

**(PRE-)SCRIPTED CREATIVITY:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE CREATIVITY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN'S
CONTEMPORARY MUSIC EDUCATION LITERATURE**

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ABSTRACT

Creativity is a pervasive topic in current discourses on music education in Spain. Creativity is commonly seen as universal. Also, the construct is often seen as entirely positive and as a desirable personality trait. This paper challenges these premises. It unpacks creativity's contingency as a cultural construct attached to a particular set of ideas and values, and it examines this notion as part of a particular regime of truth. The paper begins by contextualizing the Spanish creativity movement within music education and by delineating the socio-political and economic coordinates that surrounded its emergence in contemporary Spain. Then, the paper approaches creativity as a pedagogical object, and it explores this construct's ambivalent association with long-standing tropes about curriculum design and the social role of education. Discourses on creativity in Spanish music education ultimately contribute to the fabrication of an ideal type of student and, by extension, to the «creation» of a particular kind of Spanish citizen. The paper ends by examining potential dissonances between creativity's hoped-for outcomes and its actual effects.

KEY WORDS

Creativity; Music education; Spain; Critical discourse analysis.



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(Pre-)Scripted Creativity: An Examination of the Creativity Movement in Spain's Contemporary Music Education Literature

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Current Western globalized societies tend to regard creativity as a highly desirable personal trait, and to associate it with social and economic growth. For example, the United Nations (UN) presents creativity as key for so-called developing countries to move ahead in the current global economic system. As a result, the UN encourages and supports the establishment of «creative economies» across the world (UN, 2008, 2010, 2013). Similarly, the European Union declared 2009 as the European Year of Creativity and Innovation, claiming: «The world is moving to a new rhythm. To be at the forefront of this new world, Europe needs to become more creative and innovative» (Adrià Acosta, *et al.*, 2009, p. 1). Within this trend, endeavours commonly labeled as «artistic», such as music making, stand as privileged venues to foster creativity. There is, for instance, a push to substitute the acronym STEM, which stands for Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics, with STEAM. STEM was meant to draw attention to the significance of the four above-mentioned academic disciplines in the new global knowledge economy. STEAM, on the other hand, incorporates the Arts into the former equation, under the following rationale: «We simply cannot compete in the new economy unless we do

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something now about creativity and innovation» (Christenson, 2011; Spencer, 2012).

Notwithstanding creativity's capacity to produce desirable outcomes, discourses on creativity seldom interrogate critically this construct's various effects, nor do they examine its potential limitations. The present paper addresses this perceived gap by critically examining the notion of creativity as it appears in Spain's contemporary music education discourses. Firstly, it describes some of the circumstances that favoured creativity's emergence as an academic construct in Spain's contemporary music education literature two decades ago, and which also bolstered its rapid rise as a popular topic of study. Secondly, the paper gets into the multiple sources from which the Spanish notion of creativity draws, and it analyzes the effects that some of these elements produce for music education. Thirdly, the paper examines the transfiguration of creativity into a pedagogical object within Spanish music education, as well as the impact that creativity has had in the configuration of the field of music education. Fourthly, this paper interrogates some of the assumptions in which the Spanish construct of creativity rests. It addresses a number of questions related to the circumstances that surrounded the emergence of creativity: What perceived needs and anxieties did the notion of creativity respond to? What conditions of possibility made creativity such a productive construct for the field of music education in Spain in the mid-1990s? Discourses on creativity in music education ultimately contribute to the fabrication of an ideal type of student and, by extension, to the «creation» of a particular kind of Spanish citizen. A fifth section problematizes creativity as an all-positive and boundless construct, a general conception that prevails in Spanish music education literature. The paper suggests that creativity has inherent limitations by exploring how Spanish music education scholars make a selective usage of the notion. It also explores some of the socio-political circumstances in which creativity emerged both in Spain and in the United States (U.S.). Next, the paper argues that Spanish music education literature on creativity is rooted in long-standing pedagogical tropes about curriculum design and the social role of education, notwithstanding creativity being portrayed as a radical break from traditional music education practices. A concluding section reviews and expands on some of the main points previously made, ultimately urging music educators and music education scholars to continue interrogating the notion of creativity as it currently exists in Spain's music education discourses.



