels both for students and subjects, and also the power structures within teacher-student subject choice advice sessions and discussions in schools. Reisigl and Wodak (2009:88) confirm the importance of critiquing ideologies which 'establish unequal power…. By establishing identity narratives or by controlling the access to specific discourse or public spheres ('gate-keeping')'. In the vital educational moment of deciding upon subjects and therefore future opportunities, it seems imperative that the ideological language used by the 'gatekeepers' (media, politicians, teachers) is explored.

Reisigl and Wodak (2009:88) state that 'power' relates to the 'asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions. From personal experience and through my Masters research, I am very aware of the asymmetric influence that both media and teacher hold, especially when being used in an advisory capacity. It is important to recognise the control of the dominant narrative about creativity, first in terms of the public discourse (media, politics, academia) and secondly in terms of the teachers and advisors in schools.

> 'Those groups who are in control of the most influential public discourse, that is symbolic elites such as politicians, journalists, scholars, teachers and writers, play a special role in the reproduction of dominant knowledge and ideologies in society' (Van Dijk, 2005, cit. Baker et al 2008: 280)

A Hobbesian idea of power is used, alongside that of Foucault. Hobbes differentiated two types of power in his Leviathan, natural power and instrumental power. Creativity could be seen in each of these contexts of power. Some people and things become legible as 'creative', and they could be seen to have intrinsic or natural power. Creativity has also gained currency, both direct and indirect, and this is instrumental power. As Fairclough states 'not only is

education itself a key domain of linguistically mediated power, it also mediates other key domains for learners, including the adult world of work.' (Fairclough, 2010:529). I therefore argue that creativity is used as a means of linguistically mediating power. It is helpful to think of how it mediates power in the context of Hobbes' differentiated types of power.

Creativity as Hobbes' 'natural power' could be seen in terms of the innate capacity to create, which some have to a greater extent than others. The post-romantic and religious discourses on creativity could be seen to be corroborated by, or flow from this idea. This is problematic in educational discourse because, if it is viewed as purely natural, one can be tasked as a teacher to simply try to detect it, and this could lead to the type of compartmentalising and labelling that is absolutely at odds with an educational outcome that is supposed to be universally desirable.

Creativity can also be viewed in terms of Hobbes' 'instrumental power' which is congruent with the socio-economic and democratic discourse on creativity. Creativity, as can been seen in the literature review, is now recognised as an economic necessity. Creativity generates wealth, regardless of the definition used.

The idea that power can be embodied and enacted, and that it flows particularly 'episodically' speaks to my intuition that power is gained and ceded quite readily in 'talk' discourses between teacher and student. I also explore power as a 'regime of truth' that is in constant flux and negotiation (Foucault 1998:63).

> Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, in Rabinow 1991).

This thesis is concerned with the regime of truth which has become associated with 'creative subjects' and 'creative students', who are predominantly female. The Hobbesian idea of power is most interesting in the idea of the suppressive power a patriarchy may unconsciously exercise through the categorisation of students and the direction of female students to the 'less powerful areas of the curriculum' (Mendick 2003:169). It seems that there are accepted discourses around creativity which connect it to certain individuals who become legible as creative. This discourse analysis, especially the second part, aims to expose the accepted discourses or regimes of truth around which subjects should be chosen by whom.

However, one of the reasons that Discourse Analysis was selected over Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach or Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach is because the power dynamics are not to be seen as entirely negative. Teachers and advisors most often have the best interests of their students at heart and wish to advise them in the best way possible. Therefore this discourse analysis recognises the power flow, but also that the power can be emancipatory and productive.

> 'We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces, it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production' (Foucault 1991: 194).

This research recognises the tension between the potential for both positive and negative exercise of power by the 'gate-keepers' and 'map-makers' (Frake,1977, in Spradley, 1980:9) in these discourses. What differentiates the positive potential power from the negative is the willingness to understand the nuance of the discourse and its potential impact and the willingness to take a more conscious approach to the language used.

The interplay of power and discourse is a complex one and Foucault's nuanced approach is exactly right for the life-changing conversations that can take place in schools. It is so important to disentangle the discourse, so that it can be unpacked and understood to be an instrument of power and a hindrance to it, and that this power can be both positive and negative.

> 'Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it… We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart' (Foucault 1998: 100-1).

Here Foucault sets down the challenge and the conundrum of this work. Whilst discourses, and the power is transmitted through them, are responsible for the binaries which need to be disrupted, the discourses themselves are 'the starting point for the opposing strategy.' By the very act of exposing the discourses, we place ourselves in a better position to 'undermine and expose' them, to 'render [them] fragile… and possible to thwart'. To me the undermining of these unhelpful discourses is a time-critical and essential task.

Technologies of Self

Because self-perception and the way individuals become legible within society are key parts of study, the Foucauldian idea of 'technologies of self' is vital. This concept emphasises the role the individual plays in actualising their identity by acting and participating in the world in certain ways. Therefore, when asked whether students consider themselves to be creative, their responses and their articulation of these responses are important in creating their own identities.

> ‘Technologies of the self are descriptors for the particular practices and techniques through which the subject fashions her own identity actively. The concept is particularly useful because its points to the ways in which the subject relates to herself.’ (Walshaw 2007:24)

To describe oneself as ‘creative’ is therefore to become creative. It is this self-perception and self-actualisation which is the focus of the study. Technologies of self are very much in evidence in any given teacher-student conversation and this underlines the importance of this study, and the responsibility of being in an advisory role in a school. It is evident in the interviewing of students that their answers are dynamic and co-constructive.

> ‘Technologies of the self influence the ways in which subjectivity is constituted and the ways in which experiences are shaped. The subject’s thoughts and actions are also governed by them.’ (ibid, p24).

Not only therefore, do subjects describe themselves as creative or not, this goes on to govern choices that are made. The title of Chapter 1 ‘Creative subjects for creative students’ is a recognition of, and a challenge to ‘technologies of self’ which take place as A level decisions are made. These decisions are often arbitrarily made based on biases, assumptions, and misinformed or misguided technologies of self and regimes of truth.

Regimes of Truth

The research attempts to uncover and challenge ‘regimes of truth’ which have been established in educational and socio-political arenas about the nature of creativity. ‘Regimes of truth’ are products of the Foucauldian knowledge-power-truth relationship. Of course this relationship is not stable, and the post structuralist challenge which this research attempts to mount should destabilise this regime of truth. The regime of truth open to challenge is the post-romantic proposition which associates arts subjects most closely with creativity, and

girls as the most appropriate practitioners of creativity within this regime of truth. This can be destabilised through discourse analysis in a similar way to the following example given by Walshaw (2007): the 'proposition that girls cannot achieve well in mathematics. This regime of truth drew its authority from those with appropriate status who were assigned the task of producing (academics), regulating (professionals) or distributing (media, politicians, educators) the knowledge, via methods and norms of practice that were sanctioned at that time.' (2007:23). The aim of this work, in the same way, is to topple the regime of truth that has decoupled creativity from science.

Discourse

The final Foucauldian concept this thesis rests on is that of discourse. Foucault seeks to 'problematise power as the product of systems or knowledge that have been discursively constructed and normalized over time'. (Anderson and Holloway 2018:6). Post-structuralism therefore descends from Foucault's corpus on power and knowledge and the idea that one's possession of power exists in direct proportion to one's ability to shape discourse or to create knowledge.

Discourse on creativity in education is ripe for challenge. In exactly the way Walshaw (2007) describes above, the regime of truth becomes so because those in positions of power (here academics, politicians, the media, educators) create it. Hence it is the role of the discourse analysis to expose the regime of truth that has been built by those in positions of power, and thereby, to attempt to begin to dismantle it.

Dickerson (2010:354) highlights that identity in post-structural epistemology is therefore very much constituted rather than essential and as dependent on power and context, as having access to multiple identities. She also highlights post-structuralism as a 'different way of thinking' (ibid, p361). An example of post-structuralist interviewing she cites is in

Weingarten's 'Reasonable Hope' (2010) in which lateral and divergent thinking (reminiscent to me of Craft's 'possibility thinking') is used to challenge existing hegemonies and assumptions by thinking differently and asking unexpected questions.

> 'Poststructuralists also point to resistance strategies used by marginalized individuals and groups to manage the institutionalized and hegemonic discourses (metanarratives) that suppress them'' (Miller, 2006:271; see also Wade, 2007).

The draw to creativity by females could be seen as a resistance strategy, however an illumination of the different discourses on creativity is necessary in order to expose that whilst a democratic discourse on creativity could be emancipatory, the post-romantic discourse (when used in educational discourse) suppresses and reinforces hegemonies which deny females access to (arguably) some of the more powerful areas of the curriculum.

Chapter 4: The meaning of creativity in educational discourse

4.1 Creativity: 'Current icon of the educational world' – but what does it actually mean? – Literature review

Through this literature review, I have identified five distinct discourses on creativity which will be used as a framework for the later discourse analyses. These discourses are in tension, and this tension carries over in public and private discourse and seems to be a root cause of problematic decision-making at A level.

Am I good or talented enough to be creative? Do I have a duty to use my gifts and talents? Am I too creative for fact-based subjects? Am I too academic to be creative? These are examples of the troubling subconscious questions which may be begged by the creative/academic dichotomy created by a lack of clarity in discourses on creativity.

The term 'creativity' is widely and frequently used in educational discourse. It is used as a rallying cry for politicians, a call to arms for educators. It has universal appeal. It seems innocuous and uncontroversial. It is a word that has been naturalised in educational discourse. However, it is far from being unambiguous, the term is highly contested and is part of several incongruent discourses. It is used as an educational desideratum which ends rather than begins conversations. Like 'differentiation', 'assessment' and 'gifted and talented', it is a term which has gained a steadfast place in educational discourse. Whilst the term's universality seems to earn this place in the educational lexicon, conflicting rhetorics mean that it could be seen as a contentious term at best, and at worst, as a silent saboteur. It can be lazily deployed as a means of compartmentalising students and subjects, especially in terms of A level subject choice, which is one of the fields of this study. A lack of understanding about the tensions in educational discourse on creativity can lead to poor advice, poor choices

and ultimately, can become an obstacle to progress and equality in educational provision and outcomes.

There are many words in educational discourse which are used as place-holders to signify a general, and usually benevolent, intent. Take the word ‘differentiation’. Although it is fraught with ethical difficulties, it is a convenient short-hand for ‘We are going to try to accommodate every student as an individual rather than teach to the utilitarian majority’. We use it. We have to use it. It stands for an intention. It’s the same with creativity. ‘Creativity’ could be seen as a place-holder for ‘the highest possible aspiration for students: to make, to dream, to realise, to problem-solve, to innovate, to think divergently’ but equally it could be a place-holder for ‘the possession of artistic genius’ or ‘the potential for spiritual self-realisation’ or ‘the economically beneficial imperative to innovate’. It is a place-holder for a multitude of meanings and is part of several oppositional discourses. Underneath this multitude of meanings and discourses there are a multitude of questions which are not yet fully explored in research. Banaji and Burn (2010) pose four key questions which arise from their research and this thesis focuses on the second of those four:

> Is creativity a pervasive, ubiquitous feature of human activity, or a special faculty, either reserved for particular groups, individuals, or particular domains of activity, in particular artistic activity? (2010:73)

Creativity has indeed been reserved for particular groups and particular individuals and domains of activity. In schools, influenced by public discourse, the term ‘creativity’ is reserved for the visual arts subjects and to a lesser extent, the humanities. In addition, I argue that girls are disproportionately represented in these areas, having identified or been identified as ‘creative’. Therefore, the ‘particular group’ of which Banaji speaks is predominantly female. This is diametrically opposed to the imperative to teach for creativity

across all domains for all learners. Therefore, the need for a democratic discourse on creativity is at odds with the pervasive post-romantic discourse.

This thesis therefore aims to examine the discourses within which creativity has been and is placed; and to question how the concept can currently be used to dichotomise, segment, label and categorise both students and subjects, and consequently, futures along academic/creative lines, and more insidiously, across gender lines as well.

I have been frequently surprised throughout this research by how often I have either been asked for the definition of creativity or been told that a response is dependent on how one defines creativity.

The word 'creative' has been in common usage since the turn of the twentieth century, but 'creativity' has only been so since the mid twentieth century. In educational discourse, creativity has been a particular watch-word for the past two decades and focus on it as an outcome of education is only becoming sharper.

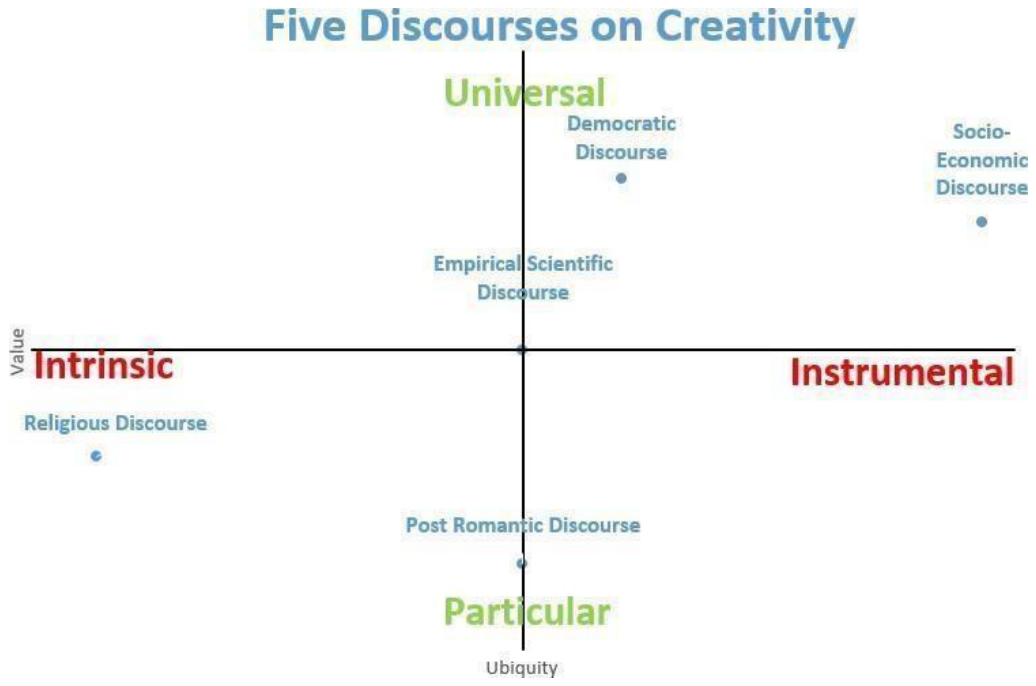
> Creativity, the current icon of the educational world…is a term now widely used, full of promise, a tonic for some after a decade of national-over-governance of the school curriculum, a glimmer of hope and a word with which everyone can agree. Another hurrah word. What it means is less clear.

Gibson (2005:149) identifies a duality in the discourse on creativity. He identifies what I will term the 'post-romantic' individualist discourse ('full of promise', 'a tonic') and the 'socio-economic' instrumentalist discourse ('a glimmer of hope'). This summary is the context for the literature review in which I will identify five dominant discourses on creativity in education.

4.2 Five Discourses on Creativity

Creativity has long been assumed to have both an intrinsic and instrumental value as part of the curriculum, and in recent years, it has become even more pronounced as a key purpose of modern education. Creativity has also sometimes been more widely attributed to gifted individuals ('the creative genius'), and sometimes it is thought of as more of a universal desideratum of education. Despite widespread consensus about its desirability, there are tensions and conflicts in the discourse, especially in secondary education. This literature review aims to show where the tensions exist in the discourse. The chart below aims to situate the five predominant discourses that I have identified through my literature review in terms of the emphasis of the discourse in terms of the value (from intrinsic to instrumental value) and ubiquity (from universal to particular) of creativity.

Figure 14: Five Discourses on Creativity in Education



Creativities are multifarious and hence this model necessarily includes some voices and excludes others. The five discourses emerged as a product of reviewing the literature and as more literature emerged or was signposted, it was found that it would synthesise well into the model on page 52. Using the two axes meant that any emerging or new literature would find its place on those axes and hence this created a useful framework through which to understand the literature. Some literature spans categories. For example Harris, Coleman and Cook (2021) propose a transdisciplinary or ecological approach to creative thinking which sits well within the universal or democratic discourse on creativity, however their development of an assessment rubric means that the empirical/scientific discourse is also utilised within their research. Chappell (2019) puts forward a highly compelling vision of transdisciplinary creativity which she associates with Craft's universal or democratic discourse on creativity. However, her emphasis on post-colonial ethics, post humanism and creative embodiment, also hints at the intrinsic and non-anthropocentrism of the religious or a more metaphysical discourse.

The five discourses

Discourse 1: Creativity in socio-economic discourse

This discourse sees creativity as a means to a socio-economic end, that is, in terms of the financial benefits that will be produced by developing this characteristic within future workers.

Discourse 2: Creativity in post-romantic discourse

This discourse sees creativity as particular to gifted individuals. It exceptionalises those with rare talent, the 'genius', and is reserved for artistic endeavours, usually music, art, dance and literature.

Discourse 3: Creativity in democratic discourse

This discourse treats creativity as a universal good to be nurtured in all. It is not associated with a particular person, group or area, it is ubiquitous.

Discourse 4: Creativity in religious discourse

In this discourse, creativity is divine as it comes from the creator, God or a metaphysical equivalent. Thus the human desire to create descends from a divine creative impulse. In non-theistic religions and worldviews, creativity is seen as meditative and spiritual, hence this also belongs to this discourse. Creativity is intrinsically good.

Discourse 5: Creativity in scientific/empirical discourse

Creativity is neuroscientifically measurable and therefore open to assessment. It is universal but morally neutral.

4.2.1 Creativity as instrumental good

Discourse 1: Creativity in socio-economic discourse

The instrumental value of creativity has been particularly highlighted over the past two decades, and much has been made of its inclusion at events such as the World Economic Forum at Davos and SXSW (for example 'Five ways creativity inspires the 5th industrial revolution' Exhibition at Davos 2020), as well as the rise of the 'creative industries'. It has been expressed most fully in 'The Creative Age' (Seltzer and Bentley, 1999). This Demos document set out a definitional position on the approaching millennium. Government has been eager to support this discourse. It has its roots in capitalist and post Marxist discourse as creativity is commodified and valued highly; it is seen as the best response to global threat and economic change.

> Creativity has replaced raw materials or natural harbours as the crucial wellspring of economic growth. To be successful in this emerging creative age, regions must develop, attract and retain talented and creative people who generate innovations, develop technology intensive industries and power economic growth. (Gertler et al 2002, cit. Banaji et al 2010).

This discourse could be seen as emerging from post war recovery and response to new geopolitical threats. Divergent thinking was seen as necessary to compete in the space race and to survive the Cold War. Creativity, both defending against it, and gaining the upper hand from it, became a matter of national security, both in the UK and the US (van Eekelen 2017). The need to define, quantify, measure and stimulate creativity became national priorities. Torrance, 1974, developed and popularised tests for creative ability, focusing on measurable outcomes or products. Although there has been a shift in educational discourse away from this (Jeffrey and Craft 2001: 1), policy-makers are increasingly interested in the potentially lucrative nature of creativity. The World Economic Forum, 2015, defines creativity as the

‘ability to imagine and devise new, innovative ways of addressing problems, answering questions or expressing meaning through the application, synthesis or repurposing of knowledge.’ Continuing with this emphasis, in 2020 the World Economic Forum published ‘Top Ten Skills of 2025’, and creativity was fifth on this list. It was one of four skills on the list colour-coded blue to indicate that this skill fell into the ‘problem-solving’ category, which squarely indicates an incongruence between discourses on creativity which I will describe in my literature review.

The reasons for this upsurgence in interest in creativity could be seen to be predominantly economic. Development of creativity is widely considered to ‘future-proof’ education by ensuring it is fit-for-purpose as the workplace rapidly evolves. Similarly, it is considered to play an important role in character development. Within two months of becoming Education Secretary in 2018, Damian Hinds set out his vision for a modern education in ‘The 5 Foundations for Building Character’ and creativity was listed as one of the five foundations. He said that creative activities ‘are a crucial part of a child’s development and will teach them the qualities that cannot solely be learned in the classroom’. However, when suggesting ways of nurturing creativity – he listed a number of ‘creative activities’ for example ‘coding, arts and crafts, writing, graphic design, film making and music composition’, linking creativity to specific subjects and activities, rather than emphasising creativity as a developed attribute or disposition, highlighting a key problem with educational discourse on creativity. The sciences were noticeably absent from the list of creative activities.

The World Economic Forum framework (found in its report ‘New Vision for Education: Unlocking the Potential of Technology’ 2015) which aims to prepare young people for ‘the 21st century marketplace’ delineates 'foundational literacies' such as literacy, numeracy, and ICT, ‘competencies’ such as critical thinking and creativity, and 'character

qualities' such as curiosity and initiative. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) also places a strong emphasis on nurturing creativity in education based on the analysis and systematic research of international frameworks and the desiderata of each of these. The European Reference Framework on Key Competences (2018: 7) identifies creativity as a transversal theme, ('transversal' meaning that it should be taught across areas of the curriculum as opposed to being a discrete discipline), along with critical thinking and problem solving. Currently, the OECD is undertaking the project 'Future of Education and Skills Education 2030'; the output of which will be a new 'international conceptual learning framework on key competencies. This new framework aims to 'define knowledge, skills, attitudes and values for the three transformative competences (creating new value; taking responsibility; coping with tensions and dilemmas) which OECD regards as essential in 2030'. These themes broadly correlate with the transversal themes. Interestingly, it will focus on secondary school education only, which is very welcome as the majority of research on creativity to date focuses on EYFS and primary education. It seems absolutely crucial to understand and to nurture creativity at secondary level as students prepare for tertiary and higher education and the workplace.

The OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation stresses the importance of equipping

> current and future generations – regardless of social and cultural background – with the characteristics of successful innovators – including curiosity (or inquisitiveness), use of imagination, critical thinking, problem-solving, and perseverance (resilience or persistence) which includes positive risk-taking. These characteristics are associated with 'creativity', which is a process typically of imagining possibilities, creating something new, and reflecting upon and modifying what is being created. In a broader sense it is a way of interpreting and acting upon the world. (OECD, 2013)

The emphasis on creativity as a means of future-proofing one's education is ubiquitous in current research on creativity. The National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) explicitly argued that creativity in education enables a country

> to compete in a global market, having a flexible workforce, facing national economic challenges, feeding the 'creative industries' and enabling youth to adapt to technological change (Banaji et al., 2010:35).

A key element of this discourse is that it moves far away from the idea of creativity as mysterious, innate or divine. On the contrary, it can be learned, should be learned and can therefore be assessed. The Osborn Parnes Creative Problem-Solving Process (CPS) involves individuals learning a six-stage problem solving process which eventually becomes intuitive and individualised (1985:15-47). Like Osborn Parnes, Shallcross (1985:96) distinguishes between an intuitive problem-solving ability ('primary creativity') and the conscious implementation of a problem-solving rubric ('secondary creativity'). Central to this discourse is therefore the problem-solving ability, which is again at odds with the post-romantic, arts-based discourse on creativity.

This discourse has been central in the current debate about whether or not the UK should take part in the PISA Creative Thinking Assessment. PISA (The Programme for International Student Assessment) is a worldwide study by the OECD which aims to evaluate educational systems by measuring 15-year-old school students' performance in mathematics, science, and reading. The OECD intend to introduce a Creative Thinking assessment for the 2021 assessment. The inclusion of creative thinking within the assessment clearly demonstrates an intention to equate the status of creativity with that of maths, science and reading. In some senses though, it could be seen to separate creative thinking from science, maths and reading, by creating a separate assessment. In the introduction to their third draft of the OECD Creative Thinking Framework (2019: 5), it states: 'Creative insights and

advances have driven forward human culture across the world in diverse areas (Hennessey and Amabile, 2010): in the sciences, technology, philosophy, the arts and humanities.' The phrase 'drive forward' her has a clear teleological function, and the text makes clear that all areas of the curriculum have a role to play in facilitating this end. It has been reported that the DfE has opted England's schools out of the creativity assessment (TES, 2019). In that article, Professor Bill Lucas hinted towards possible reasons, and he signalled that there may indeed be a creative/academic dichotomisation:

> If you opt into creative thinking, there is the thinking you are perhaps giving a signal that you don't value standards in English, maths and science as much, because you are somehow potentially aligning yourself with a view of the purpose of education that is beyond the basics of the core subjects. (2019:3)

He also goes on to reinforce the idea that creativity plays an important socio-economic role.

> This has become an entirely false binary position. It's very unhelpful. There is a growing amount of research showing that if you embed creativity rigorously, standards in other subjects also go up (ibid).

This debate therefore foregrounds both the binary and hierarchical opposition of 'academic' and 'creative' and also role that creativity plays in the socio-economic discourse.

This discourse could be seen to be the most utilitarian. It is certainly not constrained to certain subjects, disciplines or ways of thinking as in the post-romantic discourse. As Seltzer and Bentley point out, we do not yet know what knowledge and skills will be in demand in the mid twenty-first century. Therefore, creativity in this discourse is seen as a super-skill, because it means that individuals have the flexibility to adapt their different skills to solve emerging problems. 'The central theme underpinning this new demand for skills is

creativity: the ability to apply and generate knowledge in a range of contexts, in order to meet a specific goal in a new way' (Seltzer and Bentley 1999:11). Pope (2005:28) raises the objection that creativity could be a more glamourous synonym for 'effectiveness', reminding one of Orwell's dystopian vision of positive language being used to describe a more sinister agenda in 1984. However, this seems overly pessimistic, as the fruits of workforce adaptability and flexibility can be seen as archetypal in the current age and it is increasingly evident that creativity, if understood according to this discourse, is needed more than ever to resolve the global issues of the current age (see for example the Earthshot Prize and Google X which 'unleashes radical creativity to solve the world's problems' (Thompson 2017).

The utility value of creativity as characteristic in this discourse is certainly affecting school curricula. Collard and Looney (2014:363) state that 'several of the projects developed through CCE [Creativity, Culture and Education] and other programmes suggest that creativity may actually improve the effectiveness of teaching and learning (or 'learning productivity'), with learners achieving better outcomes than their peers who learn with more typical methods, and in less time'.

4.2.2 Creativity as exceptional

Discourse 2: Creativity in post-romantic discourse

The post-romantic discourse on creativity foregrounds an emphasis on the arts and humanities and tends to exclude sciences. This discourse is therefore dominant in arts education and cultural discourse. It therefore is set in diametrical opposition to the democratic discourse (see below). The terms 'creativity' and 'creative' are often seen to 'belong' in these spheres, and the terms are readily appropriated with teachers of arts and humanities disciplines, as I found in my pilot study, largely due to the infallible 'goodness' and the exceptionalism of the term which could be seen to stem at least in part from this discourse. Likewise, public discourse on creativity is dominated by this discourse.

Exceptionalism and 'high creativity'

Families of images: A five-year-old Mozart at a grand piano, the 'Great Man' in tailcoat atop a mountain with the swirling fog of ignorance beneath him, Guernica by Picasso, the well-known and exceptional 'genius' in his field in their school. The exceptionalism associated with post-romantic creativity can be understood by examining a key distinction in much of the literature on creativity, and especially in Craft (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2012); that is the distinction been 'high', 'extraordinary' or 'big C' creativity and 'democratic', 'ordinary' or 'little c' (Craft 2001b) creativity. This distinction hinges on whether creativity is seen to be the preserve of highly gifted individuals, or whether it is a universal attribute open to all to develop, given the opportunities to do so.

Roots of 'high creativity'

The roots of 'high creativity' or capital C creativity (Craft, 2000) are strongly rooted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the Romantic and Post-romantic eras, the artistic and cultural achievements of Ancient Greece were seen to be foundational in western education (Hebron: 2014) which has Aristotle's exceptionalism at its epicentre. In

Nicomachaen Ethics, Aristotle cites artistic skill (techne) as one of the nine intellectual virtues which can be gained through education, and therefore there is the possibility here that creativity is possible, and that it could be in fact a necessity in terms of reaching eudaimonia, or human fulfilment. Creativity, in terms of the developing of artistic skill could therefore be seen as a sine qua non of education, if education exists to help human fulfil their potential.

Romantic individualism and creative genius

Post-romantic discourse on creativity stems from romantic individualism. This means that the individual represents supreme value because of their God-given soul (which relates to Discourse 4, below). Each person can therefore receive and interpret divine inspiration because they are created in the image of God.

In both romantic and post-romantic discourse, the concept of genius is central. It is the idea of the gifted individual who stands apart from their generation due to their (broadly construed) artistic gifts and talents. The genius figure seems to be the one who has been most open to divine inspiration. Pugin's architecture, for example, could be seen as an archetype of divine inspiration leading to artistic genius.

In this discourse, creativity relates strongly the genius figure and the arts and humanities. This is exemplified in key figures such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Mozart, Goethe and later Pugin, Melville, Ruskin and Morris. The former group could be said to be exalted figures of genius, very much examples of Carlyle's 'great man theory'. In Carlyle's theory, there is a divine standard (again related to the religious discourse) which certain 'great men' would be able to attain.

> Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain. (1888:2)

From this discourse, it is easy to see where the capital C version of Creativity in educational discourse originates. Hook emphasises the uniqueness of the great man as a result of genius, not hard work or talent of a group but of single individuals: 'Genius is not the result of compounding talent. How many battalions are the equivalent of a Napoleon? How many minor poets will give us a Shakespeare? How many run of the mine scientists will do the work of an Einstein?' (Hook 1945:26) This description contrasts strongly with the democratic discourse, as will be seen below as it attributes genius with the exceptional few, inaccessible to the masses.

Figure 15: Caspar David Friedrich's (1812) painting 'Wanderer above the Sea of Fog'



Friedrich's (1812) 'Wanderer above the Sea of Fog' captures the idea of the creative genius and the romantic sublime (cover image, ed. Duffy 2023). The image shows the 19th century understanding of the dominant male, able to ascend and see, feel, understand and

create with a transcendent, almost divine power. The interplay between romantic and religious understandings of creativity, and the male dominant in this arena, are encapsulated in this image.

Romanticism to post-romanticism

Post-romanticism straddles the abstract idealism and individualism of romanticism and the future focused, subversive and universal nature of modernism. After the romantic period (early nineteenth century with its peak 1800-1850) with its emphasis on abstract concepts such as love, the divine, the ethereal and the goodness and glorification of the past, emotion and nature, the post-romantic period (late nineteenth and early twentieth century) began to bring these concepts into a more pragmatic, active and worldly arena. Post-romanticism is both characterised by appreciation for genius, traditional modes of learning and the aesthetic which is what separated it from modernism (late nineteenth and early twentieth century), and the belief that creativity is open to a broader section of society. Modernism concurrently rejected religion, certainty and old methods in the relentless pursuit of the innovative ideas, methods and products. This is why modern educational discourse on creativity is rooted in this post-romantic discourse, as it is within this paradigm that creativity was championed and, whilst still a product of genius, began to move towards a universal aspiration.

Exceptionalism to pragmatism

Holmes (2022) notes that after the ebbing of the romantic period in Germany due to the death of Goethe, the concept of genius shifted its emphasis from the exceptional individual, due to ‘genius fatigue’, to a more generalised state of aspiration found in the arts. Holmes notes that in the Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie, in 1834 it is written, ‘die kunste der eigentliche Wirkungskreis des Genies’ (the arts are the real sphere of activity of the genius) (1834 cit. Holmes 2022). This opening up of the concept of genius and thereby

the concept of creativity characterises the post-romantic period. The idea of genius and creativity were in some senses appropriated by the state. As Holmes notes: 'public and commercial acknowledgement of genius was expressed through increasingly generic means as the century wore on' (2022:329).

The rise of the female in post-romantic discourse

The Arts and Crafts movement could be seen very much as a reaction to great man theory, as traditional craftsmanship was celebrated and encouraged. It was also a reaction to the Industrial Revolution and the dominance of the male in this era. The Great Exhibition in 1851 was particularly totemic as representative of progress as artifice, and this could well have been a catalyst for the formation of the Arts and Crafts movement. The post-romantic discourse, for the first time seems to allow for women as vectors of creativity for example Morris, Mackintosh, de Wolfe, Watts and Polonova (Anson 2013:3), which coincided with the rise in female authors (Brontes, Dickinson, Shelley, Allcott) and so the discourse of association with women and the arts emerges clearly at this time. This strongly contrasts with Carlyle, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche's visions of genius as an exclusively male characteristic (Holmes, 2022). This change in discourse will be accelerated and underscored by the changing landscape and the eventual success of the suffrage movement in 1928. Therefore a characteristic of the post-romantic discourse is it is more inclusive of both women and men, becoming female dominated by the 21st century in the educational arena.

Creativity as conformity

Because learning from master craftspeople, and to some extent copying from tradition, is so important to the Arts and Crafts movement, creativity could to a certain extent emerge in this discourse as 'conformity to a certain (high) standard'. This strand of 'standardisation' of creativity, and the emphasis on aesthetic beauty in terms of educational discourse on creativity is still prevalent in terms of 'right' creative outcomes. Berger's oft-

cited educational model ‘Austin’s Butterfly’ champions the idea of the ‘right’ outcome which comes about via constructive criticism and the redrafting process. Berger, a craftsperson and carpenter as well as a teacher, is representative of this strand of the discourse, that teaching for creativity demands students to emulate a certain standard. The question of whether creativity in education is about the extent to which one conforms to standards is relevant to the debates around the possibility of assessing creativity.

Figure 16: 'Austin's Butterfly' Berger, 2003

Picture of ‘Austin’s Butterfly’ removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is vimeo.com.

Sentimentalism

Sentimentalism also contributes to this major discourse strand. It can be understood in terms of the human’s intrinsic capacity to feel, to empathise, to relate to the natural environment, and how this leads to insight and truth. Again, this discourse allows for this attribute to more highly attributed to some individuals, who can ‘see’ and ‘feel’ more than those who are not open to this way of seeing, feeling and understanding the world.

High creativity in the 20th century

High creativity was the dominant definition in the early and mid-twentieth century, where the focus was on the psychology of creativity and the concept of genius and giftedness.

High creativity can be defined as ‘the achievement of something remarkable and new, something which transforms and changes a field of endeavour in a significant way. . . the kinds of things that people do that change the world’ (Feldman, Cziksentmihalyi & Gardner, 1994: 1) ‘exceptional human capacity for thought and creation’ (Rhyammer & Brolin, 1999: 261) or ‘a person’s capacity to produce new or original ideas, insights, restructurings, inventions or artistic objects, which are accepted by experts as being of scientific, aesthetic, social, or technological value’ (Vernon, 1984: 94). Feldman et al suggest that high creativity is a result of a paradigm shift when a gifted individual changes the ‘domain’ in which they operate in a way which is accepted by the ‘field’, the pre-existing judges of culturally accepted experts. Gardner (1997) goes further to define a taxonomy of extraordinary creators: ‘masters, makers, introspectors and influencers’. Whilst it may be a remote goal of education for high creative individuals to emerge, I do not believe it should be an immediate goal, as it would be disingenuous to pretend that all individuals in schools will produce a paradigm shift in a domain, as high creativity is, by definition, exceptional. Therefore this understanding of creativity is not immediately useful to educational discourse. However, little c creativity is a means, for some, to the capital C end.

21st century post-romantic discourse on creativity and Gifted and Talented

Most research and the current trend in educational discourse seems to be toward creativity (small c) rather than Creativity (capital C), and a democratic understanding (Discourse 3), however some research and thinking still champions the creative individual as the exception, ‘the creative genius’. MacLaren (2012:168) states ‘There is also the added complexity of the persistence of strongly held myths around the creative process in popular culture and the associated notion that it is an individual trait, semi-mystical in nature and therefore not readily subject to robust research scrutiny.’ As he notes, not only does the ‘capital C’ definition problematize the idea that creativity is a competency or attribute

accessible to all, but it also means that meaningful research is made difficult if this definition is accepted, because of the exceptional nature of the individuals who exhibit the target characteristic, and the consequent impossibility of extrapolating findings from these individuals. The post-romantic discourse on creativity's conclusion seems to be that for the capital C creativity of be an ideal of education, then one must also accept the 'gifted and talented' discourse within education, that it the exceptionalism of creative genius. One may, unlike Carlyle, suppose that genius level creativity is accessible through hard work, in the line of Berger's (2003) thinking, but only if one is consciously learning from a 'great man' figure. This therefore leads to problems when it comes to thinking of creativity as true innovation. This discourse is therefore more compatible with an understanding of creativity which is strongly linked to aesthetics rather than to invention. The post-romantic discourse, as dominated by the female, is more palatable due to the continuing subservience to the historical 'great man' or male genius figure.

The need for the post-romantic discourse according to Scruton

Scruton's thought (for example 2000) was also very much in line with the post-romantic discourse. He is highly critical of the democratization of creativity as he sees the modernist and postmodernist attempts at creativity and originality as a threat to the 'surrounding order' except 'in the rare hands of a genius'. He draws on ancient greek aesthetics and adheres very much to the need to learn from the school of 'genius' rather than thinking that one can self-direct or innovate without a classical education. 'Our best bet … is that the artistic geniuses should invest their energy … in patterns that can be reproduced at will by the rest of us…' He spoke of the problem of 'making innovation and experiment the norm, while waging war against ornament, detail and the old vernaculars'. (Scruton, 2000 cit. Banaji et al 2010:16). Scruton strongly associates creativity with the arts and humanities, the 'genius' and his ideas of conformity to a standard of beauty. This post-romantic discourse

therefore leaves very little room for the sciences, particularly because the sciences depend upon the innovation and experimentation which Scruton argues against.

4.2.3 Creativity as universal

Discourse 3: Creativity in democratic discourse

The phrase ‘ordinary’, or ‘democratic’ creativity was coined in the NACCCE Report (1999:29) to mean the creativity of the ordinary person, with the implication that all students can be creative. Craft, (2000:3) coins the term ‘little c creativity’. ‘At the core of creative activity, I would posit the engine of 'possibility thinking’ - and necessary to being creative I would specify insight . . .What I am concerned with . . . is the kind of creativity which guides choices and route-finding in everyday life, or what I have come to term 'little c creativity’. ‘Creativity involves being imaginative, going beyond the obvious, being aware of one’s own unconventionality, being original in some way. It is not necessarily linked with a product-outcome.’ (Craft, 2000:3)

Craft (2001:54) posits a three-way framework for LCC (little c creativity): agents, processes and domains. By agents, she explains ‘acts of LCC necessarily involve being ‘in relationship’ with someone or something….one cannot be creative in respect to nothing’. Processes ‘may include intuitive or non-conscious ones as well as others that are rational and/or conscious’. Interestingly, Craft departs here from the NACCCE definition which specifies in Joubert’s (2001:18) explanation a deliberate act, which seems to contradict Craft’s ‘non-conscious’ idea. Crucially and most convincingly, Craft’s definition of the processes of creativity involves ‘possibility thinking’, ‘not being satisfied with what exists’, ‘asking ‘what if?’.’ Domains are important as Craft argues that creativity should not be restricted to the domain of the creative arts (2001:56).

Current research focuses much more on the ordinary, democratic or small c creativity definition. For example, Seltzer & Bentley (1999: 10) define it here in relation to dispositions, there is a clear departure from the extraordinary, the ‘genius’ or the ‘gifted’. ‘

> Creativity is the application of knowledge and skills in new ways to achieve a valued goal. To achieve this, learners must have four key qualities: - the ability to identify new problems, rather than depending on others to define them - the ability to transfer knowledge gained in one context to another in order to solve a problem - a belief in learning as an incremental process, in which repeated attempts will eventually lead to success - the capacity to focus attention in the pursuit of a goal, or set of goals.

The only problem here is that the definition seems to depend on an articulated awareness or consciousness of the creative process. It seems to me that this level of meta-cognition is not a prerequisite of creativity.

Much literature similarly defines creativity by focusing on the attributes that a creative individual demonstrates. This is not a new approach, although it has been popularised recently due to the democratic definition beginning to usurp the genius conception of creativity. Psychological trait theory proposes that 'creative personality is then a matter of those traits that are characteristics of creative persons' (Guilford, 1950). There is much consensus on some traits which may serve as indicators of creativity, but little on others, for example 'collaboration', 'innovation' and 'discipline' are not agreed upon across thinkers. Treffinger et al. (2002) compared 120 definitions of creativity in their comprehensive literature review which explored the traits of highly creative individuals. Their list of creative traits or dispositions could be divided into four categories: 'generating ideas, digging deeper into ideas, openness and courage to explore ideas; listening to one's 'inner voice'.' This list of dispositions is surprising in that it is rather nebulous and is rather focused on the generation of and reaction to ideas, rather than any action based on the ideas. These categories seem to link to the capital C definition of creativity. Root-Bernstein and Root-Bernstein (1999) list 13 dispositions of creativity as 'careful observation; use of sensory imagination; the ability to abstract essentials; recognizing patterns in information; forming

new patterns; generating useful analogies; use of intuition and embodied cognition; empathy and shifting perspectives; mapping between different dimensional representations; creating and adapting models; playfulness with material and ideas; transforming ideas into different media; and synthesizing elements of thought into a coherent whole.' The immediate issue with the Root-Bernstein list of dispositions is that they are very context or opportunity dependent. Lucas, Claxton and Spencer, 2012, design their research tool around 'five creative dispositions' (inquisitive, persistent, imaginative, collaborative, disciplined), which is a much more useful way of defining creativity, and this move to a more nuanced and subjective definition does create difficulty when it comes to the design of their assessment model.

Lucas, Claxton and Spencer, 2012, initially draw on their literature review to define creativity as: 'complex and multi-faceted, occurring in all domains of life (Treffinger et al., 2002), learnable (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), core to what it is to be successful today (Sternberg, 1996), capable of being analysed at an individual level in terms of dispositions (Guilford, 1950) and strongly influenced by context and by social factors (Lave and Wenger, 1991)'. Lucas, Claxton and Spencer therefore focus on objective characteristics of, or conditions for creativity, rather than either what attributes a creative person may have as O'Toole does, or what the results or output of creativity might be, as the World Economic Forum, (ibid), definition does. Lucas, Claxton and Spencer's definition is useful, however, in that it strongly makes the case for creativity as a universal human attribute which, given the right conditions, can be developed, rather than something exceptional that may be reified in rare, highly gifted individuals.

