Target Practice? Using the Arts for Social Inclusion

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Abstract

Use of creative processes as a tool for social inclusion has gathered momentum in recent years. This article reports the views of education professionals based in Scotland on the use and effects of targeting. While this strategy aims to improve access to those communities considered marginal, it is apparent that some of the effects are detrimental to the development of an equitable approach. Using the framework of social capital we gain insight into strategies which enable difference to become positive and where the top down mechanism of targeting is replaced by a dialogical exchange.

Introduction

Social inclusion is a major strand of current policy and in recent years the arts have become implicated as a vehicle for delivering 'outcomes' such as greater social inclusion and improved wellbeing (Matarasso,1997). This article reports on the experience of a group of professionals working in the arts and education in Scotland. The advantages of participation in the arts for children which have been reported include improved learning and behaviour, better relationships with parents, peers and adults, improved psychological wellbeing and improved communication skills (Kinder et al, 2000; Kendall et al, 2003). Some questions have been raised about the validity of the measurement of outcomes (Fisher, 1997) and the availability of evidence (Kinder & Harland, 2004), and suspicions have been voiced about the extent to which New Labour is "governing by culture" (The Cultural Policy Collective, 2004, p. 42). The implication of this is that the UK Government is attempting to fulfil a policy agenda through arts programmes. It has also been argued that using the arts as a vehicle for social inclusion overlooks the history of those it seeks to bring together and suppresses the real issues of how power and wealth are distributed by subsuming this in a "celebration of identity" (Cultural Policy Collective, 2004, p. 30). In spite of this, however, there is a widespread enthusiasm, accompanied by financial support, for arts projects which promise to deliver social inclusion outcomes and increasing pressure on schools to make greater use of the arts. Scotland's Cultural Strategy, *Creating our Future: Minding our Past*, (Scottish Executive, 2000) proclaimed that Culture is at the heart of education, while the MP, Chris Smith, writing in the introduction to *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education*, said:

> we must change the concept of creativity from being something that is 'added on' to education, skills, training and management and make sure it becomes intrinsic to all of these. (NACCCE, 1999, p.5)

This paper examines the practices of the arts and social inclusion in relation to, firstly, the intended recipients and, secondly, the teachers who are charged with delivering this in schools. We will consider how individuals have come to be targeted as being in need of this very specific provision and what those expected to deliver social inclusion through the arts are thought to need themselves. We will draw on research we have undertaken on behalf of the Scottish Arts Council, and which involved interviews with key individuals responsible for delivering provision. Given the climate in which inclusion in the arts is perceived as both a good and necessary activity (NACCE, 1999), we consider how these inclusive arts activities are constructed and what effects they have on those target groups. The framework of social capital, which "is concerned with trust, social ties, shared norms and relationships among people and communities," (Healy, 2003, p. 3) will be used to

explore the effects of different targeting strategies. The paper ends with some reflections on possibilities for framing arts practices which focus, rather than target, on ways which are inclusive and contribute to the building of bridging and linking social capital, and for establishing the kind of support for teachers which enables them to work on themselves and on their own creativity.

Politics and Culture

Political analyst Norman Fairclough (2000, p. 54) gives insight into the origins of the use of the concept of social inclusion by New Labour. He describes the fundamental shift in labour party rhetoric from that of poverty to exclusion as nominalisation with "exclusion as a state which people are in," as opposed to poverty as "something that is done to them." He argues that this view of social justice locates the problem with those perceived as excluded rather than with the processes that create exclusion. Byrne (2005) challenges the horizontal image of inclusion where the included centre is not questioned. Viewing injustice as being created vertically is for him, a more meaningful way of thinking about how it might be challenged. Levitas (1998) identified three discourses on inclusion: redistribution of wealth; social integration—getting people back to work; and the concept of moral underclass. Byrne suggests that the UK direction is based mostly on the social integration model and the ideas of getting people back to work, with the main focus on productivity; however, "notions of 'underclass' and 'dependency culture' are unhelpful" because they "emphasise stigmatizing labels without adding to our understanding of the process or personal experience of poverty and exclusion" (Stepney, Lynch and Jordan, 1999, p.109). Culture is seen as an asset rather than a way of being and Byrne 2005 uses the example of Glasgow as City of Culture where the poverty and its effects experienced by many of the city's inhabitants were hidden by the imported culture that masked the culture of poverty in the city. The efforts by Scotland's cultural commission to explore cultural rights and entitlements assumed that culture was something to be made accessible rather than something which communities develop and alter within themselves.