CREATIVITY AS A «NATURAL KIND»

The first academic paper on creativity in music education published in Spain appeared in 1996 (Domeque i Buisan & Flores Sánchez). Since then, creativity has become a pervasive construct within Spain's contemporary music education literature. To give an example, out of a total of 246 publications that match the descriptor *educación musical* (music education) in Spain's ISOC database, a database focused on humanities and social science research, 50 entries (i.e. 20%) also match the descriptor *creatividad* (creativity) (CSIC, 2014a, 2014b).²

Spanish music educators often treat creativity as putative and universal. Contrastingly, this paper approaches creativity as a culturally and historically situated construct. Spanish music education literature on creativity draws predominantly on the notion of creativity that emerged in the U.S. in the 1950s within the field of psychology (Gilford, 1950). Spain's educational discourse started to draw on this construct from the mid-1960s onwards (Martínez Beltrán, 1966; Martorell Pons, 1968). Given that the final push for the incorporation of general music in schools did not take place until the early 1990s, Spain's music education followed education's general trend of incorporating the notion of creativity only three decades later (MEC, 1990; Eurydice, 1997; Rusinek & Sarfson, 2010). Despite this delay, creativity quickly became, to use Ian Hacking's (2007) terminology, a «natural kind» within Spanish music education literature. That is, Spanish music education scholars soon started to approach creativity as an entity that had always existed. Shortly, this literature approached creativity as a ubiquitous human personality trait, assuming its presence across time and space. As a result, Spanish authors sometimes apply the concept of creativity retroactively to describe events and works that predate the 1950s. For example, the documentary *Creativity: Its Meaning and Timeliness* argues that the Spanish Baroque writer Félix Lope de Vega (1562-1635) was a very creative man of letters (Marín Ibáñez, Lebrero Baena, Marín Viadel, & Martín González, 1991). It is, however, unlikely that Lope de Vega (or any of his contemporaries) used the contemporary psychometric notion of creativity that this documentary later presents. Likewise, Spain's literature on creativity in music education sometimes extrapolates

² Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, ISOC database's manager, is the largest public institution devoted to conducting research in Spain and the third largest in Europe. The search reported here included peer-reviewed publications published between 1996 and 2014.



this construct to peoples and cultures very unlikely to conceptualize their reality as creative/non-creative, or to treat creativity as a valuable personal, social and economic trait. For instance, Spanish educator Francesc Busquets established «foster[ing] musical creativity among students» as one of three key objectives for a collaborative music education learning project to be carried out between a group of Catalan (Spanish) and Japanese middle schools (Domeque i Buisan & Flores Sánchez, 1996).³ The lack of rationale accompanying these objectives suggests they are self-evident for the two parts involved. However, journalist W. David Marx, editor-in-chief of the website Néojaponisme, points out: «artistic tradition in Japan has always been about following Old Masters» until the point when «creative confidence is reached. There is no penalty for being seen as ‘copycat’ or ‘derivative.’ In fact, that’s exactly what brings legitimacy» (as cited in Reynolds, 2011, p. 164). The lack of contextual information on Busquets’ objectives raises the question of whether creativity became a desirable learning outcome for the participating Japanese schools as a result of this collaborative project, or if creativity was already a central concept for the participating Japanese schools prior to this program.

SPANISH CREATIVITY: CREATIVIDAD

The current Spanish notion of creativity is a composite of both foreign and local elements, combined in a singular way. Following Popkewitz (2008b, ix), Spanish literature on creativity in music education may be described as a «traveling library». The notion of traveling library is meant to highlight «how ideas are constructed in a field of ‘global’ and local authors whose resultant patterns of ‘thought’ are not merely the sum of its parts or a variation of a constant theme.» In this sense, Spain’s literature on creativity in music education consists of a body of knowledge in which foreign ideas merge with local elements specific to the Spanish context to produce a singular, idiosyncratic understanding of creativity. On the one hand, Spanish music education literature on creativity relies heavily on scholarly work produced since the 1950s in the Anglo-Saxon world, and in the U.S. in particular. Spanish authors rely on these sources to define creativity from various perspectives, psychology being

³ All quotations originally written in Spanish have been translated into English for linguistic coherence.



the preferred one (García Calero & Estebaranz García, 2005; Latorre Latorre & Fontes del Valle, 1997; Malbrán, 2007a, 2007b). On the other hand, there is also a significant number of music education publications that present creativity-fostering curriculum materials. These texts are highly attuned to Spain's socio-cultural and economic circumstances (Alsina, 2007; Dios Montes, 2003; Higuera, 2004; Mayol i Puentes, 2013; Pérez Aldeguer, 2012). Spanish music education scholars have thus both adopted and adapted the notion of creativity, making it into an indigenous idea within Spain.