Social-psychological research into creativity emphasises that social structures affect individual creativity to a great extent (for example Rhyammar and Brolin, 1999). Craft (2001:9) cites three major studies which examine the social context and conditions for creativity, (Ekvall, 1991, 1996, Amabile, 1988, Isaksen, 1995). They each explore how

conditions could stimulate and stifle creativity. Craft notes that there was some strong convergence across the following points:

> [that creativity is stimulated when participants]…feel challenged by their goals, operations and tasks, feel able to take initiatives and to find relevant information, feel able to interact with others, feel that new ideas are met with support and encouragement, feel able to put forward new ideas and views, experience much debate within a prestige-free and open environment, feel uncertainty is tolerated and thus risk-taking is encouraged. (2002)

Amabile's (1988) study highlights that environments can readily stifle creativity if 'rewards are determined in advance, where there is undue time pressure, over-supervision, competition or where choices are restricted in terms of approach or working materials, or where evaluation is expected'. These claims seem to have both face validity and are empirically tested within these studies. Lucas (2001:41) emphasises the importance of physical environment in school settings to nurture creativity. This is less convincing, but it is difficult to investigate the impact of physical environment. Certainly, much is made of physical environment, especially in primary settings, but it seems opportunities are even more crucial than physical surroundings, as opportunities rely on pedagogy whereas physical surroundings do not. Leach (2001:181) summarises the problem in her view: 'Most recent research indicates that educational institutions do not often promote the creative process.' She argues for a 'social dimension' of creativity where collaboration and joint participation are central. (p192). Having said all of this, Fryer (1996:38) argues that 'creativity can emerge from both highly favourable and highly unfavourable environments.' This view may arise from the conflation of high and democratic creativity. Of course we can point to many examples of high creativity which have emerged from highly unfavourable circumstances, although, if focusing on democratic creativity, one should of course try to create favourable conditions.

4.2.4 Creativity as intrinsic good

Discourse 4: Creativity in Religious Discourse

I have referred to the idea that questioning the place of creativity in the educational lexicon could seem sacrilegious, and that possibly stems from the religious undertones of the term, and certainly its rootedness in theological and philosophical discourses. The term 'creativity' derives from the Indo-European root *ker* or *kere* (to grow) via the Latin *creatio* or *creatus* (to make grow).

The term 'creativity' only really enters educational discourse in the mid to late twentieth century, and the religious connotations of the word need to be examined. The idea goes back to Genesis and the idea of *creatio ex nihilo*. The idea of God as the creator, means that the concept of creation is becomes exclusively religious. In addition to this, because God's creation is good, the idea of intrinsic goodness is seen as part of the definition of creativity.

In The Republic, Plato's Realm of the Forms means that to create is not possible, merely imitation is possible. This is congruent with the religious discourse because creativity in a sense is the domain of a metaphysical 'other'.

There is a definite diminution of the artist, poet or painter (note that creativity in this discourse is very much associated with the humanities and artistic endeavour) as they are seen as the channel or conduit of inspiration from elsewhere, whether Divine, in the case of the biblical writers Athenogoras and Theophilus, or in the form of the Muses in Ancient Greece.

This theme resurges in Shakespeare, which questions the idea of creation ex nihilo famously in King Lear: 'Nothing can come of Nothing, speak again.' This discourse is highly significant. If creation is associated with innovation, to what extent can one innovate? To what extent is it possible for something to be new? Is creativity, by this definition possible?

This discourse seems to cohere well with Bishop Berkeley's idealism and the idea that nothing can ever be known except what is in some mind, ultimately, the mind of God.

The other strand of this discourse, the intrinsic goodness of creativity, can be found in other discourses, but the pure benevolence of the idea seems to cohere most with this discourse. Creativity as a vehicle for healing and for the improvement of mental health via mindfulness can be traced to the Judaeo-Christian discourse, but also to Buddhism cosmology in the sense that to create is a way of understanding the powerlessness and emptiness of the 'not-self'. Hence creativity is highly connected with mindfulness and meditation, a traditional which has been appropriated in the west to a high degree. This is especially apparent during the 2020-2022 CV19 pandemic when creativity in terms of artistic endeavour has been strongly encouraged as a 'coping mechanism'.

In the religious discourse, there is less emphasis on the instrumental value of creativity, although even in these more idealistic definitions, there is acknowledgment of the utility of developing the attribute. The intrinsic value of creativity is recognised in the Qualification and Curriculum Authority's understanding of creativity is that it 'improves students' self-esteem, motivation and achievement'; it 'prepares students for life'; and it 'enriches students' lives' (Banaji et al., 2010:23) which could be seen to be congruent with this discourse.

4.2.5 Creativity in evidence

Discourse 5: Creativity in Scientific/Empirical Discourse

Important to this study is the assertion that creativity belongs in the scientific discourse as much as any other discourse. I believe that it is vital to students' choices that they see the possibility of creativity in any subject discipline. Therefore, this discourse is vital, in showing that creativity is far from anathema to the scientific paradigm.

Since the millennium, technological advancement has dominated scientific discourse, firstly in terms of the internet, then in terms of the sudden rise in AI and in terms of responses to the CV19 pandemic. Creativity has been at the forefront of this discussion as the pinnacle of human intelligence, thrown into stark relief against the opportunity and threat of the rise of its artificial counterpart. Whilst certain figures have emerged as representative of the 'genius' model of creativity within the scientific/technological paradigm (Tim Berners Lee, Steve Jobs, Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg, Elon Musk), they are lauded as emblematic of the possibilities of creativity within science and technology. They are archetypes of creative possibility and often much is made of the creativity, as well as the luck, hard work or support networks that enabled them to emerge as the front-runners in their fields, rather than their exceptionalism.

Freudian tradition sees the creative process as an alternative to neurosis, and hence the idea of 'creative outlet'. Recapitulation theory sees psychological development as a mirroring of the process of evolution, and hence creativity is viewed as part of the latter stages of psychological development. These ideas give rise to idea of creativity's psychological necessity and its place as the pinnacle of human evolution. With these ideas as catalysts, early twentieth century thinking on creativity sought to draw the discourse firmly away from the religious paradigm and into the scientific. Guilford (1950) can be credited with bringing creativity to the forefront of psychological research. Research centred on traits of creative

personalities and the cognitive and neurological mechanisms involved in creative thinking (as in Discourse 3).

Neuroscientific advances, and in particular brain imaging allowed for creativity to be 'seen'. Heileman et al's 2004 study showed, through brain imaging that highly creative people differed from others physiologically in that they were able to modulate neurotransmitters such as norepinephrine in their frontal lobe more readily than other less creative people. They write 'creative innovation might require coactivation and communication between regions of the brain that ordinarily are not strongly connected.' This study seems to reinforce the capital C definition or post-romantic discourse, as there seems to be a greater physiological predisposition in some individuals towards creativity. However Flaherty (2005) showed that depression and anxiety could decrease creativity because they affect the frontal lobe, which could be explanatory in terms of the differing levels of 'seeable' creativity in the Heileman study. What these studies show is that neuroscientific advances will influence educational discourse on creativity and they tend to 'demystify' creativity and hence open up the possibility of fostering, teaching and even assessing creativity.

4.2.6 Problematising the discourse: The tensions between the discourses on creativity

Through this research, the tensions between the various discourses on creativity in public and private discourse are evident. Although some areas of the discourses are congruent, there is incongruency, even conflict. The areas of conflict are summarised below.

Tension 1: Between the religious and democratic discourse

In religious discourse, creativity is divine and it is therefore associated with ultimate truth and intrinsic goodness. This radically challenges the problem-solving, mistake-making, experimentation-centric democratic discourse. The need for fallibility in creativity is central to the democratic discourse whereas infallibility characterises the religious discourse. Weil (1962: 34) sums this up in The Power of Words: 'Perfection is impersonal. Our personality is the part of us which belongs to error and sin.' Perfection here is associated only with the Creator God and therefore creativity, whereas the human agent produces error and sin. Weil's Christian perspective on perfection belonging to the Creator are echoed in Jewish and Muslim thought.

Tension 2: Between the democratic and post-romantic discourse

The primacy of feelings, emotional and intuition around what is creative, and the individualist outcomes of creativity are challenged by the democratic discourse. Creativity, as described by Rousseau as a figurehead of the post-romantic movement, does not deny the achievement of modern science, but it shifts the emphasis to the subject, from reason to feeling (Gibson 2005:159). Focus in the 1960s and 1970s was on 'the reified individual rather than the social processes in which individuals achieved their identity' (ibid). The discourse is shifting now as the time for this sort of romantic reflection has been subsumed by the need for all to develop creativity in all curriculum areas. It is no longer the preserve of 'the arts, drama, religious education and creative writing' (ibid). The need to teach creativity within schools and for it to be a universal educational outcome depends upon the democratic

discourse. If the post-romantic discourse prevails, then by definition only a small proportion of school children could achieve in this area. In order for creativity to be available to all children, it needs to be possible to practise creativity in all disciplines.

One of the most far-reaching consequences of this conflict, is that there is a tension between the post-romantic discourse's association of creativity, culture and arts and humanities, and the democratic discourse's thrust that creativity is an educational universal and is necessary in all disciplines. As Gibson (2005:161) puts it 'there is a polarisation of a subject's creative energy and the domain of rational, analytic thought'. This has precipitated the confinement of creativity to certain subjects (arts, humanities) in this discourse, and steered the term creativity well clear of the sciences.

The archaic, individualist post-romantic discourse still dominates discourse in schools, and hence only the most forward-thinking schools are likely to encourage the democratic discourse and the association of creativity with, for example, science subjects. This challenge is the most relevant to my study as it seems to be the dominant conflict of discourses on creativity in secondary schools. Gibson (2005:163) states that because of this discourse there are areas of the curriculum 'not deemed creative, where knowledge is portrayed as non-provisional, impersonal and obvious, as in large swathes of the science curriculum.' This is the central issue in the dichotomisation that takes place between creative and academic individuals and subjects and this is reflected in my school-based discourse analysis.

Tension 3: Between the post-romantic and socio-economic discourse

The idea of genius or capital C creativity can be seen to be compromised by the monetisation of creativity. The trope of the destructive effect of money on creativity is commonplace. Therefore the post-romantic challenge to the socio-economic discourse is that it somehow undermines, cheapens and degrades the purity and other-worldliness of creative

genius. Here there is a congruence between the post-romantic discourse and the religious discourse as both emphasise the intrinsic value of creativity and see the instrumentalising of it for socio-economic ends as damaging.

Tension 4: Between the socio-economic and religious discourse

As creativity can be seen as intrinsically good in the religious discourse, there is a conflict with more modern discourse which starts to see the appropriation of creativity as potentially problematic. One example of this is given by Denmead (2019:11) who highlights the appropriation of creativity for socio-economic motives: 'Creativity is useful to this state-orchestrated, radicalized class warfare precisely because it is a positive and ambiguous rhetorical concept. Our emotional attachments to creativity shape our understanding, making it hard to argue against.' In Denmead's 'The Creative Underclass' he shows how a creative agenda can and has been used as a trojan horse for 'gentrification', which he shows to be synonymous with race and class-based discrimination. The quantifiable economic potential of 'creativity means that its status as an intrinsic good can be challenged. In large part due to this religious discourse, creativity has maintained an elevated and idealistic status, however new scholarship has begun to look at the 'dark side of creativity' (Cropley, 2010) hence radically challenging this discourse. Gibson (2005:157) also draws attention to the need to challenge the 'hurrah' nature of creativity and to need to 'dispel the halo of praise for items and ideas prefixed by the word creative', that is, that which is nominalised as 'creative' needs to be evaluated in 'a global, environmentally concerned, futures-orientated and ethical light.' This challenge therefore draws attention to the need to challenge the discourse of intrinsic goodness, it is not to say that what is deemed creative is not good, it just should not just be lazily applied, but should be scrutinised, rather than assumed. In this thesis, I argue that the halo effect of creativity could be an unintentional tool of gender disempowerment rather than its opposite.

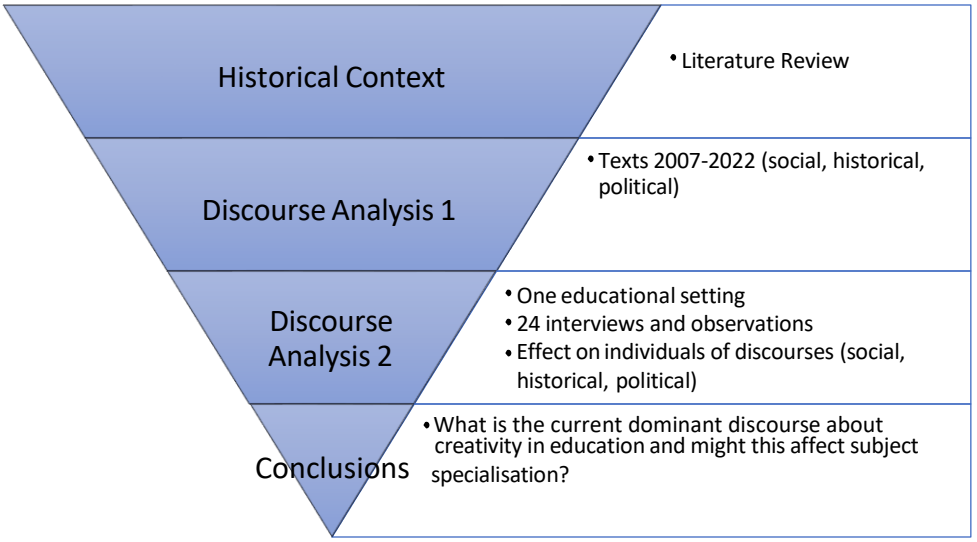
Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction to the Methodology

Despite consensus that creativity is a desirable skill for school-leavers to have acquired, there was little research into how discourse on creativity is motivated or received for secondary education. There was no research on its impact on subject choice, in particular the extent to which perceptions about creativity are considered as motivating factors behind A level choice. This could largely be due to an archaic compartmentalising post-romantic discourse on creativity, which is at odds with the desiderata of employers which aligns with the democratic discourse. This study aims to explore the public discourse in the last two decades about creativity in education and to explore the extent to which creativity is considered when selecting A level subjects in a school setting.

The discourse analysis started by surveying the historical context in the literature review (Chapter 4), and then focused on political and social discourse of the last fifteen years in public discourse, and then focused again on the effects of this in an educational setting in private discourse.

Figure 17: The structure of the research



In political discourse and in the media, the term 'creativity' tended not to be used in a nuanced way and was the subject of sloganizing and compartmentalisation (for example BBC, 2019 'Celebrities call for more creative education in schools', OECD, 2018 'Cultural and creative industries: Fulfilling the Potential').

On a societal level, there was consequently a tension between what was promoted in schools in terms of creativity, and what industry wanted from the future workforce, that is, the supply and type of creative individuals was not meeting demand.

In schools, focus on creativity was in early years, primary schools and humanities education. There was not an immediate association of creativity with scientific subjects especially at secondary level.

On an individual level, this dichotomised thought could be examined from the point of view of curriculum choices at A level. There seemed to be a tendency for teachers and students to label or pigeonhole both subject areas and students in a binary way which caused two divergent paths to develop, one for the creative student, and the other for the 'more academic' student (for example Tan et al: 2018).

5.2 Rationale for Discourse Analysis

Although I used a 'mixed-methods' approach in my pilot study (see below), and this pilot study clearly indicated that although my intuitions about a creative/academic binary to be correct, the method was not sufficiently nuanced to understand why this was. Hence it became clear that an 'archaeological' approach, and hence a multi-lateral discourse analysis was most suitable. Creativity was a word so much employed in educational discourse, at every level, that the layers of meaning, both societal and chronological needed to be extricated. A Foucauldian discourse analysis enabled me to understand meaning-making both chronologically and through the various arenas in which the term is used. It enabled me to understand the locus of power in implicit dialogue (academia/politics/media - consumer) and explicit dialogue (advisor/teacher - student). Discourse along several dimensions, 'ie from micro-interactional phenomena (eg what people say), meso-institutional phenomena (eg how schools or curricula shape ways of meaning and doing), macro-social phenomena (eg how circulating ideologies shape how we see and act in the world)' (Anderson and Holloway 2018:2) enabled a fuller understanding of how the creative/academic 'regime of truth' (Foucault 1984, cit. Walshaw 2007) had been constructed and consequently, how it could be challenged.

5.3 Background to Discourse Analysis: The Pilot Study

In designing my pilot study, I used a very similar technique to that used in previous Masters research. I used a questionnaire for a whole year group and triangulated this with more in-depth interviews. My aim was to discover if my intuitions about the discourses on creativity and their curricular transposition had an empirical basis and if so, to further develop my research questions and methodology. My overarching question was '**What are the perceptions about creativity in schools and how might this affect subject**

specialisation at sixth form?' The pilot study took place on 1st and 2nd July 2019. 80 Year 11 students and 5 teachers participated in the research. The questionnaire was administered to the students and 79 students completed it. There was a 92% completion rate. The completion time was 8 minutes 42 seconds.

The questionnaire provided a very rich source of data and allows generalisations, but also room for much more nuanced analysis. When writing freely on their first choice of subject, 'interested' was the word most often used (it was used by 27.85% of the participants), whereas 'creative' was the thirteenth most common word used (by 13.7% of the participants). It was of note that the word 'creative' was used before this word was introduced by the researcher to the participants. Its occurrence seemed surprisingly high given this.

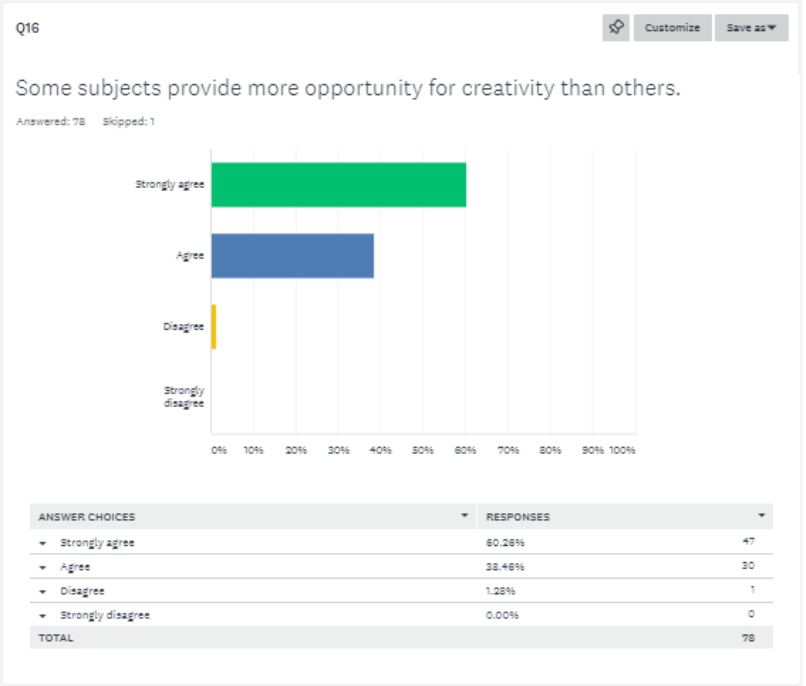
Initial analysis of the pilot study showed that my speculation about a dichotomous art/science-based understanding of creativity was grounded in the perceptions of the students. It showed that they linked creativity much more strongly with arts and humanities than with the sciences as can be seen in the responses to question 8 and 16.

Table 1: Responses to question 8 in pilot study: 'How creative are the following subjects?'

Creativity					
	NOT CREATIVE	SLIGHTLY CREATIVE	CREATIVE	VERY CREATIVE	TOTAL
Humanities (eg English, Languages, History, Geography, Religious Studies)	12.16% 9	50.00% 37	32.43% 24	5.41% 4	74
Sciences (eg Maths, Biology, Chemistry, Physics)	71.62% 53	21.62% 16	6.76% 5	0.00% 0	74
Arts (eg Music, Art, Dance, Drama)	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1.35% 1	98.65% 73	74

Question 8 showed that 98.65% of 78 respondents found the Arts 'very creative' compared to 0% in the Sciences. Conversely, 71.62% of respondents found sciences 'not creative'.

Table 2: Response to question 16 in pilot study: 'Some subjects provide more opportunity for creativity than others.'



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	60.26%	47
Agree	38.46%	30
Disagree	1.28%	1
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0
TOTAL		78

Question 16 showed that 98% of respondents thought there is more opportunity for creativity in some subjects than others, with 60.28% strongly agreeing.

The semi-structured interviews with students were equally encouraging in terms of confirmation of my intuition about creativity. Initial responses strongly correlated with the questionnaire responses, and the subject-based dichotomy of creativity was very much the 'go-to' response. However, after follow-up questions, students began to speak in a more nuanced way and gave interesting examples of creativity in subjects outside of the expected subject areas. By this stage, it is very probable that students were challenging themselves and were searching for 'right' answers, however, this in itself is a useful phenomenon and shows that the students were ready to challenge established paradigms. It also pointed towards the power of discourse to challenge preconceptions and begged the question about why the discourse which seemed to exist in schools is not more often challenged.

The semi-structured interviews with teachers were useful and again, confirmed that there would be a rich source of data. Themes which emerged strongly across all the teacher

interviews were the desirability of creativity and barriers to teaching creativity. It was also interesting that teachers often began interviews by talking about creativity in a subject-binary way, until they got further into the interview and had reached for different definitions of creativity. These interviews in particular show that definition of the term 'creativity' was crucial to this research.

In the pilot study, more teachers were interviewed than students, but in the actual study, the balance would be altered so that more students than teachers were interviewed, as the focus of the study was on motivations for student choice. The focus therefore was on the decision-makers (the students), with the influencers (the teachers) used for contextualisation.

What came through very strongly in the pilot study was that my intuition that there was a perception of a strong binary in subjects between creative and academic was warranted. An excerpt from one of the pilot study interviews brought this out so strongly that I included this in the context section (Context 2) at the beginning of this research.

It became clear that the context for these discourses should be explored, and that possible influences behind this dichotomy should be explored. The interplay of influences, both synchronous and diachronous, would help to elucidate why students were using, or being influenced by, a predominantly post-romantic discourse, despite a clear high-level move towards a democratic discourse and that is why a discourse analysis clearly emerged as the best methodology for this study.

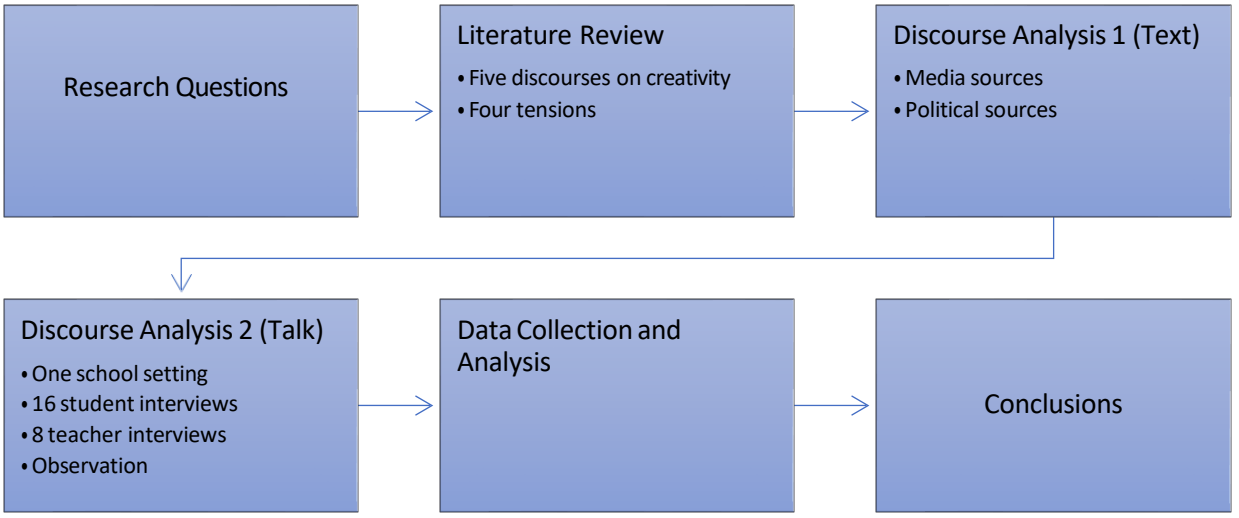
5.4 Research Design

What is the current dominant discourse about creativity in education and might this affect subject specialisation?

- How is the term ‘creativity’ used in historical and contemporary political, social and educational discourses?
- How far do these discourses cohere with decisions about subject specialisation in secondary school?
- To what extent does educational discourse on creativity encourage a binary between ‘creative’ and ‘non-creative’ subjects, ‘creative’ and ‘non-creative’ students, and does this have any relationship with gender, and especially the uptake of STEM for girls?

To answer these questions, I conducted two discourse analyses based on my discourse framework devised from my literature review. I looked to see how public and private discourse were shaped by the five discourses on creativity and how choices were shaped by them. The first DA was of public discourse by looking at a range of 27 texts from a range of genres (policy, political, media and educational) - this was used to answer the first research question. The second DA was of private discourse with 24 students and teachers in a school – this was used to answer the second research question. Bringing these two discourse analyses together enabled me to answer the third research question.

Figure 18: Research stages



5.5 Choice of Discourse Analysis

Having used mixed-methods research for previous studies, I initially planned to do the same for this study and to use sampling to conduct semi-structured interviews and to administer surveys in secondary schools around subject choice and creativity. However, my pilot study showed that evidence of a discourse on creativity which was used invariably by the small sample of students and teachers interviewed. This highlighted to me a need to analyse public discourse, before going back to further analyse discourse in schools, to check whether this strong correlation between discourse on creativity in policy, media and educational spheres was more widespread. I therefore began to study Critical Discourse Analysis. I trialled two versions of CDA (Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach and Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach) before rejecting these and finally settling on an approach closest to Discourse or Dispotive Analysis from the Duisburg school, echoing a Foucauldian approach.

5.6 Context: A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis

> Critical Discourse Analysis is a special approach in discourse analysis which focuses on the discursive conditions, components and consequences of power abuse by dominant (elite) groups and institutions. It examines patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text and talk, their properties, as well as the discursive strategies of mind control. Van Dijk (1997:24)

A discourse can be defined as 'an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power' (Link, 1983: 60) or a 'practice that systematically forms the object of which it speaks' (Foucault, 2002:54). I was interested in the institutionalised way of talking about creativity which stems from entrenched educational rhetoric, that is transposed into the media and into schools, and affects, and therefore has power over students' decisions and futures. I was also interested in the dynamic formation of individual identity and action that discourses cause. Therefore a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis was selected for this study.

I initially considered at length Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach as my methodology and then Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach.

Fairclough (1995:132) describes Critical Discourse Analysis as aiming 'to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practise, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of, and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.' There was certainly an opaque relationship of causality and determination between the political, social and educational discourse about creativity and the relationship of these discourses to student choice and self-actualisation. The top-down shaping of choices and futures of students by these discourses manifests an imbalance of power, as is present arguably in any educational

discourse. Fairclough's method in the end was too focused upon ideology and social conflict. I felt the problem that I was approaching was more insidious and nuanced than the normal foci of the DRA and it seemed that my discourse analysis would not pursue the 'emancipatory objectives' and would not focus on the 'losers' within a particular form of social life (2009:27).

I wrote to Wodak to see if her approach might be more suited to my study, especially as I was interested in both the diachronous and synchronous discourses on creativity. Wodak (2009:3) highlighted the idea of the problem-orientation and inter-disciplinarity of Critical Discourse Analysis. As well as this, she pointed towards its characterization in 'demystifying ideologies' which was certainly an aim of this study, although I was unsure whether creativity could fall into the grandiose 'ideology' category. She thought it possible although said there had not been a DHA on a similar topic in the past, which led me to question its suitability.

In Reisigl and Wodak (2009:95) the characteristics that attracted me to the approach were the interdisciplinary nature, the problem-orientation, the idea of 'study from the inside', studying numerous genres, unfixed categories and tools, however the reference to 'grand' and 'middle range' theories led me to question my target phenomena's suitability for DHA. Similarly, the diachronous range could not be pinned to a set of historical events in the same way that a discussion of for example, types of political oppression could be.

On the 27th July 2020 Wodak wrote to me: 'The two approaches [DRA and DHA] are quite distinct. I draw on Habermas and the Frankfurt school, primarily; but also endorse some aspects of Foucault's notion of discourse; and focus on pragmatics, rhetoric and argumentation theory. Whereas Norman draws on Marxism and Hallidayan linguistics. More recently, he and his wife have also developed a theoretical approach to argumentation (practical argumentation) whereas we draw on Toulmin more specifically.'

Whilst the emphasis on contextualisation made it an attractive method for my study, in the end I decided that there was too much emphasis on argumentation theory and that it was more suitable for the field of politics. Whilst my study includes political discourse, this is not foregrounded enough to make the DHA the most suitable method. I was delighted to discover that Discourse or Dispotive Analysis could be seen to be porous enough to take on the close textual analysis of Fairclough and the emphasis on context, the fluidity of intertextuality and interdiscursivity of Wodak.

5.7 The Chosen Model: Discourse Analysis

The Duisburg School of Discourse Analysis flows from the work of Foucault. A particularly strong underlying conviction is that discourse makes subjects (Jager and Meier, 2009). 'In other words an individual's sense of who they are arises from their imbrication in systems of historically contingent meanings communicated by institutionalised patterns of behaving, thinking and speaking.' (Tenorio, 2011:192). The heterogenous approach of looking at discourse in an almost archaeological manner seemed most suitable when considering the range of influences that are involved in identity and decision-making.

Discourse Analysis, recognises that discourse as 'way of talking' flows throughout time, and different discourses are 'intimately entangled with one another to form the great milling mass of overall societal discourse which is growing constantly and exuberantly' (Jager and Maier 2009:35). My literature review showed how different discourses of creativity are enmeshed and these have played a very important role in media, political and educational discourse. This entanglement was an important one to unpick, or at least understand, due to the impact that it has on student self-perceptions and the decisions that they make.

Discourse is social practice, and a way of exercising power. In this study, Foucault's definition of power was used: 'a whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours or discourses' (Foucault, 1996: 394). A discourse is understood as a material reality in DA. Discourses cannot be reduced to 'much ado about nothing, nor a distortion nor a lie about reality' (Jager and Maier 2009:37). Discourses have reality and are not 'mere ideas or ideologies, the produce subjects and reality' (ibid). Discourses are both determined by reality, but they also determine reality as they interpret reality and create further discourse and actions ('materializations') or 'cultural models'.

The subject or agent is therefore the product of and co-creator of discourse. The aim to analyse the subject in terms of his or her diachronic and synchronic perspective was central to this study, because the labelling and legibility of students as 'creative' inhibits their autonomy. Foucauldian discourse analysis challenged the idea not of subject, but of autonomous subject. Heteronomy is central to agency and again, this is exactly why such a diverse range of texts were chosen, in order to try to identify, understand and disentangle the 'milling mass' of discourses on creativity. This method demonstrated the difficulty of agency, self-assertion and self-identity from within this entanglement.

Vital to this method was the recognition that a single text can have very little effect on a discourse. Signs and symbols from texts need to be repeated and reinforced in order to become a discourse. This is why a diverse range of texts were chosen and are representative of other, similar examples. The recurrence and repetition of these instances led to the 'emergence and solidification of knowledge and therefore has sustained effects' (Jager and Maier 2009:38). It became clear therefore that the methodology would have to be multi-lateral across time, genre and place.

Jager and Maier also emphasise the differing chances of influence that different individuals and groups have over the discourse and for this reason I wished to include teachers and students as interviewees as recipients of as well as shapers of the discourse on creativity. The idea of co-production of the discourse was very important. Students and teachers do not have full control of the discourse any more than politicians, policy-makers and journalists. The power effects of discourse are largely unknown, and transcend the precise words uttered or heard. This was very much my intuition in terms of tutoring teenagers and advising them about their A level choices. The discourses on creativity which affect this may have largely changed as a result of these conversations, but this is 'supra-personal', it was sometimes unconscious, and very often there was no conscious manipulative

intent. That is, ideas formed and consequences were actualised without any consciousness, power could be exercised without any intention to exercise it. It was necessary to realise however, the relative potential of different agencies and actors to influence discourse, that is the relative 'power over discourse' that they hold.

'Discursive relations' were important to this study. 'They determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, analyse them, classify them, explain them etc' (Foucault 2002:50). These 'dispotives' are a 'thoroughly heterogenous ensemble…. The said as much as the unsaid' (Foucault 1980:194). The dispotive is a collection of signifiers, spoken and unspoken, which could not be narrowed down to a single component of language. A dispositive is a 'decidedly heterogeneous ensemble' (Foucault 1994 (1977): 299). Possible elements of a dispositive are 'discourses, institutions, architectural structures, prescriptive decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral or philanthropic propositions, in short: words, but also what it not expressed in words.' (Foucault 1994 (1977): 299) The term comes from the French 'dispotif' which is the human interface in an alarm or intercom system. The multiplicity of components to create the response mirror the multiplicity of spoken and unspoken language and the culmination of that language's power to produce a certain effect through discourse (Caborn, 2007).

Similarly, Laclau (1980:87) said that discourse did not refer to 'text' narrowly defined, but 'to the phenomena in and through which social production of meaning takes place.' The question as to how discourse affects reality is explained by Leontev's 'activity theory' (1978) meaning is assigned to an object through work. 'Creativity' only 'exists' insofar as it is embedded in discourse and supported and it can only be part of discourse, according to activity theory if it is 'working' that is, that the dispotives are such that it is affecting thought and action, that is, being materialised. It is as if the discourse can only

survive if it has subjects to use it, and this seems reminiscent of Wittgenstein's 'toolbox' idea of language, that meaning arises from use. Therefore, if the discourse changes, the object changes. Change in the discourse can happen rapidly or over a long period of time.

If the subject is society (and actors within it) and the object is the discourse, Jager and Maier say that these are connected by activity, or non-discursive practices (2009:43)

Reality is given meaning insofar as it is assigned meaning by people, who are themselves the creators and products of discourse. This means that the object (discourse) can change and lose its meaning. We clearly saw in the literature review that 'creativity' is an object or discourse which is changing in meaning. Tacit knowledge, the ineffable elements of knowledge, also had to be considered, the non-discursive practices which allow meaning-making and discourses on creativity to form, which is why the second part of the methodology was so important to corroborate or challenge the findings of the first.

5.7.1 Discourse Analysis versus Thematic Analysis

It was decided that discourse analysis would be a more suitable methodology than a thematic analysis due to the focus on meaning and identity-making around creativity by teenage students. Discourse analysis focuses on how language shapes reality, which is very salient to the moment of A level decision. Thematic analysis would depend more on a pre-determined dataset and was not used for the same reason that corpus linguistics was not employed. Thematic analysis would lend itself well to a larger data set where patterns would be coded and categorised. For this study, it was necessary to see if the discourses which arose from the textual discourse analysis would be observable in the interviews. It was interesting to observe that no further discourses arose in addition to those identified in the literature review and textual discourse analysis. It is important to highlight that there were no pre-determined themes at the outset of this research. These were identified through the process or

the literature review, textual discourse analysis and school-based research. A further step after this research could be a thematic analysis on a pre-determined dataset now that it is clear these discourses exist in the public domain and there is evidence of them in the private domain. Thematic and discourse analyses I believe would have led to similar conclusions however the major difference is the starting point (Jaspal, 2020:49). As I did not have a pre-determined dataset before the literature review, and because allowing the themes to emerge was important to the study, discourse analysis was the preferred method, although as the research progressed, the themes became clearer and hence it could be argued that there could have been more predisposition to certain themes. The mitigation against this is the openness to considering contrasting or contradictory data. I was surprised that there was not more contradictory data within the analysis however some is found which highlights the need for nuance and subtlety in discourse analysis.

5.8 Terminology used in this discourse analysis

Discourse Strands

In this study, 'creativity' was the subject and it was examined in five discourse strands, often called discourses as shorthand. In this discourse analysis, the five main discourse strands were examined that were identified in the fourth chapter. They were the post-romantic, socio-economic, empirical, religious and universal discourse strands on creativity. Flows of discourse that concern a common topic are called discourse strands, which contain sub-topics. Each discourse strand has a synchronous and diachronous dimension, and each discourse strand has sub-topics. A sub-topic for example in the post-romantic discourse strand was the role of genius or the focus on arts and humanities. 'Each topic has a genesis, a historical a priori, the analyst has to reconstruct the genesis of the topic' (Jager and Maier, 2009:48) and hence the discourse analysis was conducted in the light of the discourses identified and their inter-relationship and effect upon individuals.

Discursive Limits

These delineated the 'sayable' and 'unsayable'. The discursive limits were more pronounced in the interviews where I did not know the students as well, but there were discursive techniques used to extend the discursive limits (for example 'that is interesting, could you tell me more about…'). Similarly, professionalism and legislation defined discursive limits. It was not appropriate to discuss overly personal or emotional issues due to the discursive limits of the teacher-student relationship.

Discourse Fragments

The term 'discourse fragment' is preferred to 'text' by Jager and Maier (2009:47) because one text may contain various discourse fragments. Therefore in my analysis I grouped discourse fragments in order to show linguistically constructed themes.

Entanglements

A text or discourse fragment usually contained various discourse strands. It contained fragments from various strands. This can even happen inside a single statement or utterance and this can be called a discursive knot.

Collective Symbols and Catachreses

Also known as topoi, collective symbols are akin to a linguistic or semiotic shorthand that is widely understood. I looked out for these in my analysis as they advanced my thesis about legibility as creative, and also the compartmentalisation of subjects and students. When groups of symbols are connected to amplify the power of a discourse, these are called catechreses.

Discourse planes and sectors

Discourse planes are the different locations where discourse takes place, for example, the media, politics, education, and these planes influence one another. Each plane is divided into different sectors. Each plane and each sector hold varying amounts of influence at different times.

Discursive events and context

Key discursive events must occur on the twin planes of politics and the media over a period of time. Because this Discourse Analysis examined what was seen as a benign concept, discursive events did not play a major role in the analysis. However, inevitably the CV19 pandemic of 2020 - 2022 affected synchronous discourse to some extent.

Discursive context was examined through the literature review and this certainly related to synchronous discourse and the relationship between diachronous contextual discourse and synchronous discourse was analysed.

Discourse Positions

Because in a large part this study related to identity, discourse positions were vital to examine. Not only did discourse positions construct meaning, but meaning was also constructed by discourse position. This was analysed in every part of the study, from looking at the discourse positions of the authors and speakers of texts, but also by examining the positions of the interlocutors in the interviews and how their discourse positions were affected and changed as a result of the discourse.

5.9 Capturing the Discourse: Discourse Analysis Part 1: Texts

A key concern for this DA was how to identify a corpus of texts and talk (discourse fragments) that would be representative of the phenomenon I wanted to research. A key idea in my methodology was to gather a broad spectrum of discourse fragments, both in terms of genre and audience, but also in terms of time. I ensured the texts were selected fairly and that they were representative of the full range of media available by ensuring search engine criteria took the first results, not those that seemed most relevant to my study. In addition, for the media section, I ensured that three texts from each of the most popular outlets were used for each political affiliation.

Two related criticisms of DA concerned the selection of texts to be analysed and their representativeness (Koller and Mautner, 2004; Stubbs, 1997 cit Baker et al 2008: 281). The hidden danger was that the reason why the texts concerned were singled out for analysis in the first place is that they were not typical, but in fact were quite unusual instances which have aroused the analyst's attentions. (Koller and Mautner, 2004:218). Similarly Fairclough (1989:54) observes:

> The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the author, and so forth.

This cumulative effect was best captured by examining a wide variety of texts and talks, as Bondarouk and Huub (2004) note: 'Texts are almost irrelevant if taken individually. It is only their interconnection that makes discourse analysis valuable'. This is why a multilateral and heterogenous approach was essential to this study.

The alternative to selecting texts on the bases of relevance, interest, variety and their ability to support or deny the opening assumptions would have been to use corpus linguistics (CL). However, after investigating CL, the value of DA over CL seemed persuasive. Corpus Linguistics would not have allowed for the in-depth focus that DA afforded. DA recognised the importance of absences as well as presence, therefore Corpus Linguistics was not adequate for this particular study. (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001: cit. Baker et al 2008:281). For example, I did not anticipate the widespread use of the term 'non-creative' for A level subjects, however the use of the term 'creative' to apply to some subjects clearly implied that other subjects did not belong in this category, setting up a clear dichotomy. Further to this, most DA studies were not easily identifiable as being corpus-based (for example Fairclough, 2000; Kovács and Wodak, 2003). DA tended to make limited use of a corpus or corpus-based techniques. Baker et al (2008:275) pointed out that quantitative analyses which focus on statistical significance, collocation span and frequency thresholds may miss strong non-adjacent collocates or include non-significant collocates. In addition to this, the corpus which I used was very small (Clark: 2007 suggests this is fewer than 25000 words) due to the lack of texts available, and hence any patterns would not be statistically significant. Ooi (2001: 179) suggested that 'the optimal size [of a corpus] can be reached only when the collection of more texts does not shed any more light on its lexicogrammatical or discourse patterning'; however, due to the dynamic nature of the discourse on creativity in relation to subject choice, and the fact that this could be termed as a zeitgeist, I did not anticipate this moment as being feasibly reached during the course of this study. For this reason, it was accepted that the researcher was able to collect texts and talk suitable for this discourse as a result of downsizing and that the case from this discourse could be built to support or deny the opening assumptions made. I have listed the texts chosen, of varying genres and representing different socio-political views, styles and levels of expertise, below.

5.9.1 Texts Selection: Discourse Analysis Part 1

Political Texts

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For political texts, the time frame was 2000 to 2020. The selection criteria were the Hansard search engine meeting criteria 'creative' and 'education' between 2000 and 2020, House of Commons and House of Lords.