Employing Creativity

The NACCCE and other UK government reports wholeheartedly endorse the desirability of creativity in education but it is important to try to unpack the concept. The difficulty of isolating the concept of creativity has been commented on by many (Bhom, 1996; Boden, 1990). Their understanding concerns risk (Bhom, 1996) and new connections (Boden, 1990). There is some dispute as to whether creativity is possible for all (Greene, 1995) or is reserved to a few specifically talented individuals (Eysenck, 1995). Craft (2003) makes a convincing argument that there is general consensus that all can and should be creative.

Government reports further suggest that creative people will be more fulfilled (Maslow, 1970) and more able to contribute to economic development.

There are some issues as to how this might play out in the field of education. In formal education, "A Curriculum for Excellence" (2004) in Scotland and the "Curriculum for Childhood" (2005) in England, both focus on the benefits of nurturing creativity in children. The 'Creative Partnerships Scheme' in England and 'Arts Across the Curriculum' in Scotland intend to use creative processes as a means of motivating and engaging young people in all aspects of curriculum content. These both draw on developments in the US, significantly 'Arts at the Centre', which claims to have transformed the practice of a group of Chicago schools based in areas of economic disadvantage. Various publications produced by The Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS, 2000, 2004) promote the uses of creative processes within formal settings to engender individual fulfilment and at community level 'social cohesion.' Many of these beliefs as to the potential of creative processes to provide such social benefits have been fuelled by *Use or Ornament,* a report by Matarasso (1997), published by Comedia (1999), which drew on a range of international projects to report on the impact of the arts and which raised expectations about the introduction of the arts.

While there is a wide range of case studies reported in a variety of arts journals which suggest the positive impact of creative forms of learning to address issues of ethnicity, gender, sexuality and disability, there are never-the-less difficulties involved in creative working. Craft (2003) raises the dilemma of creative teaching or teaching for creativity, implying the difficulties in measuring creativity for structures expected to evidence outcome. Dineen and Collins (2004) suggest the bureaucratic need to measure inhibits the process of both creative teaching and learning to be creative and that creativity occurs in spite of the structures of education. Furthermore, Craft suggests that this value of creativity is culturally specific and as such may impose an alien set of values and expectations for those not from an affluent Western background.

These ideas and tensions provide the context for exploring, at a local level, how the arts have been implemented to address the issue of exclusion across a range of social groups.

Research Approach

Telephone and face-to-face interviews were carried out with individuals and companies who are involved in delivering the arts through formal and informal education in Scotland. These included nineteen creative links officers, each of whom works at a strategic level within their local authority to ensure the delivery of the arts; education officers from twelve national arts companies; and artists and staff from fourteen arts

companies who have a particular focus on delivering the arts within disadvantaged communities. We use the term disadvantaged in preference to 'underclass' as it suggests that the root of any issues cannot necessarily be combated through individual agency but instead is a result of social and political structures which privilege some and disadvantage others. 'Under class' has been used to describe those people outside of the mainstream who may indeed threaten it (Westwood, 2002). The last of these groups included theatre companies, visual arts organisations, dance companies and combined arts organisations which offer opportunities to the communities of designated Social Inclusion Partnership areas; disabled people; ethnic minorities, including asylum seekers and refugees; those who require the long term support of health services due to physical or mental health issues; and young people. A sample of fifteen teachers and head teachers from four local authorities were also interviewed individually and in groups. The interviews with each of the groups focused on how inclusive practice is understood and promoted, how the arts are used within this context, and the training needs of the cross section of people who deliver the arts.

Who are the targets?

The majority of creative links officers, education officers, arts companies, youth workers, and teachers indicated that a targeting approach was important and for some indispensable. They justified this with statements such as "different groups have different needs," "we are far from a level playing field" and "it's positive discrimination." What is perhaps interesting is how each of the different bodies which aim to work inclusively placed different emphasis on who needs to be targeted and why. While the desire to be inclusive was acknowledged by all, what this meant in practice was not very clear. Furthermore, the sense of where the margins were between who was and who was not included were blurred. This asks the question as to where and how the desire to target is constituted.