Spain's music education literature on creativity differs in some fundamental ways from its U.S. equivalent, even as it is still heavily dependent on the psychometric notion of creativity first developed in the U.S. half a century ago. This selective embracement eased some of the inherent contradictions that exist between the psychometric construct of creativity and Spanish music education's own purposes, ultimately making creativity more serviceable to the latter. For example, most Spanish music education literature on creativity rests upon the assumption that creativity is a transferable human trait (Díaz Gómez & Frega, 1998; Frega, 1997). Unlike other musical abilities, such as the sense of pitch, which music educators commonly describe as dependent on the music-making process, Spain's music education literature conceptualizes creativity as a more comprehensive construct that may be fostered through various channels. Artistic disciplines in general, and music education in particular, emerge in this literature as privileged venues to foster creativity. In other words, Spanish authors portray music education as a privileged venue to develop people's creative skills. Once developed, these skills could then be transferred to other realms. This assumption about creativity's cross-disciplinary nature contrasts with Guilford's initial conceptualization of creativity as a context-dependent construct. For Guilford, creativity was a multifactorial personality trait composed of different types of «creative abilities». Different areas of human activity, such as technology, science, government and the arts, supposedly mobilized different types of creative abilities. In consequence, «[w]hat it takes to make the inventor, the writer, the artist, and the composer creative may have some factors in common, but there is much room for variation of pattern of abilities» (1950, p. 451). According to Guilford, the factors involved in creative behavior in one area were not necessarily the same as the factors involved in any other creative areas. That is why, for Guilford, creative skills were not readily transferrable from one creative area to another. Guilford's context-dependent assumption is still relevant in the



Anglo-Saxon world at the present time (Gardner, 1990; Robinson & Aronica, 2009). However, Spain's music education literature downplays this aspect, as do other artistic disciplines, both in Spain and in other countries. Instead, these countries subscribe to preceding philosophical arguments about creativity, which assert: «creativity is the same wherever you find it» (Guilford, 1950, p. 451). Spain's music education thus strategically embraces some aspects of the U.S. psychometric construct of creativity, whereas it draws from previous philosophical understandings of creativity for other matters.

The strategic integration of certain aspects of the Anglo-Saxon construct of creativity within Spanish discourses of creativity in music education is charged with tactical productivity.⁴ Firstly, creativity tends to be seen as key for Spain's social and economic progress (more on this later). Thus, when music education stands as a privileged venue for the development of students' creativity, people are prone to regard music education as indispensable. Secondly, when authors establish strong connections between the construct of creativity and music education, some of the prestige and good press associated with the former gets transferred to the latter. As a result, Spain's music education, which is often in quite a precarious position, sees its public image strengthened. Thirdly, the notion of creativity enjoys significant academic legitimacy due to its links to the field of psychometrics. Psychometrics is moderately well established within nowadays' dominant regime of scientific truth given its quasi-quantitative status. In this regime, exact sciences represent the gold standard of good science (Porter, 1996). As in the previous case, music education's association with the notion of creativity benefits from the partial transfer of this construct's academic legitimacy into music education. Finally, Spain's academic community tends to associate referencing foreign sources with good scholarly practice. Music education literature on creativity, which draws heavily on literature from the Anglo-Saxon world, also benefits from this.

Yet the incorporation of the notion of creativity within Spain's music education literature also produces effects that may potentially be harmful to the field of music education. More specifically, music education adopts a depend-

4 I am using the phrases «strategic integration» and «tactical productivity» in a Foucauldian sense (1976/1990, p. 102). Foucault coined these two phrases with the aim of stressing the reciprocal effects of power and knowledge, as well as the circumstances that make the utilization of a notion (in this case, that of creativity) necessary in a particular place (for our purposes, Spain) at a particular point in time (i.e. the recent past).

ent role vis-à-vis creativity when it is seen as just a means to foster creativity (creativity would then be transferred to other areas). In other words, music education's instrumental use of creativity for advocacy purposes ultimately makes music education dependent on creativity's general support—or lack thereof. Spanish music education's engagement with the notion of creativity thus responds to multiple purposes, and it has various (both desired and undesired) effects.