Table 3: Political Texts

Source	Date	Title	Speaker (s)	Affiliations	Reference
House of Commons	December 03, 2012	'Creative Subjects' Debate	Fiona MacTaggart to Michael Gove, The Secretary of State for Education	Labour and Conservative	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2012-12-03/debates/1212039000022/CreativeSubjects
House of Commons	January 16, 2012	'Arts and Creative Education' Debate	Don Foster to John Hayes, The Minister for Further Education, Skills and Lifelong Learning	Liberal Democrat and Conservative	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2012-01-16/debates/12011623000012/ArtsAndCreativeEducation
House of Commons	July 16, 2001	'Creative and Arts Education' Debate	Dr Doug Naysmith to The Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for culture, Media and Sport, Dr Kim Howells	Labour Co-operative	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2001-07-16/debates/2a2445b8-36ab-40ba-b9ed-d9896d9c65f4/CreativeAndArtsEducation

House of Lords	September 14, 2017	'English Baccalaureate: Creative and Technical Subjects' Debate	Baroness Stedman-Scott	Conservative	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2017-09-14/debates/0D1F8B1F-5ABE-4244-93A2-C22A10D42A5A/EnglishBaccalaureateCreativeAndTechnicalSubjects
House of Lords	November 3, 2016	'Education: A levels in Creative Subjects' Short Debate	Baroness Brinton	Liberal Democrat	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2016-11-03/debates/7D0957A5-829B-4A30-8CFE-32D5F653965C/EducationA-LevelsInCreativeSubjects
House of Lords	July 14, 2016	'School Curriculum: Creative Subjects' Debate	Baroness Massey	Labour	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2016-07-14/debates/A7F12992-EDEF-4ECF-82BB-C656AE695F36/SchoolCurriculumCreativeSubjects
House of Lords	July 22, 2015	'Creative Sector: Educational Provision'	Lord Abedare to The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of state, Department for Education, Lord Nash	Crossbench to Conservative	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2015-07-22/debates/15072240000326/CreativeSectorEducationalProvision

Talks and Speeches

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For talks and speeches, the time frame was 2000 to 2020. The selection criteria were most viewed, most relevant to search criteria 'creativity' and 'education'

Table 4: Talks and Speeches

Source	Date	Speaker	Title	Reference
TED Talk	Jan 7, 2007	Sir Ken Robinson	Do Schools Kill Creativity?	https://www.ted.com/talks/sir_ken_robinson_do_schools_kill_creativity?language=en
Department for Education	November 10, 2014	Nicky Morgan MP	Nicky Morgan speaks at launch of Your Life campaign	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/nicky-morgan-speaks-at-launch-of-your-life-campaign
NESTA	Oct 30, 2013	NESTA	A Manifesto for the Creative Economy	https://media.nesta.org.uk/documents/a-manifesto-for-the-creative-economy-april13.pdf
Department for Education/OFSTED	January 2020	Amanda Speilman	Headteachers' Symposium on Creativity and Education	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/amanda-spielman-speaking-at-the-royal-opera-house

Policy and Commissions

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For policy and commissions, the time frame was 2000 to 2020. The selection criteria were the most relevant to search criteria ‘creativity’ and ‘education’.

Table 5: Policy and Commissions

Source	Year	Type	Reference
Department for Education	2011	Debate on Education Bill (later the Education Act)	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2011-05-11/debates/11051175000003/EducationBill?highlight=education%20creativity#contribution-11051175000483
Department for Education	2013	Examination Reform	https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2013-01-16/debates/13011645000001/ExaminationReform?highlight=creative%20subjects#contribution-13011645000385
Warwick University	2015	Warwick Commission	Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth https://warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/

Durham University and Arts Council England	2019	Durham Commission	Creativity and Education https://www.dur.ac.uk/creativitycommission/

Media Texts

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For media texts, the time frame was 2000 to 2020. The selection criteria were Type (broadsheet/tabloid) Political Affiliation, Highest Circulation (print and online), Readership. Search terms were [name of paper], 'creativity', 'education', omitted articles such as those related to 'lockdown', 'pandemic' and 'back to school'.

Table 6: Media Texts

Source	Date	Title	Author	Political and Party Affiliation Type Monthly Circulation	Reference
The Guardian	Oct 18, 2019	The Guardian view on creativity in schools: a missing ingredient	Editorial	Centre-Left Labour Broadsheet (2019) 141,160	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/18/the-guardian-view-on-creativity-in-schools-a-missing-ingredient
The Guardian	Jan 17, 2018	Creativity can be taught to anyone, so why are we leaving it to private schools?	Rufus Norris	Centre-Left Labour Broadsheet (2018)152,714	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jan/17/creativity-private-schools-uk-creative-industries-state
The Guardian	Dec 20, 2018	Future Graduates will need creativity and empathy – not just technical skills	Natalie Brett	Centre-Left Labour Broadsheet	https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/dec/20/future-graduates-will-need-creativity-and-empathy-not-just-technical-skills

				(2018) 152,714	
Daily Mail	March 7, 2015	Creative subjects being squeezed out of schools by new league table reforms that place more weight on English Maths, experts warn	Sarah Harris	Right-wing Conservative Tabloid (2015) 1,668,727	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2983628/Creative-subjects-squeezed-schools-new-league-table-reforms-place-weight-English-maths-experts-warn.html
Daily Mail	November 27, 2018	I have a Masters and now I work at Deliveroo: Literature graduate is among thousands of men who studied 'creative courses' costing over £9000 a year but earn on average less than those without degrees	Eleanor Harding, Education Editor	Right-wing Conservative Tabloid (2018) 1,134,142	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6431833/Men-studied-creative-courses-earning-without-degree.html
Daily Mail	August 13, 2011	Your imagination is not playing tricks on you – children really are becoming less creative	'Daily Mail Reporter'	Right-wing Conservative Tabloid (2011) 2,136,568	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2025568/Your-imagination-playing-tricks--children-really-creative-study-shows.html
The Times	October 18, 2019	Bring back creativity, but don't make teachers meet quotas for it	Richard Morrison	Centre-right Conservative Broadsheet (2019) 417, 298	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bring-back-creativity-but-dont-make-teachers-meet-quotas-for-it-97h33mtz3
The Times	September 3. 2020	Sir Ken Robinson Obituary		Centre-right Conservative Broadsheet (2020) 359,960	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sir-ken-robinson-obituary-rlslq2929
The Times	November 5, 2014	Schools are killing creativity, says professor	Nicola Woolcock	Centre-right Conservative Broadsheet (2014) 384, 304	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/schools-are-killing-creativity-says-professor-6tznmhd3l8t

Other Media and Educational Texts

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For other media and educational texts, the time frame was most recent. The selection criteria were search terms – 'choosing a levels creative'. The first four results selected for analysis.

Table 7: Other media and education texts

Source	Publication Year	Title	Reference
Oxford Royale Academy	2020	How to choose A levels	https://www.oxford-royale.com/articles/how-to-choose-a-levels/#aId=d4202f51-8d57-4f7c-826e-61339042a83e
The Uni Guide	2018	Six things you need to know before you make your final A-level choice	https://www.theuniguide.co.uk/advice/a-level-choices/six-things-you-need-to-know-before-making-your-a-level-choices
BBC	May 23, 2019	Teenagers given updated advice on career choices	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-48358532
Arts Professional	August 23, 2019	A decline in creative subjects accelerates	https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/news/decline-creative-levels-accelerates

School Sixth Form Recruitment and Advice Materials

Texts were selected using search criteria only and the first results which were listed by the search engine were used. Texts were not selected for their relevance but simply by meeting the criteria of the search. For School Sixth Form Recruitment and Advice Materials, the time frame was most recent. The selection criteria were search terms – 'a level creative subjects sixth form booklet'. The first four results selected for analysis.

Table 8: Sixth Form Recruitment texts

School A	2018	'A Utopia for Creative Minds' Driven to create	https://www.hurtwoodhouse.com/creative-and-performing-arts/
School B	2019	Sixth Form Prospectus	https://www.greycourt.richmond.sch.uk/page/?title=Application+and+prospectus&pid=53
School C	2020	Sixth Form Prospectus	https://www.st-maryshigh.derbyshire.sch.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/6thform-prospectus-1.pdf
School D	2020	Sixth Form Prospectus	https://issuu.com/martinvaux/docs/sixth_form_curriculum_booklet_sept_

5.10 Situated Discourse: Discourse Analysis Part 2: Talk

> Discourse Analysis has become increasingly interested not just in how texts are put together but also in how people interpret and use discourse in situated social interactions. (Jones 2012:17)

Even though the methodology changed significantly after the pilot study, it remained clear that the recursive nature of Discourse Analysis demanded 'living voices' as a way to mirror, echo or reject the discourses that had been investigated. My assumptions were very much based on my eighteen years' experience as a teacher and advisor, but also on the interviews that I had conducted in the pilot investigation. Therefore, for the second part of the DA, I wanted to conduct qualitative interviews with students who were making their A level decisions. Cruikshank (2012:49) argues that post-structuralism 'provides us with a fruitful and different approach to the reality producing force of discourses' and therefore I needed to analyse the discourse as interpreted and reflected in those who it is ultimately affecting and having an impact upon. Hence, I decided to carry out interviews in schools to talk about creativity and subject choice at A level using the same methodology as I used in my pilot study.

Cruickshank (2012:49) argues that the qualitative interview has not been given enough prominence in the post-structuralist (Foucauldian) Discourse Analysis. It seemed to me that in order to elucidate the power of text discourse, it would be good to investigate the situated meaning construction that took place in the teacher-student dialogue.

Semi-structured interviews were used in a convenience sample of the school. The interview schedule that was used was close to the one I piloted in July 2020. The interviews were administered to a selection of staff and students within the school. The students and staff were self-selecting on the basis of availability and specialisation.

As Muncie (2006: 75) notes: ‘It is easier to trace the theoretical underpinnings of discourse analysis than to identify and describe the formal processes of actually carrying out such research. This is partly due to the often intuitive and reflexive nature of the skills involved.’. Once the transcripts were written, I read the transcripts. I then identified themes in the data. Following this I identified the language that was used to construct each theme. I then identified commonalities in the use of language in relation to the construction of each theme. (Harding, 2015).

Sample size is not usually of prime concern in discourse analysis as the interest lies in the variety of ways the language is used (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Large variations in linguistic patterns and themes can emerge from a small number of people, added to this a larger sample size may just make the analytic task unmanageable (Bondarouk and Huub, 2004). Because this set of interview data was used to identify which discourses identified in the first research question were present in synchronous discourse in schools, the need for a large dataset was not necessary. I wished to understand the relationship between the text and the talk and hence to conduct research in the school would be revealing and would allow for a depth of research not possible through shorter visits. The sample was also one of convenience. It is also the most convenient owing to the 2020 - 2022 pandemic and my lack of certainty about whether access to schools would be possible throughout the research period. I thought about the ramifications of being an ‘inside researcher’ but following on from the success of the pilot study, where students and staff spoke very openly to be, I believed that the assets of this approach outweighed the pitfalls. As Mercer (2007) notes, the ‘problems of myopia’, and equally avoiding the obvious and the sensitive questions could be seen to be outweighed by the privileged knowledge and access that an ‘insider’ researcher can gain.

5.10.1 Talk Selection: Discourse Analysis Part 2

I conducted 24 interviews in a school in summer 2022. I interviewed 16 students, 8 in Year 11 (pre final A level subject choice) and 8 in Year 12 (post final A level subject choice).

I also interviewed 8 teachers, who included a Senior Leader, an Advisor, a Teacher of Maths, a Teacher of Art, a Teacher of Music, a Teacher of Science, a Teacher of English and a Teacher of Design and Technology.

Table 9: Schedule of interviewees

School	Person(s)	Instrument
School X	Interview 1 (8 Y11 Students – range of A level choices)	Interview 1
School X	Interview 2 (8 Y12 Students – range of A choices)	Interview 1
School X	Staff – Senior Leader	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Advisor	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Teacher of Science	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Teacher of Music	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Teacher of English	Interview 2
School X	Staff –Teacher of Maths	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Teacher of Art	Interview 2
School X	Staff – Teacher of Design and Technology	Interview 2

5.11 Research Setting

The school was a denominational boarding senior school. I was Deputy Head at the school. My pilot study was conducted in another school, which was, by contrast, a non-denominational, boarding senior school.

In my Masters research, I was able to approach research in ten schools with anonymity and participants could perhaps talk more openly to me. I was simply a researcher, with no further connection to the school. However, for this research, I was not only involved in the school, I led and attempted to shape the academic provision. Therefore, there were certainly elements of the following: students and teachers trying to give the 'right' answer, students and teachers being influenced by assemblies, school literature and publications, teacher training or lessons, emails etc which alluded to the issue of creativity, insider knowledge, concern about whether this affected my perception of the student or teacher, students and teachers bringing other issues and politics to the interview which they would not have done if I had been unknown to the participants. On my part, there was certainly an element of wishful thinking, in that I had a strong idea of what I thought was optimal in terms of creativity and education, and I could not help but shape the narrative as I researched. As I researched, I participated, and hence this study was subject to the richness, but also the same pitfalls of ethnography.

5.12 Positionality

Positionality 'reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013: 71).

As a feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, positionality was hard to determine, due to the shifting sands of this type of research. Meaning was constantly constructed as the study progressed and as the reader, researcher and interlocutor, I was aware of my influence upon the outcomes of the research. My position was therefore as a decentred self – a self that was an effect of the discourse which was open to redefinition and was constantly in process (Walshaw 2007:5). Having said this, I was aware that certain preferences and paradigms were lenses through which I more readily could see, and hence I identified these as feminism, progressivism and liberalism and declare my interests as a parent and a teacher. I think the power dynamic which was present in all interviews is necessary to recognise. As a senior teacher within the school, it would have been difficult for both teachers and students to be as open and frank as perhaps they would have been with an unknown researcher, and it was also noticeable that students attended interviews without question, perhaps due to my senior role within the school. The importance of the ethics and permissions were therefore of even more importance to me to ensure that all were comfortable with taking part.

In the text or public discourse analysis, I was aware of my positionality as a progressive liberal feminist, and therefore I tended to be more critical of right-wing and more traditional tabloid media sources and current government policy. Having said this, the text discourse analysis covered a broad range of socio-political positions and hence I hoped to achieve a balanced understanding of the current discourse planes.

In the talk or personal discourse analysis, I took the position of a participant researcher as I was a Deputy Head at the school in which I carried out the research. This

meant that I was ‘second in command’ in the school and deputised for the headteacher when necessary. I was in charge of teaching, learning, the curriculum and academic outcomes at the school. All my talk discourse analysis research was based in a school and this was compared with the text discourse analysis that looked at the wider national context for the discourse.

I used a reflexive approach (Rowe, 2014). My positionality was not fixed and evolved over time, becoming more situation and context-dependent. Although I worked in a very particular setting, which in many ways adhered to traditional power structures, at times I was aware of being an agent of this structure. However at other times, I felt that my role was more counter-cultural and subversive of established praxis. This oscillation was perhaps exacerbated by my research. I began this research when I was in a different job, with younger and fewer children, when I was not a school leader, and pre-pandemic. So much of my context changed since I started the original research. I was aware that I was shaping a school in terms of the decisions that teenagers make, and I wanted them to have the best possible life chances, and I believed that this included openness to creativity throughout their curriculum. Two of my own children were approaching these crucial choices. The pandemic has also highlighted to me the need for creativity throughout all the curriculum. This did not mean that I knew what the outcomes of the discourse analysis were going to be. It could be that the understanding of the inter-disciplinarity of creativity in discourse was much more advanced than I initially thought that it would be. What I was not able to say is how far I had influenced this discourse, or failed to influence this discourse, as my influence was only one factor amongst many other competing influences and discourses.

This research fell into an ‘emic’ description or the insider’s view of reality (Fetterman, 2008). Cultural relativism influenced the research in the sense that the behaviours and discourse I researched were meaningful within this context more so than outside of it. For example, participants were influenced by taking or having completed GCSEs,

compulsory attendance at denominational assemblies and events, an international perspective and a relative family affluence due to the demography of the students in the school. They were familiar with their own, and the school's own terminology, nomenclature and parlance. Interview transcriptions included verbatim colloquial language. I attempted to disregard assumptions so that the true voice of the research participants would be heard (Holmes, 2020:5). Disregarding assumptions was more challenging for me as an insider as I was aware of those students who were more able and more open to the concepts being discussed. Fluency in English was also a factor, as well as familiarity with the English educational system. I also needed to be resistant to insider 'myopia' (Holmes, 2020:6) however I thought this would be well-remedied by my status as a relative newcomer, my wish to ask challenging questions and also the triangulation of the talk discourse analysis with the text discourse analysis.

The paradigm for this research is feminist post-structuralist. As my study progressed, I was more and more drawn to challenge how binary paradigms about subject choice and creative identity affect girls in particular. Feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) was therefore an important reference point in the talk section of the discourse analysis. This did not mean that girls in particular were the interlocutors, but that I was especially alive to any evidence of unconscious bias around subject choice, and also to the need to challenge the structuralist word pairs creative/academic and how these apply to or are used by girls in particular.

Being a post-feminist discourse analysis, the concept of power was of the utmost importance to understand in terms of an ethic of care. Head (2020:81) draws attention to the idea that in educational research, despite best intentions, a power differential and possible unintended consequences cannot necessarily be avoided. I was aware that even the act of choosing participants was creating a population (Fendler, 2016) in which participants may

begin to think differently just due to the fact of having been asked to participate. I attempted to mitigate this by minimising my voice in the interview and ensuring the participants were not challenged on their answers. To work towards an ethic of care, it was essential to constantly question who was benefitting from the research (Henderson and Esposito, 2017). I believe that both the participants would have benefitted from having time to talk through their choices and having practice of an interview with an adult would have been beneficial to their oracy skills and the teachers tended to respond positively to the chance to reflect on their practice and often expressed this. Velardo and Elliot (2018) question the mutuality which is assumed in a researcher-participant relationship because rich data is being sought and therefore there is an underlying manipulation or power imbalance in the relationship. I was again acutely aware of this position and as such tried to minimise the impact that my questions may have on the participants. In terms of Tangen (2014)'s ethical matrix for educational research, I believe that protection of participants in terms of reduction of anxiety, potential impact of interview and anonymity were thoughtfully considered.

5.13 Research Instruments

Talk Discourse: Interviews, conversations and observations

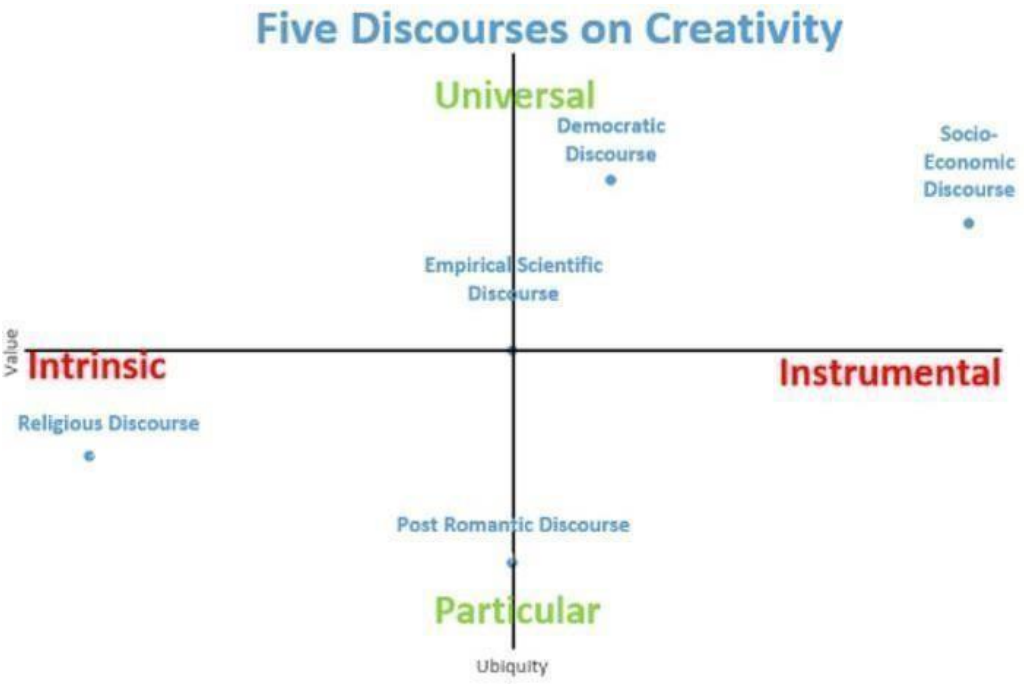
I wanted to choose an interview style which would most closely reflect the type of advisor-student conversation at school to create a naturalistic situation and avoid too much research impact as Kvale (1996:13) suggests the 'varieties of research interviews approach the spectrum of human conversations'. 24 interviews were undertaken in the summer term in one secondary school. Despite Cruickshank's (2012:49) assertion that the qualitative interview has not been given enough prominence in the post-structuralist (Foucauldian) Discourse Analysis, Potter notes (1996:134) 'interviews have been used extensively in discourse analysis, but they are constructed in a novel manner'. The semi-structured interview was chosen for two reasons (Drever, 1995). It was chosen to collect statements of identity, preference and opinion from teachers, students and leaders. The sometimes-sensitive nature of these opinions meant that a good rapport had to be quickly established. Secondly, it was chosen so that opinions could be explored in more depth when appropriate. Denscombe (2003: 167) highlights that in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer must be flexible, and that this allows the findings of the study to be respondent-led as opposed to researcher-led. The technique allowed the interviewee to determine the depth and breadth covered by the interview. The limitations of the interview form are obvious, especially due to the issues of positionality previously discussed. As Briggs (1986, cit. Cruikshank 2012: 43) points out an interview is a 'partly shielded situation where both parties agree to enter into a particular communicative form', however this was considered more authentic that a focus group or a workshop because I did not want any individual's discourse to be too coloured by the dominant voices in a focus group, or the stimulus material in a workshop. I wanted the participants to speak with as much authenticity and honesty as they could, without fear of not getting the 'right answer' hence I was careful to emphasise that there was no 'correct'

answer. The drive for ‘honesty and candour’ (Locke 2004:64) was the main reason that the interview format was chosen.

The interview method was appropriate in terms of the research topic which concerned participant’s perceptions, rather than fact. It allowed for as much detail as possible to be given by respondents. The interview method worked well in terms of situation and access. The interviews lasted for between 20 minutes and half an hour. The short interview format was one which the students were comfortable with and which respected other pressures on their time. A driving motivation was not to encroach on the students’ time and because the interviews were very focused on the target phenomenon, I was able to understand their discourses well within this timeframe. If this research had aimed to resolve, rather than to problematise, a workshop or group interview would have been a more suitable format. The interview schedule ensured that there was parity of time give to each of the respondents. Interviewschedulescanbefoundintheappendices.

Creating the Interview Schedules

Table 10: Five discourses on creativity



As advised, by Professor Bill Nichol, I framed the questions using the cultural map of the five discourses of creativity which was the result of my literature review. This helped to better see where the dominant discourses were and also to see if the discourses were static or dynamic between these areas on the cultural map. This helped greatly with the analysis of the transcripts.

The 24 interviews were supplemented with the following talk discourses:

1. Class discussions with sixth formers on the theme of creativity.
2. Lesson observations
3. An A level Options post GCSE event.

Therefore there were 27 ‘discourse events’ in a six-month period, however it was important to be open to other discourses which may be relevant. All the relevant permissions were secured.

The discourse events were a useful opportunity for me to understand the wider context of the interviews and to understand the situation in which subject choices were being made. I did not transcribe these events but I noted observations and noted comments which were of relevance to the discourse analysis.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. I listened several times to each recording before undertaking a constant comparison methodology to draw out the themes. As Harding (2015) suggests, I listened to and re-read transcripts, before identifying themes and the language used to construct each theme. I then identified commonalities in the use of language in relation to the construction of each theme. All of this was undertaken in the light of my research questions and the five discourses I identified through my literature review. I sought to find out whether these discourse strands, which predominated in text discourses, were also present in talk discourses.

Text Discourse: Method and Analysis

The text and talk discourse analyses did not need to be concurrent because the texts were not time-sensitive in the same way that the interviews and interactions were. I therefore prioritised the completion of the interviews in the summer term. Jager and Meier (2009) recommend that the discourse analysis takes plane by plane, so I tried to group the timings of the discourse analyses as much as possible according to the planes listed above.

Creating the framework for textual analysis

After completion of the collection of the discourse, I followed this method. First of all, I ensured the list of texts was accurate and contained all necessary background information. This appears in the 'Capturing the Discourse' section, above. I printed out the texts or transcripts and undertook close reading, grouping by plane as discussed. For each text or transcript, I annotated to capture special characteristics. I then identified discourse strands and sub-topics, including sub-topics which may have been missing, and prepared to tabulate these. The process of identifying the sub-topics was iterative as more texts and transcripts were annotated and analysed. I identified and tabulated recursively until the filtering process has captured the discourse. I finally identified any discursive entanglements. I used tables of the type below to capture the discourse.

Table 11: Example Tabulation of Results of Discourse Analysis - Initial Findings

Discourse Strand and Plane	Creativity in education				Discourse Positions Typicalities identified (Vocabulary, Symbol, Argumentation)
Sub-topic	Post-romantic	Socio-Economic	Religious	Democratic	
Discourse Fragment	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	
Discourse Fragment	1.2	2.2	3.2	4.2	
Discourse Fragment	1.3	2.3	3.4	4.3	
Entanglements					

Creating the optimal data capture table was an iterative process as I refined the way I collected the data. As there were now five discourse strands by the end of the literature review, as opposed to the original four, I altered the table. I also made space for a short synopsis of each discourse to facilitate the analysis of the discourse.

Table 12: Final Tabulation of Results of Discourse Analysis - Initial Findings

Discourse	Creativity in education					Discourse Positions Topoi Typicalities identified (Vocabulary, Symbol, Argumentation)
Plane						
Synopsis						
Discursive Limits, Events and Context						
Discourse Strands	Socio-Economic	Post-Romantic	Democratic	Religious	Empirical/Scientific	
Discourse Fragment	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	5.1	
Discourse Fragment	1.2	2.2	3.2	4.2	5.2	
Discourse Fragment	1.3	2.3	3.3	4.3	5.3	Entanglements

After these initial tables for each plane had been constructed, a detailed analysis of typical discourse fragments was conducted. Typical argumentation, vocabulary and collective symbol were the main criteria used to identify the fragments which were be subject to detailed analysis. The detailed analysis of typical discourse fragments covered context, surface, argumentation, symbolism, vocabulary, references, content and ideological purpose.

It identified the 'cultural model' of the discourse on creativity, diagnosing whether the discourse fell into one of the five discourses initially identified, or whether further categories were needed. Using this data, I then began the process of responding to the research questions, drawing on the discourse fragments and entanglements to enable this process.

5.14 Permissions and Ethics

All BERA guidelines were adhered to for the pilot study and for the main fieldwork.

For the pilot study and the second discourse analysis, particular attention was paid to the guidelines in terms of responsibilities to participants in the research. The researcher operated within an over-arching ethic of respect for persons. Sensitivity towards structural inequalities (race, gender, LGBTQ+, disability, socio-economic status) was of paramount importance, and in particular, no assumptions were made on the basis of any protected characteristic when the research was conducted, analysed or written up. Informed consent was obtained from all participants by participant, teacher and parental consent, and the possibility of opt-out without question or consequence was available throughout. The status of participants in a digital context was seen by the researcher to be subject to the same ethical guidelines as they would be in person, and therefore their responses to the online questionnaire were treated with equal regard. Outcomes are optionally available to participants, although this is not a university pre-requisite. Participants were given both my and my supervisor's email address, so that they could request access to the thesis upon completion. The overall aim of maximising benefit and minimising harm was adhered to, as the research could be of benefit to future students and there was no harmful impact of the research upon participants. The researcher is competent to research having successfully completed an MA in Education by Research, being a trained secondary school inspector, and having operated as a teaching professional for eighteen years and being fully aware of, and compliant with safeguarding and other professional compliance legislation.

All guidelines relating to consent were also adhered to. The participants' voluntary informed consent was obtained at start of study through their decision to participate in the questionnaire, and then verbally if they were interviewed. In addition, and prior to this,

school consent was a pre-requisite, and teachers' professional judgement was employed. Parental consent was also obtained via correspondence offering the opportunity to withdraw students from the study. The participants were able to withdraw consent and this was expressed both in advance, and at the time of the research being conducted both verbally and in written form. Participants were allowed to do this without any explanation and this was made clear to participants. Participants were made aware of why they were taking part in the research. Permission from the gatekeepers of the institutions involved was sought prior to research taking place in each school. The University of Cambridge's own ethical approval and safeguarding procedures were adhered to. Sampling was dependent upon consent and opting in by the gatekeepers of the organisation and hence this was taken into account in terms of sampling bias at the data analysis stage.

In terms of transparency, the researcher was open and honest with participants throughout the research. There was no conflict of interest or commercial gain that may compromise the integrity of the research.

The right to withdraw from the research was made clear before and during the research.

No harm was anticipated to arise from participation in this research. The research design and execution aimed to both put participants at ease and avoided making excessive demands on them.

In terms of privacy and data storage, confidentiality and anonymity were respected for all participants. Pseudonymisation was used where necessary. GDPR legislation was adhered to throughout. In the initial letter to participants, it was explained that research is exempt from the Freedom of Information Act. Data was kept securely and destroyed after data analysis and write-up. If disclosure is necessary to prevent harm, then in line with Keeping Children Safe in Education (2024), this information will be disclosed.

The researcher's responsibilities to the community of educational researchers were recognised throughout the research. The researcher aimed to protect integrity and reputation of educational research through conducting rigorous, ethical and valuable research. All participant institutions were given the name and contact details of a person to whom complaints can be addressed at the University of Cambridge. Plagiarism guidelines were adhered to and all sources are disclosed.

As this was Tier 4 research (research that took part in schools under Covid restrictions), special consideration needed to be given to Covid guidelines. Two schools were involved in the research and it was essential that schools' Covid protocols were adhered to, as well as government guidelines. At the time of writing, school visits were allowed, but face coverings in public places were mandatory again due to the Omicron variant.

The researcher understands the responsibility to make the results of their research public for the benefit of educational professional, policymakers and the wider public. This should be open access and if controversial, the University of Cambridge should be made aware.

Chapter 6: Discourse Analysis 1: The role of public discourse in shaping understanding of creativity

All references for Chapter 6 are found in Section 5.9.1.

6.1 Talks and Speeches

Do Schools Kills Creativity?

Sir Ken Robinson

February 2006

This TED talk, watched at least 78 million times at the time of writing, has had an undeniably significant impact on education and the place of creativity in educational discourse. The talk posits that, worldwide, educational systems do not value the arts, do not educate for the future and wrongly compartmentalise subjects, thereby creating a misplaced hierarchy of subjects. The discourse is limited by the time limitation imposed on TED talks (18 minutes) and the style which means attention must be sought and maintained. Sir Ken Robinson does this by using anecdotes and humour throughout his talk.

Despite the title of this talk, the main subject matter is the arts, and in fact here the arts and creativity are used almost interchangeably. All of the examples and anecdotes used are examples which belong in the post-romantic discourse strand. The examples that he uses or refers to are Sirena Huang, a virtuoso and prodigious violinist, Picasso, Shakespeare, Gillian Lynne and Andrew Lloyd Webber. All of these examples form a catechresis which makes the argument compelling. The catechresis is firmly rooted in the post-romantic genius definition of creativity, or the capital C definition.

The opening contention of his talk is that "Creativity now is an important as literacy and we should treat it with the same status" seems to point towards a democratic discourse.

This is backed up by the claim that "kids will take a chance. If they don't know, they'll have a go… They're not frightened of being wrong." He goes on to state "I don't mean to say that being wrong is the same thing as being creative. What we do know is this, if you're not prepared to be wrong, you'll never come up with anything original." Hence here, Robinson links the democratic discourse strand back to the post-romantic or genius discourse strand.

Robinson criticises the "hierarchy of subjects…. at the top are mathematics and languages, then the humanities, and at the bottom are the arts." In this section, Robinson juxtaposes those that dance with those that think, with university professors being "disembodied, in a kind of literal way. They look on their body as a form of transport for their heads." Although this is intended as a joke, it goes to underline and exacerbate the difference between the 'creative' (arts; dance, drama, art, music) and the 'academic' (the cerebral, "the focus on the head"). He posits that many "highly talented, brilliant, creative people think they're not, because the thing they were good at at school wasn't valued or was actually stigmatized." Therefore, Robinson's talk underlines the dichotomy that exists within education systems, between academic and creative subjects by using the post-romantic definition of creativity.

Launch of 'Your Life' Campaign at Google Headquarters

Nicky Morgan MP

November 2014

This campaign launch made a clear delineation between STEM A level subject choices and all other subject choices. The thrust of this campaign launch was to increase the number of students taking A levels in STEM subjects, especially girls. A clear delineation is set up between "the arts and humanities" and "STEM subjects". Calling the campaign 'Your Life' is a clear attempt to align with the topoi of choice, freedom and autonomy. This talk should therefore be an antidote to the phenomenon which this paper decries, however, the failure to align creativity with STEM through use of the democratic discourse is striking.

"Unlocking career paths", "important", "useful", "value", "vital" and "10% higher earnings" are phrases used in connection to STEM A level subjects, but the subjects are not mentioned in relation to creativity. The only time the word 'creative' is used is in relation to "the creative industries". Morgan says, "The skills gained from studying these subjects come in useful in almost any subject you could care to name – from the creative and beauty industries to architecture." It is notable that creativity is not mentioned apart from this in connection to these subjects, particularly in the light of the OECD emphasis on creativity as a highly desirable and employable attribute.

'Creativity' therefore is notable here by its absence in the socio-economic discourse strand about the relative usefulness of various subjects and attributes. It seems from this that Morgan would see creativity more as part of the post-romantic discourse, and not in terms of its utility value as part of the socio-economic discourse.

The Headteachers' Symposium on Creativity and Education at the Royal Opera House

Amanda Spielman

January 2020

This speech transparently aimed to stave off the criticism that Ofsted's plan to inspect "cultural capital" was elitist (Guardian, 2019), and therefore this is a discursive limit upon this text. However, it is nonetheless striking that "creativity" is immediately and unequivocally used as synonymous with "arts education". The location of the speech (The Royal Opera House) and the first line of the speech "I don't get to come here nearly enough – but I did manage two operas and a ballet last year" are clear topoi for 'I align myself with the arts' and are clearly statements that place this speech firmly within the post-romantic discourse.

Drama, art, design, music and dance are the clear focal points of the speech. A distinction is drawn between the "academic", "intellectual" and measurable, and the "creative" and "practical". She says, "In primary schools, we found that a focus on literacy and numeracy was sometimes at the expense of creative, artistic and practical subjects." Towards the end of the speech, other subjects are incorporated. She refers to the Durham Commission and quotes "the development of creativity in any subject requires deep subject knowledge and understanding as well as the development of skills that enable the application of this knowledge and understanding." She adds "That's a really useful insight. It also recognises that creativity and creative thinking span the arts and sciences, Engineering is indeed a creative discipline." This is a promising use of the democratic discourse on creativity.

As is the normal arc when creativity within science is mentioned, the speech then reverts to juxtaposing 'creative' and 'academic', this time by talking about "cultural capital". She says, "there is a great deal more that can equip children to make the most of adult life and

to find the right path for them, not just academically." The speech ends by talking about the teaching of art and music and the vital role of these subjects in a "broad and balanced curriculum". Creativity in this speech has been mentioned rarely but sits behind the speech as a short-hand for 'arts education', and to delineate academic or essential curriculum and cultural or desirable curriculum. This discourse seems to root creativity, as a synonym for arts in the post-romantic discourse, but in the under-current is the implication that it is of less socio-economic value and therefore has been and is being squeezed in terms of curricular weight. There is the usual nod to the democratic discourse in the statement about creativity spanning the arts and sciences, and in reference to engineering, however, as this is not further substantiated, this discourse fragment is submerged by the traditional post-romantic discourse.

6.2 Policy and Commissions

Department for Education, 2011, Debate on Education Bill (later Education Act)

The Education Act of 2011 was the first piece of education legislation introduced by the coalition government. Its focus was on increased accountability, and one measure introduced through this legislation was the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) which stipulated which GCSE subjects would count towards this certification. It measures the proportion of children who secure a grade 5 or above in English, Maths, Science, a humanity and language GCSE. Arts subjects are not included. The introduction of the EBacc is therefore a major discursive event which dominates discourse. Because, as has been discussed, creativity is a universally positive placeholder term, it holds rhetorical power and can be used as leverage to open the debate about the arts.

Therefore, in this debate, we see Andy Burnham MP use creative as a counterpoint to 'academic', and as synonymous with 'artistic'. He asked

> I believe that the English Baccalaureate will be divisive in and of itself, because it has *a narrow, academic focus* and will encourage schools not to focus on young people who have a more vocational aptitude. That is essentially the problem with it. There is a prescriptive choice of subjects in the baccalaureate, and where is the evidence to justify that selection? *Where is the creativity in the Government's vision?* Where is music, religious education or business studies, and why is Latin in there?

It can be seen here that "creativity" is used to encompass more subjects than usual; however we can see a clear alignment of creativity with those non-academic or less utilitarian subjects. He goes on to draw the more traditional distinction, aligning creative with music and drama: "Where is student choice in this system? What are the rights of children, particularly those who have creative flair? How does the system look after the interests of those who are good

at music or drama?" With this rhetorical rule of three, Burnham again participates strongly in the post-romantic discourse. One could argue that circumstance has forced this allegiance due to its rhetorical power and therefore its potential to affect change, however it is a clear utilisation of the discourse, nonetheless. The introduction of the EBacc plays a vital role in dichotomising the creative and the academic.

Department for Education, 2013, Debate on Examination Reform

Two years later, Stephen Twigg MP strongly evoked the socio-economic discourse on creativity to debate the EBacc. He did this by posing a central question in the debate: "How do our schools best equip the young people of today to play their part in the economy and society of tomorrow?" Twigg quoted Sir Jonathan Ive, the inventor of the iPod and a champion of the 'creative industries' in warning the Secretary of State for Education, then Michael Gove MP, that the Ebacc was "jeopardising Britain's future prosperity". He cited research carried out for the Department for Education by Ipsos MORI

> demonstrating the effect that the EBacc performance measure has already had on creative subjects. For example, more than 150 schools have withdrawn the important subject of design and technology from their curriculum. There have been similar declines in drama and art. I fear that the Secretary of State's plans for EBCs risk making the situation even worse.

Twigg goes on to quote Michael Barber:

> Leaders in Pacific Asia are realising that what worked in the last 50 years is not what will be required in the next 50. They have come to the conclusion that their economies need to become more innovative and their schools more creative… to produce a generation of innovators.

Here Twigg draws again on the socio-economic imperative to drive creativity in education. The debate goes on to highlight how the "narrowing of the curriculum" by the EBacc forces a dichotomy between "academic" and "creative subjects" as here for example: "English Baccalaureate certificates that will not be in crucial creative technical and practical subjects risk undermining the progress that the Wolf report [Review of Vocational Education, 2011] has given us." Importantly here, Twigg uses the adjective "crucial" and the verb "risk" to try to bring creativity back into the socio-economic discourse. He is trying to highlight the utility

of the creative subjects. This discourse strand is further emphasised by quoting Jonathan Ive again, who posits that the Ebacc "will starve our world leading creative sector of its future pioneers." Continued reference to creative "industries", "sector" and "pioneers" again aligns with the socio-economic discourse by mirroring a more utilitarian lexicon found in areas of business and commerce, and distancing the discourse from the post-romantic discourse, which is seen as commercially weak.

The debates go on to further dichotomise those academic subjects that the EBacc measures, and the creative or vocational subjects which are not "valued". The minister goes on to state that this is forcing a "two-tier" educational system where creative subjects are not valued. This discourse echoes the "hierarchy of subjects" which Sir Ken Robinson referred to in 2007. The MP for North West Durham asked: "How can we upgrade some subjects without having the impact of downgrading others?" This is a central question in the debate and goes to the heart of this thesis. By creating this arbitrary distinction, a forced discourse of creative and academic has emerged, or been reinforced, for subjects, and by extension, for students. The socio-economic discourse on creativity favoured by Michael Gove MP is a primary motivator of this discourse.

Ian Mearns MP calls this dichotomisation of EBacc and creative subjects "disgraceful and worrying", "placing too much emphasis on employability". He highlights how the socio-economic discourse is used against the creative subjects which is why figures from the creative industries have been cited in the debate to try to weaken this discourse.

Fiona Mactaggart MP tries to use the socio-economic discourse to reinforce the utility of creativity on education: "all the studies of creative education, creative partnerships and so on concluded that they improved the attendance, attainment, behaviour and achievement of children." This is a dubious point as it is unclear what Mactaggart means when she refers to "creative education", and it would be hard to quantify the impact of this so broadly. However,

the attempt to emphasise the utility value of creativity in education is clear. She goes on to say, "One of the reasons why our country outperforms all our competitors in the number of Nobel prizes won is because we have a tradition in our learning and education that combines creative education and learning how to create with excellent science education." It is disappointing that here, instead of aligning science with creativity, it is once again juxtaposed with it. This further underlines the damaging effect of the EBacc, instead of focusing on aligning creativity with STEM, MPs defending Arts subjects are forced to use "creative" in opposition to "scientific" in order to leverage the term in the debate.

Paul Blomfield MP questions the "degrading of creative subjects", aligning with the idea of hierarchy of subjects (Robinson) and the two-tier system (Twigg). Mactaggart goes on to argue that "creative subjects" should be included in the EBacc: "I do not think there is a respectable argument not to include in the EBacc at least one subject in which a young person's creativity is what is assessed. I am arguing not for the exclusion of anything, but for the inclusion of assessment in subjects such as design and technology, music, art and drama." Again the debate forces her to advance the argument that "a young person's creativity" could be assessed only through one of the subjects she lists, deepening the divide that is the subject of this thesis.

Steve Reed MP also comments on the concerns "that it [the EBacc] will mark a return to the divisive two-tier system of O-levels and CSEs by giving students who are not suited to academic subjects only a second-rate qualification." Here again, we see the evidence of the polarisation of the academic and the creative, with the latter being seen as "second-rate". Throughout this debate, the language of value is rife, which underlines how discourses on creativity in education became associated with the socio-economic discourse.

