Sexism: an examination of the role of the teacher in drama in education

Tate, Margaret E.

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Abstract:

This study examines three elements: sexism, drama in education and the role of the teacher, towards increasing understanding of how sexism is reinforced. It focusses on one curriculum area; drama in education; and examines the unconscious or covert sexism that is manifest in everyday drama teaching. While recognising that both teachers' and pupils' assumptions contribute to sexism, this study focusses on the teacher using the medium of drama. The lessons described and discussed are taken from one of three sources: video recordings, published accounts, personal observations in schools. These lessons are analysed from feminist perspectives and relate findings to the broader research on sexism in education. The analyses seek to a) show how an individual teacher's assumptions and values shape students'potential learning in drama, and b) examine taken-for-granted pedagogical assumptions inherent in drama in education's philosophy and practice. The study reminds drama teachers that they are in a powerful position to influence values and attitudes and encourages them first to make conscious their own values in education, before adopting drama methods and strategies which are themselves implicitly value-laden.

SEXISM: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN DRAMA IN EDUCATION.

Tate, Margaret E.,

M.A. (Drama in Education).

University of Durham, School of Education.

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S.

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No material in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

SECTION ONE.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.

In this study I intend to examine drama in education and in particular the role of the teacher to discover whether working in drama liberates or reinforces sexism and sex role stereotyping.

My interest in this question dates back to an occasion in 1974 when I was observing a drama lesson with a class of 11-12 year olds. They were involved in making a play. The teacher had asked them what they wanted it to be about and they had replied 'pirates'. From this starting point the teacher questioned them further in order to focus the drama and it was agreed that the starting point would be the planning of a raid on a passing vessel. It was also agreed that a row of chairs, placed in a semi-circle at one corner of the hall, would designate the cave where they all lived. Most children quickly set about arranging the chairs while shouting suggestions to one another about the raid. A group of four girls stood together looking uncertain and concerned so the teacher approached them. One of the girls asked, "Sir, what will the girls do?" After a second's hesitation the teacher replied, "Well, they could stay in the cave and cook the food." The girls went off happily to play mums and wives to the pirates.

In this example, I was surprised that even in an agreed fantasy world of pirates and imaginary adventures these four girls felt constrained in their choice of options; seeming to restrict themselves to the traditional domestic role. These girls were engaged in improvised dramatic play, it was not 'real life', yet,

> "We live in a society in which the process of sex-stereotyping leads people to conform to gender roles which can inhibit individuals' abilities, preferences and aspirations. The effects of sexism impoverish both sexes by limiting horizons and restricting choices." (ILEA 1985, p.4).

In the pirate drama, only four out of fourteen girls chose the 'traditional' gender role, the other ten had in this sense been 'liberated'. I wondered what effect the teacher's comment had had on the perceptions of appropriate gender behaviours, for these four girls. Did it reinforce

their existing prejudice? Could the teacher have had a more liberating effect?

A similar instance is reported by Brina (1981). In this example a female student-teacher intervenes, in an attempt to deliberately elevate the status of girls within the drama. She casts two of them as airline pilot and navigator. The teacher admits however:

> "I found myself feeling guilty because I had denied a boy a plum role. Possibly I was also afraid that my choice might cause disruptive behaviour from the boys. Sometimes the boys challenged me, "Airline pilot? A girl can't be an airline pilot Miss!" Each time this happened I saw the girl hesitate, waiting for my judgment, waiting to be sent back to her seat. "Of course she can", I would retort, thinking at the same time, "Can she?" ..... the girl playing the pilot approached me privately, when the others were busy and whispered was I serious? Could women be pilots?
>
> (Brina 1981, quoted in Mahoney 1985, p.13).

Both examples reveal a hesitancy on the part of the girls and the teacher in searching for an appropriate response. In both cases the teachers are looked to as authorities whose responses, though different, give legitimacy to particular gender learnings.

The pirate drama was observed in 1974 while I was engaged in a national enquiry into drama for the Schools Council (1). Since that time, there have been considerable efforts, including legislation, to prevent sexism. However, practice notoriously lags behind theories or policies. Consciousness-raising and subsequent action are slow processes. It therefore seemed appropriate to look at drama practice in the wake of such policies.