CREATIVITY AS THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE

As creativity became increasingly prevalent in Spain's music education discourse, it impacted people's understandings of and approaches to music education in fundamental ways. Historically, Spain's music conservatories organized their curricula according to music's internal logic (Longueira Matos, 2011). The structure of the discipline took precedence over students' learning demands. Contrastingly, the psychology of individuals now governs the configuration of Spain's general school music, and the notion of creativity, along with other psychological constructs, such as aptitude and critical thinking, act as signposts in this process.⁵ Popkewitz's (2004, p. 248) notion of «alchemy of school subjects» provides an interesting lens to examine this issue. Popkewitz argues that school subjects are not simply designed to deliver technical knowledge. School subjects also constitute technologies of power aimed at fabricating ideal future citizens. Therefore, similarly to the sorcerer of the Middle Ages, who sought to turn lead into gold, the alchemy of school subjects illustrates the transmutation of knowledge of the disciplines into social spaces of schooling. Psychological constructs such as creativity help schools achieve this end.⁶ Hence, the analogy between creativity and the philosopher's stone that opens this section. Spanish music education started using various psychological constructs, such as creativity, when it expanded its reach from music

5 Spanish music conservatories are currently taking steps toward the adoption of the construct of creativity as a central curricular and instructional technology (García Calero & Estebananz García, 2005).

6 I use the word «technology» here in a Foucauldian sense. Foucault (1980) uses the term «technology» to highlight the ways in which power relations operate, and to challenge the belief that power relations have no effects *per se*.



conservatories into the public school system.⁷ As a result, psychology's episteme—i.e. its ways of looking at and interpreting the world—now shapes music education as a school subject.

Spanish general music education's main purpose is not to understand music *per se*, but nor is it to develop students' creativity for its own sake. Its ultimate goal is rather to produce creative citizens ready to support Spain's social prosperity and economic growth. Latorre Latorre and Fortes del Valle (1997, p. 11) write: «Indeed, creative contributions have a high social and economic value.» In a similar vein, Díaz Gómez (2007) quotes U.S. business management writer Tom Peters in order to advocate for the fostering of creativity in Spain's music classrooms. She portrays creative music education as a way to achieve «business excellence in a disruptive age.» Creativity within music education thus becomes associated with the prosperity of the Spanish nation within a global capitalist social and economic order. Creativity-fostering music education serves to govern and differentiate children through the teaching and learning of music. In other words, contemporary Spanish general music education seeks to help students acquire technical music knowledge and skills, but only insofar as it also contributes to the fabrication of creative Spanish citizens. Creativity shapes the modes of making music and being musical in nowadays' Spanish schools. Psychology in general, and creativity in particular, shape the dominant style of reasoning within Spain's music education.

FABRICATING A CREATIVE NATION

Spanish music education scholars sometimes provide rationales about the origins of the notion of creativity. In these narratives, they tend to frame creativity's emergence in Spain as a natural consequence of the social, cultural and economic conditions of contemporaneity. To give an example, Aróstegui Plaza (2012, p. 31) prefaces a literature review of scientific literature on creativity in music education with the following words: «The field of creativity and its role in the curriculum is growing, certainly due to the need to provide an answer from the field of education to a world that is constantly changing

⁷ The field of educational psychology did not emerge in Spain until the mid-1970s (Yela Granizo, 1994). The construct of creativity became prevalent in Spanish educational discourse around the same time.



in unforeseeable ways.» Likewise, Pérez Rebollo (2007, p. 31) frames and justifies a creativity-fostering music education curricular proposal quoting Spain's 2006 Education Act as follows: «[U]nder changing circumstances, societies face different challenges, and education should try to address such challenges.» In these texts, creativity emerges as a solution to the perceived uncertainty and turmoil which characterize the present time.