The situation which has forced the labelling of arts subject as creative subjects as opposed to academic subjects is summarised by Bill Esterson MP:

> We can all agree that it [the EBacc] has indeed had a profound effect on creative subjects such as art, design, drama and music, which are clearly being sidelined despite the incredible value that our creative sector brings to the UK economy. Some 15% of schools have dropped one or more arts subjects since the EBacc was introduced, and the latest figures, from summer 2012, show a serious decline in the number of entrants for design and technology: down 5.1%, for art and design, down 2.4%, for music, down 3.6%, and for drama down 6.3%. I therefore agree with the hon. Gentleman that the introduction of the EBacc has had a profound effect.

Michael Gove MP's closing remarks make the distinction unequivocal. He clearly refers to academic and creative subjects as two separate entities:

> We believe that rigorous examination in *academic subjects* requires the deployment of end-of-course linear assessment, but there are a variety of subjects, *many of them creative*, which, as the Arts Council recognised, should be assessed in other ways.

For the Secretary of State for Education to make this distinction, it is clear that he sees a two-tier system and a hierarchy of subjects. His vision of education is utilitarian, and his understanding of creativity is perhaps more post-romantic than socio-economic.

Warwick Commission, 2015, Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth

Because of the anticipated impact of this document, many of the discourses are employed in order to convince different constituencies with different agenda about the value and worth of creativity in education. The predominant discourse is the socio-economic discourse on creativity. The title of the document itself: 'Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth' highlights a double entendre, there is 'enriching' in terms of intrinsic value of creativity through 'culture' (religious discourse) and 'enriching' in terms of the instrumental value of creativity through 'growth' (socio-economic-discourse).

Professor Sir Nigel Thrift's opening remarks make it clear that he will utilise a socio-economic discourse in his defence of creativity in education. The report uses the 'arts', 'culture' and 'creativity' interchangeably, and emphasises quantitative measures of worth and value such as league tables, employability, output and profitability. The language of business and commerce is also frequently employed, with terminology such as 'strategic partners', 'achievable goals', 'key levers', 'powering innovation', 'scaling up', 'growth' and 'ecosystem' are watchwords throughout the report.

Section 4 of the report focuses on education and skills development. The stated goal is 'a world class creative and cultural education for all to ensure the wellbeing and creativity of the population as well as the future success of the Cultural and Creative Industries Ecosystem.' (2015:45) It is stated unequivocally that 'The UK's wider economic success depends on creativity.' (2015:44) This discourse intensifies as comparisons with other countries are made: 'We are already behind other leading powers in re-imagining learning in the 21st century to ensure that current and future generations have the technological, entrepreneurial and creative confidence and skills to drive economic growth.' (2015:45) A clear causal link between educating for creativity and economic growth is drawn. In this commission, there is an obvious distancing from the post-romantic discourse on creativity, as

the intrinsic value of creativity is not enough to convince stakeholders, it seems, of the value of creativity.

Although the overarching narrative is the socio-economic discourse, this discourse fragment also alludes to the religious and democratic discourse. The religious discourse on creativity is alluded to because is the reference to 'wellbeing' the intrinsic value and the deeper significance of creativity is signposted. In the phrase 'for all' there is a move away from the 'creative genius' discourse to a more universal, 'small c' creativity.

The religious discourse continues as the report refers to the power of creative education to 'allow people to develop rich, expressive lives.' (2015:44) Further there is an allusion to Aristotle's eudaimonic potential as the report says that creativity allows human 'flourishing', 'forms of cultural expression', 'quality of life' and 'human development'. Later the role of creativity is emphasised; 'the transformative powers of the arts and cultural learning in building capability, self-esteem and well-being in individuals and in our national identity.' (2015:45) This discourse is very much in the background and is not given as much prominence as the socio-economic discourse. It is interesting that in the religious discourse, when creativity's intrinsic worth is referred to, it tends to be that creativity is more strongly aligned with 'culture' and 'arts' and the capital C version of creativity and the post-romantic discourse is more strongly aligned with. We can see throughout this commission that the discourses oscillate depending upon intended audiences.

The democratic discourse also needs to be employed to counter-balance post-romantic assumptions about the minority being or needing to be creative. In order to convince, creativity must be a universal within education. The commission is careful to draw creativity away from arts education: 'The Commission shares the concerns of others, that policy makers are obsessed with a siloed subject-based curriculum an early specialisation in Arts or Science.' (2015:45) This is a clear attack on the post-romantic discourse limiting creativity to

arts education only. The rhetoric here is one of frustration ('obsessed', 'siloed') and there is a recognition of exactly the damaging effect of the subject dichotomisation which is the subject of this thesis. It goes on to posit that this 'ignores and obscures discussion around the future need for all children to enjoy an education which encourages creativity, making and enterprise across the curriculum.' (205:45) This sentence shows a discourse entanglement as it brings together very well the socio-economic and democratic discourse. It shows that the socio-economic discourse and the democratic discourse are compatible, whereas these two discourses are not as compatible with the post-romantic discourse. The need to dissolve the dichotomisation of arts and sciences through a championing of creativity is well put: 'We need creative scientists as much as we need artists who understand the property of materials and the affordances of new technology.' (2015:45) However, as is usual in policy documents, despite this promising rhetoric, the recommendations do not focus on this goal enough as it is unclear through this commission exactly how this 'siloed subject-based curriculum' can be broken down.

Again, because this document is, in part, a reaction to the downgrading of arts subject through the EBacc, the forced dichotomisation of subjects into 'creative' and the implicit 'non-creative' is present throughout this document. Despite having implied that all subjects should be considered creative, or have room for creativity, the document also clearly refers to 'creative' subjects, thus perpetuating the 'subject-based siloes' referred to elsewhere. For example, 'a significant number of students do not take any creative or cultural subjects at GCSE' is a statement which shows the problematic use of 'creative' as an adjective to describe groups of subjects, which goes against the democratic (small c) discourse on creativity.

Despite an emphasis on the socio-economic discourse, and the democratic discourse by extension, there is no mention of creativity in the context of science or as an educational

universal in the concluding recommendations of the report. All seven recommendations allude to the post-romantic discourse on creativity, by centring on the inclusion of arts qualifications in the EBacc (recommendation 2), on the Russell Group facilitating subjects list (recommendation 3) and by placing a percentage target on the number of schools which should achieve the Artsmark (recommendation 6). Other recommendations relate to cultural education and careers education about the 'creative industries'. No recommendation is made for a reconceptualization of creativity or a less 'subject-based silo' approach to creativity in education. This commission therefore does not conclude by proposing solutions to the issue in discourse that it correctly identifies, which is characteristic of the discourses on creativity in general. The problem is often identified, but then there is a swift return to the default post-romantic, capital C discourse on creativity.

Durham Commission, 2019, Creativity and Education

The Durham Commission on Creativity and Education couches itself within the democratic discourse on creativity from its foreword to its conclusion. However, despite several attempts to include reference to subjects beyond the arts, and frequent references to sciences, it is unable to make practical recommendations beyond the normal arts-driven post-romantic discourse. Hence whilst the explicit discourse is democratic, the hidden discourse is post-romantic, largely due to the arts-driven agenda.

This is very characteristic of policy documents on creativity and education. The democratic discourse is used in the introductory phases, but then the post-romantic discourse becomes dominant and the democratic discourse more recessive as the document moves from theoretical to practical.

The dominance of the post-romantic discourse could be attributed to fact that the majority of the commissioners represent the Arts (Sir Nicholas Serota, Chair of Arts Council England, Lauren Child, Children's Laureate, Baroness Kidron, Filmmaker, Professor Linda Merrick, Royal Northern College of Music, Jacqui O' Hanlon, Royal Shakespeare Company, Paul Roberts, Arts Council England, Alice Webb, BBC Director). However there are a minority of commissioners from science and commerce who would have perhaps contributed to the democratic discourse (Imran Khan, Wellcome Trust, Professor Roger Kneebone, Imperial College, Phil Stokes, PwC). Despite this attempt for balance, it remains that the majority of outcomes and recommendations from this commission are centred on the arts and the post-romantic discourse. It is telling that the only non-academic institution that features in the acknowledgements is the Arts Council (2019:9). This is due to the context of radical funding cuts in schools due to the EBacc and the consequent disincentivising of schools to prioritise arts subjects. 'The commission believes that the arts make an invaluable contribution to the development of young people. We are therefore deeply concerned about

the reduction in status of arts subjects including art and design, dance, drama and music within schools that has followed the introduction of the EBacc in secondary education, and that concern is reflected in our recommendations' (2019:6). The democratic discourses on creativity gain a lot of political traction (see for example the profile of the commissioners for this report (2019:2)) and hence it is most useful to use this discourse as a 'way-in' to the commission and to give credence to its recommendations.

The preoccupation with the EBacc and its effects is made clear in the report. The Ebacc is directly linked to the dichotomisation of 'creative' and 'non creative' (2019:54) subjects.

> Concern has been raised that since the introduction of English Baccalaureate (EBacc) subjects with a focus on English language and literature, mathematics and the sciences, there has been a reduction of the number of students taking what has been traditionally thought of as *creative subjects* at GCSE and A level. This, in the opinion of the Commission, results in a serious imbalance in the all-round education of students. (2019:54).

Here a key motivation of the commission is revealed and this underscores why the post-romantic discourse is prevalent and is the preoccupation of the commission due to its authorship largely by the Arts Council.

A final piece of evidence that creativity in this document largely refers to the post-romantic arts-based definition is the frequency of reference to funding. Cross-curricular, democratic discourse on creativity does not demand extra funding, as this drive for creativity is more cerebral and intellectual. It depends on a mindset and a pedagogical approach, as opposed to resources. The references to funding relate to the lack of teacher training places, for example, for teachers of the arts and hence this is squarely placed in the post-romantic discourse. For example, it states: 'there is a huge disparity in teaching for creativity between

schools, often reflecting socio-economic factors. We have found the independent sector has been resources for creativity' (2019:7). This implicature here is that 'teaching for creativity' needs resources and facilities which is very much the case for arts education. There is a discourse entanglement with the religious and democratic discourses here as 'teaching for creativity' is framed as a human right: 'as a matter of social justice… it should be available to all young people' (2019:7). This is later emphasised: 'The Commission concludes that the arts do have a distinct contribution to make towards nurturing creativity and has serious concerns about the decline in the provision and uptake of arts subjects in schools. When students' experience of subjects such as art and design, dance, drama and music is limited or indeed non-existent, they become the province of the privileged' (2019:23). This line of argument is put forward very strongly, but it underlines the post-romantic discourse is the core discourse, rather than the others. The key purpose of this commission could perhaps be made more transparent. It is clearly making a strong case to strengthen the status of arts education in schools, and not to make a case for cross-curricular creativity. The commission repeatedly layers the discourses to strengthen the case for arts education which has at its root the post-romantic discourse.

The discourse entanglements obscure the post-romantic motivation to abolish EBacc downgrading of the Arts. The democratic, scientific and religious discourses are also employed to strengthen the case for the post-romantic discourse's aim to restore arts education. The democratic, scientific and religious discourses therefore emerge as more compelling and attractive discourses which are used to conceal the socio-economic and post-romantic discourses. The socio-economic discourse is less attractive as it monetises creativity and the post-romantic discourse is less attractive as it compartmentalises creativity and places it as the conserve of talented, exceptional individuals who excel in certain arts-based disciplines.

At the outset of this document, the democratic discourse is used. The commission attempts to show that creativity is not the preserve of the arts, but can be found in all disciplines and should be nurtured in all individuals. Creativity is defined as a universal: 'they need to make the most of our human capacity for imagination and critical judgement' (2019:5). The implication that all children have this capacity clearly points to small c creativity. The 'misconception that creativity is solely the province of the arts' (2019:6), is a leitmotif or topoi. About this misconception, it is stated boldly: 'This is not true. Creativity exists in all disciplines. It is valued by mathematicians, scientists and entrepreneurs, as well as by artists, writers and composers.' (2019:6) In these two statements, by attempting to dispel the misconception, the dichotomy is well set up. Throughout the Commission, there are frequent references to the need for creativity in science (for example 'creativity in science is different from creativity in drama, but it is valuable in both (2019:14)') but this is not backed up by practical recommendations, in the same way as it is for arts education.

Despite the couching in the democratic discourse, the socio-economic discourse is employed from the outset to give currency to the commission. The early use of 'need', used three times in the first paragraph, shows a discourse entanglement with the socio-economic discourse. The opening phrase of the second paragraph argues for the socio-economic benefit of creativity: 'Whatever we call it, we need it urgently.' (2019:6). Comparisons with other countries are made to strengthen the case: 'Countries such as Finland, Australia, Singapore and Canada are evolving creativity-focused education systems to future proof their prosperity. But in England, we have not yet given creativity the priority that is required to meet our future needs' (2019:6). 'Creativity is the driver of economic growth and innovation' (2019:7) reinforces the economic imperative to teach for creativity. The presentation of the socio-economic imperative to adapt which can be remedied through an educational universal is the most common discourse entanglement in the discourses on creativity. It shows clearly

how creativity can be harnessed as a rhetorical device to insist upon change which seems very anodyne, and which wins universal support often masks other, more instrumental and partisan motives. This tension is recognised in the foreword, in that the definition of the term is amorphous; changing according to narrative need: ‘Creativity of course, goes by many names. It may be called intuition, enquiry, or expression; for business, it may be described as innovation, invention or entrepreneurship’ (2019:5).

The socio-economic discourse is entangled with the scientific and empirical discourse. Because arts education has been downgraded due to its exclusion from the EBacc measure, there is an attempt to quantify creativity, and to align creativity with assessment. There are references to PISA and the inclusion in their international assessment (2019:21). Tenuous claims are made which are in some ways unfalsifiable are made: ‘Creativity is now one of the most sought-after clusters of skills for all employers’ (2017:7). The Commission does not pursue this line of argument at length as it is clear that there are issues surrounding the measurability of creativity, and the assessment of it. Although advancing this discourse would be useful in terms of the socio-economic discourse, it is fraught with difficulties and there is also dissonance here between this discourse and the post-romantic discourse.

The religious discourse is in the background of the commission. It is often entangled with the democratic discourse. Its intrinsic value and merit are often referred to, for example, ‘Young people can find strength, inspiration, consolation and community in their shared experience of creativity’ (2019:8). These terms are much softer than those employed in the socio-economic discourse (‘driver’, ‘need’, ‘future proof prosperity’) and are at odds with them. The strategy to layer discourses and to appeal to a wider readership is clear here.

The cross-disciplinary nature of creativity is repeatedly acknowledged in the report: ‘in all areas of life, from the sciences to the humanities to the arts, creativity is the ability to think laterally and come up with imaginative solutions to problems, to work across

disciplines or to enjoy constructive play' (2019:5). As is usual in such policy documents therefore, the democratic discourse is employed and creativity is set out as a cross-disciplinary phenomenon, however, of the ten recommendations, six are firmly within the post-romantic discourse and focus on creativity in arts education. The recommendations are: Recommendation 1 'Creative Collaboratives (sponsored to the Arts Council) (2019:19), Recommendation 2 Consideration of assessment for 'craftsmanship' (2019:20), Recommendation 3 Ofsted should 'make clearer that it is looking for teaching for scholarship and craftsmanship' (2019:21), Recommendation 7 'Arts and Culture should be an essential part of education for every child' including plans for music education, the Artsmark and professional development in arts education (2019:23), Recommendation 8 'Creativity in the Early Years' (2019:24) and Recommendation 9 'The Arts Council should align and build on existing out of school opportunities such as Saturday Clubs, Music Education Hubs, existing Arts Council Programmes and the National Citizens Service.' (2019:25). The other four recommendations were not as significantly post-romantic. Participation in PISA could be seen as part of the empirical discourse, the championing of digital technology could be seen to be socio-economic and democratic discourse, the need for further research could be part of the democratic or empirical discourses. Readiness for the world of work could be seen as the part of the socio-economic discourse. It is clear that the prevalent discourse strand is the post-romantic discourse.

6.3 Media

The Guardian 2019, The Guardian View on Creativity in Education: A Missing Ingredient

This editorial piece in The Guardian largely summarises the Durham Commission and echoes the keypoints from the Commission. The Guardian clearly promotes and supports the conclusions from the report. The writing is clearly critical of the government which instigated the EBacc (Conservative) and uses the term 'Grandgrindian' to refer to the reforms of Michael Gove as Secretary of State for Education.

Despite the opening is preceded by the qualifier 'obviously', however this creates a dichotomisation which is not particularly aided by the word 'obviously'. Later in the article 'creative subjects' is explicitly used: 'There has been a 28.1% decline in uptake of creative subjects at GCSE since remarks, once again leveraging the democratic and cross-curricular nature of creativity ('Creativity is not something that should inhabit the school curriculum only as it relates to drama, music, art and other obviously creative subjects, but that creative thinking ought to run through all of school life, infusing the way human and natural sciences are learned'), the discourse quickly reverts to the post-romantic discourse. Here the idea of 'creative subjects' 2014, though happily, art and design have seen a recent uptick.'

The article goes on to highlight that the facilities for arts education ('creative subjects') at independent schools are much better than state schools and hence there is an inequality of opportunity. Here we can see the post-romantic discourse arts-specific discourse is used.

The final part of the article highlights that, due to global issues and crises, creativity will be much needed in the future, hence the socio-economic discourse is employed.

Therefore this article employs the democratic, post-romantic and socio-economic discourses on creativity. This entanglement is used to further the discourse positions that

there is injustice in the funding of education and that the government's education policy is heavily flawed. Here we can see that discourses on creativity are heavily leveraged in the political arena. The underlying discourse position of the author of this editorial seems to be post-romantic, however the socio-economic and democratic discourses are heavily utilised to add weight to this discourse. Here it can be seen that the universal appeal of creativity as post-romantic can be a 'trump card' for those in opposition to the government, in particular due to the EBacc omission of arts subjects.

The Guardian, January 2018, Creativity can be taught to anyone, so why are we leaving it to private schools? Rufus Norris

Even though this article purports to be about creativity, the standfirst is 'The UK's creative industries are world leading. Excluding state-educated people from the arts will throw that excellence away.' In this standfirst, there is a typical discourse entanglement between the socio-economic discourse and the post-romantic discourse in which creativity is the preserve of the arts.

This article begins by explicitly rejecting the capital C definition of creativity and the post-romantic discourse on creativity by citing the example of Mozart. The article accuses the government of 'buying-in' to this post-romantic discourse, that creativity is something exceptional, unique, innate and relates only to the 'genius'. Norris states that this understanding can be the only possible justification for the government's 'squeezing out' of creativity in education. 'It seems increasingly clear that the British government has bought into this fiction. He asks, 'What other explanation can there be for the baffling disconnect between its industrial strategy, which prizes the creative industries as a priority sector, and an education policy that is deliberately squeezing creativity out of our children's learning?' (Norris, 2018).

The headline of the article seems to refer to a democratic discourse ('Creativity can be taught to anyone'), but then quickly defaults to the post-romantic discourse in the standfirst and beyond. In the second paragraph, the socio-economic discourse is introduced to give weight to the argument that 'creative subjects' should not be marginalised.

The main thrust of the article is that there has been a drop in uptake of 'creative subjects' due to the EBacc: 'Since 2010, there has been a 28% drop in the number of children taking creative GCSEs, with a corresponding drop in the number of specialist arts teachers being trained.' Understandably, the adjective 'creative' here is being used as a synonym for

‘arts’. This is due to the power of the word ‘creative’ as discussed earlier, but here we can clearly see the ‘academic’ or ‘core’ subjects being juxtaposed with the ‘creative’ or ‘arts’ subjects. This article therefore presents a key example of the seemingly innocuous deployment of ‘creative’ as a synonym for ‘arts’ driving a divide between subject groups. This is a clear result of the EBacc division of subjects but the damaging discourse is further entrenched by attempts to resolve it. In this sentence: ‘Hardly surprising when the Ebacc, a government school performance measure focusing on a core set of academic subjects studied for GCSE, does not include a single creative discipline’ once again, the creative/academic dichotomy is made.

The Guardian, December 2018, Future graduates will need creativity and empathy – not just technical skills. Natalie Brett

The headline of this article clearly sets up the dichotomy which is the focus of this thesis. 'Creativity and empathy' are set up in opposition to, or at least to be 'other' than 'technical skills'. Rather than emphasising the combination of creativity and technical skills, they are contrasted in this headline. This means the headline seems to place creativity in the post-romantic discourse. However, there is an entanglement here, because the word 'need' is a clear motif of the socio-economic discourse on creativity.

The standfirst consolidates this division: 'Government education policy focuses on the importance of hard science, but soft skills matter too.' Here, Brett shows not only the division between science and creativity in educational discourse, but the perceived hierarchy as well. Rather than science and creativity being given equal value, science comes first and is described with the adjective 'hard', whereas creativity comes second and is described with the adjective 'soft'. The use of these adjectives is problematic. Even though they are not explicitly synonymous with 'more difficult' and 'easier', discourse has evolved to use these adjectives as an acceptable shorthand for this distinction.

Brett later in the article conceded that the term 'soft skills' (as opposed to 'hard skills') 'are already disadvantaged by the term's connotations' and 'relegate them even further down the pecking order in terms of curriculum must-haves'. Although Brett says 'this is a mistake', because 'Stem-related careers… have stalled [since 2000] …. In contrast, jobs in the creative industries, in the UK rose nearly 20%.' Once again, the post-romantic discourse is drawn on, because creativity and science are differentiated here, rather than being seen, as in the democratic discourse, to be homogenous.

The socio-economic discourse then becomes prevalent as Brett talks about the 'fourth industrial revolution' and the fact that creativity is a 'top prerequisite' for companies such as Google. In answer to the question, 'why are soft skills so highly sought after' Brett gives the example of learning to code. She says that 'although technical skills, such as learning to code, can be taught and assessed more easily and soft skills take time to develop and are more complex in nature, the latter can turn out to be more beneficial in the long term.' What is striking here, is that she does not acknowledge that the 'technical skill' of coding itself demands creativity, and that coding is not possible without creativity. She seems to say that coding (the technical skill) can be assessed, whereas creativity cannot, but coding would be a very good example of when it is possible to assess creativity via the code produced. Technical skills alone will not allow a coder to 'create' code. Hence in this article we can see the problematic dichotomisation of 'technical' and 'creative' skills and this comes about due to the use of the post-romantic discourse.

The soft skills cited are 'being a good coach, communicating and listening well, possessing insights into other point of view, being supportive of one's colleagues, critical thinking and problem solving, and being able to make connections across complex ideas.' In this list 'creativity' is not explicitly mentioned, but it has been placed in this camp earlier in the article. However, 'problem solving', which is one definition of creativity is mentioned. The paragraph goes on to state that these are 'fundamentally human emotional and social skills which should be nurtured'. This is very 'soft' language and deepens the divide further between the 'hard, technical skills' and the 'social and emotional skills'. 'Problem solving' seems to belong with 'technical skills' as it is hard to see how engineers, medics, coders and in fact anyone using technical skill could operate without problem solving. This once again highlights the problem in using the post-romantic, arts-based discourse on creativity as it means that the 'social and emotional' aspects of creativity are emphasised over the cerebral

and intellectual side which is what is actually required according to the socio-economic and democratic discourse.

The article concludes by saying that ‘soft skills’ must be taught ‘alongside hard skills’. However, this again creates a division rather than seeing that one is part of, or necessary to, the other. It also states ‘it [teaching soft skills] needs to be tackled across the entire education system’. Here, the democratic discourse comes in to frame the article, even though this discourse has been undermined by the body of the article which uses the post-romantic discourse. This is fully punctuated by the final paragraph which shows the authors cards. She states that ‘enrolment in arts and humanities degrees is in decline’ and that the government is focused on ‘technical Stem subjects’, so she thinks that the value of ‘soft skills’ is ‘in danger of being lost.’ The article ends with a plea to ‘reframe the language we use to describe these skills’. It seems therefore there is a cognitive dissonance in the article. On one hand, being a proponent of the arts and humanities, the author wishes to associate with the ‘soft skill’ of creativity, and utilises the democratic and socio-economic discourse, however, on the other, because she wishes to claim the term for her oeuvre to juxtapose her area with that of STEM, she needs to utilise the post-romantic discourse. Like the Warwick and Durham Commissions, there is a difficulty here with using these two and sometimes three contrasting discourses in the same line of argument as they tend to undermine each other.

Daily Mail, March 2015, Creative subjects being squeezed out of schools by new league table reforms that place more weight on English and Maths, experts warn. Sarah Harris

The presupposition that English and Maths are not 'creative subjects' is clear in the headline of this article. The post-romantic discourse is in evidence as 'creative subjects' and hence 'creativity' is positioned as a victim of the utilitarian core subjects by using the emotive verbs 'squeezed out' and 'warn'. This article's subject is a warning from experts and hence it is clear that the supremacy of the 'non-creative' subjects is seen as a damaging or worrisome phenomenon. The article goes on to show how the English Baccalaureate subjects are being given priority by headteachers over 'creative' subjects. Progress 8 was initially seen as a better measure for arts subjects as Progress 8 includes English, Maths, three EBacc subjects (science, computer science, geography, history and languages) and three optional subjects. Despite the seemingly promising nature of Progress 8 for arts subjects, the article says that 'DATA (the Design and Technology Association) has warned that schools are urging students to take further EBacc subjects as 'optional subjects.' Hence this article shows the further victimisation of 'creative subjects' at the hands of government reform. In the article the National Society for Education in Art and Design is cited as being 'aware' of 'creative subjects being affected'. This article clearly shows the dichotomisation between creative and non-creative subjects. It shows the utilitarian push towards the non-creative subjects. It almost personifies the 'creative subjects' and places them in a weak position, being dominated and at high risk due to government policy. Throughout the article, the only examples given on creative subjects are art and design.

Daily Mail, November 2018, I have a Masters and now I work at Deliveroo: Literature graduate is among thousands of men who studied 'creative courses' costing over £9000 a year but earn on average less than those without degrees. Eleanor Harding

The Daily Mail, as the most widely circulated British news source, is a tabloid whose style involves controversial headlines. This article challenges the assumption that university courses are pathways to well-paid careers, by citing the example of a graduate who is now part of the gig economy, traditionally associated with lower incomes. This article is rooted in the socio-economic discourse, but argues that 'creative courses' are not 'lucrative'.

The article argues that 'arts courses produce negative returns'. Even though the headline refers to 'creative courses', this is immediately replaced by 'arts courses' in the standfirst, showing that these two terms are interchangeable. Again, later in the article it is claimed that 'data exposes how many arts and humanities courses produce negative returns'. Again, 'creative courses' has been replaced with 'arts and humanities courses'.

Daily Mail, August 2011, Your imagination is not playing tricks on you – children really are becoming less creative.

The post-romantic discourse centring on the purity and positivity of creativity is centralised in this Daily Mail article. In addition, creativity as a pre-requisite of a good childhood' is the focal point. The article comes from the position of recognising a decline in standards, which is quite common in the tabloid press. This decline is characterised by the fact posited in the headline that 'children are less creative.' This article hints at the empirical discourse, as this headline presupposes that creativity is measurable and could therefore be seen to have declined. The evidence for this decline is based on a 2010 study by Kyung Hee Kim. The article says that since 1990, 'children have become less able to produce unique and unusual ideas.' The article however also cites the post-romantic or religious discourse by stating 'Experts say creativity is innate, so it cannot really be lost.' The expert cited is Beghetto who says that testing is 'hampering development of creativity'. Again, we have a contradiction here, as although the article has just stated that creativity is innate, this statement seems to show that it can be developed. The article goes on to state that Dr Kim had shown that, whilst SAT scores are increasing, outcomes in the Torrance test were decreasing. Dr Kim is quoted at the end of the article: 'I believe No Child Left Behind [a US government measure introduced in 2001 that requires schools to use standardised testing to assess whether schools meet state standards] really hurt creativity,' Kim said. 'If we just focus on just No Child Left Behind — testing, testing, testing — then how can creative students survive?'

This tabloid article is atypically deferent to academic research, however the article oversimplifies a complex phenomenon. The discourse entanglements between the empirical and post-romantic discourses make the message of the article unclear. If creativity is innate, then there is little that the state can do to improve creative outcomes, however, if it can be

developed and assessed then there is an imperative to improve creative outcomes. There was no attention given to the socio-economic discourse, so a reader was led to an emotional or nostalgic response as a result of the loss of creativity due to the focus on the post-romantic discourse. The article would have been clearer had the empirical discourse been coupled with the socio-economic discourse. As it stands the article's discourse entanglement leads to a confusion over how, whether and why creative outcomes should or could be improved.

The Times, October 2019, Bring back creativity, but don't make teachers meet quotas for it. Richard Morrison

The fact that this article is in Richard Morrison's arts column seems to predict that this article will place creativity in the post-romantic discourse. It is a critique of the Durham Commission and Nicholas Serota, the chairman of the Arts Council England's, approach to it. However, Morrison emphasises that despite the 'arty types' who authored and contributed to the Commission, he was 'surprised' by the document. Rather than it being 'another plea for putting arts back in to schools…. It calls for a fundamental rethink of England's entire educational philosophy.' He is pleased by the 'concept of "creative thinking" being 'incorporated into teaching in all subjects at all levels, from early years to sixth form.' Therefore, in this article, Morrison seems to favour the democratic discourse on creativity and favour a universal approach to the subject. Small c creativity is championed and the idea of this being recognised in the Commission is pleasing.

Later in the article a 'free-thinking capacity' is used as synonymous with creativity and this relates to the socio-economic discourse. The writer bemoans education's lack of suitability as preparation for the future workplace: 'Even though more and more jobs need people who can think flexibly, clearly and creatively for themselves as repetitive tasks are taken over by machines, we aren't cultivating that free-thinking capacity in young people.' The writer's main thrust is that creativity is essential as the workplace evolves. He highlights from the Durham Commission: 'Creative thinking…."is becoming central to the educational systems of our economic competitors" as they seek to "future-proof their prosperity" in what's been called the fourth industrial revolution.'. He refers to the evidence of schools in Canada, Singapore, Finland and Australia where 'creative thinking' is taught to all students and has a prominent place on curricula. There is a clear discourse entanglement between the democratic and socio-economic discourse. All need creativity in order to prosper and who

will be ‘equipped to survive a century in which human ingenuity is likely to be tested to its limits.’

The article clearly juxtaposes a utilitarian vision of education, which could be considered to be in keeping with a Dickensian or Govean vision of education: ‘teaching to the test’, ‘the curriculum grindstone’, ‘narrow, well-worn academic channels’ with the freedom of ‘going off piste’, ‘thinking laterally or independently’ and ‘taking a creative approach to learning’. Here we can see a contrast drawn between creativity as intrinsically good (the religious discourse) and usefulness in society (socio-economic discourse).

Even though the majority of the Durham Commission focuses on the role of arts in schools, the author of this article chooses to focus on the socio-economic discourse on creativity. He argues that creativity is vital to future prosperity, but that schools are not currently for purpose as they are not ‘teaching for creativity’. He touches on the empirical discourse, saying ‘creative thinking is much harder to evaluate than the accumulation of knowledge. We would have to repurpose the Ofsted inspection process, overhaul the exams systems, retrain the teaching profession and find new ways of ranking schools.’ Therefore the disharmony between all the discourses on creativity mean that schools are currently failing to educate for creativity, with ‘students in an educational slow lane, with consequences for the country’s future economy and society as a whole.’

The tone of this article is one of urgency and warning. The writer calls the Durham Commission ‘provocative’ and a ‘wake-up call to governments’. However, as has been concluded above, the writer says that the Durham Commission ‘falls down’ when making its recommendations. The recommendations, such as the call for ‘creativity collaboratives’ in which ‘schools collaborate in establishing the conditions required for nurturing creativity in the classroom across the curriculum’, are seen to be overly bureaucratic, and focused on the empirical discourse, rather than the democratic discourse.

The problem of the empirical discourse for creativity is seen as the central stumbling block for the improvement of the English curriculum in terms of creativity: 'lumbering teachers with yet another batch of directives, targets and "measurable outcomes" is not the answer.' At the conclusion of the article, the writer circles back and admits the problem but is unable to provide practical solutions for its resolution (just as the Commission does). The writer praises the Commission's accurate diagnosis of the problem: 'Serota and chums have done an excellent job in identifying the malaise at the heart of English educational system' but is vague when it comes to the solution, which he suggests is 'surely to restore to teachers the power to use their imaginations rather than being shackled to a one-size-fits-all regimen of learning.' The difficulty with this prescription is that it easily falls into the post-romantic discourse and recommendations for further funding of the arts, rather than any idea of how to teach for creativity according to the democratic discourse. Therefore in this article we see the predominance and the urgency of the socio-economic discourse, but an entanglement of the empirical, post-romantic, socio-economic and democratic discourses when it comes to offering pragmatic ways forward.

The Times, September 2020, Sir Ken Robinson obituary

The standfirst of Robinson's obituary is that 'creativity is as important as literacy in schools.' It is striking that this claim, the claim of his TED talk and the basis of his future writings, is the claim which is given the utmost prominence in the obituary. Literacy is indisputably an educational universal, so giving parity to literacy and creativity places Robinson's discourse on creativity as fundamentally democratic.

Robinson's narrative, however, is rooted in the socio-economic discourse. Robinson was appointed by Blair to chair a government committee that published 'All our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education', which set out 59 practical recommendations to help education 'meet the challenges of the post-industrial world'. The negative side of the socio-economic discourse is also present in Robinson's work: 'Our education system has mined our minds the way we strip-mine the Earth for a particular commodity.' The allusion to the exploitation of the natural world aligns those who champion creativity in education with other benevolent causes such as the protection and preservation of the environment. The arguments, associations and allusions Robinson utilised in his narrative 'improv' TED talk to argue for a more prominent role for creativity in schools are emotive. He refers to the 'strip-mining' of the Earth, children 'being frightened of being wrong' and 'ruthlessly squandering talents'. In this obituary, the rhetoric of Robinson is celebrated as he crafted a duality between 'our education system' and his vision, where one was obviously on the side of virtue, and the other was not. A personal reflection where Robinson cited his own daughter's experience as his motivation for his work on creativity is given. The Robinsons decided to home-school their daughter as 'they saw the light go out in her eyes'. Further emotive phrases that children should 'not be forced in a template', and of them 'being put on medication', and 'being frightened' serve to enhance the idea of the aggression of the state stifling the innate genius or capital C Creativity in children. He alludes to the state's suppression of the

religious and post-romantic discourses and the polarisation of state versus individual is characteristic of these discourses. The imbalance of power is the main aggressor in undermining and even destroying creativity. Creativity is set up as a benevolent force, whereas anything that stands in the way of its development or nurturing is malevolent.

The two examples cited in the obituary as positive case studies for creativity in education are both part of the post-romantic discourse. He cites the example of a girl in an art lesson drawing God, and the example of a choreographer and dancer. This follows the pattern of other commentary on creativity. Bold assertions regarding the centrality of creativity following the democratic discourse are set up, but the pragmatic exemplification uses post-romantic discourse.

His use of humour is another rhetorical device celebrated in his TED talk which encourages laughter at the 'system'. The teachers are portrayed as being on the side of the 'system', whereas young children and talented children are illustrative of the purity and the potential of creativity. ('The girl said, 'I am drawing a picture of God.' And the teacher said 'But nobody knows what God looks like', To which the girl replied, 'They will in a minute.')

In his obituary, criticism of Robinson is referred to: 'Not everyone was seduced by his schtick. Critics accused him of hiding behind humour and anecdote, arguing that while Robinson highlighted genuine problems in education, he offered few solutions.' The humour and anecdote (or 'improv' as Robinson himself called it) attracted an audience of 67 million viewers, however it sets up a dichotomy between creativity and non-creativity, system and student which offers few practical solutions.

The Times, November 2014, Schools are killing creativity, says professor. Nicola Willcock

Willcock makes a clear allusion to Sir Ken Robinson's TED talk in her headline. In this article however, she summarises Professor Guy Claxton's contribution to the World Innovation Summit for Education in Doha, Qatar. Claxton makes a clear case for creativity in education which is a clear articulation of the socio-economic discourse: 'I'm of the view that we really need creativity because it's of great social benefit, not just economic and personal' and that creativity is necessary 'if they were to succeed in modern life.'

Professor Claxton also criticised the post-romantic discourse on creativity and its transposition into schools as a focus on arts: 'Creativity shouldn't be a matter of occasional artistic, light-relief from the curriculum' and later, 'in a lot of English primary schools, people were very excited about creativity but what it turned out to be was a frenzy of drama, music, rehearsing and performing that lasted for a few days'. He also criticises the post-romantic discourse in terms of the capital C definition of creativity: 'We used to think of creativity as a solo activity - the lone genius composing his sonatas in a quiet room, but we now know it's highly collaborative.'

Through his championing of the socio-economic discourse, he argues for the democratic, small c discourse on creativity. Rather than being the preserve of the artistic genius, or the primary school, or arts education, he argues for an educational universal. He argues for creativity as 'awkward', 'disruptive', 'disrespectful', 'inconvenient', and argues that 'children could be taught to be creative through the encouragement of inquisitiveness, persistence, imagination and a playful attitude of mind.' By emphasising the difficulty of teaching for creativity, he is showing why pragmatic solutions to teaching for creativity are hard to prescribe. The democratic discourse on creativity highlights that although teaching for creativity is a universal desideratum, it is not yet clear how the education system, which currently emphasises accountability and measurability, can accommodate it. The final

paragraphs make some suggestions but the implication is that much more work would need to be done.

6.4 Other Media and Educational Texts

Oxford Royale Academy: How to choose your A levels

When one searches for A level advice, one of the first webpages listed is Oxford Royale Academy's 'How to choose your A levels.' Whilst most of the information seems to be quite anodyne, there are some assertions which contribute to the discourses on creativity. Firstly, there is a linking of 'practical subjects' and 'creative thinking'. 'Creative thinking' is not linked to either of the other two subject areas (STEM and Humanities): 'Practical subjects such as Art or Music demonstrate self-discipline and creative thinking.' This shows the dichotomisation of subjects and the linking of creativity with arts-based subjects only, as opposed to being a more universal construct. Hence, even in a relatively prosaic and straightforward A level advice guide, we see small c creativity and the post-romantic discourse.

Also evident is the major cause of the post-romantic discourse being so prevalent in Commissions – reference to the Russell Group's list of Facilitating Subjects. This list of subjects excludes any arts subjects, and this is the major reason why there has been a decline in arts education, and why arts organisations have needed to leverage the creativity discourse. This is an example of the problematic discourse which disadvantages arts education:
'Another source you might want to take into account when choosing your A-levels is the Russell Group's list of so-called 'facilitating subjects' – particularly if you're thinking of applying to a Russell Group university. The subjects are:
– Mathematics and Further Mathematics
– English Literature
– Physics
– Biology
– Chemistry

– Geography

– History

– Languages (Classical and Modern)

These are the subjects that are most often required by top universities.'

The bullet pointed list is shown here as this semantic device gives weight and credibility to the list, and it is a bullet pointed list that is reused in most A level choice documentation. Even though there is contextual information in the original document from the Russell Group, the bullet pointing gives this an ease of use and reuse and the tendency is for the contextualisation to be ignored. The Oxford Royale document states 'Clare College in Cambridge says that "most of our successful applicants over the last couple of years have offered facilitating subjects for most or all of their A-levels."' The added credibility of university sources such as this one means that the idea of facilitating subjects becomes more and more firmly set in the consciousness of parents, students, teachers and school leaders. This has serves to consolidate the post-romantic discourse on creativity, that is that the 'creative genius' in arts subjects should attend art college or music school, whilst belittling the socio-economic and democratic discourses on creativity. Hence the list of facilitating subjects has a profound effect on the dichotomisation of arts and sciences as 'creative' and 'academic' respectively.

The Uni Guide: Six things you need to know before making your final A level choices

The first piece of advice given on this prominent website is to pay attention to the specific subjects that need to be studied for specific courses. The Russell Group website is the second hyperlink available. Up until 2019, this would have pointed students to the Facilitating Subjects list, however, now the Russell Group have abandoned the list of Facilitating Subjects due to the adverse effects on arts and technical subjects ('Russell Group ditches 'facilitating subjects' A-level list' Schools Week 20 Oct 22). The Guardian reported in 2019 that the Russell Group list of Facilitating Subjects had been scrapped: 'Critics claim it has resulted in a narrowing of the school curriculum, squeezing out arts and creative subjects in favour of the more traditional, academic subjects included on the list. Subjects like art and music have been among the hardest hit.' (Weale: 2019) This article neatly summarises the issue and shows the direct dichotomisation of 'creative' and 'academic' subjects. Even though the list has now been 'scrapped' – the eight years of the list's existence have had a profound effect on a generation's choices, their perceptions of the relative importance of subjects and the terminology used is in common parlance in schools and in the media, despite its original source having gone (Arora: 2019). For example Annetts, chief executive of the Incorporated Society of Musicians said that the list 'had had a 'devastating effect' on the uptake of creative subjects at A level.' (Weale:2019). Here again, the use of the term 'creative' has been leveraged to refer to arts subjects such as music to utilising the post-romantic and socio-economic discourses on creativity. This website goes on to say itself that the list of 'facilitating subjects' has been scrapped, but still lists them in bullet pointed form, which still gives the appearance of credibility and importance to the list.

BBC: Teenagers given updated advice on A level choices. Branwen Jeffreys, 23 May 2019

This article focuses on the change to A level subject choice advice from the Russell Group. It highlights that a new website has been launched to 'replace a controversial list of academic subjects said to help entry' (Jeffreys: 2019). Here it is admitted that the list is 'controversial' and that the subjects listed are 'academic'. It is important to note that in the eight years of the facilitating subject lists' existence, it was not seen to be very controversial. Aside from a handful of articles and research (McInerney:2013, Camden:2016), relatively little was written about the impact that it was having or would have. It is only in retrospect that the effect of the list his being recognised.