As the title of this study indicates there are three elements involved in this enquiry: sexism, the role and authority of the teacher, and drama as a learning medium; however it is the effects of their inter-relationship that also need to be appreciated.

Sexism occurs in education at all levels and is manifest in curriculum organisation, subject disciplines and career patterns; the reinforcement of sexist messages by teachers happens in nursery schools through to universities,

sometimes consciously, more often unconsciously. It is not my intention to suggest that teachers using drama are the only ones for whom sexism is a problem. Rather it is to discover the nature of the problems for the teacher who invites children to learn through drama.

There have been several research studies which have looked at sexism in individual areas of the curriculum, like maths (2) or science (3); studies which have analysed the nature of sexism in the media, for example children's books or television (4). There have been studies which have observed and analysed the teacher and her interactions with pupils (5). There have been a variety of studies into drama in education (6) focussing an enormous range of topics. For example, from looking at drama's potential for developing language (Schaffner 1985) to an investigation of C.S.E. Mode III drama examinations (Haskell 1985).

But although individually the areas have been the subject of research, in 1983, when I embarked on this study, there were few studies focussing on the combination of these elements (7). There was a general assumption in existence that drama could lead to the reinforcement of stereotypes, if children were allowed to 'get into small groups', make up plays and then present them to their classmates. But there was also a general assumption that appropriate teacher intervention, in particular within whole class drama, could challenge this. There were also assumptions by researchers investigating sexism in the curriculum that drama could be "liberating". Judith Whyte (1983) includes the sub-heading "liberating drama" (p.62) and argues that whole class drama offers opportunities to experiment with non-traditional sex roles and behaviour; and to explore sex-role stereotypes and assumptions about sex differences.

In the early eighties, groups of interested teachers began to combine together and organise drama workshops or in-service courses to explore effective drama strategies for countering sex role stereotyping. Some of these groups made available reports of their collaborative work (8).

Similarly individual teachers began to document their specific attempts at countering sexism and more generally promoting women's issues and experiences through the medium of drama (Dodgson 1982a,b) (9).

While supportive of the work that was emerging I decided against a 'best practice' approach in this research. I was more interested in examining the representations of female and male in classroom drama where teachers were not consciously or primarily engaged in anti-sexist initiatives, and the unconscious processes involved in reinforcing sexism - in particular, those concerning the teacher.

Malcolm Bailey (1981) in his research into social interaction in drama classrooms suggests,

1). " ... that interaction within the real world, being directly linked to the individual's self perception within the environment in which he [sic] functions, automatically carries with it factors which serve to retard communicative potential, and thus determine restricted interaction behaviour,"

2). "that ... within the protected realm of the drama classroom symbolic interaction offers a greater degree of flexibility in that the individual is able to escape from the behavioural constraints which exist in the world of reality."

He adds, " ... Theoretically, the individual is able to become whomsoever he [chooses] ... "

However, Sue Sharpe (1976) in 'Just Like a Girl: How Girls Learn to be Women' says that while,

"the real life situation has changed for women, particularly since the last war ... shouts of liberation has somewhat confused the old ideological tortoise that lags behind and still clings to the stereotypes. In their 'pure' form, however, these stereotypes mainly exist in the media. Here they exert an insidious influence, mixing fantasy and reality in such a way as to complicate the nature of their indirect effects." (p.88).

Does drama 'cling to stereotypes'? Exert an 'insidious influence'? Or complicate by its mixture of 'fantasy and reality'? Or does it offer pupils a chance to 'escape from behavioural constraints' ... to become 'whomsoever they choose'?

The Structure of the Study

Before describing the research methodology and before moving to an analysis of the data used in this study I wish to share with the reader my personal experience of the research process, since it has subsequently determined the way in which I have structured the thesis. Instead of a'traditional' academic format in this thesis I have tried to allow a more organic structure to emerge, symbolic of the journey that I have undertaken.

This has resulted in three different kinds of writing emerging, in relation to three different but related approaches adopted in this study. These are: a theoretical approach to the subject of sexism; a qualitative textual analysis of data; and a discussion about the role of the teacher in drama in education.

Strictly speaking the analysis and interpretation of data was my starting point, though in structuring this thesis for the reader, I will not attempt to recreate my progress chronologically. It is felt more helpful to start with a theoretical overview, move towards detailed analysis as illustration and conclude with discussion.