Spanish music education scholars are prone to equate change with challenge. They portray instability as inherently harmful. Likewise, they presume that teachers can help improve Spain's current social and economic situation through creativity. It thus becomes both a professional and social (national) imperative for teachers to fabricate creative citizens through the development of students' creative skills. Students must leave school being creative; that is, being ready to face Spain's constantly shifting and unpredictable social and economic challenges. Ultimately, Spanish music educators' rationales indicate yearning for a long-gone time of relative social and economic equilibrium. Creativity will supposedly help to bring that time of stability back, or at least establish a new normality within a constantly changing reality. Creativity is thus inherently contradictory. It embodies notions of unpredictability and rupture, while at the same time carrying people's longing for a less uncertain time. Through creativity, Spanish music educators embrace notions of openness and ambivalence, they agree to relinquish to some of their existing control over students' behaviors and learning products. Yet teachers do so only insofar as this leads to a time of strengthened social and economic stability: i.e. to a time of greater control. This whole rationale prevents alternative understandings of conflict and of change. It prevents, for instance, an understanding of change as a positive event, filled with potential for alternative realities to emerge.

Spanish music education's narratives about the instability of Spain's current social and economic situation, and about creativity's potential to impact this situation, are not arbitrary. They bear tactical productivity. These narratives echo dominant contemporary discourses on globalization and the new economy (Baudrillard, 2002/2012; Bauman, 2000; Castells, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Žižek, 2002). Thanks to that, they sound commonsensical to the reader, and are able to mobilize people's fears and anxieties about the future. Ultimately, these narratives help to justify and legitimize proposals of social reform, making them sound both necessary and urgent (Agamben, 1995/1998; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Nancy, 2002/2007). The above-mentioned arguments help



Spanish scholars justify the need for creativity-fostering initiatives in music education, and also the need for their scholarly articles on this topic.

ALL-ENCOMPASSING CREATIVITY

Spain's music education scholars tend to treat the notion of creativity as a school reform technology that has potential to help Spain reach ever-higher levels of economic growth and social progress. Within this literature, creativity emerges as an entirely positive and seemingly limitless construct. And yet, the notion of creativity has inherent limitations. Drawing on Thomas Popkewitz's (2008b, p. 169) notion of «double gestures,» I will expose some of the ways in which creativity operates both as a mechanism of inclusion and as a mechanism of exclusion in Spanish music education. That is, I will point out ways in which creativity produces abjection through mechanisms which are supposedly inclusive.

As a positive personal trait, creativity is paired with other positively valued traits such as open-mindedness, tolerance, spontaneity, imagination and self-actualization. Conversely, creativity tends to be pitted against a similar, although opposite, set of personal attributes such as stereotyped thinking, rigidity, narrow-mindedness and intolerance towards ambiguity. Some authors may venture to point out certain constraints and obstacles regarding the implementation of creativity-fostering curricular designs. For instance, Giráldez (2007) mentions the presence of musical composition in Spain's music education is still «almost negligible,» and also that music teachers' computer skills are oftentimes quite limited. However, there is a lack of discordant voices exposing potential risks embedded in the notion of creativity itself.

Although creativity commonly evokes ideas of unbounded freedom, openness and pluralism, the construct often gets actualized in quite narrow forms. The dominant picture of creativity as limitless starts to fall apart if we look at individual behaviors and their inclusion—or absence—from the category of «the creative.» It is in these instances that creativity's limits emerge. The ideal creative subject is, according to the literature, a socially-integrated individual that makes significant contributions to the Spanish economy and society. For instance, García Calero and Estebaranz García (2005, p. 17) quote the following words from Spanish education scholar Ángeles Gervilla Castillo: «Creativity depends not only on originality, but also on social recognition.» Similarly,

García Calero and Estebaranz García (p. 46) highlight Saturnino de la Torre's definition of creativity. For de la Torre, creativity is «the human potential to generate and communicate new ideas within a value framework.»⁸ According to these authors, creativity must, by definition, help people achieve an ideal state of constantly adaptive productivity and functionality in which individuals are neither a burden nor a threat to their society. Yet, if creativity is actually circumscribed to socially-sanctioned actions, any actions that, at face value, may represent acts of freedom, open-mindedness and flexibility, but which challenge in some way the terrain of the socially-sanctioned, are not labeled as creative. Stated somewhat differently, creative actions that pose a potential threat to the existing social and economic order are left out of the discourse on creativity. To give an example, all Spanish music education literature that focuses on fostering creativity among students with so-called special needs portrays creativity as a normalizing tool for social inclusion (Bermell Corral & González Álvarez, 2008; Campo San Vicente, 2007; Prause-Weber, 2007; Trallero Flix, 2013). None of these texts envision difference in ability, which falls out of the terrain of «the normal,» as being creative in itself.