The Targeting Imperative

It appears that the rationale behind targeting assumes that the identification of individuals as part of a marginal group facilitates their access and participation in the arts; that a 'level playing field' is desirable; and that these defined marginal groups need to be supported within their negative situation to re-dress the balance. There is of course the principle over-riding assumption that access to the arts is good for these groups therefore a means has to be found to allow this to take place. While the emphasis was placed on targeting, there was a degree of discomfort expressed by some who recognised that this could produce negative outcomes or in Foucauldian (2001) terms, *dividing practices*. This suggests a division between those who target and the targeted and upholds

boundaries between the different groups subject to targeting, thus creating exclusion through the categorizing of individuals and provision of structures which respond to the knowledge that the arts are assumed to provide. "We are continually being judged in terms of the normality or otherwise of our mental attributes, our physical capacities, our feelings and attitudes, and our sexual preferences"(Danahar, Schirato, & Webb, 2000, p. 61). This process of othering individuals who do not conform in some aspect to mainstream/governmental definitions of what is desirable and normal could be seen as an exclusionary activity, insofar as it uses difference as a means of control.

How individuals find themselves in need of targeting and as potential recipients of arts provision appears to depend on whose gaze they fall under. There are the head teachers and teachers within schools; dominant government polices and local authority structures which resource the arts and define the systems by which the arts can be accessed; the education departments of national companies which are pressed to shake off their elitist images and adopt 'for all' policies; smaller arts companies aimed at responding to the needs of specific excluded groups; and independent artists and informal education projects offered by community learning departments. The context of teachers and head teachers is clearly defined by the fact that everybody regardless of ethnicity, financial status, geographical residence and disability, have to attend school. Their target group contains those young people who reject school either by non-attendance or non-compliance with school codes of conduct. Those working within local authorities with the remit of strategically making the arts accessible find children hardest to target in schools where head teachers and teachers do not support the idea that the arts should be made accessible within school because of perceived negative impact on other subject areas. Thus secondary school children are the hardest to reach simply because education officers are not allowed to get to them. Most of the artists and specialist arts organisations suggested that they are working well with their particular target group but those who do work in schools said that school refusers are difficult, presumably because they are not there to participate. Rural and ethnic minority groups were perceived by all as in need of targeting as were those in specific age groups, disabled groups, women and those who had been involved in criminality. In short, all of the groups traditionally considered as excluded, with the exception of homosexuals, were identified as potential targets.

Arts companies acknowledged the possibility that their targeting practices may lead to dividing practices. One company, for example, which designs their format specifically for intellectually disabled adults, openly expressed uncertainty as to whether they were inclusive or not as they only worked with a very specific group and were not open to all. Identity politics has been the subject of much discussion in relation to revaluing groups who have been oppressed due to one aspect of their being, such as impairment, gender, or sexuality. Galvin (2003), for example, discusses this tension between the necessity of

impaired individuals to unite in order to support each other in re-defining the negative associations and creating a new discourse of disability.

A view was expressed by those promoting the arts that they themselves were residents of the margins. Strategic planners in education fought to justify their existence in an environment dominated by attainment levels and league tables; national arts companies twisted and turned to find ways of justifying subsidies in a context where art for art's sake does not make political sense. Small arts companies indicated that they felt dwarfed by the nationals which soaked up the funding and left little for them. Teachers, who are considered in more detail in a later part of the paper, said they had little sense of self-determination as a result of the number of directives and priorities from local authorities and their head teachers. Community Learning Staff, while not dominated by curriculum and syllabus, conveyed a sense of marginalisation through lack of resources and lack of value placed on the work that they did. They therefore identified as a marginalised group demonstrating that feeling excluded did not stop at the groups perceived as excluded, but extended to those whose aim and remit was to be inclusive, even those in apparently powerful positions.