To extend the metaphor of a journey the research process took me in two directions simultaneously:

As I started to read about and examine aspects of sexism so I became involved in an inner journey which forced me to confront and examine my own sexism and recognise that we are all prisoners of our own unconscious assumptions.

As I began to try to account for this, the journey went in the opposite direction - outwards, like travelling into space without knowing what was out there, and without a map of the universe of ideas. As I attempted to find answers or explanations so I was drawn into sociology and social psychology, and theories of socialisation and social control; drawn towards complex concepts like culture, education and knowledge and theories related to the transmission of ideologies.

This journey was particularly difficult because I had no overview of the relationships or connections between the disciplines or between one set of assumptions and ideas

and another. Rather like an early explorer, I moved from the discovery of one continent to another, haphazardly.

But it resulted in being able to select from a range of theoretical perspectives or set of assumptions about the social world those that fit with my present knowledge and experience. This has enabled me to present my current understanding of the phenomenon of sexism within a framework and to share my assumptions with the reader.

The inner journey that I experienced arose as a result of the examination of individual drama lessons. By adopting an empathetic stance in relation to one of the drama teachers whose work I was observing, I found myself identifying with the dilemmas that the teacher faced and sharing the responsibility for what was happening.

Drama lessons will be analysed in this thesis to a) illustrate the processes referred to in the theoretical section and b) to create the opportunity for the reader to engage in the process of discovery that I encountered.

The structure of this thesis will reflect the simultaneous journeys involved in the research process. Section One will discuss sexism and feminism, and provide a background against which to view Section Two - an analysis of the processes involved in reinforcing sexism in the drama lesson. The final Section will discuss the implications arising from this study for the drama teacher who needs to proceed from the 'crossroads'.

CHAPTER TWO: A FRAMEWORK FOR CONSIDERING SEXISM

In this chapter I will start by defining the term sexism as I understand it. I will then consider the process of socialisation, as part of social learning theory's explanation of the development and maintenance of sex roles. This will lead naturally to a consideration of socialisation into culture and make explicit assumptions about education and knowledge as used in this study. This chapter is also intended to be a background to understanding feminism which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Both Chapters Two and Three represent the researcher's outward journey during the research process - an attempt to understand and explain the social world and its relationship to phenomena like sexism.

Sexism: some working definitions

The term sexism is used in this study to describe discrimination on the basis of gender. In particular it refers to the damaging effects of sex-stereotyping which result in persons being treated as members of a specific gender group rather than as individuals with different preferences and capabilities.

The two concepts: sexism and sex-stereotyping are used here to analyse the ways in which girls and boys are socialised.

> "Sexism is a process by which certain kinds of phenomena and behaviour are attributed to a particular sex. For example ... in many Western societies the colour pink is associated with female, and the colour blue with male. Crying, wearing skirts, horse-riding and washing up are associated with being female, whilst ... wearing trousers, playing football and mending cars are associated with being male. Yet there is no intrinsic quality about any of these actions or phenomena which demand that they be male or female.
>
> Scotsmen wear kilts, girls wear trousers etc.. Sexism affects both men and women.
>
> The notion of sex-stereotyping refers to the

process whereby individuals are socialised into thinking that they have to act and think in a way appropriate to their sex." (Deem 1978 pp.23-24)

Sex refers to male or female biology and anatomy.
Sexuality refers to erotic activity or response.
Gender refers to the psychological connotations of maleness or femaleness and to judgments regarding masculinity and femininity.
Gender Identity is an awareness of belonging to one and only one of two sexes.
Gender Role refers to the overt behaviour one displays to others to indicate one's gender identity to them. Since others help validate one's self-perception (according to a Symbolic Interactionist perspective), their reactions are an important source of gender reinforcement.
Sex Role is often used interchangeably with gender role in common usage, though according to Delamont (1980, p.5) "Strictly speaking we should not talk of sex roles, for the roles people play in society are essentially related not to biology, but to social behaviour; that is they should really be called gender roles." Such roles are the prescriptions for behaviour and outlook that societies reserve for each gender, and include expectations about appropriate attitudes, aptitudes, abilities, dress, interests, skills and self-perceptions. If a person does not submit to the expectations of the stereotype, she or he is considered eccentric or unnatural for someone of that sex - witness the use of terms like 'tomboy' or 'cissy'. (Definitions borrowed from Stoller (1968), quoted in Keller (1975), p.4).