Creativity's inherent boundaries also become evident in the way in which Spanish music education literature treats displays of «too much creativity.» Creativity in excess is often punished through social exclusion. For example, Spanish scholars make a distinction between creativity and eccentricity. The main difference between these two concepts being that creativity stays within the realm of the socially-sanctioned, whereas eccentricity moves beyond the limits of normalcy. Latorre Latorre and Fortes del Valle (1997, pp. 10-11) write: «[C]reativity is related to the original, the new and the surprising. Therefore, we may think that anything unusual and unlikely can be attributed to a creative action. However, creative products differ from 'odd' ones in that they have a certain quality, effectiveness or utility.» When creativity becomes a means of social and economic transgression, it is not labeled as creative anymore. In sum, although the literature under analysis likes to portray the notion of creativity as unbounded, non-socially sanctioned creative actions and over-creative behaviors are *de facto* excluded from this very definition.

8 Spanish authors give slightly different definitions of creativity. These definitions typically contain a reference to the production of something new, and a reference to the social recognition of these products.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the notion of creativity flourished historically within societies with marked socio-political and cultural containment. This happened both in the U.S., where the contemporary notion of creativity first emerged, and in Spain. According to Cohen-Cole (2009), creativity emerged in the U.S. in the 1950s within the field of psychology. This coincided with before the Cold War period, a time of strong political, cultural and social containment. The U.S. feared that the excesses of both far-right fascism and far-left communism might spread through its society. Thus, it monitored any domestic actions that might resemble them, while simultaneously portraying creativity as the epitome of a free democracy. Spain, for its part, saw the emergence of the notion of creativity as an educational construct in the late 1960s. Studies focused on creativity in education started to appear in the mid-1960s, and creativity made its definitive entry into Spain's educational policy through the 1970 General Education Act.⁹ This process coincided with the final years of Spain's Francoist dictatorship, a time characterized by strong public opposition to the regime, and also by continuous and severe displays of repressive force by the Francoist government. According to Pereyra, González Faraco, Luzón & Torres (2009), the 1970 educational reform acted as a tool of strategic legitimation for the dictatorship. The reform's progressive-sounding rhetoric, of which creativity was a part, created a façade of educational progressivism that responded at least partially to protesters' demands, while leaving the régime's foundations intact. In both the U.S. and in Spain, creativity discourses created bounded spaces for experimenting freedom within the limits of highly contained socio-political and cultural environments. Paradoxically, creativity helped to produce the very conformity against which it was pitted.

Creativity's limitations connote fears of social and political fragmentation, and economic stagnation. The risk of falling apart/behind is a conspicuously absent constant in creativity's discourses of economic growth and social progress. Creativity is meant to place Spain in a leading position within nowadays' so-called «global war for talent» (Brown & Tannock, 2009). However, for Spain to become socially and economically prosperous, other countries

9 Spain's 1970 General Education Act was a spinoff of a series of reports produced in the 1960s by the UNESCO, the OECD, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation. These international organizations provided Spain with guidelines and recommendations on how to strengthen its economic and social development (O'Malley, 2008). The appearance of «foreign» constructs, such as the notion of creativity, is understandable within this context.



need to fall behind. Inherent to this seemingly all-encompassing discourse is therefore a rhetoric of winners and losers, as well as a deceiving narrative of possible harmonic conviviality. Creativity stands as a prescription to create a cohesive society and not to fall behind in the current global economy. Any behaviors that do not follow such prescriptions are thus to be proscribed. Through allegedly inclusive processes, creativity re-inscribes difference and produces exclusion in music education.

CREATIVITY AS A PEDAGOGICAL PANACEA

Spanish literature on creativity in music education often portrays itself as a radical breakthrough from traditional ways of doing music education. However, behind this façade of novelty, creativity relies on age-old approaches to teaching music in schools. Spanish music education texts that present creativity-fostering curricular proposals tend to follow a tradition of curriculum studies known as «social efficiency model» (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). The social efficiency movement, which still pervades Spanish contemporary pedagogical discourse, envisions the curriculum as a closed design whose intervening factors can be accounted for, and whose outcomes can therefore be reasonably predicted. Curriculum proposals within this tradition are expected to produce a pre-scripted set of learning results. Thus, a sufficiently-well articulated school system will ultimately produce a particular kind of ideal student and, ultimately, a particular type of society (in this case, a creative individual capable of living a productive life in an ever-changing society). By articulating creativity as a pedagogical object within this tradition, Spain's music education literature not only establishes limits in the ways in which creativity might express itself; it also fabricates—it «creates»—ideal kinds of students and citizens that music teachers should seek. Ultimately, creativity acts as a technology that conditions the ways in which people may think, feel and act in the world.