Even though this article is about the scrapping of the list, the legacy of the list is in evidence as the academic/creative dichotomisation is used to explain the new website: 'Creative subjects and other less traditional disciplines, such as psychology, are given more prominence. The previous advice was largely based on a core list of traditional subjects, such as the sciences, maths, English and languages.' (Jeffreys: 2019). A Head of Sixth Form, Rob Clarke at a secondary school in Liverpool is interviewed and his vocabulary around choice again emphasises the effect of the eight years of the list and the language being used in schools: "It [the facilitating subjects list] has led to many of the creative subjects being sidelined and has perhaps given the idea of some of our students that certain subjects are less worthwhile, which is unfortunate for those creative A-levels that are really valuable." (Jeffreys: 2019). Not only does this show the two-tier approach to subjects, but the application of the adjective 'creative' to apply only to some the subjects not listed, not the ones which appear on the list. Serota is quoted at the end of the article as saying that the list of facilitating subjects had 'been taken as gospel' (Jeffreys: 2019). His inclusion in the article and his championing of the new approach creates the possibility of a causal link between the scrapping of the list and the Durham Commission (2019).

Arts Professional: Decline in creative A levels accelerates, 23 August 2019

Redmond (2019) lists the 'creative subjects' in this article: Art and Design, Music, Design and Technology, Drama, Media, Film and Television Studies, and Performing and Expressive Arts. It is unusual to see a specific list of subjects given this nomenclature, and this is very clearly the post-romantic discourse on creativity as opposed to the democratic discourse. Redmond cites a 6.5% decline in 2018-2019, compared to a 4.3% decline the year before and a 2% decline the year before that. She says that 'overall 17,777 fewer students sat creative subjects this year than in 2015, a 24.2% drop' (Redmond:2019). This article presents this fall as alarming using words such as 'accelerating', 'decline', 'hardest hit', 'plummet', 'deepening crisis', 'bad news'. The EBacc effect is cited as a cause by the JCQ in the article and the uptake of other facilitating subjects. In addition, a gender gap is reported. 'The most recent [2019] A Level results confirm a persistent gender gap, with 24,000 more female students sitting creative subjects than male students this year' (Redmond:2019).

The article quotes the Association for School and College Leaders (ASCL) who also uses the creative/academic subject dichotomy to describe the decline in arts subjects. 'Suzanne O'Farrell, Curriculum and Assessment Specialist at the ASCL, said: "The number of GCSE entries to most creative arts subjects is in sharp decline because of school performance measures which favour traditional academic subjects, and funding pressures which are forcing schools to cut back on curriculum options. One of the advantages of having a broad curriculum is that it helps to break down gender stereotypes because students can select from a number of options.' (Knott, 2018). This article is interesting because it brings together statistics on subject uptake (albeit mainly at GCSE) and emphasises the separation between academic and creative subjects, thereby participating in the post-romantic discourse on creativity.

6.5 School Sixth Form Recruitment and Advice Materials

School A 2018 'A Utopia for Creative Minds' Driven to Create

It is common for UK independent schools in a competitive marketplace to use either academia or creativity as their marketing strategies. If an independent school is selective and its examination results are above average, then the main marketing strategy will be to promote academic outcomes. If a school is non-selective, then the most common strategy is to promote creativity. This does two things. Firstly, it participates in the tension between the 'academic' and the 'creative', posing the two in opposition, therefore detracting from the democratic discourse on creativity. Secondly, it places itself within the post-romantic discourse.

School A does this by stating that it is a 'utopia for creative minds' and saying that 'the defining feature for School A is its creativity', that creativity is 'the glory of School A' and 'at the heart of its ethos'. It then says it 'provides outstanding opportunities for the aspiring actor, singer, artist, fashion designer, dancer or filmmaker' and there is a 'glittering array of performance opportunities' before going on to list performing arts facilities. No further opportunities for creativity elsewhere in the curriculum are mentioned. However this is understandable, in order to create a strong message, the word 'creativity' which has gained power due to the democratic discourse, has been given prominence in order to create a coherent marketing strategy and USP for the school. The coded message of this website is that this is not an 'academic' school as it is has chosen instead to prioritise its 'creative' opportunities for students.

School B 2019 Sixth Form Prospectus

'Where the excellent becomes the permanent'

School B is a comprehensive state-maintained school and sixth form college in South West London. It utilises both the post-romantic and democratic discourses on creativity in its prospectus. Firstly, it uses the tagline 'order, structure, creativity' to describe how students are able to creatively use their time if they perform well. That is they are able to earn the privilege of studying off campus. Secondly, it refers to 'debating, hypothesising and thinking creatively' which is nurtured and developed through the mentoring programme which is based on 'Philosophy for Children ideology'. Both of these features are part of the democratic discourse on creativity as they posit that this is part of the universal offer and desiderata for all students at the college. Later, in the prospectus, it is commented 'many visitors to our school have commented on the creative energy in our Arts faculty'. This uses the post-romantic discourse on creativity to promote the arts faculty containing art, dance, drama and music.

School C 2020 Sixth Form Prospectus

School C is a state-maintained school and sixth form of a religious character. Creativity is referred to twelve times within the prospectus, all of these occurrences are in relation to visual or performing arts or humanities. On all occasions it is part of the post-romantic discourse, except once when the socio-economic discourse is used to argue for the desirability of the Art qualification. Each subject has a page to 'market' its subject, and the five subjects that refer to creativity in order to promote their subjects are Art, Design and Technology, Drama, Food Technology and Music. On the Art page it says 'This course enables you to develop your independence and creativity to the very highest level'. Student voice is then employed: 'I really look forward to my Art lessons, doing something creative and something different from all my other A levels'. The student here is participating in and promoting the post-romantic discourse. Post-romantic discourse tends to separate the creative and here the subject is seen as set apart from other subjects. The idea that creativity could be found in other subjects is dismissed. The author of the Art page, presumably the Head of Department uses a quotation by Vivek Ranadivé, a software CEO and entrepreneur which employs the socio-economic discourse to justify the subject: 'The people who will succeed in more expensive labour markets like the U.S. will be those who can think creatively and generate the IDEAS that will propel economic growth.' This shows that the democratic and socio-economic discourses are used to justify the post-romantic discourse, which could be seen to be paradoxical paradigms.

School C uses the post-romantic discourse further in other subject areas, interestingly, the only subjects that students apply the epithet 'creative' to are Art, Design and Technology and Drama: "The great thing about this subject is the combination of creative design, interesting theory and practical projects." and "I love the combination of really interesting theory and analysis, with practical and creative performance work. We also get to see lots of

plays!" Food Technology also refers to the potential for creativity: 'This course is an exciting and creative course which focuses on practical cooking skills'. The author of the Music page seems to acknowledge the academic/creative dichotomy: 'Music is an excellent A level choice. As a rigorous and academic A level, with a clear focus on practical and creative work'. Furthermore, the distinction between the 'creative' and 'other subjects is explicitly referred to: 'Music combines well with other creative subjects but also makes a very effective addition to a humanities or maths/science-based programme'.

School C exemplifies well the typical discourse at school level and the entrenched dichotomisation of 'creative' and 'non creative' subjects. In addition, the discourse on creativity is firmly post-romantic.

School D 2021 Sixth Form Curriculum Booklet

School D is an independent boarding school in the south east. The literature and website for the school give evidence that the school is innovative and future focused, and there is a large sixth form team. However, there are twelve instances of the term 'creativity' in the curriculum guide and again, in all instances, they belong to the post-romantic discourse on creativity.

Firstly, the Arts Award 'is suitable for anyone with a keen interest in the performing or creative arts.' The term 'creative arts' uses 'creative' to distinguish between 'performing' and 'creative' arts. This use of the term could be seen to be monopolising the adjective to some extent. Secondly, the term 'creative' is used twice on the Ceramics page in a student voice excerpt: 'I found Ceramics … makes you a more creative and visual person … I wasn't sure if ceramics would suit my creative qualities...'. Drama 'encourages creativity'. English Literature is 'rigorous, intellectual, stimulating, creative and thought-provoking'. Media Production enables 'students to explore their own creative interests'. Media Studies is 'both rigorous and creative'. Photography leads to 'a wide range of creative careers' and 'offers students a combination of technical instruction and creative freedom'. Dance allows a student in his words to 'express my creative side'. Striking here is again, the confinement of the term 'creativity' and 'creative' to arts and humanities only. Not only is this evident in the texts that the Heads of Department have written, but also in the words of the students. There is also evidence that creativity is not intrinsically 'rigorous'. Three departments have juxtaposed the concepts of creativity with rigour to contrast them but to reassure that both co-exist within these disciplines. This is part of the academic and creative dichotomisation. Furthermore, the idea of binaries or word pairs is expressed in the idea of a student 'expressing [his] creative side'. These phrases indicate the entrenched idea that there are two types of subjects, one

academic and rigorous, the other creative and free. The first are primarily the sciences, the second the arts and sometimes, humanities.

Chapter 7: Discourse Analysis 2: The role of private discourse in shaping understanding of creativity

This section of the discourse analysis took place in a secondary school. I was interested in how historical discourses and contemporary media and political discourses on creativity relate to decision-making in school. The key transition between Year 11 and Year 12, where decisions are made regarding sixth form subject choice, is a key moment to focus on. At this point, by its very nature, influences and discourses distil to a pragmatic choice about future life direction.

This section is a discourse analysis of the talk, that is the verbal and non-verbal interchanges about creativity in a secondary school. I interviewed 16 students, 8 in Year 11 (pre final A level) and 8 in Year 12 (post final A level). I also interviewed 8 teachers, who included a Senior Leader, an Advisor, an Art teacher, a Science teacher, a Music teacher, an English teacher, a Design and Technology teacher and a Maths Teacher. In choosing these teachers, I aimed to cover a variety of subject areas, levels of experience, time at the school, ages, outlooks and genders in order to get as broad a spectrum of responses as possible. Pseudonymisation of people and places is used throughout as mentioned in the Ethics section.

7.1.1 St Mary's School

The setting is a traditional, boarding, senior 11- 18 independent school. Despite a mixed ability, international intake, as a fee-paying service provider, there is an added expectation of positive outcomes at 18. The school markets itself predominantly by its ethos, rather than for academic outcomes. A newcomer to the school, I have the benefit of an outsider perspective, but also the benefit of being in a leadership position (Deputy Head). However, as discussed earlier, this positionality also brings disadvantages, for example the avoidance of sensitive questions (Mercer 2007), feeling compromised, and the worry of subconsciously engineering opportunities to find the 'right' answer, as well as the evolving nature of the school. I am concurrently the researcher and a potential agent for change within the school, and I am conscious that I wish to shape the school in accordance with my ideas on creativity, but at the same time, I am aware that my ideas about creativity are altering as I conduct my research.

It is important to note that the timeframe in which the fieldwork section of this research takes place is an especially turbulent one nationally and internationally. Although the fieldwork is specifically May until November 2022, the broader context is my time in this post from January 2021. This period begins in a third Covid lockdown and finishes with a war in Europe. During this two-year period, there has been an economic crash, the Queen of 70 years has been replaced by a King and there have been three prime ministers (Johnson, Truss, Sunak) and six Secretaries of State for Education (Williamson, Zahawi, Donelan, Cleverly, Malthouse, Keegan). The relevance of this to this study is that political instability means a pendulum swing towards conservativism in education and within society as a whole. All educational innovations seem to have paused due to the political turbulence. This pause in progress is reflected in schools as it is frequently commented that schools are in 'survival mode' (for example Blitz, 2021).

7.1.2 The Discourse Events

At St Mary's, as well as the 24 interviews I conducted, I also attended and observed several discourse events. I conducted a class discussion with sixth formers on the theme of creativity. I undertook lesson observations to look for 'teaching for creativity' opportunities and I attended an A level Options post GCSE event in June 2022. As part of each interview, there were also two additional activities, a Subject Ranking exercise and the naming of a creative archetype. All of these experiences were a rich source of data to help me identify which discourses on creativity exist within St Mary's School and to see whether this coheres with, or differs from the public discourse.

7.1.3 The Class Discussion

Before the class discussion, students were asked to watch Ken Robinson's TED Talk and the documentary 'Most Likely to Succeed'. They were strongly in favour of the arguments presented in both the lecture and the documentary. The TED Talk, as discussed, said that schools should champion creativity. 'Most Likely to Succeed' said that traditional subjects should be scrapped in favour of open-ended project-based learning and showed an example of this in practice in an innovative school in San Diego called High Tech High. In this school, students can do projects in a completely self-directed way and outcomes are completely dependent on the success of teams working on these projects.

The TED Talk's overarching discourse was post-romantic, whereas 'Most Likely to Succeed's was democratic. It presented a model of education where everyone would learn to think creatively to solve problems and execute projects. The class found it easier to relate to Ken Robinson's message than to relate to the model of teaching and learning in High Tech High. They thought it was rather "extreme" and "weird" that the teachers did not take more of a role and that the students could "do anything they wanted". This is quite characteristic of

the pupils at St Mary's, they tend to be conservative, enjoy following rules and are traditional in approach. It was interesting that whilst they liked the principle of democratic creativity, they preferred and defaulted to a post-romantic creativity as a more comfortable and familiar trope.

Based on their responses to these stimuli, they were asked in group to think about creating the 'perfect' school. One group said "subjects should fuel creativity and problem-solving". Whilst another said "the emphasis should be on the creative subjects – Art, D&T, etc." The group that engaged more with the task tended towards a more democratic discourse and those that were less engaged favoured the tropes associated with the post-romantic discourse.

7.1.4 The Lesson Observation

I decided to include an observation of an A level Biology lesson within this discourse analysis due to the presence of discourses on creativity within a regular lesson observation. The first question one boy was asked by the teacher when he walked into the room was "Have you managed to create the next vaccine yet?" and he quipped back, "If I had, I wouldn't be here would I?" The exchange was good humoured and light in tone, and the students became fully immersed in their lesson on monoclonal antibodies. Throughout the lesson, the students asked open-ended questions (such as "What would happen if the antigen bonded even though it did not have a complementary shape?" and "Couldn't that be used to detect pregnancy?") and they were frequently challenged to answer the question initially posed to the teacher themselves "What do you think would happen?" and "Could a vaccine be produced using this technology?" and "How would artificial technology change this process?" This was a very good example of the potential for creativity in the sciences and a democratic discourse on creativity in the science classroom. Despite these creative questions

and approaches, the teacher repeatedly referred to the prescriptive nature of the curriculum and mark scheme and the need to memorise key terms and phrases. It seemed that there was a disconnect between the creative approach which enthused and energised the students and the more prescriptive and formulaic approach needed for the exam. Further lesson observations highlighted this, there is a definite stifling of more open-ended approaches and more creative approaches due to the omnipresent pressures of public exams. I frequently observe and overhear comments such as “If we had time we would…”, “This is something you might want to explore further in your own time…”, “Yes, but for the purposes of the exam, you would need to say…”.

7.1.5 The Subject Options Evening

Figure 19: Floorplan of A level Subject Option Evening



The Options Evening was an interesting place to capture the discourse surrounding subject choices. Year 11 students and their families are asked to make their choices about which three A level subjects they will be continuing in the sixth form. This usually means a narrowing from about ten subjects down to three.

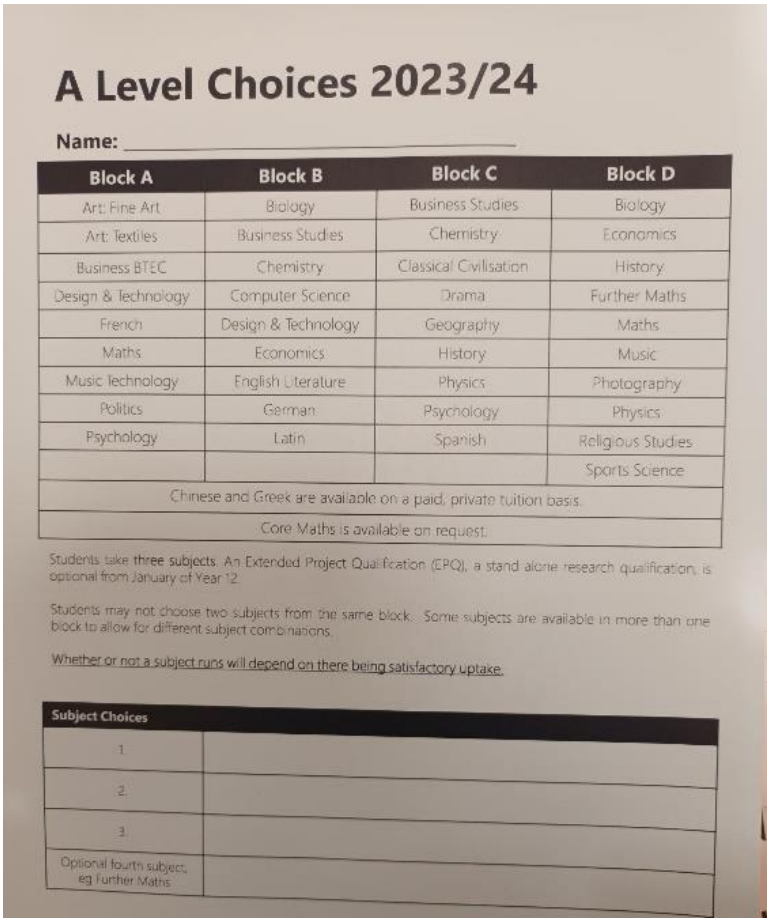
The Headmaster begins the evening by giving an address to prospective and current Year 11 students about their option choices for A level. He speaks about the importance of "finding joy" in the subject choices they choose. He explains that this this could be the first major life decision made "without parental agreement". He cites a conversation he has just had where the parent had selected the options "Maths, Further Maths and Chemistry" for their child, whilst the child wanted "Art, English Literature and Photography." "Good luck with that!" he joked, to laughter of assent or etiquette (Gervais, 2003) from the audience of parents and some students before going on to say that these two sets of choices were completely "irreconcilable". This framing of the event with this tension, the positioning and problematising of these two positions as irreconcilable and the lack of challenge to this position indicates that this dichotomising narrative remains strong in school discourse.

A set of parents I spoke to said that they had accepted that "academic subjects… would not be possible" [for their child] and so were "heading to the creative section." Heads of Department had been asked to select their areas, and the placement that they chose reflected the dichotomisation which had been referred to in the introductory talk.

The layout of the subjects was notable in terms of the positioning of the so-called creative subjects together. This was encouraged the mental grouping together of these subjects. The relative size of the space given to these subjects is also of note as six subjects are given a comparable floorspace to the three sciences which are each given a separate room for consultations. The sheet that is given out for students to complete their choices mixes subjects completely, and yet when a student perceives that they have chosen both arts

subjects and scientific subjects they apologise saying "I know this is really unusual, but I want to keep my options open."

Figure 20: A level Subject Options Form



A Level Choices 2023/24

Name: _____

Block A	Block B	Block C	Block D
Art: Fine Art	Biology	Business Studies	Biology
Art: Textiles	Business Studies	Chemistry	Economics
Business BTEC	Chemistry	Classical Civilisation	History
Design & Technology	Computer Science	Drama	Further Maths
French	Design & Technology	Geography	Maths
Maths	Economics	History	Music
Music Technology	English Literature	Physics	Photography
Politics	German	Psychology	Physics
Psychology	Latin	Spanish	Religious Studies
			Sports Science
Chinese and Greek are available on a paid, private tuition basis.			
Core Maths is available on request.			

Students take three subjects. An Extended Project Qualification (EPQ), a stand alone research qualification, is optional from January of Year 12.

Students may not choose two subjects from the same block. Some subjects are available in more than one block to allow for different subject combinations.

Whether or not a subject runs will depend on there being satisfactory uptake.

Subject Choices	
1.	
2.	
3.	
Optional fourth subject, eg Further Maths	

7.1.6 The Interviews

The interviews were undertaken in order to see whether public discourse on creativity was aligned with private discourse. There are very many more discourse entanglements in the transcripts from the teacher interviews than in the transcripts of the interviews with the students. Very often in my experience, students' views are a distilled and simplified version of what they hear from teachers, often in combinations with discourses from parents, peers, the media and social media. The interviews were undertaken over a period of months in my office. The interviews tended to be more structured than semi-structured as answers seemed

to stand alone very well and I was very wary of leading the interviewees or influencing them towards a certain discourse strand.

The discourses which I identified through my literature review were all present to some extent although it does become clear, especially in the students' interviews, that the post-romantic discourse predominates. The teachers' interviews are more difficult to analyse due to these discourse entanglements, and they all seem to wish to promote or favour the democratic discourse. However, after talking for some time in most cases, the democratic discourse tends to give way to the post-romantic discourse, as if there is a default to the more compelling discourse after attention has been given to the one which is seen to be 'right' in the teachers' views.

7.1.7 The Teachers

I chose to interview as wide a range of teachers as possible within my organisation. I chose 2 senior managers, 4 middle managers/heads of department and two less experienced teachers. For the sake of anonymity, they are listed by subject specialism and not job title. As a senior manager, I was aware of teachers searching for a 'right' answer, but as the conversations went on, I found that teachers seemed to be comfortable to draw from their experience and answer became more expansive.

7.1.8 The Year 12 Students

Having made their A level choices, the Year 12 students spoke very confidently about their motivations for choosing their subjects. In the midst of thinking about their next steps towards university, they had constructed strong narratives about their reasons for choosing certain paths. The pupils, chosen at random, have all chosen subjects which align with STEM

national trends in terms of gender. The one exception to this is that Joanna has chosen Design and Technology as one of her A levels.

7.1.9 The Year 11 Students

The Year 11 students were in the midst of difficult decisions as they are interviewed. They had to make decisions about their future, but they also had their GCSEs to revise for. There was consequently considerable anxiety in this cohort. They were the first cohort to take real exams post Covid and many of them were undecided about their future paths. The pupils, chosen at random, had all chosen subjects which align with STEM national trends in terms of gender, with the possible exception of Andi who had not yet made her final selection.

7.2 Creativity as instrumental good: evidence of the socio-economic discourse on creativity

7.2.1 Teachers

Dr Anson (a Science teacher) highlighted the utility value of the "menagerie of skills" which are associated with science and creativity. The term "menagerie" hints at a mixture or a slight vagueness about what these skills might be. Dr Anson understood creativity in terms of a set of universal skills. This belonged in the democratic discourse but showed an entanglement with the socio-economic discourse on creativity as these are many of the skills named by the OECD.

> You're looking at inquiry skills, you're looking at critical thinking, evaluating, presentation, looking at being collaborative, problem solving. So being creative is not just one thing. It's a menagerie of skills. And so they are life skills, and they are skills that you would not just put in academic studies, but how you approach problems that you have foreseen, or you come across in life. So it's absolutely vital.

Mr McIntosh (a Music teacher) believed that students and families are not choosing "creative subjects" due to the perceived utility value of other subjects such as maths and sciences, however he acknowledged a mismatch between this perceived lack of utility of creativity in the school environment and its utility value in the workplace.

> I read a book recently that was talking about creativity. And it was very much from the perspective of, you know, how we how we promote creativity and business. And I was looking at from in terms of, I'm a teacher in a creative subject. It was interesting to discover creativity meant something very, very different to a different section of the population. So I discovered that by reading that book, that it was for many people a means to an end, especially for a manager of a business, or a company that's failing and needs the next new idea. So for that, it was definitely a means to an end. But for other people, it is perhaps what they do when they're not making ends meet.

He showed a good understanding of the prevalent misalignment of the discourses. "I'm a teacher in a creative subject" here could be seen to use 'creative' in the post-romantic sense, it stands for 'arts'. However in the example cited in the book, the business manager is looking for creativity in terms of innovation and problem-solving, which comes from the democratic discourse. This section of the interview was typical of those involved in the arts sphere leveraging the socio-economic discourse to add value to the arts. Mr McIntosh therefore highlights that there is some incongruence between the two discourses. He explicitly stated this in the interview where he refers to two opposing definitions of creativity:

> If you're working in a business, you're working in a multinational business, you want creative people to make your next new product. And that's not the same as a creative person who wants to write a song, or to create some dance or a picture.

This illustration again shows the need to use the term creativity more explicitly in schools to refer to disciplines outside the arts.

Despite Mr Hazel's (Maths teacher) position that "academic subjects" and "creative subjects" are a binary, he believes that creativity is necessary in society. Mr Hazel concedes that there is a "need" for creative thinkers in industry.

> We need your creative people and mathematical thinkers and actually, like in industry, they'll have both minds, you know, they have the statisticians and they'll have the designers and whatever if you're designing business.

Mrs Dusk's (English teacher) predominantly democratic discourse showed an entanglement with the socio-economic discourse:

> Well, you know, you can't dismiss the maths and sciences as being creative, or else, how would we get solutions to problems that have plagued us? And how would we get new ways of doing things? And, you know, I thought about the COVID vaccine, and actually, you had to have a lot of creativity to get there with that.

Mrs Dusk highlighted here the utility value of creativity in the sciences. This was especially salient at the time of this interview, as international travel had only just been opened up after the vaccine roll-out internationally had taken effect. Therefore in public discourse there was a perhaps new-found appreciation of creativity in the sciences as people followed the year-long search for a vaccine from the beginning of lockdown. Because of the significance of this discourse event, I think that the discourse had shifted somewhat towards the democratic/socio-economic, and will continue to do so. Having said this, at the time of writing this, the discourse had not yet filtered greatly into the private discourse with students that I studied.

7.2.2 Year 12 Students

Stanislaw alluded to, but did not make direct reference to the socio-economic discourse on creativity in his interview. The two creative archetypes he cited (Marie Curie and Steve Jobs) had achieved great things through creativity, but this was not directly said. He did not directly mention that financial gain was related to creativity. He said that the point of creativity was "progress" showing that he thought the goal of creativity was greater than purely socio-economic advancement. He said that "we are trying to get out of the stagnation which is around us". Given that Stanislaw is an economist, it could be that he chose the term "stagnation" as a counterpoint to "creativity" on purpose and meant this to encompass the economic benefit of creativity. I think the allusion to the socio-economic discourse on creativity is there, but this is implicit, not explicit and it is certainly not the dominant discourse for Stanislaw.

When asked to explain the point of creativity, Stephen's answer showed an entanglement between a religious and a socio-economic discourse. He stated simply that the point of creativity was "Evolution, I guess. It kind of comes down to human improvement, without creativity, you can't get better as a race". To use a scientific term as a single word answer to the question of what creativity is roots the discourse strongly in the scientific arena.

Amir's discourse on creativity seemed strongly socio-economic. Unlike all of the other students, he did not associate arts subjects with creativity because he found that these subjects were simply "following instructions". The juxtaposition of freedom associated with creativity and lack of freedom in arts subjects is shown in this choice of the words "following instructions" and hence a lack of freedom in arts subjects. He did not think there was opportunity for creativity at school, but only in the workplace when there was "something to lose". This idea that jeopardy is necessary for creativity was something only found in Amir's discourse and is a very interesting distinction.

When asked if he was a creative person, he immediately identified the post-romantic and democratic discourse and associated himself with the latter: “Yeah [I am] somewhat [creative]. I wouldn't say creative as in Art but I’d say creative as in maybe solution to a problem or something.”

Coming from a business background himself, like Andi, he readily associated creativity with business and entrepreneurship.

> Well a creative person to me is somebody that can probably be an innovator, that can create something new that benefits people and that allows them to make money out of it for example, I don't really know like a name specifically but there's people like the guy that made FedEx apparently like his teacher said his company wouldn't work but then it worked and it grew into the biggest companies I don't even know the name.

Amir’s discourse is very consistently socio-economic with very few discourse entanglements. There is a brief allusion to the post-romantic one, but this is more of a straw man. He shows awareness of it but rejects it immediately on two occasions, firstly when he gives two possible understandings of art and secondly when he rejects the premise that he could have been creative in art.

Despite focusing on the post-romantic-discourse, Joanna also recognises the economic benefit of creativity:

> It's also just necessary for growing out of nothing. We get all this new technology and all these new ways because someone created a new idea that no one else has thought of and that's how we grow.

It cannot be ignored that this phrasing within the socio-economic discourse shows an entanglement with the religious discourse. “Growing out of nothing” could be seen as an allusion to the religious idea of creatio ex nihilo. The paradox of whether this is within human capacity is not further explored.

7.2.3 Year 11 Students

Jo briefly referred to the utility of creativity in terms of careers: “it could be [good] because so you can really help you get a job easier.” This is symptomatic of the preoccupation I noted with the importance placed on jobs and careers in the subject choice discussion.

7.3 Creativity as exceptional: evidence of the post-romantic discourse on creativity

7.3.1 Teachers

Mrs Self highlighted a distinction between Maths ("limited") and more "creative subjects":

> I think they needn't be [subjects that are thought of as more creative than others] but I think they just inherently are. I think children who are more creative minded, or work in a more creative way then don't respond to so-called less creative subjects, I'm thinking of Maths, for example. I think children who, like variety or thinking out of the box, feel quite limited when they when they're in a Maths lesson, because it's just very black and white thinking, there's only one way to do it. So it seems to inhibit them to be boxed into a one way of thinking.

The use of the justifying term 'so-called' (line 3) could be there for a variety of reasons. This is quite typical of the teachers I interviewed, in that they identified the quick or simple definition which is part of the post-romantic discourse, and then went on to identify the democratic discourse as well. However, in this particular answer, Mrs Self clearly identified the idea that Maths is not seen as a "creative subject" as it is "black and white", there is "one way to do it" and "it seems to inhibit them to be boxed into one way of thinking". This view was typical of educational discourse amongst students and staff. The phraseology around Maths was symptomatic of a widespread dissatisfaction with elements of the Maths curriculum which mean it could seem restrictive and off-putting to students.

Mrs Self also seemed to subscribe to the post-romantic discourse in terms of the creativity of students. She said "if they're good at things like Art and Photography, and Drama, then they identify themselves as being creative students. I think there's students who are creative, but don't know it. So they might be creative". Even though later on she referred to the democratic discourse, this was a much more intellectually accessible idea and it was

not possible later to easily identify how the curriculum might be creative according to the democratic discourse.

It is interesting that an opposition has emerged between the democratic discourse on creativity which is promoted by Dr Anson for example, and the post-romantic discourse which is the default position. The democratic discourse positions creativity as a higher order thinking skill which cannot be accessed by those who are struggling or "just trying to pass the exam" whereas the post-romantic discourse places creativity as a lower level artistic skill in many cases which can be accessed by those who cannot cope with the demands of a more "academic" curriculum. This discourse strand is obviously highly contentious but it certainly exists in the implicature of what many teachers and students say.

One example was in Miss Duffy's discourse. She noted that creative thinking may be more accessible for dyslexic students.

> Especially some students have to balance that [A level subjects] with Learning Support, for example dyslexic students, for example, they can use their brains to think more creatively than others. They can find things that they may not have studied before and find creativity in them for example Drama may tap into something they didn't know they had in them.

Mrs Duffy drew a distinction between "academic" and "creative" subjects. "Academic" subjects are portrayed as rigid whereas "creative" subjects are more freeing which is consistent with many of the students' discourses. "Something they didn't know they had in them" hints towards the idea of something innate and mysterious which links the post-romantic and religious discourses.

> It is a way of looking at things in a way that is creative to them. It allows them to think differently, less rigidly. Without creativity, we only have a rigid curriculum. It not only allows them to think about academic subjects but to go beyond them.

Miss Duffy showed the binary perception of subject categorisation. “Academic subjects” was a phrase that she used unprompted. Her use of this phrase, and others’ usage of this term indicates that the phrase ‘academic subjects’ as opposed to ‘creative subjects’ is a phrase in common parlance. Using the comparative “less rigid” to compare the two also highlighted that some subjects, the “creative subjects” are associated more with freedom and less with rigour.

Mr McIntosh strongly represented the post-romantic discourse at the beginning and end of the interview. Before the term ‘creative subjects’ was introduced in the interview (the question relates to how students make their university choices), he used the term “creative subjects” to apply to arts subjects.

> I honestly think that they're choosing not to do creative subjects, because they're more worried about getting into that university. And, in the past, where many people might have considered something like music or drama to be a real strength to add interest to their application, they know seeing it as tangential and they just want to have their maths and sciences to make sure of getting to that next step.

To use the term “tangential” is to admit that there simply is a lower utility value attached the “creative subjects”. He used the term “creative subjects” in reference to arts subjects however, when questioned about this, he unfolded the democratic discourse and later the religious discourses. When asked whether some subjects are inherently more creative than others, he responded:

> Yes, I think possibly. It also comes down to the language used around them, because a Deputy Head, for instance, might stand up and talk about taking a creative subject, you know, music or drama. But then, within any subject, that there's room for creativity, in maths, and the way that you approach things you make that recruit you think creatively to solve a science problem, or to apply previous knowledge.

To say there is “room for creativity” highlighted the teacher’s dilemma and feeling that creativity will detract from curriculum time rather than augment it. Here Mr McIntosh noted that the language used by the ‘gatekeepers’ (Reisigl and Wodak (2009:88) is what defines the narrative and ultimately the discourse. It is acknowledged that those in positions of responsibility in schools tend to use the post-romantic discourse.

Although the democratic discourse was noted and in the central section of the interview, many of the examples given in the longer answers were post-romantic, for example:

> It could be something that demands, you know, a lot of interaction, maybe rehearsing together or dancing together or painting something in a classroom that you know people will comment on. I think a lot of people do hide away and are creative elsewhere. So maybe the school in the classroom is not always the best environment for it.

Dr Anson commented that the main factors that influence subject choice are “aptitude, interest and possible correlation with career choice”. She firmly believed that some subjects are inherently more creative than others.

> Some subjects are immoveable whereas some subjects put more emphasis on the student, for example arts and drama, they are not static but they can think creatively about them.

The view that she expressed here seems to equate subjects which allow for freedom of expression, subjectivity and flexibility as ‘creative’ and the examples that she gives of these creative subjects are “art and drama”, whereas others are “static”. Use of the term “static” again highlights the difference between the freedom of “creative subjects” as opposed to the

“immoveable” and “static” qualities of other subjects. Therefore, we see a clear post-romantic discourse in her thinking about creativity.

Interestingly, Mr Hazel thought that some subjects are “definitely” less creative than others. He explained:

> Maths is slightly less creative in some ways, because we learn all these methods and these techniques. And the creativity, I suppose, comes in a minor part ... because that's quite a limited amount of creativity. But I think it's something like, obviously, in creative subjects like art and drama, they require a lot more kind of individual original thought. Whereas Maths wouldn't necessarily have that. Maths would have “Here's what a mathematician 200 years ago discovered about calculus or whatever”, you need to learn it, and then the only creativity you need is then how you apply that to the exam question. Whereas you get a lot more freedom. And then I suppose you've got a lot more freedom and then certain some of the humanities as well, and a lot more freedom to be creative there because an essay is quite often quite vague, you know, that you could write an essay about lots of different things. And then yeah, there's a bit more creativity than maths and probably sciences as well as a bit less creativity.

This section shows what I have experienced as a typical teacher discourse on creativity. Mr Hazel used the phrase “creative subjects” to apply to art and drama and he said that these require “individual original thought”. Later in his discussion, he went on to place humanities in the “creative subject” bracket as opposed to “maths and sciences”. Therefore he was clearly aligned with the post-romantic discourse on creativity. Furthermore, he associated “freedom” with the “creative subjects” and this topoi was a common discourse strand amongst teachers and students. He used the phrase “freedom” repeatedly in relation to “creative subjects”.

Like Dr Anson and Miss Duffy, Mr Hazel referred to the perception that "creative" subjects are easier than "academic" subjects. This perception usually goes unspoken so it was surprising that Mr Hazel articulated this perception. When asked about students' perception of subjects he said:

> I think there's an element of like intellectual snobbery that goes with it. I think there's I think that's like kids that would do Maths or Further Maths or something will probably look down on those that do you know, you met they met your Humanities or your Arts, your Dramas and D&Ts. So I think there's, I think that's probably how they would view it in terms of... I think they analyse it in terms of the creativity being a bad thing from an academic point of view, which is interesting.

This reference to "intellectual snobbery" and the idea of those that do "creative subjects" "being looked down on" or "a bad thing from an academic point of view" is a perception and a discourse which seems to underlie many of the students' responses. This binary perception is consistent with the post-romantic discourse and shows a perceived hierarchy between the "creative" and "academic subjects".

He went on to argue that work needs to be done in schools in order to help students who choose "creative subjects" like Art, Drama and D&T to understand that their choices are valid and their subjects are important as [if they choose "creative subjects"] "students will think less of themselves if they're choosing creative subjects. ... and that needs to change". He thought this would be preferable to trying to "crowbar" creative elements into "academic subjects".

> [A creative curriculum is] valuing those, those creative subjects, and you know, and kind of the mindset of kind of, that's a good choice. Yeah, you like you like doing art, like doing D&T, go and can do it. That's great. If that's what you want to do, do it, kind of that's encouraging that creativity, in in terms of the choice of subjects that

> they're making, as opposed to, as opposed to trying to make subjects that aren't necessarily so creative, more creative, because particularly at senior school, you're hampered by what the exam courses want. And so it's hard, it's a lot harder to be to try and crowbar in things into Maths than I think it is just to change a bit of a mindset to actually your subjects are all important.

He made the usually implicit hierarchy of subjects at senior school explicit here and also showed a lack of currency given to "creative subjects" and "creativity" in general. He also made an equation between the academic subjects and the difficulty of the subjects:

> There's some subjects that aren't necessarily as creative and some that are more creative. And I think it's a mindset change or valuing those subjects the same. Actually, if you're doing a, you know, an A level in Art, that's important as well, that's still a good thing, it's still a good choice. But if you're doing an A level in Chemistry or something, that's also a good choice. We're gonna have an argument about which one's a harder A level. I've got my mind made up on which one's a harder A level, though, I did Maths and Art! Maths is a much harder A level! Yeah, the content is really tough. To actually get your head around the concepts. Whereas Art is a lot more work.

Here we can see that the views of the 'gatekeeper' are very clear. It is hard to imagine that this view would not have an impact on the views of the students. Even though his claim here was that he wants subjects to be viewed equally, there is a clear cognitive dissonance here as his belief is that the subjects are not equal.

Mr Hazel, like many others within the post-romantic discourse, associated creativity with freedom.

> I think creativity is what gives us the kind of art and culture and things like that. And that's really important, particularly in the UK. You know, what's going on in the world

> now and you think actually, places where creativity or freedoms to be creative, are being crushed in places where there's like heavy restrictions on the art that you're producing or you know, state-controlled news and the creativity to expressing your self is a really important thing. In terms of that, so think it is a good thing in general, because it's it gives you freedom, it gives you differences of opinion...and progress as well.

The last word here was a reference to the democratic discourse which he strayed into when he considered the point of creativity in the abstract. Progress is usually considered to encompass all aspects of human endeavour and hence this question usually elicits a response from the democratic discourse. However, it was interesting that he remained firmly within the post-romantic discourse at all other times, even when he considered industrial applications.

> We need your creative people and mathematical thinkers and actually, like in industry, they'll have both minds, you know, they have the statisticians and they'll have the designers and whatever if you're designing business.

He contrasted here "creative people" and "mathematical thinkers" and still considered this as a binary rather than considering the possibility that mathematical thinkers could be creative. This shows a brief entanglement with the socio-economic discourse.

Miss Rivers' discourse seemed fully post-romantic. She saw art as having unique power in developing creativity (she saw it as "completely different" from other subjects) and she saw opportunities for the rest of the curriculum to be "creative" in the sense of artistic. When asked whether some subjects were inherently more creative than others, she responded by drawing attention to cross-curricular opportunities for other subjects to work with the "creative subject" of Art. She implied that some of the humanities subjects would be a more intuitive cross-curricular partner than others, thereby implying a creativity continuum.

> I think cross curricular links can be found in lots of areas, really. I mean, I think everyone thinks that it's just like, English literature, or poetry, or maybe music. But I think we've kind of found lots of things, connections with science, all sorts of kinetic things. Lots of psychology, and philosophy, the idea of looking into all sorts of things.

She drew a distinction between two types of creativity, creativity in terms of imagination and the more Aristotelian 'techne' technical skill in terms of skill in controlling media to realise an idea. Both of these types of creativity are consistent with the post-romantic discourse.

Like others, Miss Rivers drew on the discourse strand of creativity and freedom, she used terms such as "journey" and "explore" in reference to creativity, which again is consistent with the post-romantic discourse.

Mr Fletcher's view of creativity was fully within the post-romantic discourse. He saw subjects as either "creative" or "academic". The "creative subjects" were those within the sphere of arts and the humanities.

> Well obviously [subjects which are more creative are] your obvious ones Design, Technology and Art will be the creative ones... Drama, I think creativity when there's freedom. So they can, you know, in even in English as well, so whether there's an opportunity for freedom for them to make the wrong choices, whereas with some subjects, it's quite.. you know, within, for example, within Maths, for example, it's it's quite linear, I guess.

He immediately associated creativity with freedom and "academic subjects" with constraint and being "quite linear". This is a theme which is quite consistent across student and teacher discourse. He saw students as either creative or non-creative and subjects in the same way. He saw his own subject, Design and Technology as "50/50" creative and academic.

> Some students are creative, some students aren't. So I'm sure there would be a traditional feeling of academia which is more important, than an art subject or, or

> more academic, within DT, we are 50/50. So we are an academic subject. So we sort of span over the two, but I guess Drama is quite similar 50/50 as well. Art has an exam, but it's still practical based, so creative.

In this section, Mr Fletcher equated having an exam as being academic, and having a practical assessment as being "academic". His desire to place D&T fifty per cent in the "academic" category in contrast with Art, corroborated others' discourse strand about the implicit or explicit hierarchy of "creative" and "non creative" subjects. In terms of "creative students" he referred to a capital C or genius idea of creativity by implying that it is, to some extent at least, innate. This had an entanglement with the empirical discourse and suggested that creativity could be measurable.

> [They could be creative because of] genetics, it could be their parents are creative. It could be that through their upbringing, that they have experienced more creative opportunities. In primary schools, for example, if you've got a creative teacher, that can be inspiring, you know, given great thought into a curriculum. And so it's by them, if the kids experience things outside of school, things like Brownies and culture where they do crafts and things like that.