Targeting and Social Capital

The framework of social capital, which can be summed up with the phrase "relationships matter" (Field, 2003, p. 1), is of particular relevance here because it enables us to examine the kinds of relationships created by particular targeting approaches and the extent to which these are inclusive. Social capital, which was developed through the work of Pierre Bordieu (1983), James Coleman (1990), and Robert Putnam (2000), is increasingly recognised as a valuable way of understanding the ways in which ties between individuals enable them to do more or less than they would achieve by themselves. Three types of social capital can be distinguished. *Bonding social capital* involves "close support" from members of a group who have "shared identities, interests and place of residence" (Healy, 2003, p.7) and reinforces sameness among the individuals in the group. *Bridging social capital* involves members of heterogeneous groups becoming connected and is thought more likely to foster social inclusion (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000). *Linking social capital* relates both to an understanding of equivalence through difference and the notion of the teacher as a learner. Linking is different from bridging as it requires independent groups of difference. It is based on the idea that groups with substantial difference in power, history and value systems can connect to mutual benefit. Difference is therefore acknowledged without dominance of motivation to any of those involved; each has something to bring, each has something to gain. Within lived situations the relationship between different forms of social capital can

be complex. As we will see below it can be the case that bonding can result in bridging and linking opportunities or indeed that bridging may present a space for linking.

The majority of targeting practices described by those interviewed appeared to represent an attempt to create bonding social capital. This method of working recognises the individual and collective benefit where marginal groups can share experiences. The benefits of such an approach are exemplified in Scottish Ballet's dance classes for the over sixties. At this class, older people who may be inhibited to take part in mainstream classes because of the pace or their aging physique can gain confidence in practising alongside their peers. From the perspective of audience, Scottish Opera created *The Minotaur* in 2004, (Theatre Royal, Glasgow) a production aimed at children which combined traditional opera with film, in order to engage the young people.

Lung Ha's is a performance company which only employs disabled actors. The representatives of this company spoke about the need for a specific approach as most of the actors are intellectually disabled and could not handle the material or expectations of a mainstream company. At Lung Ha's the methods of working are designed to suit people who may not be literate, or who may not use words as a means of communicating. The interviewees were confident that without this opportunity their members would not be able to get involved with theatre practice as they found mainstream methods excluded their methods of communication and learning. Some reported that coming together as a group provided a space in which they could define models of working which were accessible and relevant to those involved. In doing so they developed a collectively understood approach which generated a sense of group identity. Another example of the positive effects of bonding was found at Project Ability, a visual arts company which provides arts workshops for intellectually disabled adults and which has supported a group of five people to set up a company to sell their artwork and provide workshops. These people have benefited financially and travelled across the world as a result. In both of these cases coming together as a group proved pivotal in generating further activity. Many of the artists have been making artwork alone at home which they found enjoyable and fulfilling but did not afford the status of working as a group. Belonging to a group of artists legitimised their individual identities as artists in a way which did not appear possible outside of the group.

At its best, this practice encourages the following benefits described by Gilson, Tusler and Gill (1997, p. 9) in relation to disabled people: "learning to feel self pride, identifying and supporting role models, developing coalitions for change, learning the skills of self advocacy, confronting our own prejudices about one another while we build self-esteem." According to the arts companies there are definite gains in bonding activities which they facilitated and many stated that their members were able to broaden their experience,

develop skills, gain confidence, and travel. Coming together with people who at times, looked similar, showed similar behaviour or shared similar experiences created a space where the barriers created by a sense of difference did not need to be addressed before work could take place. While the value of this to those individuals cannot be diminished, contributors' comments exposed a mostly passive awareness of the less positive effects. These subtle uncertainties lead us to question just how much this type of practice is endorsing otherness, rather than promoting equality. Swain and Cameron (1999, p. 68) describe the experience of associating with any marginal group as one of "coming out." It involves self-recognition and declaration of "belonging to a devalued group"(p. 68). In so doing it picks up on a particular aspect of that individual's experience and offers this as a defining characteristic, which may itself be constraining. The 'excluded' person as artist may, however, be experienced positively, and Wolfensberger (2003) argues that this could help to create a new and positive identity which challenges former negative associations.