When turning creativity into a pedagogical object, Spain's music education scholars simultaneously encourage and restrain creativity. As previously mentioned, a significant number of texts that talk about creativity in Spanish music education provide creativity-fostering curricular suggestions. On the one hand, these curricular proposals encourage teachers to become more creative in their daily teaching practices. They prompt music educators to lead by example. However, these texts that exhort teachers to come up with personal solutions to



their daily classroom challenges also provide curricular proposals that music educators are expected to follow closely. For instance, Pérez Rebollo's «Coplas de Ciego Workshop» (2007) encourages teachers to lead by example, carrying out creative teaching practices that will inspire their students to be creative, as well.¹⁰ Pérez Rebollo writes: «If we want our students to become creative, we must start by being ourselves creative in our day-to-day practices» (p. 32). Also, the article stands out due to its «creative» format. Pérez Rebollo makes a visible effort to walk his talk by choosing a non-conventional structure for his curriculum proposal. It is worth reproducing his proposal at length in its entirety here (pp. 34-35, emphases in the original):

Upon medical prescription (by way of summary)

- Composition: Any story (narrative text) that includes where, when, who, what did she/he do, with whom, why, etc., and how everything ended.
- Excipients: ... any kind of versification works. Of course, you can use any of the school languages.
- Side effects, interactions and incompatibilities: None have been described.
- Dosage: A dose every now and then is recommended, both for children and for elder people, as well as for middle-aged people.
- Preservation: It is advisable to have this drug at hand, at room temperature. Do not store in a memories' freezer.
- Expiration date: It does not expire.
- Overdose: No cases of topic overdose have been reported. *However, this drug may cause addiction. If creatures become creative after this therapy's normal use, if they become poets in an etymological sense, the responsibility falls on you. The manufacturing company will not do other than feel proud and content for it.*
- Warning: *Caution! This drug should be kept within children's reach and sight.*

«Coplas de Ciego Workshop»'s curricular proposal is formally transgressive: it resembles the structure of a pamphlet accompanying medication. How-

¹⁰ I draw repeatedly on Pérez Rebollo (2007) in this section in order to make my argument cohesive. My ultimate intention in doing so is not to judge the quality of Pérez Rebollo's work, nor to question Pérez Rebollo's worth as an author. I rather draw on this piece due to its conventionality, i.e. «Coplas de Ciego Workshop» has many elements in common with other pieces within Spanish music education literature on creativity. I envision Pérez Rebollo's piece as an entry point to the systems of reasoning on which Spain's music education literature rests.



ever, the proposal is still inscribed in a traditional way of reasoning within pedagogical discourse.¹¹ «Coplas de Ciego Workshop» follows a quite conventional recipe-like structure that teachers are supposed to follow closely. Pérez Rebollo's drug-like proposal positions teachers neither in the role of doctors (i.e. providers of a diagnosis) nor in the role of druggists (i.e. drug preparers), but in the role of mere drug-administrators. As a result, teachers appear incapable of coming up with their own creative solutions for the professional challenges that they encounter in their daily teaching practice (Apple, 1986). Music teachers are the targets of a teacher-proof curricular proposal written by a «truly creative» individual—Pérez Rebollo. «Coplas de Ciego Workshop»'s ultimate message is thus contradictory. It aims to foster teachers' creativity, while simultaneously atrophying their creative abilities. Although paradoxical, «Coplas de Ciego Workshop»'s approach to promoting the teaching of creativity through a highly scripted curriculum is quite common in Spain's literature on creativity in music education. Indeed, although its presentation may be quite unique, many elements that conform this particular proposal run through similar texts.