The idea of creativity being "genetic" is quite suggestive of the idea of the 'creative genius'. There is also a slightly genderised implicature here as he referred to "Brownies" as being an experience outside of school which could lead to the development of creativity. Like many others, his discourse was predominantly post-romantic, except when thinking of creativity in the abstract in terms of its purpose, and when he made a brief allusion to the measurability of creativity and thereby made a reference to the empirical discourse.

Despite Mrs Dusk changing her discourse on creativity from a predominantly post-romantic one to the democratic one, she thought that her students would have a post-romantic paradigm.

> I think when people are making choices, I don't know that being creative is at the forefront of their mind, unless they're choosing subjects like Music and Art, which they immediately perceive to be very creative subjects. And perhaps English language where they know there'll be creating some creative writing.

She believed that students would be post-romantic in their discourse on creativity because they only associate creativity with subjects like Music and Art, and perhaps English Language. She implied that this is systemic within the discourse and a position at which we "end up": "We often end up in our own little bubbles. And we use preconceived prejudices and notions to make judgments about things." Therefore there was an acknowledgement that there is work to do in terms of shifting the mindset of students to see all subjects as creative, or potentially so. She went as far as to say that to judge people and subjects as more or less creative could be seen to be a failing in society.

> So I think I don't think there are necessarily students who are more creative than others. I think that we have very traditional ways of judging creativity and perhaps that's a failing even within society.

In this way, she again acknowledged that this is a societal shorthand, but that this is not a helpful compartmentalisation. She eloquently highlighted the disjunction between the ideal and the reality which is the motivation for this thesis.

7.3.2 Year 12 Students

Some of the more able academic students, such as Stanislaw, readily placed creativity in the democratic discourse, however the post-romantic discourse was also in evidence. They think of creativity as an educational universal and a desirable outcome for all in education which the most able students would be marked out as more readily possessing. However, there is therefore a discourse entanglement with the post-romantic discourse as Stanislaw

hinted that creativity is an attribute of the more able (which he would identify as), so an overlap can be seen with the post-romantic discourse or the 'genius' of creativity.

"Do you consider yourself a creative person?"

"Yes."

"Why?"

"I can always find an out of the box solution to a problem. And I also connect some concepts that my peers do not, are not able to."

Stanislaw is a non-native speaker; he sets himself apart by identifying as a creative person. This shows the aspirational nature of creativity for academically able students, but also shows the influence of the post-romantic discourse upon students such as Stanislaw. Upon reflection, I should have given students a variety of adjectives, as students such as Stanislaw would not have chosen, I believe, 'creative' as their main identifier. He saw himself as 'creative' only in addition to other identifiers, I would imagine.

Stephen responded very differently when asked if he thought of himself as a creative person. Even though his discourse was the same as Stanislaw's, he saw himself on the 'other side' of the creative/non creative or creative/academic-scientific binary.

"Do you consider yourself to be a creative person?"

"Not particularly. The subjects I've chosen are quite scientific. So I think within those bounds, it's more or factual, I guess? It's personal, but..."

This theme of connection between creativity and the arts is continued throughout the interview. He drew a strong distinction between 'creative' and 'scientific' subjects on several occasions and every example of creativity given was in the sphere of the arts.

When I asked whether there is any scope to be creative in his A level subjects (Biology, Chemistry and Psychology) he said: "No. I mean, it's very fact based." There is a sense that he wishes to distance himself from the idea of creativity. He saw the other side of

the perceived binary (academic) to be more prestigious and higher up the imagined hierarchy. He then went on to question the definition of creativity ("What do you mean by creativity?"). When I asked him to define it himself, he briefly explored a democratic discourse definition (problem solving) but then reverted back to the post-romantic discourse. "So I suppose there is a bit of creativity. But not particularly when you compare it with Art or DT".

Stephen also showed that the post-romantic discourse on creativity is universally accepted within school discourse. When I asked him when in his school experience he had been most creative, he said:

> I think definitely Art, because I haven't done DT, but those two are kind of seen as the most creative. And I think during some of those lessons definitely went a bit away from what was expected, I was free to do more or less to do what I wanted.

He showed that he is participating in a wider and accepted discourse: "those two are kind of seen as the most creative". Like Theo in the year below, he also made a connection between creativity and freedom as opposed to academia and facts.

Like Stanislaw and Stephen, Valentina does understand that creativity is an educational universal. However, she showed more aspects of the post-romantic discourse. She believed arts subjects to be creative and STEM subjects to be non-creative. She equated creativity with freedom, and the less freedom she perceived there to be, the less creative she thinks the subjects are. It is interesting to see that, unprompted, Valentina used the term 'academic' in contrast to 'creative' when she is talking about Chemistry: "There is some creativity to chemistry and experiments for example, but generally chemistry is really academic." This is very interesting because Valentina had only been in UK education for five months at the time of the interview, and yet she used the adjectives creative/academic in juxtaposition. This phrase exactly highlights the binary which this thesis aims to challenge.

Despite a short time in the UK education system, she categorised the subjects in the same way as a typical UK student would do. When asked whether there is scope to be creative in her subjects she said the following:

> How much creativity? Yeah, I would say there's not a lot of it. But there was some, because I did History, Politics and English at higher level. And there is some creativity because of the essay writing. That's why I like doing it. And the way you view it, and how you apply your knowledge to create something of your own. But then I also do Mathematics, Chemistry and German, German is also creative, because it's literature. You analyse you, you try to see for yourself what the author meant by saying something, which is creative, because everyone can have different views and different applications to their own life. And then Chemistry, Maths. They're just not creative. And to be honest, my least favourite subjects.

She clearly showed that she believes the humanities to be creative to some extent and the sciences not to be. She also drew a parallel between the subjects that she enjoyed and those which are creative to some extent. She was unambiguous in her judgement about creativity in Chemistry and Maths: “They're just not creative”. This unnuanced view surprised me. I expected her to see the possibility for creativity in her STEM subjects because she was an IB student so some science and maths is compulsory. The IB encourages cross-curricular and transversal thinking and so it should be ripe for the consideration of creativity across disciplines.

However, later in Valentina’s interview, it became clear that the binary between creative and academic came from a different socio-political discourse, she equated the level of creative freedom with the level of social freedom. It might initially seem that this is an entanglement with the socio-economic discourse, but it is not, because that discourse is specifically about the utility of creativity as opposed to the lack of utility of creativity which

the ideology which the Soviet regime proposed. Creativity would only have socio-economic value if tightly controlled and used in the service of a particular political agenda. She understood and articulated this well when comparing her three educational experiences. She rated her experience in Germany as most creative as art was compulsory, and then the UK as art is optional and then Ukraine as education emphasised knowledge and creativity was seen as potentially subversive, a hangover, she thought, from the Soviet regime.

> I've been in three education systems, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine. And now I'm here. And Ukraine is the least creative, which relies a lot on knowledge. It's also I think, concept which stayed from the Soviet Union, because creativity was seen as dangerous, in strict limits, creativity can break them. And this is what everyone feared. Therefore, there was really strict things about doing what you're told to do. And the spirit is still a bit in the Ukrainian education system, as there's a large focus on Mathematics and Chemistry, and Physics and all the uncreative subjects, because people are still not really used to the way of expressing themselves the way they want and they fear to be wrong. In Germany, it's the most creative system, I would say, because Art is a mandatory subject, I would say till grade eight, or nine. And there, there's kind of not a limit. And then the UK education system. It's quite creative, but it really depends on what you choose to do.

She explicitly stated that Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics are “uncreative subjects”. She clearly highlighted a sense that creativity could be seen as dangerous and that the “uncreative subjects” are safe. This adheres strongly with the post-romantic discourse on creativity where creativity is also strongly associated with freedom of expression and of mind.

Bas had chosen a Maths and social sciences for A level and hence I would have predicted that he would tend towards a more democratic discourse. However, his discourse was firmly post-romantic. He drew a clear line between the “logical” subjects and the

creative ones. He did not consider himself to be a creative person. When he was asked why, he immediately responded: “I was never really good at drama, art or music. I don't... I never really had an interest in them either. I think I'm a lot more or a logical thinker than a creative one.” His “first and probably last” creative experience was writing and devising a play for GCSE drama. It seemed quite an extreme statement until it became clear that he associated creativity most strongly with “entertainment”.

> I think whatever you can do, and whatever you're good at, can be made into entertainment like can be made entertaining. I think any subject... You can make something creative out of. You can make something entertaining, where it doesn't have to be super specific, but you can make a subject that people aren't interested in into a presentation or something like that or a video or...

It was interesting that, as in the case often in the post-romantic discourse, he associated creativity with a product to be consumed, rather than a process. This is however inconsistent with his definition of creativity when he was asked to define it in the abstract, he alluded to the thought processes associated with the democratic discourse. Therefore, like others, he entangled the post-romantic discourse with elements of the democratic discourse, although the post-romantic discourse was more prevalent.

Jacinta touched on all of the discourses on creativity except for the socio-economic discourse. It was unclear whether the democratic or post-romantic discourse was stronger. The examples she gave allude mainly to the post-romantic discourse.

> I think of somebody who is effective at expressing their values, their ideas, their connections and their links between variations of ideas. I think that that anyone can be a stereotypically creative person, regardless of whether they're creating a piece of art or walking down the street in a slightly offbeat way.

This was the response she gave when asked to think of a creative archetype. Both of the exemplifications at the end belong to the post-romantic category. Similarly, when categorising subjects, she stated that Chemistry is "not creative" and she associated English Literature and writing the most strongly with creativity. These responses again belong to the post-romantic discourse.

Joanna demonstrated the post-romantic discourse most strongly within the year 12 cohort of interviewees. She unequivocally identified as a creative person and said that this perception definitely shaped her A level choices of Art (Textiles), Design and Technology and Psychology. She alluded to a democratic discourse but her key examples were post-romantic. She did not give one example of a creative archetype but gave example of post-romantic discourse: "I think it could be anyone really just there's so many different ways to be creative, whether it's writing or actual art or languages, just anything you can be creative in any way." She also drew a binary between creative and non creative subjects, referring to the non-creative subjects as 'factual based'.

> Non creative subjects are more... they're more factual based, whereas obviously things like Music and DT are some sort of... you're creating your own thing. there's no... right or wrong answer really. It's very individual and you can come up with whatever thing you believe in.

Creative subjects were seen as more individual, and like Valentina, she associated creativity strongly with freedom.

> [In Art GCSE], there was more control there a bit. But with A levels, particularly with Textiles, I'm kind of doing exactly what I want and DT were usually set a kind of thing to do. But within that we can choose exactly how we decide to do it.

She associated Art most with creativity:

> Art lessons... where you can just there's no limit and it's just it is the whole subject is just creative, whereas in other subjects, you don't think of them as creative as much so you don't lean into that side. Whereas art, you know, it's creative, so you kind of can do whatever you like. And I've always kind of enjoyed it, and they always like my favourite lesson.

For those, like Joanna, that favoured the post-romantic discourse, typically there was a positive association with the freedom and self-expression that come with creativity.

7.3.3 Year 11 Students

Christian strongly associated creativity with the post-romantic discourse. Throughout his interview, he referred to artistic ability. He made reference to the ability to repair things being creative, but aside from this, all his referents were artistic: “like artist’s kind of imagination”, “making something out of nothing like Shakespeare”, “actual drawing, painting artists”.

His saw a diametric opposition between “fact-based” and creative subjects. He saw the opportunity for “interpretation” as a more creative opportunity. However, he referred back to “actual” creativity as the domain of the artist.

When it came to categorising the subjects, he made a very clear distinction between artistic subjects as “creative” and all other subjects as being “non-creative”.

The experience that Christian most associated with being creative was “definitely in art… because you have an idea, you thought something up and then you’re making it”. He thought it could be taught “because well, you can get taught to be better at drawing, you can

be taught to do an instrument, so you can be taught to be creative". Here it is clear that Christian is using "artistic" and "creative" as synonymous.

Like Christian, Theo automatically associated creativity with the post-romantic discourse. Despite the fact that his A level subjects (Maths, Physics and Music) spanned the common divide between arts and humanities, he did not associate Maths and Physics with creativity at all.

When asked whether he considered himself to be a creative person, he only referred to his musical experience and ability: "I would say yeah. I've been doing music for a long time. And I think I'm quite good at composition. And that's pretty much it. Yeah." It is striking that, despite the fact the preceding question related to all of his subjects, he only mentions Music in relation to creativity.

Later in the interview, Theo again felt the need to qualify or justify his choice of Music. He said "I think Music, just like Music is kind of like a break so I don't have to completely shut off my creativity". Creativity was associated with positivity, leisure and pleasure and he also implied that this is "shut off" in Maths and Physics. He later referred to the necessity of creativity, again rooting it in the post-romantic discourse ("read, see plays, go to the gallery") but in passive form as recipient rather as creator.

> I think if you didn't have creativity life can be like one straight line. Sleep, wake up. do your school work, go back home. Like maybe, maybe like talk to people at home, go to bed. With creativity, you can, you can read, you can see plays, you can go to the gallery. Obviously, if you like music, music's basically everywhere, like you just put up in your phone. It just makes like that two-hour train bearable.

There were connotations throughout the interview of an association between creativity and mental health ("shut off", "different emotions", "a break", "one straight line", "bearable") which again is rooted in the post-romantic discourse. In the post-romantic discourse,

creativity is often seen as a foil to negativity and oppression, and as totemic of freedom. The association of freedom with creativity is quite a common trope across others' interviews for those that use the post-romantic discourse.

Theo was completely consistent in his use of the post-romantic discourse. When asked when in his school career he has been more creative, he referred to the inspiration of the surroundings:

> I think campus is quite like, inspirational. There's a lot of stuff to, you know, to be inspired by the scenery is really nice. The Cathedral... I mean the Abbey and there's friends around you. So there's a lot of, like different emotions that like allow creativity.

Theo saw creativity as innate but also something that needed to be nurtured through exposure to the 'right' things:

> I think it's something that you, you generally are born with that if you are in the right places, and you see the right people learn the right things. And I think you can already create your own style.

Louise used "creativity" and "artistic ability" almost interchangeably, therefore situating herself strongly in the post-romantic discourse. I asked her if she considered herself to be a creative person:

> Yeah. I love Art and I love like, making up ideas and things. I chose Textiles as I was talking to Miss Barton because I feel like future careers you did, from Textiles to go into other areas? Art's very, like minimal to what you do. I feel like you sort of have to stay with Art.

She immediately made the connection between creativity and art, and this association remained strong throughout the interview.

Louise cited her Art mock exam as the time when she had been most creative. She drew a strong dichotomy between “creative” and “academic” subjects. When I asked her if it was possible for everyone to be creative, she said:

> In their own ways, even if you're more academic. But if you're academic, maybe not so much, like if you're into maths and science, but you can be creative in other ways I think. There's a divide between the people that would be quite academic or creative, mostly because I feel like most creative people, maybe struggle more, but I feel good about myself as there is more than just academic.

She seemed to juxtapose Maths and Science with creativity. She implied a relationship between “creativity” and those who “struggle more”. She distinguished herself from the people that “struggle more” saying that she felt “good about” herself as she had both academic and creative strengths. It was at this point in the interview that Louise’s answers became shorter and she became more guarded. It seemed as though she was quite defensive about this topic and even though previous answers had been more expansive, her answers became very short. At the end, she was dismissive about creativity: “If you take your creativity and try and make something out of it then it can be good, but if you are just creative, then it doesn't get you very far”. The value of creativity is clearly something that worried Louise. There are hints of the democratic discourse, and it seemed that he became more uncomfortable with the post-romantic discourse as the interview went on. Her answers became less expansive and doubt seemed to creep in about the utility of artistic ability. Many of the interviews showed a strong preoccupation with the future and the careers prospects associated with different subjects, especially arts subjects. Louise’s certainly showed this concern. Louise did not think that creativity, which she interpreted as artistic ability, would necessarily “get [her] very far”. It was clearly a concern and this is echoed in many of the other interviews where the post-romantic discourse is prevalent. This is strongly correlated

with media discourse (see for example Daily Mail, November 2018) where doubts over the 'value' of arts subjects (often called 'creative subjects') are raised and exemplified.

Jo positioned herself in the post-romantic discourse at the beginning of her interview. When I asked her if she considered herself to be a creative person, she said:

> I do. I mean, I don't do Art or DT but I used to want to be like an interior designer, which is quite creative. But I think, yeah, I am quite creative, but not. Not like really like enough to be able to do that I don't think.

She strongly associated creativity with Art and DT at the beginning of the interview, but in the second half of the interview, she changed to a more democratic discourse. In the section above however, she immediately makes the association between being creative and the arts disciplines. There is also a sense of the Capital C or genius definition of creativity in that she doesn't think she has 'enough' creative ability to be able to pursue Art or DT.

When I asked Jo about her most creative experience, she referred to her experience of Design and Technology. She situated this in the post-romantic discourse, citing lack of artistic ability, lack of future career prospects and the time demands as reasons for not continuing in the subject.

> I used to love DT and like building things, and you know, in Year 9, and then I kind of changed from that idea as I thought, what you have to be quite like, artistic and you have to put a lot of time into it. And I think I preferred going a different route as I don't really know many people that would get into like interior designing and have the time for that.

Her first implication here was that pursuing creativity demands artistic ability which either demands time or intrinsic talent or both. This is consistent with the post-romantic 'genius' discourse. Her second implication was that creativity will not lead to lucrative careers. The only career avenue she considered here is "interior designing" but she didn't "really know

many people that would get into [that]". This tension between creativity and the perception that it will not be an effective means of making money was quite frequently implied.

Harry immediately identified as a creative person but said that that this did not affect his subject choices "at all". When asked why he thought of himself as creative, he said "I don't know. I just come up with lots of random scenarios in my heads. I do a lot of drawing if they're not really the best. But I do some drawing at home when I'm bored."

Creativity was readily associated with drawing and imagination so he identified the post-romantic discourse here. However, he began to qualify this assertion almost straight away by admitting that the drawings he produced are not "really the best". He therefore drew away from associating himself with the genius or Capital C definition of creativity. This is further corroborated later when he said he would not choose the creative subject of Design and Technology as it was "too hard". The person he associated most with creativity was Bob Ross. Bob Ross is a painter who became very popular during lockdown. It was interesting that he chose a painter whose marketing depends on a combination of small C (universal) and capital C (genius) creativity. Harry clearly aligned his definition of creativity with the post-romantic discourse because he understood it in terms of art and drawing, but he felt that he could not reach the standard required to pursue "creative subjects". When asked why he did not choose Design and Technology he said "I'm alright at it. I'm not like, the perfect student at it". Again, he drew on a Capital C definition of creativity; the idea that there is an innate genius which allows some to 'be good at' this subject due to an inherent natural ability, whereas he seemed to indicate he could get better at Chemistry by applying himself more and working harder: "I quite enjoy Chemistry although I am not doing that well in Chemistry so I just have to get some revision done in that".

Later, he said that he had not been creative at secondary school and again aligned creativity with drawing, and then creative writing. When asked about the time in his life

when he was most creative he said: “I don't draw so much anymore. But I used to I used to have this giant art sketchbook and I just draw and things like that, though no examples. No, not really. Probably like just some story writing. For like English”. The post-romantic discourse was certainly the discourse most strongly aligned with. He spoke of freedom being a prerequisite.

Lucy was clear that creativity is either associated with art or with words and therefore was aligned most strongly with the post-romantic discourse. When asked if she would consider herself creative, she said: “To a point. I think with words. Yes, I used to write stories when I was little but not artistically at all”. Like Harry, she implied that there would be a boastfulness to labelling oneself as ‘creative’. She did not respond in the same way to this question as one would reply if one was asked whether they were literate or numerate. This was typical of most Year 11 responses and this hesitancy and the untranscribable laugh, pause or giggle that was usual after this question was asked shows in itself that this is not yet an educational universal in the same way that literacy and numeracy are. It also shows either a humility or an embarrassment, the former being a reluctance to elevate oneself to this level and the latter being a reluctance to descend to the level of something which is associated with childishness. Both indicate that there is much work to do to educate students about the universality of creativity.

She later underlined her association with the post-romantic discourse when talking of the purpose of creativity: “There's self-expression, I think is quite a big one. Trying to make the world see the world as you see it. As we see in lots of artwork. Also, in the context of DT by creating something for a purpose is quite a big thing.” Creativity as a mode of self-expression or as a language to communicate with is very much in line with the post-romantic discourse.

Lilya alluded to a democratic discourse but her main discourse was strongly post-romantic. When asked if she was creative, she also hesitated about replying in the affirmative but thought that because she does GCSE Art she must be creative to some extent. She, like others said that she has been the most creative in Art and Design and Technology because "the teachers tell you to be creative, do what you want to do". The idea within this discourse of being given the permission or the freedom to be creative came across strongly again.

7.4 Creativity as universal: evidence of the democratic discourse on creativity

7.4.1 Teachers

Although Mrs Self's initial answers were strongly post-romantic, the ideal that came through is strongly democratic. She said "if we define creative as in approaching a problem from a different way. or learning a different way to produce a piece of work, for example, I think they absolutely can be taught to be creative, because it is a skill, thinking differently is a skill". She strongly identified Craft's small c definition and the idea of 'possibility thinking'. She gave the example of Politics to exemplify the necessity of this discourse on creativity.

> So say history, for example, if you don't teach a different way of looking at a political problem, for example, then you're just perpetuating ignorance, which then would lead to war. So it's inherently good. Because that was the last question, wasn't it? Yeah, it's our it's our job to literally to open their eyes to different ways of thinking. So the example of politics. That's why it's inherently good. It's not just a means to an end. Yeah, I'd say it operates on many levels.

Here, Mrs Self understood creativity as a way of thinking differently or divergently, and implied that this should be an educational universal, that it is a duty. Here there was a slight discourse entanglement with the religious discourse as it is seen an inherently good and virtuous to be creative.

Dr Anson consistently demonstrated the democratic discourse and did not stray from this discourse. As a Science teacher, she approached the discussion on creativity very much from the point of view that sciences and maths can be and are creative.

She rejected the premise that some subjects are inherently more creative than others. She explained:

> I think all subjects are very creative, I think, or should be creative, because we as human beings are creative thinkers. So any STEM subjects, science, technology, and maths, you have to see you might pose a problem to a class, they need to be able to think creatively about it. In the real world, solutions come from being creative, not from having, just reproducing somebody else's ideas. So it's absolutely essential for any STEM subject to be creative.

There was an interesting qualification in the first sentence. In her phrase 'I think all subjects are very creative, I think, or should be creative', she moved from the descriptive to the prescriptive. This differentiation between the ideal and the reality is important; she maintained this position throughout the interview. It was clear that her opinion was that not all teachers or all students treat all subjects as creative.

One factor which she identified, which was noted in the analysis of the student discourse, was that creativity can be a universal across all subjects for the more able. It was noted that, if students are struggling with their subjects, creativity is not a high priority, either for the student that is struggling, or for the teacher who is teaching them.

> I think for the less able, when they find a subject challenging. They don't step back from it. They just feel as though What have they got to learn? So I think the creativity goes a little bit for them. Maybe the enjoyment therefore.

She also noted that the teachers' perception of all subjects as creative (the democratic discourse) does not necessarily match up with the students' perception. This alignment of discourse is ability dependent and this is borne out by the students' discourse. Three high-attaining students demonstrated the democratic discourse and they are the only three students for whom this is the predominant discourse. Like many other respondents, it was interesting that creativity is correlated with enjoyment. It is also seen as a luxury which is afforded only to those who are not finding subjects "challenging".

Dr Anson strongly believed that teaching for creativity was an educational imperative. She believed that all students can be creative but must be taught in order to develop this skill. She believed therefore that teachers have a duty to teach creativity.

> I think anyone can. Everybody should. But you have to try and facilitate it by open questions, by giving people confidence by giving people a chance to reply, how you greet students, how you, you know, you don't just tell them facts, it just, it's, you think about the learning process. And I think the learning process has to be creative. And if it's creative, it will go into the longer-term memory.

Mr McIntosh drew a distinction between creativity, recreation and self-expression. He associated recreation and self-expression with the post-romantic discourse, but creativity itself with the democratic discourse: "I think it's the difference between recreation, actual creativity of creating something new and self-expression, which I think a lot of people might confuse or conflate with creativity."

This type of creativity he believed applied to all disciplines but he acknowledged that language affects perception of creativity. "Some subjects might seem more creative than

others. But I think creativity goes across all intelligences, all personality types." Despite Mr Hazel's strong post-romantic discourse on creativity, and his clear dichotomisation of 'creative' and 'academic' subjects, when asked about the point of creativity, he participated in the democratic discourse. This was very typical of the responses in that, in practical terms, most often the post-romantic discourse was used, but in abstract terms, the democratic discourse was most often used.

> Creativity is how you push boundaries on things, thinking creatively about how do we solve a problem and come up with different solutions. So I suppose that creativity is how you make progress eventually. Yeah, so I'd say it's probably that drives for progress.

If asked for applications of Maths qualifications, he would have probably referred to problem-solving, so it was interesting that he did not associate Maths or Science with creativity at any point in his interview, despite this very clear democratic discourse on creativity, using the term "pushing boundaries". This response is anomalous with the rest of his interview, which again, is typical of many respondents.

Despite a clear post-romantic discourse, like others, when describing the point of creativity, the democratic discourse was used and Mr Fletcher gives a definition of creativity which is very close to Craft's definition of creativity as 'possibility thinking'.

> The point of it is looking beyond, beyond the norm. I guess creativity is thinking outside the box. It's about it's about looking at alternatives. It's looking at possibilities. it's you know, Creativity is outside the box, isn't it, it's that feeling of something else to develop something else, it's like a, it's a connection, to connection to something else to be creative is to is to think of something so that something else can then happen.

This was quite characteristic for those within the post-romantic discourse. Their discourse switched to the democratic discourse when reflecting upon the purpose of creativity. Use of

the term “out of the box” shows the association of creativity with a freer, less rigid way of thinking.

Mrs Dusk was an example of someone who has changed predominant discourse strand as a result of an oppositional discourse. She thought she would have previously identified the liberal arts subjects as creative, but as a result of a recent conversation, she had come to think of creativity much more broadly.

> I would have normally said that I think your liberal arts subjects allow you to be more creative. But my friend who's a doctor, who I'm spending this time with, was really making the case the other day in our conversation about how the sciences, if you go into research, particularly, are very creative, that that's actually being incredibly creative, because you're looking to create a new process for something you're looking to create a new methodology for something. And that's actually really creative.

She acknowledged that this conversation had changed her mind about creativity. She acknowledged that she would have previously “dismissed the maths and sciences as being creative” and she was now therefore much more aligned with the democratic discourse.

> And I really appreciated that because that is not necessarily where I would have gone with those ideas. I mean, my initial sort of argument would have been to say, well, yes, of course, if you're reading a variety of voices, and you're doing that, that is really creative. But it's made me kind of stop and think, Well, you know, you can't dismiss the maths and sciences as being creative, or else, how would we get solutions to problems that have plagued us? And how would we get new ways of doing things? And, you know, I thought about the COVID vaccine, and actually, you had to have a lot of creativity to get there with that.

This showed an entanglement with the socio-economic discourse “How else would we get solutions?” as she highlighted the utility value of creativity in the sciences.

7.4.2 Year 12 Students

As we saw above, Stanislaw, a more academically able student, whose first language is not English, immediately defined his creative ability by his ability to think of "out of the box solutions". He therefore clearly grasped the democratic discourse on creativity which is cross-curricular. When asked for the stereotypical creative person, he used the examples of Steve Jobs and Marie Curie, again showing that his thinking on creativity was broad-ranging across disciplines.

Although when he grouped subjects as 'creative' and 'non creative' along the traditional Arts/STEM dichotomy, when challenged, he began to talk himself into the idea that STEM subjects could be creative.

> Computer Science, yes, Computer Science enables us to be quite creative I'd say. I mean we have some projects to solve problems in interesting ways which is really good yes, this like this approach to having different solutions when it comes to programming itself. But apart from that, it's of course theory and you can't learn a lot of creativity from theory. Then you have Maths that also teaches us some creativity. I put it in non creative but that is it really and like, it's, you can't say that it's like totally non creative because then you come up with creative solutions, you try to find problems, right? It might be creative... But then, you know, as a subject on A levels, like rather, a lot of theory. So unfortunately, we are learning things, word by word, often.

Here Stanislaw made a distinction between open-ended problem solving in Computer Science and Maths, and the learning "word by word". Often A levels and exams syllabuses are seen as barriers of creativity rather than enablers of this. In this reflection, you can see how Stanislaw was very much in conflict about whether these two subjects could be seen as creative, even though he initially labelled them as non-creative. He wanted to be able to say that they are 'creative' but he is held back from committing to this because of the amount of "theory" which is not seen as creative. It was interesting that he used the phrases "teaches us creativity" and you "can't learn a lot of creativity" rather than describing opportunities to "be creative". This could be due to the language barrier, but it does seem to point towards a more passive approach to creativity.

When asked what he most associated with creativity, Stanislaw named a project which would typically be seen as creative in the democratic discourse. He described an open-ended project in which something was made, and one discipline was related to another.

> I remember my history teacher asking us to create memes about history, actually, about World War Two, not about strictly World War Two, but like about the whole

> period, right. So it was really good, it enabled us to take the knowledge that we have, and then put it into some funny, easy to memorize ways, which is just basically what I love.

Aside from the exceptionalising of his own creative ability, which tallied with the post-romantic discourse, and his separation of subject disciplines, Stanislaw was quite consistently aligned to the democratic discourse. When asked whether everyone could be creative, he answered:

> Yes, of course, even if some people are not like creative in a stereotypical way, like coming up with new ideas in one moment, right. But then they can find creative solutions, as I said, which can be like be used more practically.

Stanislaw clearly believed that there is a hierarchy in terms of how creative people are or can be, which tallies with the post-romantic discourse, and even the religious discourse to a certain extent. However he was clear that everyone has this ability to some extent. It was notable that he described "coming up with new ideas" as being "creative in a stereotypical way" as this is more closely aligned to the democratic than the post-romantic discourse, which is the more 'stereotypical' discourse on creativity.

Stephen, even though his early answers, categorisations and examples correlated strongly with the post-romantic discourse, after reflection moved into a more democratic discourse. This is characteristic of the older, more able students, that they are able to transcend the more traditional post-romantic discourse before they (usually) revert to the default of the post-romantic discourse. When I asked if it was possible for everyone to be creative, he said:

> I think so. I mean, with every field, there is creativity involved. In order to come up with a problem, a solution to a problem, you have to have a certain level of creative… everyone has an imagination. Kind of as coming up with solutions to problems you

> have and however creative you want to be with that there's still a level of creativity that you need to like build a plan towards this problem I guess.

He seemed to be participating in the democratic discourse here, however, his lack of fluency showed that this was not a well-developed discourse for him. It was a nascent idea that, with further thinking could develop into a more articulate exposition. Interesting, as soon as Stephen used the democratic discourse, he did not revert to the post-romantic discourse, but he did veer into an entanglement with the religious discourse.

Despite a very clear understanding of arts subjects as creative and science subjects as 'uncreative' or 'academic', which is congruent with the post-romantic discourse, Valentina also alluded to the democratic discourse when she thought in the abstract about creativity. She idealised creativity. When asked what the point of creativity is, she reflected that the point might be "To break limits, to break norms? And just to kind of see the possibilities as something that can be achieved? And just go further than anyone else has gone without fearing." In her mind, creativity was strongly associated with freedom and seeing possibilities. This did seem to echo Craft's idea of possibility thinking, however, when asked for specific examples, Valentina reverted to a post-romantic discourse.

Bas, a Maths and social sciences A level student, strongly demonstrated the post-romantic discourse in his categorisation of subjects, however, like others, when he was asked to define creativity and think more abstractly about it, he drew on the democratic discourse. He described someone as creative as:

> Someone who thinks outside of the box, somebody who's original, someone who questions what's normal and what's considered to be... what is accepted in society, what is original. Yes, I think originality is important for someone who is creative.

Use of the term “outside the box” was used again and highlighted the terminology used in the democratic discourse. However, having said this, he didn’t think there was any scope to be creative in Psychology or Economics or the Sciences:

> I think Psychology and Economics are very logical and they have lots of chains of reasoning and they are scientific. So I think there's almost no scope unless you're discovering something new.

He did think there was scope in Maths. It was interesting that, as a very able mathematician, he could see the potential to be creative in Maths. This was an atypical discourse when it comes to Maths and creativity, but it was consistent with other students who study Maths at a high level, for example Stanislaw.

> Maths is more of a tool to be creative and being creative in itself I think. So I think with Maths you can definitely use it to be creative so I think yeah, I think there's some scope for being creative in Maths.

This was interesting however as he later defined creativity as something which was entertaining, so it was unclear whether he was referring to Maths being creative as a means of problem solving or innovating (the democratic or socio-economics discourse) or whether he thought it was possible to create a product which may be an interpretation or of entertainment value (the post-romantic discourse). In retrospect I should have asked a clarificatory question here. However, I think we can see from his other answers that the overarching discourse is post-romantic, with some allusions to democratic possibilities in his discourse on creativity.

Bas clearly distinguished between the logical and the creative:

> I think people with logical brains are a lot less likely to be creative, but like, you know, can gently remind them that it's okay to kind of not always follow facts and actually just kind of experiment and do what you think is important.

Like Stanislaw, those that are gifted in Maths tended to identify as being gifted in general as Maths is seen to be at the top of the hierarchy of subjects. Therefore there was some degree of pride in this statement and his self-identification as a logical person. Logic was seen to trump creativity and have a greater value than it, but Bas was able to see that it does have some value.

In Jacinta's discourse, there was an entanglement between the post-romantic and democratic discourse. Her stronger discourse was democratic, but it was unclear. She focused on the point that one shouldn't label oneself with any adjective, and she also drew a distinction between the creative process and creative output. Untangling the discourse, I think one could say that she thought of the process in terms of the democratic discourse and the product in terms mainly of the post-romantic discourse.

When asked whether she considered herself creative, she replied:

> Well, I would hope so. It's, I wouldn't consider myself a creative person in that I don't think that we should attach any type of official adjectives to our identity, because it's so incredibly fluid. And if we do end up becoming either disappointed or stop acting in a way that might not otherwise be natural. So do I enjoy acting creatively and expressing creative ideas? Sure, from what I perceive as being creativity, but what I consider myself a creative person, kind of not really.

Her first response "Well, I would hope so" showed an immediate positive identification with the term. Her points were very astute and encapsulated a general issue with education in that there could be a tendency to focus on product rather than process. This touched on the empirical discourse in terms of the measurability of creativity.

7.4.3 Year 11 Students

When asked whether he considered himself to be a creative person, the post-romantic discourse framed his answer. Christian's first example of "being creative" was that he was good at "finding a way around" showing a broader approach which is more indicative of the democratic discourse.

> No, I'm not, but I'm quite good at solving problems. Like if something breaks in my house, I always find a way around there. What I'm not good at like, in terms of creativity is drawing from my imagination's alright, it's not…it's not like a brilliant, like artist's kind of imagination but I'd say I'm fairly creative.

He indicated however that there were different types of creativity and the main type of creativity for him was clearly artistic creativity. Although there is a discourse entanglement here, it only shows nuances of the democratic discourse and despite forays into the democratic discourse, in each answer he defaulted quickly back to the post-romantic discourse.

Despite Jo immediately participating in the post-romantic discourse, and this being the most dominant discourse in her interview, there was a definite discourse entanglement with the democratic discourse, which seemed to be prompted by the Subject Ranking card sort activity, and in particular, her placement of RS in the centre of the continuum between "creative" and "non-creative".

Later in the interview, she reflected on Psychology as a creative subject. She said she thought it was 'a bit' creative. Her reasoning was:

> You're thinking about things you don't usually think about in your day, and you're learning about how people react and why they react like that. Yeah. So I think that's quite a creative way of thinking.

Hence she made the association between creativity and thinking differently. She implied that there was a “creative way of thinking” that was not confined to arts subjects. After this participation in the democratic dialogue, she reverted to the post-romantic discourse again.

She later came back to the democratic discourse by implying that everyone can be creative and that one must make a conscious decision to be creative and this was possible in any discipline:

> You don't have to be able to do specific subjects to be creative. Because in a way you can be creative in most subjects, but you just have to put your mind to it and think that if you want to be creative, you can.

When I asked Jo whether creativity could be taught, she said “I think it can be, but sometimes it just like comes into your head. And you just think, Oh, I love doing this because I can think of it in a different way. And I can do it my own way.”

She seemed to situate the democratic discourse in a postmodern approach which was highly individualistic. She cited the point of creativity as a ‘stretching of the mind’: “You have different like ideas. It makes your like, subjects more enjoyable, because you can think differently to other people if you have more creativity.”

However, she stated that creativity ‘could be bad as you could just get really confused and everything and just want to give up.’ Jo therefore recognised the cognitive load a creative or divergent approach to subjects and that it could be intellectually demanding.

Harry associated creativity very strongly with the post-romantic discourse, however he did refer to the empirical discourse very briefly. He did not identify any need at all for creativity in his chosen fields of Chemistry, Business and Geography throughout his whole interview until his very last sentence when he said, “there's also things like healthcare where you had to be creative like thinking what would go with what...”. This assertion came very much out of the blue and was inconsistent with the rest of his interview. It suggested that

students should be challenged to think more about creativity as this interview, like many others, shows that with some focused time on reflecting on creativity, transversal ideas about creativity emerge.

Louise associated creativity predominantly with art and words, however, she said after the card sorting activity that she thought, when asked that everyone could be creative: “I think everyone's brains different. Everyone is good at different things. Pretty much all of the subjects are creative in some way some definitely more than others.” The statement showed slight inconsistency as the idea of “everyone being good at different things” seems to, in the context, imply a binary between creative and non-creative, or a scale, which is reinforced in the final statement. However, she was agreeing that everyone can be creative. This could mean that she thinks everyone has the potential, but that it depends upon opportunity which is determined by the subjects taken. Therefore, even though this answer could be associated with the democratic discourse, I think it is pulled slightly back to the post-romantic in its undertone.

Although Lilya’s answers and choices were framed by the post-romantic discourse, used the democratic discourse when she was asked to think at a more abstract level about creativity. She said “I feel like it's [creativity] just a mindset. Like, if you put positive stuff in your mind you can be positive, it's like you put your mind to it. And creativity is kind of similar”. This idea of creativity being a mindset or a way of thinking is very much in line with Craft’s small c definition of creativity. However Lilya did not make the connection between this way of thinking about creativity and her other A level subjects, or her future in general. She seemed to wish to draw a distinction between creativity and her life choices, despite the relevance of this discourse to her future. She went on to equate creativity with “open mindedness”.

Andi displayed an understanding of creativity which was most congruent with the democratic discourse of all the Year 11 students. When asked if she considered herself to be creative she said:

> It depends. It depends on things. Yes, I can be very creative if I want to be creative in the areas that I'm interested in. But if I, if some, like the topic is a very boring one, or I'm just not interested? I am, I wouldn't be that creative.

She seemed to associate creativity with being interested and not finding things boring. It seemed to be a higher order skill, something to aspire to, rather than a fundamental however. When asked to provide a creative archetype, she spoke of her father, who was an entrepreneur.

> Obviously, my dad is pretty creative. In his own studies, or in his own business, it's more like in life, while he, while facing a lot of problems, he can always come up with really good solutions, and plan A, plan B, plan C. And that's kind of Yeah, that's the kind of values I'm really excited to have.

She equated creativity with problem-solving and was the only Year 11 student to do this so explicitly. She was a student who had grown up surrounded by entrepreneurialism and hence this seemed obvious to her in a way in which it was not as obvious to others. She did not once refer to the post-romantic discourse explicitly, although she slightly alluded to it when she categorised the subjects on the creative/non creative continuum. It was as though she only began to think about creative and non-creative subjects when this is presented as a possibility through the exercise which makes her very different to the other Year 11 students. However here, she did seem to veer away from the universality of creativity which shows the power of the creative/non creative narrative.

> I think that the combination of my A levels includes both creative and non creative subjects. So overall, I feel like it's very creative because it is important to have some

> extensive flexibility. And yeah, so it can be a bit creative, a bit of non creative at the same time. So I think it's a good combination.

When asked when she has been most creative she referred to her life decision to change schools from China to the UK, which again shows the universality of creativity in her discourse, rather than any linkage with any specific subject. Again, this is very much opposed to the post-romantic discourse.

> I was in, in a state, establishment school in China, and I was studying national curriculum. But afterwards, I just thought it doesn't, it didn't fit. So I just talked to my parents, and I made a very creative decision of studying international school and studying like proper academic English. And then I made another creative decision to study in England.

The fact that she had, at the time of interview, only been in UK school for three years, and was only recently completely fluent in English perhaps explains to some extent how she has not been as affected by the dominant post-romantic discourse on creativity as the other Year 11 students who were all native English speakers. It was interesting to compare her understanding with some of the other non native English speakers in the year above her. To refer to a decision as “creative” shows the democratic discourse in that creativity permeates thinking inside and outside of school.

Andi understood the democratic discourse on creativity and saw it as a universal and a necessity. When asked what the point of creativity is, she replied:

> The point of a creativity today, I think it's the value of life. It really makes life so much more interesting. When you can actually establish or apply the things you have actually discovered in your life, I think it's really, really important. It's more about self-growth, and it's to be more creative and be a better person every single day.

This answer encapsulates the democratic discourse and highlights why creativity is important to society and to the individual. Even though she was touching on the instrumental value of creativity, she was not referring to the socio-economic discourse because she was talking of creativity in terms of self-actualisation. Despite the idealism of her answers, I do not think this was entangled with the religious discourse as she was demonstrating a purely democratic discourse. None of the terms here made particular allusion to a religious discourse and this would be consistent with the tradition of the school which she attended prior to attending her current school. This interview represents one of the only interviews in which the discourse is not entangled with any other discourse.

7.5 Creativity as intrinsic good: evidence of the religious discourse on creativity

7.5.1 Teachers

In Mrs Self's interview, although the main discourse on creativity was post-romantic on a surface level and democratic on a more idealistic level, there was also a slight entanglement with a religious discourse. Phrases like "it's our job to open their eyes to different ways of thinking", "our responsibility" and "it's what education is all about, which is about reaching your potential and leading an authentic fulfilled life" had connotations of an Aristotelian or Thomist virtue ethics, Maslow's self-actualisation or a theological plan with creative intentionality at its centre. This is a very good example of how creativity's power spans sacred and secular discourse.