The less common and assumed more difficult practice of bridging also appeared to be taking place. A creative links officer from one local authority justified this approach with the argument that: "It's fine to target but we have to include others so that we do not stigmatise some children." Contributors attached the highest value and most authentic means of inclusion to the bridging types of activities and events, particularly because examples of bridging activities were most prevalent in schools. One of the arts companies, Art Link Central, runs a programme where equal numbers of children from mainstream schools are brought together with children from special education schools to work on arts and music activities. Similarly a number of the creative links officers described bringing groups of young people from mainstream and special education together through arts events as audience and also as participants. The intention is to generate an understanding and awareness of different groups by others through shared experience, and this is reported as very successful, although there is little evidence about the impact on young people's understanding and attitudes. Healy (2003) suggests that bridging social capital has the potential benefits of sharing and bringing different people together in order to create new links. However, it is also an externally imposed attempt to be inclusive—by stage-managing events. In schools, the descriptions always relate to mainstream and special education because these are structurally divided groups. The underlying assumption is that if you physically bring people together there is inclusion. This type of bridging is concerned with the visible and not with the more subtle experience of exclusion which is present even when physical access is possible. One interviewee suggested that he wanted to "bring everybody into the body of the kirk." The very nature of this statement suggests a very controlled and limited conception of inclusion, involving all under one roof sharing the same values. Advocates for a distinct culture of disability have fought against such attitudes:

> not the same, but different
> not normal, but disabled
> (Tyneside Disability Arts, cited in Swain and French, 2000, p. 580).

This enforced bridging type of activity assumes that people want to be brought together and that bridging is in one direction, towards the mainstream. Some of the community learning staff talked about the disaffected young people with whom they work as 'self-excluding.' They described them as choosing not to participate in mainstream activities, not because it was physically impossible but because they did not identify with the associated culture. The other issue that concerns both bridging and bonding practices is that they are frequently prescribed to solve problems and therefore use the language of deficiency. Kinder and Harland (2004) discuss how the arts might be used as "the three basic tools of repair" (p. 53) for disaffected young people. They categorize these as positive personal relationships with an adult, the achievement of academic and vocational success, and constructive leisure pursuits. They suggest that arts teachers work in a similar way to professionals supporting young people termed disaffected. They go on to describe in what ways engagement with the arts and artists employs the "tools of repair" with the intention that through this process young people may "re-engage with learning." This clearly outlines a direct use of the arts to address the social and educational needs of young people perceived in need of change. Antagonism towards this idea of the arts as "sticking plaster" was raised by some interviewees, who claimed that it was unfair to lay the burden of solving social problems at the door of the arts (Merli, 2002).

Perhaps the most effective example of bridging social capital was provided by the Birds of Paradise theatre company, who ran a workshop at a participatory conference for children. In one of the activities, the two presenters, one of them a wheelchair user, engaged the children in the metaphorical production of a machine. The presenter's wheelchair was upturned and used as the focal point to which the children were asked to direct their gestures and noises. The effect was a mesmerising assemblage of vision and sound. Interviewed about this later, the children spoke proudly of their own efforts and one referred to the wheelchair obliquely as the "machine thing" that had been present.

The third type of social capital, linking, was not evident from the descriptions of practices offered to us. However an example of this type of arts activity can be found in Aberdeen, where visual artist Eva Merz got into informal dialogue with a group of local skateboarders who were unhappy about how recent planning had made it difficult for them to pursue their boarding. Through discussion they developed a strategy of interviewing significant members of the local authority in relation to this

planning. They shaped events and an exhibition, involving some history of their skateboarding practice and the interviews. These activities provided a platform on which they could discuss their future as skateboarders within Aberdeen and future planning by the council. The result is a new skateboard park which has been designed by the skateboarders in consultation with the council planning department. Interestingly this was brought about by chance encounter not by the need to develop an inclusive event, within a "smooth space" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 474), not the striated space of the state, with its pre-given agenda and outcomes. The directions of this series of acts were developed through conversation and an exchange of skills. Where initially the boarders experienced exclusion as a result of the planning initiative of the local authority, ultimately they became co-authors of new planning practices without a loss of their identity as boarders. Eva Merz, the artist who collaborated with the boarders, had the opportunity to further explore and develop her interests and skills in working with people who do not consider themselves artists.