Pérez Rebollo's proposal also speaks to the socio-economic analysis laid out in previous sections of this paper. «Coplas de Ciego Workshop»'s drug-pamphlet format creates the impression that there is a problem, a pathology (i.e. social and economic uncertainty) threatening an otherwise healthy organism (i.e. the Spanish nation). It also presumes that, if music educators were to properly administer the drug that Pérez Rebollo prescribes (i.e. creativity), Spain could go back to a previous «healthy» state. Creativity thus emerges as a panacea, as the ultimate solution to restore balance in Spain's «sick organism» and attain an ideal future social and economic state/State. Creativity becomes a token for the re-establishment of a stable society in which outcomes can be easily predictable. Bringing back this paper's title, Pérez Rebollo's proposal not only *prescribes* a creativity-fostering curricular program; it also *scribes* (i.e. fabricates) a series of desirable social and economic outcomes for the Spanish nation. Inevitably, these outcomes obscure alternative socio-economic realities that could equally emanate from Spain's current state of affairs. As evidenced by «Coplas de

11 Here I draw on Hacking's (1982, p. 10) «styles of reasoning». Hacking defines «styles of reasoning» as the particular ways in which people reason about propositions. According to Hacking, these ways of reasoning determine not only if propositions are true or false, but also whether they are up for grabs for people in the first place—or not.



Ciego Workshop,» most music education creativity-fostering curricular proposals are deeply embedded in a social efficiency model, despite its claims to novelty and originality.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The dominant notion of creativity present in Spain's music education literature is rooted in a series of baseline epistemological assumptions upon which creativity initially emerged in the 1950s in the Anglo-Saxon world. From this perspective, creativity's prevalence in Spanish music education might be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999). However, creativity did not remain completely circumscribed to those initial conditionings for too long. Instead, the construct took on a new set of purposes particular to Spain's educational and socio-political context. Creativity became a useful analytical tool to think about contemporary music education in Spain. Its burgeoning popularity within the academic field of music education evidences it.

Over the past two decades, Spain has developed a reasonably large body of literature focused on creativity in music education. Sometimes, these texts provide an analysis of creativity's factors and characteristics, drawing primarily on the field of psychology. More often, they provide classroom suggestions which draw primarily on the field of curriculum design. Although Spain's music education scholars tend to portray creativity as a groundbreaking approach to music education, their creativity-fostering curricular proposals often rely on old curricular tropes about curriculum design and about the social role of education.

Creativity, as it is articulated in Spain's music education literature, helps to shape what is thinkable, what counts and what is overlooked within Spain's music education, and also in Spain's society in more general terms. On the one hand, creativity provides a generative viewpoint from which to approach Spain's contemporary music education and the country's broader socio-economic situation. On the other hand, creativity's all-positive and comprehensive-sounding discourses also foreclose a whole array of alternative viewpoints. In other words, creativity discourses may preclude an endless range of possibilities of thinking and expression that fall out of the limits of what it is currently understood as «the creative.» Creativity's all-embracing appearance



makes the mere idea of an «outside» beyond creativity tricky to grasp. Creativity's reported advantages may also shadow the option of rejecting discourses of creativity altogether. In short, creativity produces certain ways to imagine oneself in the world and the world itself. Yet, at the same time, creativity casts out alternative ways of knowing, feeling and being in the world.

Creativity has become so ingrained in Spain's present-day «episteme» that current creativity talk seems almost a pre-requisite to engage with contemporary Spanish educational discourse.¹² Nevertheless, it is perfectly possible to do so without relying on this dominant pre-scripted notion of creativity. Interesting new possibilities may indeed arise when venturing into less (pre-)scripted understandings of the construct. For that to happen, it is necessary to first recognize in which ways current discourses on creativity in music education limit the range of possibilities of what is thinkable. The present paper represents an attempt to unpack some of the often-overlooked limits of the contemporary construct of creativity, in order to point out the possibility of alternative discourses. My goal is thus not to provide ready-made solutions to fix current educational problems. In other words, this is not a prescriptive article. Contrarily, it tries to open up some spaces for dialogue on the characteristics and implications of the creativity movement in music education in Spain. Ultimately, I leave it to each Spanish music educator to decide whether and how they may want to challenge existing discourses on creativity. In that sense, this paper is far from apolitical. On the contrary, it constitutes a political act in itself by presenting an intervention to challenge how people think of themselves and of their world in relation to the notion of creativity. Finally, I must point out that there are surely other versions of how discourses around creativity in Spanish music education unfolded in the second half of the 20th century. Such alternative approaches to this topic could and should be told.

12 I am using the word «episteme» here in a Foucauldian sense (1980, p. 197), as «the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within ... a field of scientificity».



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