Mr McIntosh also referred to self-actualisation as the point of creativity:

> And it comes down to self-actualization, self fulfillment. Creativity is needed to create novelty, which is essential in any sort of process. But then, and just to be more fully, fully human, I think you need to be creative.

Creativity as a means to self-fulfilment again, echoes the Judaeo-Christian idea of creation, the virtue ethics idea of teleology and Maslow's hierarchy of need. There was little reference to, or connection between religion and creativity made by teachers, despite the setting in a traditional faith school.

7.5.2 Year 12 Students

Stanislaw hinted towards the mystique of creativity and evoked the religious discourse on creativity when he said that it was not really something that could be taught. There is an entanglement here with the post-romantic discourse as he said that there was a "heuristic" or a "tool" rather than something that could be directly taught. By using the term "heuristic", it seemed that he was implying it was something that could be uncovered rather than taught.

Stanislaw also described creativity as "progress" which could allude to the essential goodness of creativity: "[The point of creativity is] progress. It's progress. It is constant evolution of the things that we have trying to get out of the stagnation, which is which is around us." However, he then qualified this by referring to the malign uses of creativity: "You can be creative and mass murderer or whatever, you know, like even dictators are the creative and creating some ways of manipulating people. So it's not good by itself."

Therefore despite the slight allusion to the religious discourse, this was a discourse fragment and on the whole his interview was not strongly rooted in the religious discourse on creativity.

Stephen used an entanglement with the democratic and religious discourses when he answered the question "Can creativity be taught?"

> I think it can be encouraged through what you do. I'm not sure. It's kind of nature or nurture. I think it can be encouraged and it can kind of be taught but not in a sense

> that you can distil creativity in some way. I think it's more something that you're born with and you have a natural inclination towards being more creative.

The words and phrases “nature”, “born with” and “natural inclination” have resonances of Aquinas’ Natural Law. He suggested that it more nature than nurture and suggested that creativity cannot be distilled. He was therefore showing a diametric opposition to the empirical discourse on creativity.

Jacinta spoke of “creativity being a route to meaning rather than meaning in itself” which struck an almost Buddhist note in terms of the importance of the process outweighing the importance of the outcome.

Joanna’s predominant discourse was post-romantic, and within that there was a reference to a socio-economic discourse, however this could also be interpreted as a fragment of religious discourse on creativity.

> It's also just necessary for growing out of nothing. We get all this new technology and all these new ways because someone created a new idea that no one else has thought of and that's how we grow.

The etymology of ‘creativity’ is from the word to grow and the idea of creatio ex nihilo is also a religious concept. It is possible that this was cultural seepage rather than theologically intentioned. It is notable that this terminology was used. It certainly diluted the socio-economic discourse and elevates creativity’s purpose to one more akin to self-actualisation.

7.5.3 Year 11 Students

Christian alluded lightly to the religious discourse when he asked what he thought the point of creativity was. He said “I don’t think there is much of a point, I just think it is something that just is”. However, this is perhaps more indicative of a disinterest in a more

abstract question than a belief. His ideas on creativity seemed much more rooted in the post-romantic discourse.

Theo also touched on the religious discourse in his reference to inspiration. He seemed to imply that creativity was something external that could be accessed with effort.

> It was probably it would probably be down to like, how much effort you're putting in because as I said, if you read a lot of books, you're gonna end up like, with more, like, creative ability in your mind, if you just Yeah. If you just like, sit around and think then it might be something that not a lot is gonna come through. You need like some form of inspiration.

There was a discourse entanglement in Theo's interview as throughout the rest of his interview he was very consistent in his participation in the post-romantic discourse. This, and his reference to the inspiration of religious places ("the Cathedral, I mean the Abbey") for creativity were the only instances when he made a slight allusion to the religious discourse.

Louise briefly referred to a religious discourse on creativity as an innate or mystical ability. When asked whether creativity could be taught she said: "I don't think so. I think it's a skill. You have it or you don't."

This idea is representative of the post-romantic/religious discourse entanglement and if often used by those in the post-romantic discourse as they set themselves apart from others in terms of the 'genius' aspect of creativity.

Lucy also alluded to the religious discourse in her predominant post-romantic discourse. She said that she thought of creativity as "innate". She also spoke of creativity as "making things for a purpose" and as "making something out of nothing". The brevity of her answers made these responses seem a less considered than other respondents. Her answers also seemed a little inconsistent.

7.6 Creativity in evidence: evidence of the empirical discourse on creativity

7.6.1 Teachers

Miss Duffy made an allusion to a neuroscientific understanding of creativity when she referred to creativity for dyslexic students. All staff at this school had just undertaken Made By Dyslexia training in which the claim is made that dyslexic students tend to be more creative than neurotypical students and hence this is important context for her statement: "dyslexic students, for example, they can use their brains to think more creatively than others".

Miss Rivers made some reference to the empirical discourse on creativity by speaking of the emotional aspects of creativity. She used terms such as "journey" and "exploration" which pointed towards the psychological benefits of creativity. However, this could also be an entanglement with the religious discourse if understood from a more spiritual perspective. She said that creativity provides a "safe space" which could be understood psychologically or spiritually.

Mr Fletcher made an allusion to the empirical discourse although his discourse was predominantly post-romantic. He alluded to its measurability when he suggested that everybody is on a spectrum of creativity. He also made reference to creativity and dyslexia:

> I think that everybody is creative to, you know, I think everyone's a spectrum, whether you're autistic on a spectrum dyslexic, or that your creativity is on a spectrum, whether you can advance on this line, or depend on lots of factors.

The idea of a "spectrum" hinted towards measurability and comparability, but also much more than a binary. He suggested that creativity is a skill which can be taught, improved upon and measured through the provision of opportunity, guidance and hard work.

> I think it's like, practice makes perfect. I think that I've taught kids over the years, you know, struggled. And then if they put a lot of effort in they, for example, an A level, I

once had a student that couldn't draw, she was she was really bad at drawing, and I taught her the basics. And then she got better. And then she worked really hard. She was a hard worker. And indeed, for GCSE, she ended up getting a B, which was delighted with it. And we did it for A level and in energy and A* for A level. Because a lot of hard work.

Like Miss Rivers, Mrs Dusk pointed to the potential psychological benefit of creativity, thus participating in the empirical discourse. “I think expressing our creativity is good for us. I think it is good for mental health. I think it is good for self-esteem. I think it is good for us as people.” Similarly, this could almost be part of the religious discourse. It shows that there is a great potential overlap between the empirical and religious discourse when it comes to the benefits of creativity.

7.6.2 Year 12 Students

Stanislaw made no reference to the scientific discourse in his interview, apart from his reference to a scientist and a tech entrepreneur as his two creative archetypes.

Jacinta was the only student to make a distinction between the creative process and the creative product. She touched upon the non-falsifiability of creativity: “There's no correct or incorrect way to create something, there is only the judgment of whether we can, you know, form a perspective from that creation.” This seemed to imply that creativity is elusive and beyond measurement.

7.6.3 Year 11 Students

No Year 11 students participated in the empirical discourse on creativity.

7.7 Overarching Discourses in the interviews

7.7.1 Teachers

Mrs Self, a Senior Leader, exemplifies what has emerged as the apparent archetypal discourse of a teaching professional. She defaults to the post-romantic discourse when thinking about creativity in a day-to-day manner. Her prima facie response is typical of many teachers. However, she also shows an awareness of the more ideological response, the democratic discourse, in that she understands creativity should be an educational universal. When giving practical examples, there are few examples given so she does not exemplify this discourse at a deep experiential level; it is more ideological. Another interesting facet of her discourse is that there is an entanglement with the religious discourse in that she implies the near sanctity of creativity which is at the root of the educational discourse.

Dr Anson, a Science teacher, is passionate about creativity in STEM and as such her discourse is strongly democratic. Pragmatism is also an important part to her as a former Head of Sixth Form, and so this is complemented by the socio-economic discourse. She sees both the intrinsic and instrumental value of creativity for the students and as such believes creativity to be an educational universal. She concedes that access to a creative curriculum is more possible for the more academically able. Therefore, the impetus to pass exams can be a barrier to creative teaching and learning in STEM.

Dr Anson promotes the democratic discourse which is inextricably linked in many ways with the socio-economic discourse. Given her position of influence, it is interesting to note that this clarity on creativity as part of the democratic discourse is not strongly reflected across the student or staff body. Despite Dr Anson's leadership, competing priorities within the school may have diluted this discourse and the default for the students and many of the staff has reverted to, or remained post-romantic.

Mr McIntosh's (Music teacher) interview shows an acceptance of the 'creative subjects' and so adheres to the post-romantic discourse. At a deeper level, Mr McIntosh understands the ideology of the democratic discourse and also makes reference to the religious and socio-economic discourse. Because he has read widely on the subject, he understands the disparity between the ideal discourse and the reality in schools, and also the disparity between the discourse in schools and in the workplace.

Miss Duffy's (Advisor) discourse is post-romantic. She sees creativity as freedom and as a part of the curriculum which is more accessible. She also thinks neurodivergent students may find it easier to think in a more creative way so she touches on the empirical discourse on creativity as well.

Mr Hazel's (Teacher of Maths) discourse on creativity is strongly post-romantic in that he associates creativity only with certain subjects. He sees the Arts and to some extent the Humanities subjects as 'creative' and Maths and Sciences as 'academic'. He puts forward the idea that there is 'intellectual snobbery' about the 'creative subjects' as they are seen as 'less academic'. He touches briefly on the socio-economic discourse as he sees the societal value of creativity and he also uses the democratic discourse when referring to the value of creativity in the abstract.

Miss Rivers' (Art teacher) discourse is post-romantic in that Art is seen at the epitome of creativity. Other subjects such as literature and music are also associated with art in terms of creativity. The two types of creativity she mentions are imagination and technical ability: both of which are fully consistent with the post-romantic discourse. There is one minor discourse strand relating to the positive psychological impact of creativity which could be part of the empirical or religious discourse or both.

Mr Fletcher's (Design and Technology teacher) discourse on creativity is post-romantic This is especially evident in terms of the capital C definition of creativity for those

the innate ability for creativity. His discourse is more democratic when he refers to creativity in the abstract when reflecting on the purpose of creativity. There is also a brief allusion to the empirical discourse when he discusses the assessment of creativity, which implies its measurability.

Mrs Dusk's (English teacher) discourse is highly democratic and it is very interesting that her recent experiences, in terms of a conversation with a friend, her wishes for her child's future career and her experiences through the Covid pandemic have led to a change in her predominant discourse from the post-romantic to the democratic. She notes that the post-romantic discourse on creativity is the predominant discourse within society, but she believes it should be democratic. Hence there is a difference between the descriptive and normative discourse in her view.

7.7.1.1 Conclusion from Teacher interviews

What came across very strongly in the teachers' interviews was the disparity between the theoretical and practical discourses. When teachers were asked about creativity in the abstract, in terms of its purpose, almost all teachers' responses adhered to the democratic discourse. However, when teachers were focusing on the students, their choices and their perceptions, they identified the post-romantic discourse on creativity. Mrs Dusk and Dr Anson were the only two teachers to identify the democratic discourse as their predominant discourse, and this is interesting as they both have connections with university and careers advice as former Heads of Sixth Form. They both entangled the democratic discourse with the socio-economic discourse, as they see that it is important for education to hold both instrumental and intrinsic value in order to gain currency in a competitive marketplace.

Mr Hazel put the student and teacher perception across clearly when he spoke of 'intellectual snobbery' as being the root cause of the dichotomisation of 'creative' and

‘academic’ subjects and students. This was implied but was not explicitly stated by any other teacher but it did come across in the student discourse. More experienced teachers would perhaps be more wary about appearing critical of others’ subjects. The implication of this discourse strand was present in other places, for example Mr Fletcher, Bas and George’s discourse. It is notable that only male teachers and students stated or implied the existence of this hierarchy.

Almost universally, a discrepancy was noted by the teachers of the ideal discourse (democratic) and the real discourse (post-romantic). This is commonplace in schools in terms of educational ideologies, largely because of time pressure and the pressure to adhere to exam specifications and these two factors were widely commented upon by teachers. This may also go some way to explaining why creativity was not associated with all subjects, as ‘freedom’ is widely associated with ‘creative subjects’ and teachers in general do not feel free in their pedagogy due to many factors, most notably time and examination constraints.

What was most striking amongst the interviews was the degree of commonality in the lack of association of creativity with subjects such as Maths and the Sciences in all discourses with the exception of the Science teacher. All other teachers spoke, unprompted, of a clear academic/creative duality.

7.7.1.2 Year 12 Students

Stanislaw’s dominant discourse is democratic, with hints of the post-romantic discourse. The religious and socio-economic discourses are also present to a much lesser extent.

Stephen’s dominant discourse is post-romantic until he transfers to a democratic discourse upon reflection. There is also an entanglement in his discourse with the religious discourse, which means that on balance his discourse is more post-romantic than democratic.

The dominant discourse for Valentina is post-romantic largely due to the remnants of an oppressive regime in her education which saw arts subjects as potentially subversive. Therefore Valentina strongly correlates creativity with freedom and she sees the arena for this as being the arts subjects.

Bas' discourse is post-romantic although there is some reference to the democratic discourse when he refers to creativity in the abstract.

Amir's discourse on creativity is consistently socio-economic. He sees creativity as a means to a socio-economic end and he sees the economic opportunity in innovation and entrepreneurship for which creativity is a pre-requisite. It is interesting that his whole paradigm is congruent with the socio-economic discourse, as even in terms of his IB choices, he weighed up which would have the best chance of a positive outcome.

George's discourse on creativity is strongly post-romantic. He distances himself from this discourse as he does not see himself as a particular participant in this narrative. He associates it with the arts subjects he used to do. The strong impression from his interview is that he has 'grown out' of these subjects, which is similar to narrative in SB's interview.

Jacinta's discourse strives for the democratic discourse in order not to fall into the trap she perceives of the post-romantic discourse. She is not completely consistent in the democratic discourse; there are elements of the post-romantic, empirical and religious discourse. The strongest discourse however is the democratic discourse with undertones of the post-romantic discourse. She makes an important point about the issue of labelling and categorising, which is a key motivator behind this thesis. She also draws a distinction between process and product, another key motivator and a critique of the Austin's butterfly approach.

Joanna's discourse is strongly post-romantic although there is some use of the socio-economic, democratic and possibly religious discourses as well. The overarching discourse

remain post-romantic however. Like George, Jo was reluctant to give a creative archetype although she strongly identified as a creative person.

7.7.1.3 Conclusion from Year 12 interviews

The most dominant discourse for Year 12 was the post-romantic discourse. For those that were taking Maths and Sciences subjects, there was a strong suggestion if hierarchy between 'creative' and 'academic' subjects. Some of the more academic students showed an ideological understanding that there 'should' be a democratic discourse. There were some discursive knots for these pupils as the gravitational pull of the predominant discourse was evident in all interviews. All pupils referred to an academic/creative binary and suggested that there was a hierarchy of subjects based on this, with the possible exception of Jacinta.

7.7.1.4 Year 11 Students

Christian presented a stereotypical Year 11 student view. On first sight, he drew quite a simplistic dichotomisation between the creative and the 'fact-based'. He contrasted creativity with fact-based learning (for example in Chemistry and History). However in both of these subjects, he saw the possibility for some creative thinking, for example 'making up an experiment' in Chemistry and interpretation in History. This is aligned with the definition Craft puts forward of creativity as 'possibility thinking'. Christian said 'in Chemistry there's no like 'if's, 'but's, 'maybe's it's 'is' that's it.' All of his other examples of creativity were located in the domain of the arts. He didn't consider himself to be part of this domain and saw it as 'other'. He had a vague idea that creativity could be considered more broadly and briefly cited the example of being able to 'fix things' and 'find a way around'. His discourse therefore shows an entanglement between the post-romantic and democratic discourse but the post-romantic discourse far outweighed the democratic.

Theo is highly consistent in his participation in the post-romantic discourse. As a talented musician, and especially composer, this is perhaps to be expected. However Theo is also taking Maths and Physics and it is interesting that he never refers to any aspect of creativity within these and never refers to the democratic discourse on creativity. His interview is perhaps one of the most striking examples of a pure post-romantic discourse. Even though there are moments of possible religious discourse, this is still very consistent with the post-romantic discourse and in no way contradicts or challenges it. It was interesting to see the mental health and wellbeing motif in the post-romantic discourse here. His interview also drew out the tension between exam requirements and training and the desiderata of creativity in all students.

Louise's discourse on creativity was strongly post-romantic. There were no discourse entanglements or suggestions of other discourses, expect for a brief suggestion of the religious discourse. She was very concerned about the utility of creativity, so her post-romantic discourse was in sharp relief to a socio-economic discourse.

Jo's discourse was entangled between post-romantic and democratic. Her overarching discourse was post-romantic as she strongly associated Art with creativity and there were strong allusions to the Capital C or genius definition of creativity. However, after the Subject Ranking, she drew on the small c definition of creativity and seemed to adapt her definition of creativity to include the possibility of all subject disciplines being open to creativity. She alluded to the difficulty and cognitive load of thinking in a creative way.

Harry's discourse on creativity was clearly post-romantic however his lack of confidence prevented him from strongly associating himself with this discourse. He exhibited an affinity with the Capital C 'genius' definition of creativity within this discourse. He had spent time drawing and using his imagination however he referred to 'not being good enough' to pursue what he perceived as the 'creative subjects'.

Lucy's discourse on creativity was quite mixed and inconsistent. She seemed slightly concerned that she had the ‘wrong’ answer and so her responses became short as she moved away from topics she was familiar with. Her predominant discourse was post-romantic, however there was one reference to the democratic discourse and several entanglements with a religious discourse.

Lilya's discourse on creativity is post-romantic in terms of the subjects and ideas that she associates creativity within her immediate experience. However, when she thinks about creativity at an abstract level, she strongly associates with the democratic discourse. She does this by equating creativity with ‘open mindedness’ and by asserting that it is ‘just a mindset’.

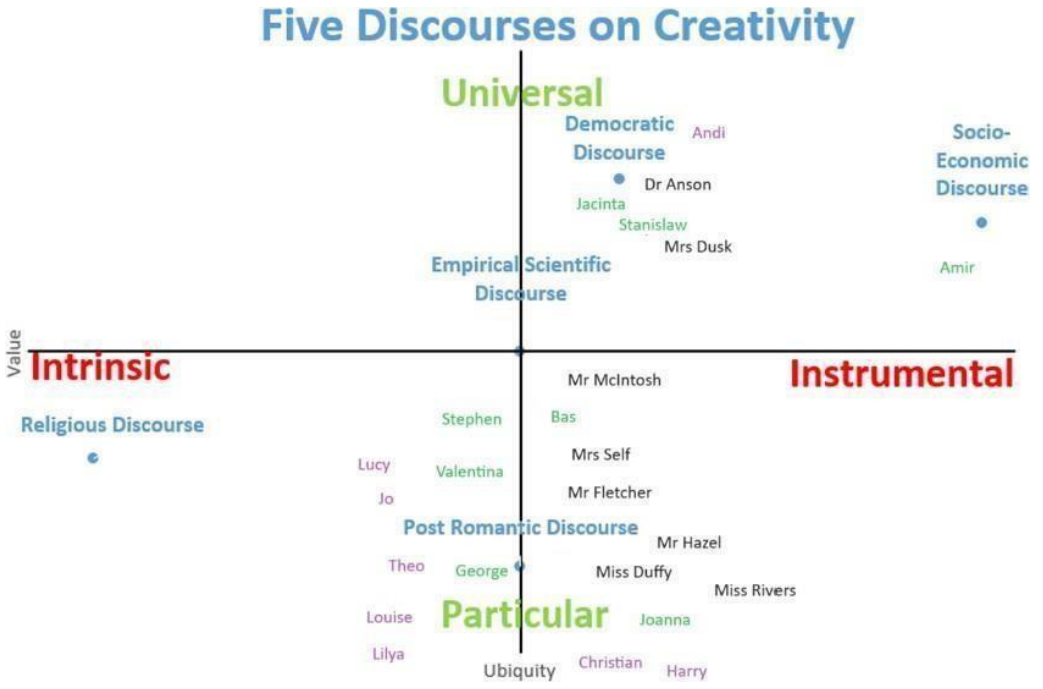
Andi's discourse is pure democratic discourse. It is one of the only interviews that contains only one discourse and no entanglements. It is an outlier in that there is no reference at all to the post-romantic discourse. Andi, being a non-native English speaker has perhaps been less influenced by the dominant post-romantic discourse on creativity than the other students. She is the only student who does not make reference to it and this could be because she was outside education in the UK until the age of 13. Her answers are all highly consistent with each other and demonstrate an understanding of creativity as an educational universal which is necessary for problem-solving and self-actualisation.

7.7.1.5 Conclusion from Year 11 interviews

The Year 11 interviews were strong examples of the post-romantic discourse. This was perhaps symptomatic of the fact that they had chosen their A levels and so had categorised their subjects as a way of justifying or deriving meaning from their decisions and had assessed themselves in relation to those categories. Despite the range of ability profiles and subject specialisms, they all, with the exception of Andi, associated creativity with arts and humanities. There were some discourse entanglements, but these were rare. The only

person who did not participate in the post-romantic discourse was the outlier Andi. She was a late arrival to the school and was also a leaver in that she was not remaining for sixth form, and this could have contributed towards her low level of affiliation with the popular post-romantic discourse. It was also notable that there was a correlation between ability and familiarity with the democratic discourse. The socio-economic discourse was weak in this cohort, which shows that they may not have been 'sold' the value of creativity in their subject decisions. The religious discourse was present, but this can be put down to the religious nature of their experience and context. This discourse seemed to be in the background rather than a driving force in their discourse. Finally the empirical discourse was not present at all. This showed that the students were not necessarily thinking about creativity in terms of metaphysics, neuroscience or education.

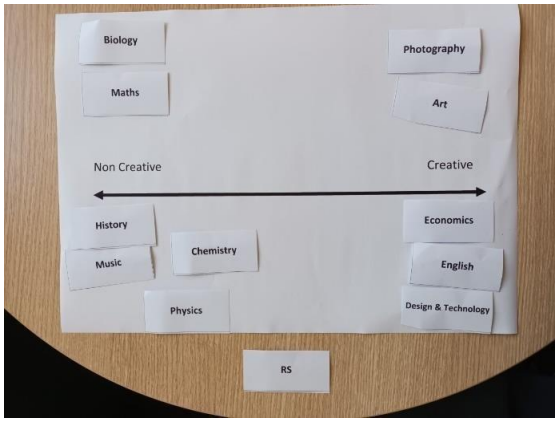
Figure 21 Interview participants positioned on the discourse cultural map. Note only three discourses are used.



7.8 ‘How would you rate these subjects from most to least creative?’ The Subject Ranking exercise

After three questions in the interviews, students were invited to rank cards with the names of twelve different subjects on them from ‘non-creative’ to ‘creative’. The mat given with an arrow indicating a ‘non-creative’ to ‘creative’ continuum was designed to encourage a ranking or range rather than a binary separation, however, many of the students did sort the cards in a binary way. They placed the cards onto either the ‘non-creative’ or ‘creative’ side of the paper. What was also striking was the speed at which the students set about doing this task. One or two asked a clarifying question such as “Do I just put them in order?” but most proceeded to do the task as quickly as possible. Some provided a running commentary or rationale about where they placed the cards. This was particularly striking with Valentina and George. However, no student showed any unease or distaste about the task. All of the students simply performed the task and awaited the next question. No student questioned the idea of placing the subjects in this way and no student placed all of the cards in creative, which I found to be surprising. This shows a great deal about student suggestibility and the outcome of this section of the research showed perhaps more than any other part the strength of the ‘creative’/’non-creative’ binary in subject perception amongst students.

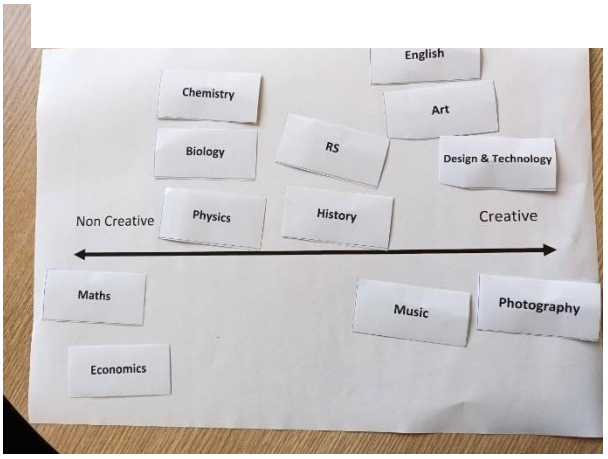
Figure 22: Stanislaw's (Year 12) Subject Ranking



When asked to sort the subjects on a continuum between creative and non-creative subjects, Stanislaw immediately grouped all of the STEM subjects under ‘non-creative’ and arts and humanities in ‘creative’ but said that he struggled with the social sciences. This was surprising given the fact that he had chosen two STEM pioneers as his creative archetypes.

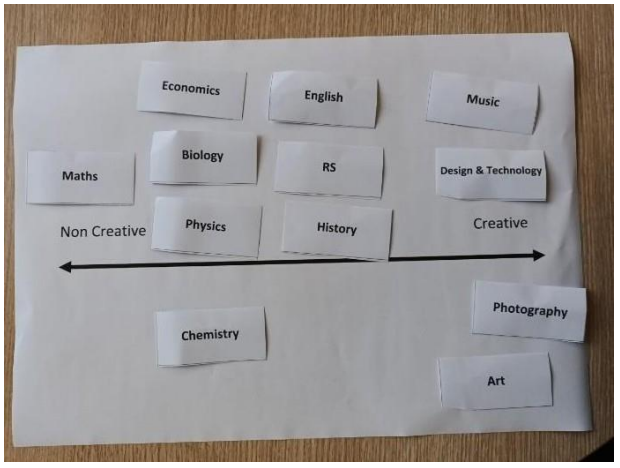
However, it is interesting that Design and Technology was considered to be a creative subject, and this subject is one which all students readily associate with creativity.

Figure 23 Stephen's (Year 12) Subject Ranking



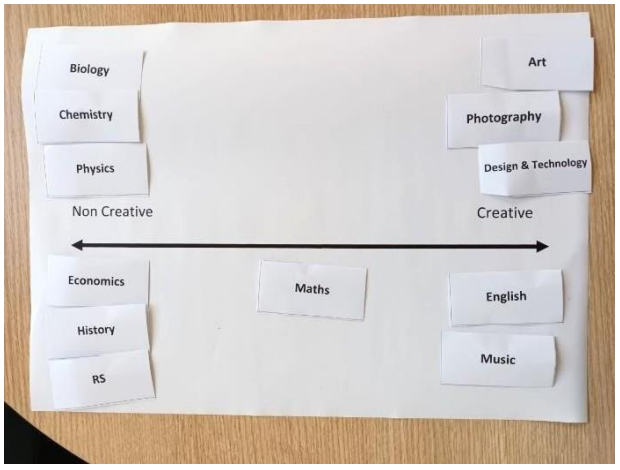
Stephen did not rate any of his own subjects as creative when asked to rank the subjects. He shows a clear differentiation here between STEM subjects, which he sees as his disciplines, as non creative and the arts and humanities disciplines as creative. This is very consistent with his post-romantic discourse on creativity and his self-identification of himself and his subjects as ‘non creative’.

Figure 24: George's (Year 12) Subject Ranking



George associated creativity with free thinking and a lack of creativity in his (STEM) subjects with the extent to which his subjects depended on 'rote learning'. George placed all of the visual and expressive arts as creative. He placed the humanities as creative, but much less so that the visual and expressive arts. He placed all of his subjects at the 'non creative' side of the continuum, despite having admitted that this end was associated with rote learning and 'less freedom'. From the rest of his interview, it was clear that George placed more academic value on the 'non-creative subjects'.

Figure 25: Bas' (Year 12) Subject Ranking



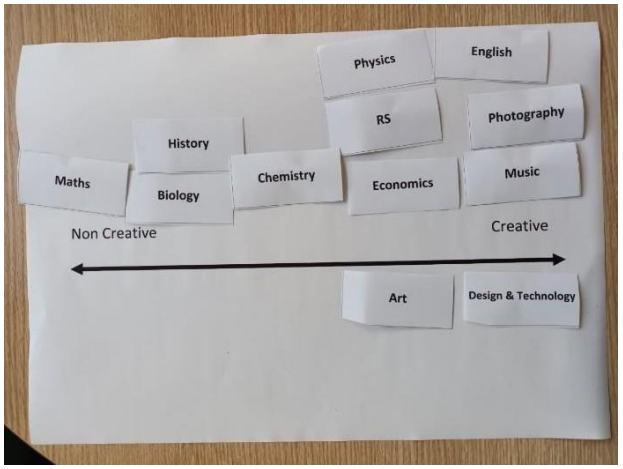
When asked to rank the subjects from creative to non-creative, Bas created two distinct categories, rather than creating a continuum. He placed all the expressive and visual arts in the creative category and the sciences in the non-creative category. Interestingly, he

placed Economics, History and RS on the non creative side. In his justification for placing social sciences under non creative, he said “I think Psychology and Economics are very logical and they have lots of chains of reasoning, they’re scientific. So I think there's almost no scope to be creative unless you're discovering something new.”

He made an immediate association between ‘non creative’ and ‘scientific’ here. However, unlike many of his peers, he placed Maths in the centre: “Maths is more of a tool to be creative than being creative in itself I think. So I think with maths you can definitely use it to be creative so I think yeah, I think there's some scope for being creative in Maths.”

There were some qualifications here on Maths’ status as a creative subject. First, it was placed only centrally, not in the creative camp. Secondly, it was only called a “tool to be creative”. However, its consideration as somewhat creative was noteworthy. In this study, it has been male students who have studied Maths to a high level (A level Further Maths) who have considered Maths to be creative.

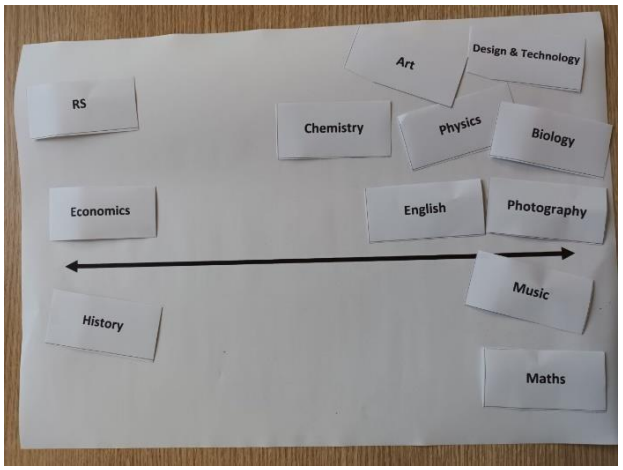
Figure 26Jacinta (Year 12) Subject Ranking



Jacinta’s ranking of the subjects was interesting given her closeness to the democratic discourse. STEM was certainly towards the non creative end in general. The subjects that she associated herself with more strongly were closer to the creative side. Apart from the placement of History, this was a fairly standard arrangement for a student using the post-

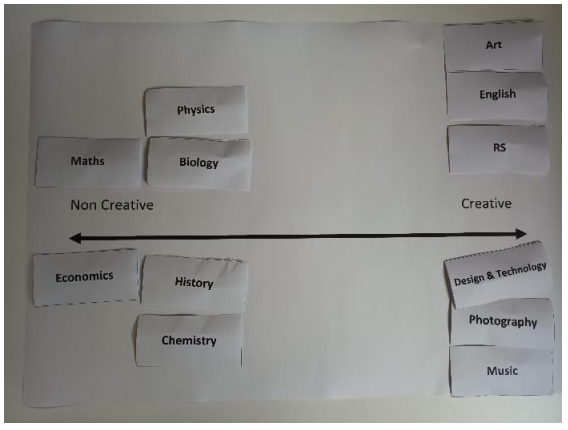
romantic discourse, so it was surprising from this student who favoured a democratic discourse.

Figure 27 Amir (Year 12) Subject Ranking



Amir's representation of subjects as creative and non creative was very different from other students. He put the majority of subjects in the 'creative' category, which was very consistent with his democratic discourse. However, he chose three subjects to be deemed as non creative: RS, Economics and History. Like other students, he placed these subjects in non-creative as he saw them as being linked to 'rote learning'. He was one of the only students to place the Sciences and Maths at the 'creative' end of the continuum, which made him an outlier in the research, but this was very consistent with his socio-economic discourse.

Figure 28 Joanna (Year 12) Subject Ranking

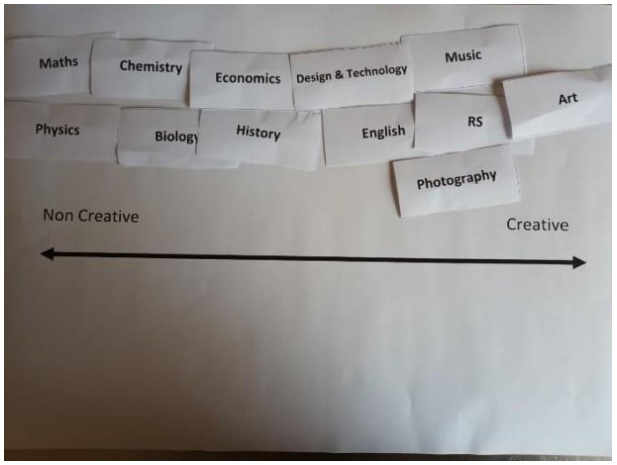


There was a clear delineation in Joanna's subject categorisation between 'creative' and 'non creative' subjects. She chose to present the cards in a binary formation rather than on a continuum and this was consistent with her earlier discussion and presentation of the post-romantic discourse. She explained her reasons for this categorisation:

> Like non creative subjects are more they're more factually based, whereas obviously things like in Music and DT you're creating your own thing. In RS is there's no right or wrong answer really, so that is why it is creative. It's very individual and you can come up with whatever thing you believe in.

An interesting discourse strand was introduced here in which Joanna associated a lack of 'right and wrong' with creativity. This cohered with the discourse strand about creativity and freedom. Creativity in the post-romantic discourse is associated with freedom to express oneself, but also the freedom from the constraints of truth and falsity.

Figure 29 Valentina (Year 12) Subject Ranking

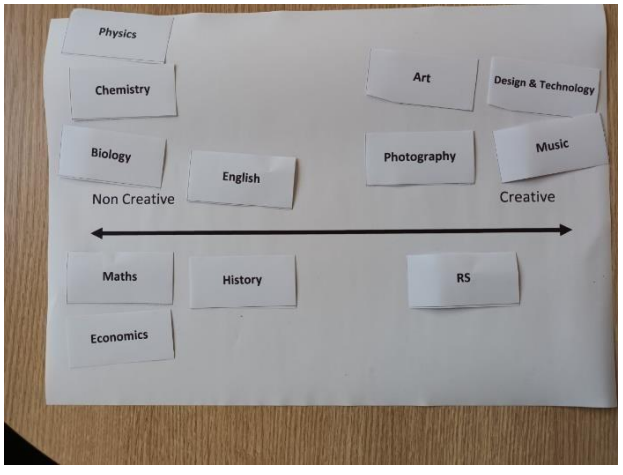


Valentina believed Arts subjects to be creative and associated with freedom and the sciences to be less creative. She articulated her rationale for thinking that STEM subjects are non-creative here:

> Biology [is not very creative because] because biology, it's you have to be really passionate and get to come up with something new. And otherwise you just learn whatever there has been and whatever concepts have been discovered. That's why you can't even imagine something that is not visible. You see what exists already. Afterwards, Chemistry. There is some creativity to chemistry and experiments for example, but generally chemistry is really academic. You just have to learn it, know it, and not kind of get your own taste for it. And the same with Physics is just lots of formulas. And the formulas make it even less creative that chemistry because you have to calculate. And numbers, they only have one right answer, which makes it not really creative. And Mathematics is the least creative subject, as there's just formulas and numbers, and the only way that you can achieve the right answer is through doing everything really exact and without improvising.

Here, Valentina gave a very clear and consistent explanation of why she thinks that the sciences and Maths are not creative. It is interesting that here, with English as a third language, she juxtaposed creativity and academia as binary opposites.

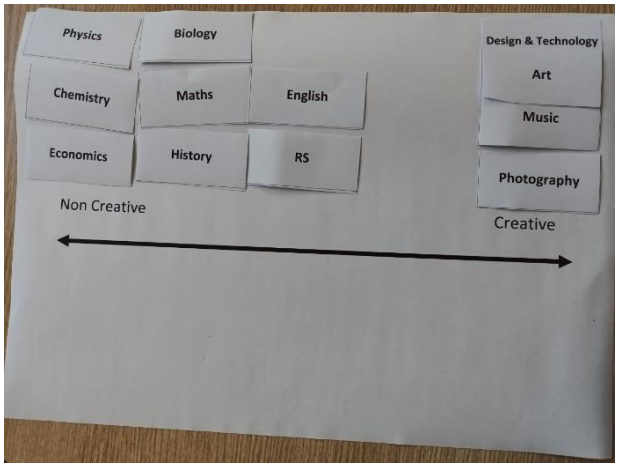
Figure 30Lilya (Year 11) Subject Ranking



Lilya associated creativity with freedom, open-mindedness and "doing what you want to do", aligning herself with the post-romantic discourse. Reflecting this, she placed all of the visual and expressive arts on the side of 'creative', the humanities in the centre but towards

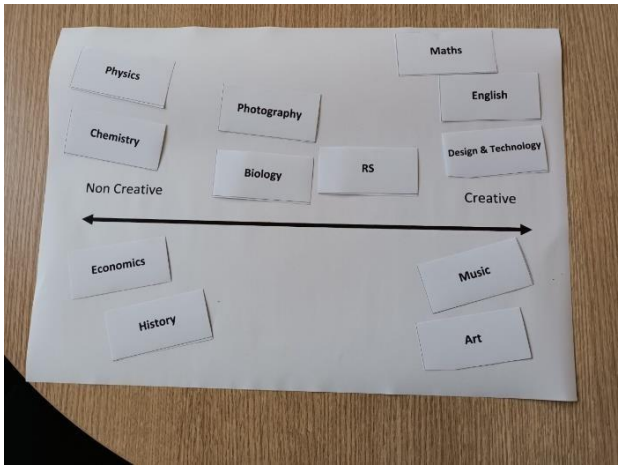
'non creative' and STEM subjects by 'non creative'. The exception to this is RS which she placed in 'creative'. To justify this she said that this was because creativity was "a mindset, positivity and having an open and not a closed mind". Here she is therefore participating in the religious discourse on creativity and also the democratic discourse to some extent.

Figure 31 Lucy (Year 11) Subject Ranking



Lucy made a clear divide between 'creative' subjects, which she took to be the visual and expressive arts, and the 'non creative' subjects which were everything else. Of the 'non creative' subjects, English and RS were the closest to the 'creative' side, which she justified by saying "there is a lot of arguing of points". She mentioned "creative writing" as the reason for thinking English could be considered more "creative" but not "visually creative". By making this point, Lucy showed that her readiest association with creativity is "visual creativity". Lucy therefore aligns herself with the post-romantic discourse.

Figure 32 Andi (Year 11) Subject Ranking



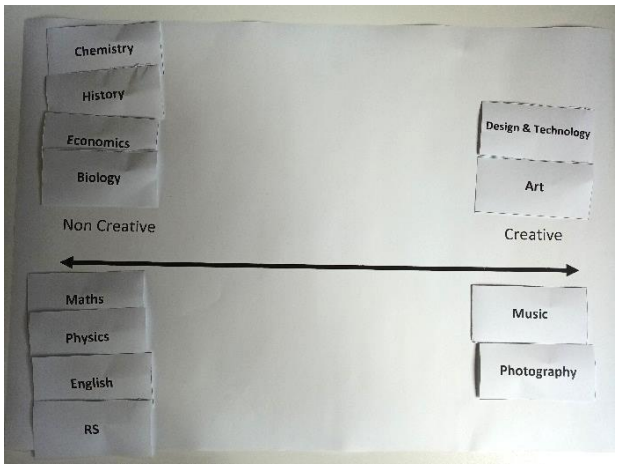
Andi was the student who perhaps showed the strongest reaction to this task (shown in the interjection "wow" which here – and given Andi's Americanised English is more likely to show faint disapproval more than surprise). Like Valentina she wanted to talk through her rationale whereas other students tended to do the task in silence. It was useful to hear her rationale.

> Wow. Chemistry, it's not like creative because it's only learning Biology. Maths, it's creative, because it needs a lot of imagination and picturing stuff. English creative, including creative writing. Photography can be creative and non creative. Design. I'm not sure about this one. It depends on how people use it, but I think it's pretty creative. RS. Alright, wow. Things as well, because it includes some ethics and that kind of stuff. Economics – non-creative. It's up to people how they can use other theories. Biology - I will take medicine, not that flexible in some ways. Physics - it's not that creative. History is set in the past, so I would say it's not as well. Art, creative. Music, creative.

She associated creativity with imagination, "picturing stuff" and flexibility. Any subject with set rules or ideas she seems as 'non creative', for example "it's not that creative because it's only learning". Again rote learning was associated with a lack of creativity. It was interesting that she immediately associated Maths with creativity and she was the only Year 11 student

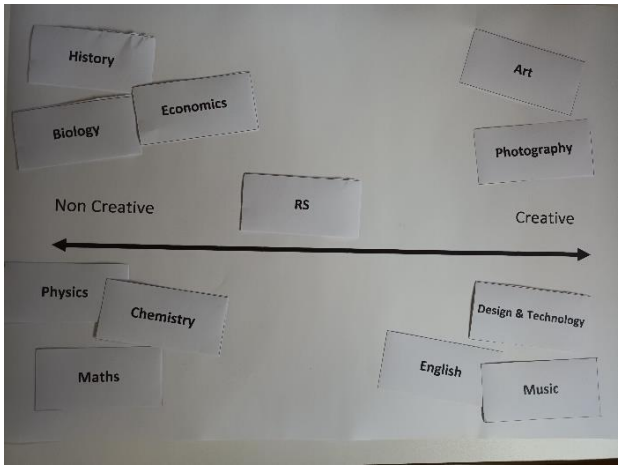
to do this. Only one further student did this, Amir, an IB student. In IB, students are encouraged to think about the philosophy of maths and hence this could explain a more democratic discourse on creativity in his case. For Andi, her discourse was the most democratic and this was demonstrated by her placement of Maths, however, other subjects were placed in a pattern which aligned with the post-romantic discourse. However, the "wow" interjection at the beginning showed that she was the least comfortable with the perception of a direction to place the subjects in a binary positioning.