We have suggested that any form of targeting has negative implications as it is in essence objectifying vulnerable groups and exposing them to arts practitioners who may then focus on their deficits. Whilst linking social capital has been described as the most positive means of creating more equal and inclusive social structures through the arts, and without recourse to targets, it is also clear that this is not necessarily the only way. Social capital theorists recognise that all three forms in balance are desirable (Healy, 2003, p. 8), but the balance may be difficult to achieve in practice. It is apparent by the development of Swain and French's (2000) *Affirmation Model of Disability* that a period of bonding is essential for the disabled movement to arrive at a position of power. Whilst identification with specific groups affirms and develops aspects of individual identity, the complexity of identity is perhaps better acknowledged through bridging. Here members are free to identify with a varied group of individuals and so develop a sense of the complexity of their own identity. Peters (2000) acknowledges the difficulties inherent in subscribing only to one particular culture rather than identifying with a number of groups.

The arts were seen by the research participants as a good vehicle for social inclusion because they are about the individual, their skills, their pace, and their expression. Also, the arts are not believed to be bound by the rigid means of assessment of other subject areas. The arts do not fit neatly into conventional assessment frameworks however, and this makes them difficult to assess. Art theorist Thomas McEvilley (1992), in his discussion of quality in the arts, rejects the Kantian ideals of truth and beauty. He argues that all judgements are relative and need to take account of the conditions that produce the work. A way of making judgements about quality which take account of the context

in which it is produced without pathologising and objectifying the participants is a complex challenge, but one which must be faced.

Doing the Arts in School

The teachers charged with 'delivering' social inclusion through the arts, may encounter this responsibility as yet one more thing on top of the pressures they currently face. Stronach and Morris (1994. p. 5) have described teachers as experiencing a kind of "policy hysteria" amid recurrent cycles of educational reform, an increasing pressure to demonstrate their own expertise in line with professional standards and a gradual decline in trust—the "corrosion of character" (Sennet, cited in Ballard, 2003, p. 10) through increasingly rigorous accountability procedures. These procedures, which emphasise proving rather than improving (Ball, 2000) could be said to limit the potential for teachers to work creatively. Furthermore, an increasing number of obligations, for example ICT, citizenship and health education, have been squeezed into an already tight curriculum, with nothing removed to make space in spite of recent promises of decluttering (A Curriculum for Excellence, 2004). Whilst these are not intended to represent additional content to be covered, but elements to be addressed through the teaching of other subjects, it is not generally presented in a way that can be readily incorporated in existing frameworks.

Scotland's Cultural Strategy, *Creating our Future: Minding our Past (*Scottish Executive, *2000, p. 32),* states that: "Creativity is nurtured, not taught. Effective creative, cultural and media education cannot be reduced to a checklist of facts, experiences and time allocations. It is the quality of each young person's experience which needs to be paramount." Education Officers, Creative Links Officers, and representatives of Specialist Arts Organisations have offered some critical comments on what is required by teachers to meet social inclusion outcomes for young people through the arts and to nurture creativity within educational settings. Whilst teachers themselves had views of their needs, we have concentrated on what those responsible for disseminating good practice regard as necessary. We consider these in the context of the changes required of teachers if they are to move towards 'becoming-creative' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

Artistic Excellence

Respondents emphasised the importance of having extensive knowledge about the arts and about its transformative potential. This seemed to extend beyond the content knowledge required of any teacher and involved a capacity for aesthetic judgement and an ability to discern quality in artistic work. Specifying such knowledge and capacities as a requirement may exclude particular individuals and could create an othering effect in which teachers construct themselves as lacking, rather than capable of acquiring such

expertise. The elevation of the arts to an inaccessible artefact has been criticised by Deleuze (1998, p. 65), who claims that the arts are only given existence through the experience of them by individuals. He suggests that "in its own way, art says what children say" and is not as complex as it is made out to be. Furthermore, Gough (2004, p. 258) suggests the arts may be more accessible and relevant than conventional educational materials. He argues that fiction, for example, is more faithful to the aims of education than "the dogma and conceit of many educational texts."

A Special Experience
The need for the arts to be special—more so than other curriculum activities—was highlighted. The importance of a 'hands on' experience was emphasised by a number of individuals, especially where children and young people are concerned. It could be argued that such an approach would be effective in education generally, compared with the usual pattern in which teachers according to Smyth and Hattam (2002) do not communicate effectively but rather rehearse the official scripts of teaching. In that context children occupy a passive role as learners. Deleuze (2000) suggests that an active and embodied experience is the only way to learn successfully and, using the analogy of learning to swim, compares an embodied experience with other, more useless approaches:

> The movements of the swimming instructor which we reproduce on the sand bear no relation to the movements of the wave, which we learn to deal with only by grasping the former in practice in signs. . . . We learn nothing from those who say: "Do as I do." . . . Our only teachers are those who tell us to "Do with me,"and are able to emit signs to be developed in heterogeneity rather than propose gestures for us to reproduce. (p. 23)

The effective teacher, according to Deleuze, is one who emits signs for the learners to read, interpret, and experience. The Specialist Arts Organisations were clear that their professional expertise enabled them to provide a special learning experience for children and young people. The Specialist Arts Organisations, Creative Links Officers, and the Education Officers suspected that teachers would struggle to provide an experience that was special, but that they could be given support.

Becoming Other
The Specialist Arts Organisations, Creative Links Officers, and Education Officers identified the need for teachers to develop their capacity for creativity and self-confidence. It was recognised that teachers, because of the roles they normally occupy with learners, might find it difficult to make 'switches' to less formal interactions. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) terms, the school is a striated space, with clear lines of

demarcation between teachers and learners, adults and children. The space for engaging in arts practices might, in contrast, be considered smooth, with more blurring of the dividing lines and new "lines of flight" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 4). A lack of self-confidence on the part of teachers was seen as a major barrier to "doing" the arts with children and young people. This implied the need for change on the part of the teachers towards a creative other, or perhaps even a shift away from aspects of their "teacher' identity." Creative Links Officers, describing the contribution made by artists as exposing children to the "real world," implied a need for teachers to become more "real." Suggesting that teachers might lose aspects of their teacher selves is not only negative, because of the deficit it implies, but is likely to entrench teachers' identities – as teachers.

The Elusiveness of Inclusion

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) offer some insight into the structures that make inclusion a difficult aim to achieve. The striated spaces of governments and agendas which focus on transformations from the outside do not account for the complex and multiple nature of identity: "it is only when the multiple is effectively treated as substantive: multiplicity, that it ceases to have any relationship to the One as subject or object" (p. 8; original emphasis). This echoes with some of the identity issues raised by those involved in the disability movement (Galvin, 2003; Swain & Cameron, 1999; Swain & French, 2000). These authors describe people who identified with disability culture; however, this concerned only one aspect of their experience as they also connected with other groups such as those connected with gender, ethnicity, or location. The movement between state space, which is ordered, hierarchical, and clearly structured; and nomadic space, which is fluid, organic, and where connections spontaneously emerge, can be witnessed in the ideas and practice.

A number of teachers reported working within tightly controlled spaces, densely formatted by directives and guidance and with few opportunities to envisage working creatively. How can teachers allow themselves to become learners in the classroom when they perceive themselves as the vehicle of the volumes of curriculum content which must be delivered in a pre-ordained sequence? It is no surprise that one primary teacher commented that "the most creative work occurs outside of school hours in informal settings." It is clear that together with release from some of the external pressures, they also need opportunities and experiences which develop their awareness of themselves and their multiple identities. How can teachers connect with the diversity of young people with whom they work effectively if they work within a system that does not value the differences which they bring? In the final part of our paper we explore the possibilities of an ethic of creativity in which targets for social inclusion are redirected towards all children and young people, and teacher training and support is reframed to enable theorising from practical experiences. These provide ways for using the arts and social

inclusion agenda more constructively and creatively in ways which provide scope for professional renewal.

Becoming-Creative?

Creative approaches have been reported as leading to improved practical skills and emotional development among people who have a diverse range of backgrounds. There were very few contributors who did not recognise the capacity of the creative processes and outcomes employed in arts activities for individual and community development. However it appeared the difficulty was making such opportunities available within current educational structures. In order to suggest how this might be achieved it is necessary to explore the possibilities together with the potential challenges.