Figure 33 Harry (Year 11) Subject Ranking



Harry very quickly placed the subjects in two distinct categories despite the direction to place the subjects along the line. He was very quick at the task and seemed pleased with the placement of the subjects, putting them out very rapidly and then sitting back, smiling. He seemed to think there was a right answer that he had correctly identified. He placed all the expressive and visual arts in 'creative' and the others in 'non creative', with the exception of Design and Technology, which he placed in 'creative'. When questioned about this, he wanted to move it as he said 'We were following what we had to make; we didn't really have a choice.' Therefore again, creativity is strongly associated with freedom, aligning with the post-romantic discourse.

Figure 34 Theo (Year 11) Subject Ranking



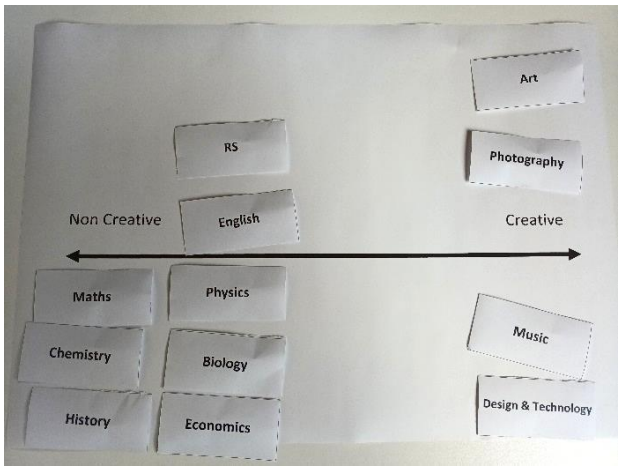
When asked to sort the subject cards along the line from 'creative' to 'non creative'. Theo put the subjects firmly in two camps but hesitated for a significant amount of time over English and RS. He decided in the end to place RS in the centre and English off-centre towards 'creative'. I asked him why.

> The difference between like Photography, Music, Art and stuff is that *you can't revise the creative*. There's no like model answer to all of these. But with RS and English, there's obviously like, set criteria that you need to know. But presenting the criteria is up to you. So it's not like strictly... *it takes academics, but it involves quite a lot of creativity.* (my italics)

The two italicised phrases of Theo's response are particularly interesting. In the first phrase: *"you can't revise the creative"*, Theo seemed to draw a distinction between those subjects with facts and contents which must be memorised and which can be assessed on this basis and those subjects which cannot. In the latter category he placed the creative. This placed Theo's post-romantic discourse in sharp relief to a scientific discourse. He seemed to place creativity beyond measurability and assessment. This also points to a potential educational policy misalignment between the desideratum of creativity as an educational outcome and the public examination and assessment system. In the second phrase: *"it takes academics, but it involves quite a lot of creativity*", Theo, unprompted, verbalised the distinction between the

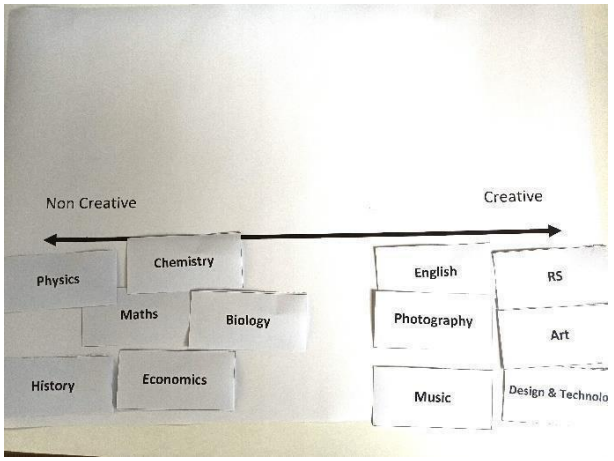
‘creative’ and the ‘academic’. I have never heard a teacher verbalise this or make this distinction explicit and yet it does seem to underlie students’ perceptions and here Theo makes it explicit.

Figure 35 Christian (Year 11) Subject Ranking



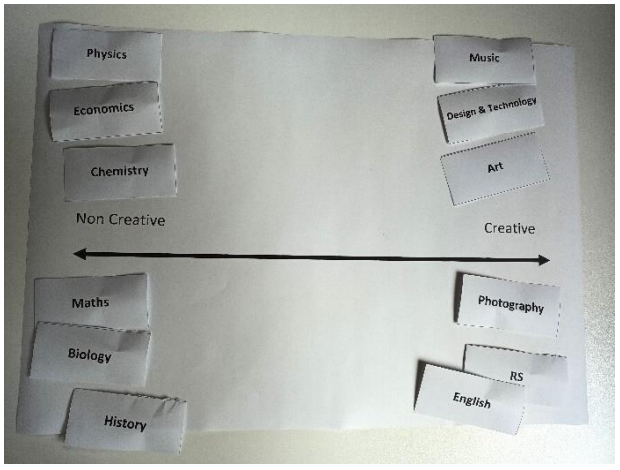
Christian’s discourse in his interview showed some alignment with the democratic discourse (“I’m good at solving problems...[but] I’m not good at like, drawing creativity? My imagination’s fairly creative. It’s not like brilliant, like artist’s imagination, but I’m fairly creative”), however, his subject categorisation was completely post-romantic. He placed all the visual and expressive arts on the side of creativity and all of the sciences on the side of ‘non creative’. He placed every subject that he associated with ‘fact’ on the ‘non creative’ side and anything that could have an “if, but or maybe” on the ‘creative’ side. There was more nuance in his interview, as he saw there were some opportunities for creativity in ‘non creative’ subjects.

Figure 36 Jo (Year 11) Subject Ranking



Jo's alignment was strongly post-romantic. She placed all of the expressive and visual arts, and most of the humanities in 'creative' and the sciences and social sciences in 'non creative'. When asked why she put RS in 'creative' she said: "because I feel like I like philosophy, and ethics and everything, it's a way of like, looking at different points of views. And you kind of think about things in a different perspective". Therefore, like others, she saw room for subjectivity and interpretation as characteristic of creativity but did not associate the sciences with this definition of creativity.

Figure 37 Louise (Year 11) Subject Ranking



Louise chose to separate the subjects into two clear categories rather than on a continuum. She placed all arts subjects in the creative categories and all STEM subjects in the non creative category. She placed some Humanities in creative and some in non-creative. She

said she had placed English and RS in creative and justified this decision by saying: “I think it was you have to be very open minded. It was all about your opinions, what you think”. There was a very interesting discourse strand here about agency and individuality. This cohered with the strand about freedom. There was the idea that subjects where there is freedom of expression and freedom from error and correction as creative.

7.8.1 Conclusion to the Subject Ranking

There was a very clear correlation between those pupils who expressed a pre-dominant post-romantic discourse and those who more clearly divided expressive arts into ‘creative’ subjects and science subjects into ‘non-creative’ subjects. Those that diverged from this pattern were those students who expressed a different predominant discourse, such as Jacinta, Amir and Andi, who tended towards a more democratic discourse. There was a clear association of ‘freedom’ and ‘open-mindedness’ with ‘creative subjects’ and ‘facts’ and ‘rote learning’ with ‘non-creative subjects’.

In general there was a very clear tendency to divide the subjects into two distinct groups. STEM subjects were in the non-creative group and arts and humanities subjects were in the creative group. Amir was the only student to group the subjects in a significantly different way.

7.9 ‘Describe a creative person.’ The creative archetype

To enable the students to think about what creativity meant to them, I asked the students to name a person whom they would consider to be creative. This idea was inspired by Professor Bill Nichols who encouraged me to include some visual stimuli of this type. I decided not to give any visual stimuli as I was very wary of influencing the discourse or the direction of thought in the interviewees. In my experience I find that visual prompts are very

powerful and can strongly shape students' responses and ideas. Therefore, I left this as a verbal question. The responses were very varied and it was interesting that many of the students were resistant to naming a particular person. I think this could have been because they felt the question to be slightly over simplistic, and perhaps found it a patronising question. Nonetheless, the answers provided do advance the research and in many cases the archetype chosen is consistent with the prevalent discourse that the student uses.

The question asked of the students in both year groups was: "Could you describe a creative person? Feel free to use an example of a famous person." For the reasons above, I decided not to provide any visual stimulus but I did allow plenty of thinking time for this question. Below, I report on which archetype each student chose and whether this was consistent with their prevalent discourse.

7.9.1 Year 12 Students

> Stanislaw: It's hard to find this like, authentic person, with imagination, right? A creative person could be for example, the thing that come to my mind is Steve Jobs. Then you have Marie Curie. Like she was really smart and discovering a way to you know, take out this polonium and radium, which she would she discovered and she also like listened to someone else's other scientific experiments and then she created an experiment based on her own.

Stanislaw's examples were the clearest exemplifications of the democratic discourse. He chose Marie Curie from the scientific sphere and Steve Jobs from the sphere of technology and marketing. This was very consistent with his democratic discourse on creativity.

Stephen: Within any field? Pablo Picasso, I guess. Sorry, it's quite obvious.

Stephen's example was clearly aligned with the post-romantic discourse. The apology for giving a 'quite obvious' example showed that this example would be considered by him to be

archetypal. However the question ‘within any field?’ is a nod to the democratic discourse, showing an understanding that creativity can be seen as a universal in many different fields.

> Valentina: The first person to come to my mind is Helen Chadwick. She's an artist, and I've recently been to a museum exhibition of hers. And I really enjoyed it, because it wasn't really a normal art.

Valentina chose an example consistent with her predominantly post-romantic discourse. She chose an example of someone who challenged stereotypes and so this artist could be seen to embody the creative freedom which Valentina refers to.

> Bas: Someone who thinks outside of the box, somebody who's original, someone who questions what's normal and what's considered to be... what is accepted in society, what is original. Yes, I think originality is important for someone who is creative.

Bas’ response to this question was not completely consistent with his post-romantic discourse. The response would seem to be more consistent with the democratic discourse. However, it is quite typical that students use the democratic discourse when speaking about creativity in the abstract but then use the post-romantic discourse when they must apply it or think about it in practical terms.

> Amir: I don't really know like a name specifically but there's people like the guy that made FedEx apparently like his teacher said his company wouldn't work but then it worked and it grew into the biggest companies I don't even know the name.

Amir’s example was consistent with his socio-economic discourse on creativity. He saw the utility value of creativity and identified it in a recent case study of Frederick Smith.

> George: Examples of people I can't think of much but like it's all artists are really good because they can imagine things and then get those things out on paper or people who invent stuff or that sort of thing.

George's first example was highly consistent with the post-romantic discourse. His second example tended more towards the democratic discourse. George struggled to think of specific examples and this implies that he sees creativity as other and is not a quality he strongly associates with or aspires towards.

> Jacinta: I think that that anyone can be a stereotypically creative person, regardless of whether they're creating a piece of art or walking down the street in a slightly offbeat way.

Jacinta's examples were consistent with her discourse. Her first example was post-romantic and her second was more democratic. Jacinta was resistant to labelling a person as creative or applying the adjective 'creative' which is more consistent with the democratic discourse.

> Joanna: I think it could be anyone really just there's so many different ways to be creative, whether it's writing or actual art or languages, just anything you can be creative in any way.

Some of Joanna's examples showed the post-romantic discourse, however the idea of 'being creative in any way' was more consistent with the democratic discourse. Therefore, at first glance, Joanna's response was not completely consistent with the post-romantic discourse. It seems however from the context of her other answers, she is showing the breadth of possibility within the arts, rather than implying creativity goes beyond the arts.

7.9.2 Year 11 Students

All of the Year 11 students, with the exception only of Andi chose an archetype who exemplified the post-romantic discourse.

> Christian: Creative? Lots of imagination. So they can make nothing out of something. For example, Shakespeare and his plays. And then actual, like drawing painting artists. That kind of creativity.

Christian's examples were clearly consistent with his post-romantic discourse. However, his last utterance in this response 'that kind of creativity' pointed towards an understanding of the democratic discourse in that he showed awareness of others 'kinds' of creativity.

> Theo: My sister is quite creative. She spends a lot of free time doing art pieces. And she can draw, she can look at anything and probably draw it.

Theo gave examples consistent with the post-romantic discourse ('doing art pieces', 'she can draw'). He chose a female relative as his example of a creative person.

> Louise: Like, full of ideas. And like always wanting to like, draw. That's what I'm like.

Louise chose herself as her example of a creative person as she is 'full of ideas' and 'always wanting to draw'. This was consistent with her post-romantic discourse.

> My sister is very creative. She's doing medicine, but she's always at home drawing and she's away in Thailand painting a lot.

She also chose her sister, who despite being involved in a scientific sphere, was the example given because of her drawing and painting. She went on to describe a creative person as: "like, full of ideas. And like always wanting to like, draw. That's what I'm like." Despite 'full of ideas' being reminiscent of the democratic discourse, the second sentence links this idea to the post-romantic discourse.

> Jo: I'd say I'd say my friends, like, because they do Art. And I've seen they put a lot of effort and work into the artwork. And it's really like, they use their brains. And it's really imaginative with how they do it.

Jo chose her friends as her examples of creativity because "they put a lot of effort into their artwork". From context, I know that she was referring to her female friends.

> Harry: Bob Ross. Yeah. Very creative man. I don't know how he does it just makes .... art. I would say he's relatively creative.

Harry chose Bob Ross, a popular television artist from the 1970s (and further popularised during the Covid lockdowns) as his example which was consistent with his post-romantic discourse.

> Lucy: I think creative people make something new and innovative; make something out of nothing

Lucy was resistant to the idea of choosing one creative person and so gave a description of a creative person. This was more consistent with a democratic discourse than a post-romantic discourse. However it was not inconsistent with a post-romantic discourse as it was not clear what the 'something' which she was referring to was, and she seemed to be referring to a Capital C/genius definition rather than a universal definition.

> Lilya: A really great designer like Christian Dior. I guess it's kind of creative like what she does.

Lilya gave an example which is synonymous with her post-romantic discourse and the capital C definition of creativity. It was interesting that she made the assumption that Christian Dior was female, and this indicated a potential gender bias within the post-romantic discourse on creativity.

> Andi: Obviously, my dad is pretty creative. In his own studies, or in his own business, it's more like in life, while he, while facing a lot of problems, he can always come up with really good solutions, and plan A, plan B, plan C. And that's kind of Yeah, that's the kind of values I'm really excited to have.

Andi was the only Year 11 to use a democratic discourse on creativity and her example of her father, whom she portrayed as a problem solver, was highly consistent with her discourse.

7.9.3 Conclusion to archetypes section

The archetypes chosen by the students were highly consistent with the predominant discourses that they participated in throughout their interviews. This was not the first question asked, however I am concerned about the shaping influence this may have had on the interviews. It seems that conjuring an image becomes a hook and a powerful framework for the discourse to hang itself on. Whilst I am glad this question was included in order to help me to understand the different students' understanding of creativity, it could perhaps have been placed later in the interview where it may have had a less profound effect on the answers given.

It is interesting to look at the gender identities of the archetypes given. 13 named examples were given. Of these named examples, 9 belonged to the post-romantic discourse, 4 to the democratic or socio-economic discourses. The 5 generic statements could be said to belong to the democratic discourse in that they could refer to the universal ability to be creative. Therefore there are 9 examples which belong in the post-romantic discourse and 9 in the democratic or socio-economic discourse. Of the named examples, of the 9 examples in the post-romantic discourse, 6 examples were female or attributed as female (Helen Chadwick, 'my sister', 'me', 'my sister', 'my [female] friends', Christian Dior [sic]) which is high given the prevalence of great man theory and post-romantic male archetypes. The other three named examples in the post-romantic bracket are Shakespeare, Picasso and Bob Ross. Of the four named examples from the socio-economic or democratic discourses, all except Marie Curie are male (Steve Jobs, Founder of Fedex and 'my dad'). It is interesting that, despite the overwhelming dominance of males in the post-romantic discourse, the named creative archetypes within this discourse are predominantly female and predominantly 'personal' example in that they are mainly relatives or persons known to the individuals. This

coheres with the idea that females are now predominantly associated with the creative in school settings.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 How is the term 'creativity' used in historical and contemporary political, social and educational discourses?

Discourses are 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak…Discourses are not about objects; they do not identity objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention.' (Foucault, 1981, p. 49)

The archaeological process of these discourse analyses has uncovered the 'cultural model' (Cole 1996, D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992, Geertz, 1983, Holland & Quinn. 1987, Spradley, 1980) of creativity in education whose invention, influence and evolution has been somewhat concealed. The aim of the thesis has been to uncover the competing discourses to show the families of images (ibid) that make up the discourse fragments relating to creativity. The families of images are clear: the painter, the artist, the designer, the musician; these images come to pupils' minds far more readily than the creative scientist, inventor, engineer, problem-solver or mathematician. In short, the post-romantic discourse dominates the images, not the democratic one.

Pupils' discourses about their creative identity and their understanding of their subjects have been mirror images of the public discourses which shows the importance of these cultural models in decision-making.

Through the literature review, I identified five distinct discourse strands on creativity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However these five become three (the post-romantic, the socio-economic and the democratic discourses) in terms of what is visible in the public discourse studied. The post-romantic discourse historically has dominated throughout the twentieth and twenty first century, however the socio-economic discourse, which came to

the fore from the 1980s and the democratic discourse, which came to the fore in the 1990s, have done little to effectively challenge the post-romantic discourse.

The same three discourses were prevalent across contemporary political, social and educational literature. This is echoed in the private or personal discourse in the school setting studied. The religious and empirical discourses do not seem to be visible in contemporary public discourse. This does not invalidate them as discourse strands. In more specialist literature or discourse, they would be present, especially if the discourse subject was around assessment (empirical) or spirituality (religious). The three pre-dominant discourse strands that are present in public and private discourse analysed are the post-romantic, the socio-economic and the democratic.

Throughout these discourse fragments, the post-romantic discourse is prevalent throughout. Even where the attempt to frame creativity as a universal through the democratic discourse, there is always a default to the post-romantic discourse. There are some discourse entanglements with the democratic and socio-economic discourse, but these are usually used to serve the post-romantic discourse which is strongly promoted in the arts world. Often the democratic and socio-economic discourse strands are employed to add a sense of urgency, to make the concept more compelling to certain audiences or to add weight.

At a higher level, for example in the Warwick and Durham Commissions, there is the recognition that the educational 'ideal' for creativity is the democratic discourse however there is very little evidence of pragmatism within this discourse strand in terms of how creativity could become an educational universal.

At a high level, in the public discourse, there is little evidence of genderisation however this genderisation does 'show up' in the international and national statistics in terms of subject take-up, and these statistics are mirrored locally in the sample within this research. There is a clear recognition of the need to increase girls' representation in STEM, hence for

example the ‘Your Life’ campaign, however there has not yet been a strong public discourse using the democratic discourse on creativity in education to increase the attractiveness of STEM to girls. This strong counter-discourse to the post-romantic discourse would be needed in STEM subjects to counter the prevalent discourse and its consequent genderisation.

What forms the fertile ground for a genderised binary however, is the duality that is set up in the public discourse on all discourse planes of the creative/academic binary. By creating this clear binary, which is largely a potentially unintended consequence of the EBacc and Facilitating Subjects list, there is a strong gravitational pull towards this binary being echoed in other binaries within society. Male/female is the obvious binary to map onto the academic/creative divide, and we see this play out in school discourse and in the statistics. What is clear from this is that, to overcome the shortage of girls heading towards STEM, the binary of academic/creative or academic/non-academic will need to be challenged, as it seems that the more polarised subjects are, the more polarised students can become.

8.2 How far do these discourses cohere with decisions about subject specialisation in secondary school?

Through this study, it has become clear that 'creative' (and its converse 'academic') is undoubtedly both a Foucauldian 'regime of truth' (in terms of subjects) and 'technology of self' (in terms of students) which teenagers use to categorise, label and ultimately choose their identity and make their subject choices in secondary school. In every interview, it was evident that the post-romantic discourse had played its part, either in encouraging or discouraging the selection or deselection of STEM and arts/humanities. The binary word pair ('creative' and 'academic') was strongly identified in both public and private discourse. Students readily identified as 'creative' or 'academic', as well as labelling others and their subjects using this binary. The consistency with which subjects were labelled as 'creative' or 'non-creative' was striking and again, this echoed the public discourse. Teachers, the 'map makers' (Frake 1977) and the 'gatekeepers' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2007) slipped readily into this binary position as well, even though many of them understood the oppositional, more idealistic (and more socially acceptable) democratic discourse. This educational shorthand was employed all too readily and hence the power that this discourse has to shape futures cannot be under-estimated. The strong message from this section of the research was a clear understanding of the powerful shaping influence that teachers have at this point in students' lives, the importance of dialogue and a challenge to the post-romantic discourse, the importance of discussion on the democratic discourse on creativity and in general a promotion of the sciences as creative and open to all.

8.3 To what extent does educational discourse on creativity in education encourage a binary between 'creative' and 'non-creative' subjects, 'creative' and 'non-creative' students, and does this have any relationship with gender?

> Discourses define the possibilities, as well as the limits, of meaningful existence. (Walshaw, 2007: 42)

Creativity is undoubtedly a powerful and potentially positive concept in education. It has been widely acknowledged to be the key desiderata for the future workforce (OECD 2023 etc). And yet students maintain a stagnant and archaic definition of creativity and this is perpetuated by those in a public and private position of power to influence these decisions. Creativity is considered to be rarefied, ethereal, out-of-reach, available only to those whose were identified from a very early age as 'gifted'. Hence it is a valuable and valued label and to be bestowed with this label is seen as a sign of high approval. Those who have been allowed to identify with this category of unattainable genius, those who have been labelled 'creative' are predominantly female and have chosen to select predominantly arts-based subjects. The label generally is not seen as important to males as they prize the more highly the label of 'academic'.

Discourse along several dimensions from micro-interactional phenomena in school dialogues, meso-institutional phenomena in curricula and macro-social phenomena in politics, policy and the media (Anderson and Holloway 2018:2) is shown to favour post-romantic discourse, and this is considered a safe, or less risky domain for the female in educational settings. A gender reversal in a sense has taken place as the post-romantic discourse stems from the romantic ideal of creativity which is dominated by the male, the 'great man', and yet in schools, the statistics show that females more readily gravitate to the

areas of the curriculum which they identify as ‘creative’. Because a ‘disproportionate number of girls opt out of powerful areas of curriculum’ (Mendick, 2003: 169), the ‘safe space’ of the post-romantic discourse both in terms of self-identification and in terms of choice is favoured. McRobbie’s (2009:59) argument that girls and young women conform to the ‘post-feminist masquerade’ in which they disempower themselves so as not to be subject to masculine punishment and her ‘regret... that while young women achieve success, they do only by reinvigorating a form of femininity …. that conforms to [male] strictures’ is apparent in the inequality in subject choice which was uncovered through this study.

8.4 'Creative subjects for creative students'? – The problematic compartmentalisation of girls and boys, art & humanities and sciences.

As the pandemic rumbled on, the democratic discourse on creativity in education seemed to pick up further pace in the policy level discourse plane. The UK government however, now struggling with the aftermaths of Brexit and Covid, and preoccupied with the strikes at home, war in Ukraine and the Israel-Palestine conflict, has almost fallen silent on education. But voices in education continue to amplify the value of creativity as a possible escape route. The discourse on creativity in schools needs to diversify and modernise. This is especially the case for teenagers making the first steps to decide their future university and career paths through A level choice. Due to the nature of A level choice, students are encouraged to compartmentalise themselves, thereby becoming legible as 'creative' or 'academic' – an archaic and unhelpful distinction which still predominates in schools. This discourse around creativity in education channels students, and especially girls, into a narrow understanding of creativity. This understanding of creativity is influenced predominantly by the post-romantic discourse. In order for all teenagers to be empowered to be creative whatever their courses of study, discourse in schools should move towards the democratic discourse on creativity.

> 'I just think we are shooting ourselves in the foot because you can have creativity in any discipline…. [I]f we couple it up to the arts it becomes a very particular kind of creativity that is aesthetically driven, it is about artistic excellence… and I think we need to decouple this creativity-arts match in order to research it properly.

As Chappell (cit. Mehta and Henriksen 2018:6) points out, a democratic discourse is needed to 'research [creativity] properly'. I believe bringing creativity more explicitly into other disciplines will help make progress in representation of women and girls in STEM.

It was not initially intended that this discourse analysis would highlight a gender binary, but it became more and more apparent as the discourse was analysed, that the creative/academic binary, just as it was transposed onto arts and sciences, was also transposed onto female and male. 'Creative' and 'academic' were therefore a simple proxy for the gender binary in that they reified the division between male and female and continue to contribute to an underlying hierarchy within education, and by extension, society. (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004:431).

It is emphatically not the case that there is anything inherently wrong with the imbalance between male and female in the arts and sciences, but what does need to be challenged is anything which artificially perpetuates this imbalance, which I believe includes discourses on creativity. Discourses on creativity need to challenge preconceptions about students and subjects, and a less simplistic and compartmentalising approach needs to be taken to the counselling of students at this critical time in their lives. At this time, it is the duty of any map-maker to ensure that discourse is nuanced, sensitive and makes no assumption about how a student chooses to be legible and what their future path should be.

8.5 Potential Impact

Ten years ago, Jerrim and Schoon wrote the ground-breaking study 'Do teenagers want to become scientists?' which revealed that gender gaps in STEM existed across a set of 29 developed countries. Despite the statistically insignificant gender differences in science achievement tests completed at age 15, boys and girls wish to enter very different careers: 'In all 29 countries boys are more likely than girls to expect entry into careers involving physical science or mathematics' (2014: 203). They point out that reducing this gap will close the gender pay gap and increase the labour supply in high value STEM industries. That is the instrumental motivation. But there is an intrinsic motivation too. Having studied this phenomenon through a Foucauldian lens, there is a simple injustice in that somehow society through its discourse is not doing enough to encourage girls to study STEM at best and at worst is suppressing women by consciously or unconsciously directing them away from science by decoupling it from creativity. For modern, knowledge-based economies to thrive, it is vital that cultural values gradually move in a more egalitarian and less gender -biased direction (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Regardless of the economic benefits, I believe there is a moral imperative to equalise access to science. I believe that the democratic discourse on creativity is a potentially very powerful tool to widen access to STEM. Pioneering work on STEAM and STEAME curricula can be further enhanced by understanding science as creative. Whilst the traditional 3 subject stricture remains, we cannot rely on adding to the curriculum. To break down exclusive and unconstructive binaries, we must educate for the sciences to be seen as creative in its truest sense: democratic, collaborative, courageous and world-changing.

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Appendices

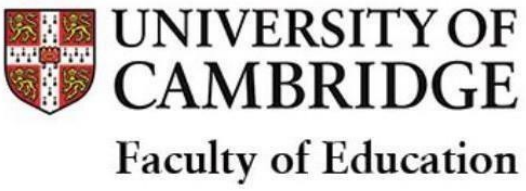
Interview Schedule: Students

1. Could you tell me about how you made your A level subject choices?
2. Do you consider yourself to be a creative person? Why? Why not? How did this affect your subject choices?
3. Describe a creative person. Feel free to use examples of famous people. *Follow-up question* Which person or people do you associate the most with the term 'creative'?
4. There is a set of cards in front of you – each has an A level subject on it – could you rate them from most to least creative? Follow-up question: Do you think some subjects are more creative than others?
5. How much scope is there to be creative in your A level subjects?
6. Looking at your school experience so far, what do you associate the most with creativity? Have you ever been really creative? How did this affect you?
7. Is it possible for everyone to be creative? Why/Why not? *(Universal/Democratic v Post-romantic)*
8. Is creativity something that can be taught or not? *(Universal/Democratic v Post-romantic)*
9. What is the point of creativity? (Religious v Scientific/Pragmatic)
10. Is creativity something that is 'just good'/valuable in itself or is it a means to an end? *(Religious v Scientific/Pragmatic)*

Interview Schedule: Teachers, Heads of Department and School Leaders

1. What do you think are the main factors that influence subject choice (either in your own subject or in general) at A level and IB?
2. Do you think some subjects are inherently more creative than others? If so, why? How does this affect the students' perception of them?
3. Do you think some students are inherently more creative than others? If so, why? How does this affect the choices that they make?
4. Can students become creative? Why/Why not? *(Universal/Democratic v post-romantic)*
5. Is creativity something that can be taught or not? *(Universal/Democratic v post-romantic)*
6. What is the point of creativity? (Religious v Scientific/Pragmatic)
7. Is creativity something that is 'just good'/valuable in itself or is it a means to an end? *(Religious v Scientific/Pragmatic)*
8. What do you think a creative curriculum is? Do you think there are opportunities for that here? Why? /Why not?

Letter to Headmaster regarding fieldwork at St Mary's School



Dear Headmaster

I am writing with information about my research study taking place between March 2022 and November 2022 at St Mary's School.

This project will involve the interviewing of 8 Year 11 students and 8 Year 12 students, as well as 8 members of staff. I will also observe the Year 11 Subject Choice Talks, the Careers Fair and the Post 16 Into the Sixth Form Events and undertake a discussion lesson on the topic. My research looks the impact of perceptions of creativity on subject choice at A level and IB.

The University of Cambridge has strict ethical procedures on conducting ethical research with teachers and young people, consistent with current British Educational Research Association guidelines: http://bit.ly/BERAethics2018. Before beginning the research, I will inform parents and guardians about the research and offer the students, parents and guardians the opportunity to refuse to participate. Throughout the research students, parents and guardians will be able to refuse to participate at any time.

Teachers' and students' interviews will be conducted during the data collection period. With permission, these interviews will be recorded and later transcribed and used as anonymized transcripts in my doctoral thesis.

Recordings are confidential, and participation is anonymous and voluntary. All recordings will be confidential and securely stored. Furthermore, participation in the project is anonymous. This means that in subsequent use of the recorded material, your name, your students' names, the school's name and any personal information will not be used. At any time, any participant is free to change their mind or withdraw their consent. In such a case, I should be contacted at [redacted] and I will delete the recordings immediately. The recorded files will be archived and transcribed. All recorded data will be stored in a locked room or a locked computer, and only my supervisor and I will be allowed to review the recorded data.

This exercise does not involve any risks for you and your students other than being audio-recorded in interviews. It might not be possible for you to foresee any immediate benefit of your school's participation. However, researchers have to rely on voluntary participation.

With your permission, l will use the recordings and the transcripts only for training and research purposes, and subsequent publications. The University of Cambridge is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of journal papers successfully submitted as part of a University of Cambridge postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and

use of that research. If you agree to participate in this study, the research will be written up as a journal article. The journal article will be published open access.

This study has been reviewed by the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and has received ethics clearance. I have enclosed copies of the information sheets for parents and students with this letter.

If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or my supervisor, [redacted].

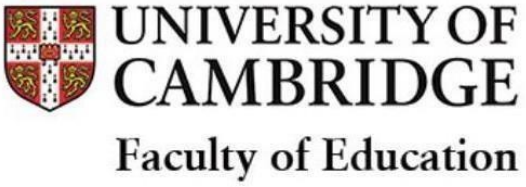
If you need more information about what is involved, please contact me. Please let me know if you need further information about the fieldwork and whether you are happy for the research to progress providing all the stated ethical guidance of Cambridge University and BERA is adhered to.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Alice McNeill
PhD Student
Faculty of Education
University of Cambridge

Letter to Teacher Participants regarding fieldwork at St Mary's School



Dear (Insert name of teacher participant)

I am writing to ask if I can interview you for my research study between March 2022 and November 2022 at St Mary's School.

The University of Cambridge has strict ethical procedures on conducting ethical research with teachers and young people, consistent with current British Educational Research Association guidelines: http://bit.ly/BERAethics2018. Before beginning the research, I will inform parents and guardians about the research and offer the students, parents and guardians the opportunity to refuse to participate. Throughout the research students, parents and guardians will be able to refuse to participate at any time.

Teachers' and students' interviews will be conducted during the data collection period. With permission, these interviews will be recorded and later transcribed and used as anonymized transcripts in my doctoral thesis.

Recordings are confidential, and participation is anonymous and voluntary. All recordings will be confidential and securely stored. Furthermore, participation in the project is anonymous. This means that in subsequent use of the recorded material, your name, your students' names, the school's name and any personal information will not be used. At any

time, any participant is free to change their mind or withdraw their consent. In such a case, I should be contacted at [redacted] and I will delete the recordings immediately. The recorded files will be archived and transcribed. All recorded data will be stored in a locked room or a locked computer, and only my supervisor and I will be allowed to review the recorded data.

This exercise does not involve any risks for you and your students other than being audio-recorded in interviews. It might not be possible for you to foresee any immediate benefit of your school's participation. However, researchers have to rely on voluntary participation.

With your permission, l will use the recordings and the transcripts only for training and research purposes, and subsequent publications. The University of Cambridge is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of journal papers successfully submitted as part of a University of Cambridge postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research. If you agree to participate in this study, the research will be written up as a journal article. The journal article will be published open access.

This study has been reviewed by the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and has received ethics clearance. I have enclosed copies of the information sheets for parents and students with this letter. If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or my supervisor, [redacted].

If you need more information about what is involved, please contact me. I would be grateful if you would confirm whether you would be able to be involved in the research, providing all the stated ethical guidance of Cambridge University and BERA is adhered to.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Alice McNeill

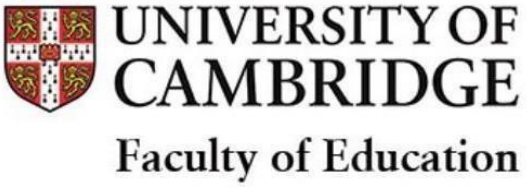
PhD Student

Faculty of Education

University of Cambridge

Letter to Parents and Guardians regarding fieldwork at St Mary's School

Study on Creativity and Post 16 Academic Choices



Dear Parents and Guardians,

As Deputy Head Academic at St Mary's School, I am currently undertaking research at Cambridge University about the motivations Year 11 and Year 12 students have for their A level and IB subject choices. I have chosen sixteen students to interview about their choices, and your son/daughter is one of those students whom I have chosen to interview. I hope this will be a very positive experience and will only take half an hour of their time. It will be useful for them to have a moment to reflect about their motivations, and also to articulate the importance of various factors in their decision-making process. I hope this will facilitate conversations at home and at school about aspirations as they enter or continue the sixth form and begin to think about Higher Education choices.

I would like to share with you some details about how I will handle the information that will be gathered in the study regarding factors contributing to A level choices, to comply with the recently introduced EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). If you **do not** wish your child to be interviewed to gather their opinions about A level subject choice, please email me at [redacted] before 1st March 2022.

Yours faithfully,

Alice McNeill

Deputy Head (Academic)

Participant Information Sheet (for Parents and Guardians)

Who will process the students' personal information?

My supervisors and I in the Faculty of Education at the University of Cambridge will be the only ones with access to the information.

What is the purpose and legal basis of the processing?

The collected personal information will be used to carry out academic research in the public interest and in the interest of students at St Mary's. The data processing is necessary for the analysis of the way that our students make choices and will we used to inform further research around curriculum choices and planning. No personal data will be gathered from the students other than their age, gender and subject choices.

What are the arrangements for data storage and security?

All data will be identified only by a code, with personal details kept in a locked file or secure computer with access only by the immediate research team. All data will be identified only by a code, so participants will remain anonymous.

How long is the information kept?

The data collected will be kept for 10 years after the study ends and will be kept separate from all personal information. They will be kept to allow different rounds of analysis during

the whole duration of the study described in the information sheet and to serve as evidence of the findings obtained from these analyses.

Who can you contact?

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me in person or at St Mary's email address. Alternatively, at the University of Cambridge, you can contact my supervisor [redacted] in confidence. You can also contact the University's data protection team [redacted] or its Data Protection Officer [redacted].

If you do not agree with the way your information is handled, or with the response received from myself or the university, you have the right to lodge a complaint with the Information Commissioner's Office at Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, SK9 5AF (https://ico.org.uk/).

The participant's permission will be needed to allow restricted access to information collected about them in the course of the project.
Here is a link to general information about how the University uses personal data: https://www.information-compliance.admin.cam.ac.uk/data-protection/research-participant-data.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

Results may be presented at conferences and written up in journals. Results are normally presented in terms of groups of individuals. If any individual data are presented, the data will

be totally anonymous, without any means of identifying the individuals involved. All will be welcome to read a copy of the final thesis once it is submitted by the end of 2023.

Who is organising and funding the research?

I am organising the research and am not receiving any further funding.

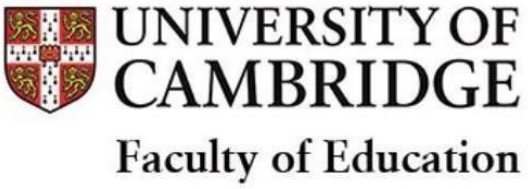
Ethical review of the study

The project has been reviewed by the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee.

Letter to Students regarding fieldwork at St Mary's School

Study on Motivation for Post 16 Academic Choices

Dear Students,



I am currently undertaking research at

Cambridge University about the impact of perceptions about creativity for A level and IB subject choices. I have chosen sixteen Year 11 and Year 12 students to interview about their choices, and you are one of those students whom I have chosen at random to interview. I hope this will be a very positive experience and will only take half an hour of your time. This will hopefully be a useful and interesting discussion.

If you do not wish to participate in a one-to-one interview about A level subject choice, please email me at St Mary's email address before 1st March 2022.

Below is some information about the research and how the outcomes of the research will be used. I will go through this again when we meet for the interview.

If I do not hear back from you by 1st March 2022, I will be in touch to arrange a convenient time for the interview.

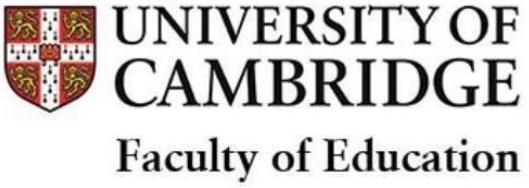
With all best wishes

Mrs McNeill

Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

A Study of A level and IB Option Choices and how these are affected by perceptions of creativity



Before you decide to take part in this study it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Purpose of the study

This study is to examine the role of perceptions about creativity in making post 16 subject choices. The fieldwork will be completed by November 2022.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen at random as a Year 11 or Year 12 at St Mary's.

Do I have to take part?

Taking part is entirely voluntary and refusal or withdrawal will involve no penalty or loss, now or in the future.

What will happen to me if I take part?

I will ask you to attend a 30-minute interview in my office to talk about 10 set questions about subject choice.

What do I have to do?

There are no right or wrong answers for the interview. I am just interested in students' perceptions and opinions about this topic. The interview will be recorded to enable me to type up your answers. After I have typed up the answers, the recording will be destroyed.

Are there possible disadvantages and/or risks in taking part?

There are no possible disadvantages to taking part. I will ensure that you do not miss any lessons to attend this interview.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There is no financial or academic benefit in attending this interview. However, like any discussion, I hope it will be of interest and it may give food for thought.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

I would like to share with you some details about how I will handle the information that will be gathered in the study regarding factors contributing to A level choices, to comply with the recently introduced EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Who will process the students' personal information?

My supervisors and I in the Faculty of Education at the University of Cambridge will be the only ones with access to the information.

What is the purpose and legal basis of the processing?

The collected personal information will be used to carry out academic research in the public interest and in the interest of students at St Mary's. The data processing is necessary for the analysis of the way that our students make choices and will we used to inform further research around curriculum choices and planning. No personal data will be gathered from the students other than their age, gender and subject choices.

What are the arrangements for data storage and security?

All data will be identified only by a code, with personal details kept in a locked file or secure computer with access only by the immediate research team. All data will be identified only by a code, so you will remain anonymous.

How long is the information kept?

The data collected will be kept for 10 years after the study ends and will be kept separate from all personal information. They will be kept to allow different rounds of analysis during the whole duration of the study described in the information sheet and to serve as evidence of the findings obtained from these analyses.

Who can you contact?

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me in person or at St Mary's email address. Alternatively, at the University of Cambridge, you can contact my supervisor [redacted] in confidence. You can also contact the University's data protection team [redacted] or its Data Protection Officer [redacted].

If you do not agree with the way your information is handled, or with the response received from myself or the university, you have the right to lodge a complaint with the Information Commissioner's Office at Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, SK9 5AF (https://ico.org.uk/).

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What will happen to the results of the research project?

Results may be presented at conferences and written up in journals. Results are normally presented in terms of groups of individuals. If any individual data are presented, the data will be totally anonymous, without any means of identifying the individuals involved. You will be welcome to read a copy of the final thesis once it is submitted by the end of 2023.

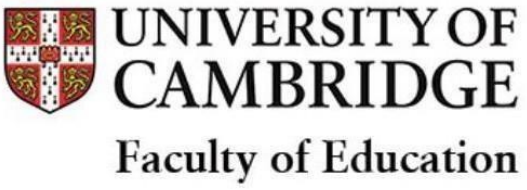
Who is organising and funding the research?

I am organising the research and am not receiving any further funding.

Ethical review of the study

The project has been reviewed by the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee.

Consent Form



Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research about the impact of creativity on subject choice. The main research will be in the form of an interview of 30 minutes.

I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet

I have had the opportunity to ask questions and had them answered

I agree that the interview will be recorded for the purposes of transcription only and afterwards will be deleted.

I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified (except as might be required by law)

I agree that data gathered in this study may be stored anonymously and securely, and may be used for future research

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

I agree to take part in this study

Participant Signature

Date