The elusiveness of a definition of creativity makes it difficult, and indeed undesirable, to presuppose how and where such an approach might be nurtured. The kinds of experiences teachers might require in order to equip them to engage in arts practices with children and young people are, according to the respondents, practical "hands on" arts activities. We would also contend that professional development and teacher training, which employ methods which do more than accommodate difference in teachers by embracing it and seeing it as positive, will provide exemplars of practice which can then be taken into schools. Following Deleuze, it might be appropriate to think of teachers' professional development and training as an apprenticeship in signs and a pedagogy of images, through which they are helped to develop their own maps: "The imagined and invented maps of connections that experiment with the real rather than provide only tracings of it"(Gough, 2004, p. 262). It might be important also to create smooth spaces for teachers to learn in, rather than the striated spaces of conventional Continuing Professional Development, characterised by hierarchies and rigid subject boundaries. An example of the possibilities for smoothing the space was observed at the Art Lab event described above. The adults who accompanied the children stood back during the early part of the day, adopting the role as passive observers, but were gradually drawn into the process as the space became less striated and the adults gave themselves permission to participate and perform. Foucault (1982, p. 288) suggests that the task is "not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are." This is not refusal of the teacher self, or becoming less of a teacher and more of an artist, but refusing a sense of incompetence and promoting "new forms of subjectivity."

This approach of developing material spaces of possibility which are not constrained by presupposed outcomes or the performance of scripted roles may produce opportunities for learning where difference is read as positive. However, such spaces of the unknown appropriately involve risk. This presents its own set of difficulties in society where risk is understood as that which must be bound and reduced (Beck, 1992). A positive conception

of risk such as this is more aligned to the radical resistance of bell hooks (1994) than the social cohesion suggested by Mattarasso (1991).

The discomfort experienced by many of the contributors who described the need to target, is evidence of the conflict produced by use of the arts, a medium which is inherently creative, to deliver on a fixed agenda. This was particularly clear where choice of target was heavily influenced by available funding streams. This appears at odds with the openness and risk associated with creativity. Indeed, the only incidence cited which conforms to such a definition of creativity is that of Eva Merz' work with the Aberdeen skateboarders, which developed through a random encounter and an absence of government funding. It is not within the scope of this article to explore the economic alternatives; however, the above experience, taken with the teachers who voice the opinion that the most creative work occurs outside of classroom constraints, points towards a need for a more lateral openness to how and where arts activity might be supported. The need for, and potential value of less structured forms of intervention have also been recognised in the field of community development where the counter-effects of governmental projects have been documented (Cooke and Khotari, 2001). What we can suggest is that valuing new, unexpected and perhaps random connections is not simply a strategy for the practitioner. It is one that may open up possibilities of linking with communities who have defined their own needs and are not merely subjects of funding initiatives.

The location of power might then be understood as a network (Foucault, 1980), rather than that which comes from the top down. Such an understanding makes possible an acceptance of the power of all of the individuals engaged, whether in strategic development, direct engagement, or participation as all are crucial. Displacing power might free people up to take on new roles and identities. Freire (2004) suggests that teaching and learning are not about knowledge transfer, not an arborescent point-to-point extension of knowledge, but instead a dialogue between learners of different experience and different perspective. This understanding of the teacher allows them mobility; they are no longer a fixed source of knowledge but instead are part of the creative process of learning. One young person who participated in Art Lab described his favourite teacher as someone who "did not treat him like a pupil." The subtext is that the teacher connected with him as a person, as a fellow. This approach to learning, where the experience is about the generation of knowledge through an exchange of equals who come to a situation where difference is a positive, might operate in any learning situation where power is not located in the centre.

Conclusion

The participants in this research have highlighted the value of creative approaches and shown where and how such approaches are blocked both in strategic development and in delivery. Where individuals have been prepared to work outside of the structures in situations of unpredictability and risk, the most creative experiences have resulted. There was however a lack of confidence in stepping into the open creative spaces of risk and possibility. One way of addressing this might be through alternative understanding of the location of power through the telling of stories of creative encounters. Those working across education might be encouraged to recount their experiences of engagement in the arts to themselves and to others as a series of "fabulations" (Braidotti, 2000, p. 47). A fabulation is "a fiction that offers us a world clearly and radically discontinuous from the one we know yet returns to confront that known world in some cognitive way"(ibid). The experiences of Aberdeen skateboarders and the pupils engaging with the wheelchair allow us to imagine different ways of connecting with difference which acknowledges the potential power and creativity of every individual.

It seems clear that the issues around inclusion and the arts are complex and the development of specific strategies problematic. Perhaps the theme of uncertainty, a defining factor of creativity, should be placed at the centre of our thinking.

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