The underlying assumption in this study is that sexism is limiting to the potential development of individuals and every attempt should be made to eliminate such discrimination from society.

The concept of equal opportunity was enshrined in the 1944 Education Act, but practice lags behind policy. Eileen

Byrne (1985) claims that part of the problem is a "refusal to define precisely what we mean by "equality".

> "The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines equality as 'the condition of being equal in quantity, amount, value, intensity, etc. ... the condition of being equal in dignity, privilege, power,' under which definition the planned provision for girls in most of our schools can hardly yet be said to be equal."

Byrne then notes the definition of equity -

> "The quality of being equal or fair; impartiality"

which is "clearly set in the context of jurisprudence." She claims that this distinction in terms reflects,

> "The major trend of the 1970's, which have seen a reassuring strengthening of legal, formal and constitutional equity both at national and international levels."

But she adds,

> "... formal equity does not necessarily result in factual equity in the Monday morning situation of a classroom or staffroom." (Byrne 1985, p.99)

Rosemary Stones (1983, p.7) reminds us that in a sexist society,

> "the spheres of activity for males and females are rigidly defined and reinforced as irrevocably different."

It is this differentiation that results in stereotypes, limited choices, aspirations and life chances.

> "Skills, talents and academic potential [are] submerged beneath a suffocating blanket of sex-appropriate activities." (Millman & Weiner (eds) 1985, p.73).

Yet, while acknowledging that in most societies there is some sex role division of labour and behaviour, as societies change so do notions about appropriate female and male behaviour; it necessitates a constant monitoring and reappraisal. Yet Keller (1975, p.25) adds, although,

> "Changes may modify how men and women behave ... they need not affect the core of their belief about gender and sex typing. Ideals can apparently remain intact even if individuals violate them in actual behaviour."

This serves as a reminder of the deeply-felt nature and embeddedness of gender beliefs and the difficulty associated with changing attitudes.

In a sexist society gender roles and spheres of activity are rigidly defined and deeply embedded in core beliefs, in large part through socialisation. There are several

theories which account for this: four main approaches are outlined in Sayers (1987): biological determinism, cognitive-developmental theory, psychoanalytic perspectives and social learning theory.

It is not within the scope of this study to evaluate each of these theories (10). Of these theories the one that I intend to otuline here is social learning theory and since this theory is most favoured by feminists it is the perspective that will be adopted in relation to this study.

Social Learning Theory: the Process of Socialisation.

A child is born into a culture and partly through perceptual skills (observation, discrimination) and partly by the development of cognitive-affective skills (classification, imitation, identification) learns to master the language system and the social meanings that attach to a culture. Gender is part of the classification system of a culture. Gender cues can be learned when a child is able to discriminate between groups and learn which cues are relevant for group inclusion or exclusion (Katz 1983).

The kinds of cues used to define gender groups vary in different cultures. For example, in our own, parents tend to dress boys in blue, girls in pink; differentiate when buying toys - cars for boys, dolls for girls etc.. Gender cues can also vary within cultures according to social class or religious custom. Parents are the major socialisers into culture for the pre-school child, but significant others like relations, teachers, peers also exert influence; and so do cultural symbols like books or television. Parents talk to, handle, respond to boys and girls differently in our culture and have different expectations of them - boys will be active, outdoor types, full of rough and tumble; girls will be quieter, less physically active, more emotional. These generalised and clichéd expectations inform the basis of the parents' response to the child and lay the foundations for stereotypical gender roles and behaviours.

A girl observes her parents and others performing masculine and feminine roles, but when she imitates the various behaviours she sees, she is only rewarded for those considered appropriate to her gender. Through such differential reinforcement, feminine behaviours come to be positively evaluated and masculine ones rejected. In addition, the very frequent use of gender labelling by others and the depiction of masculinity and femininity in media representation are factors in such social learning.

An individual's gender role continues to develop and change throughout childhood, adolescence and adulthood (Feldman et al 1981). According to Carlson (1965) differences increase with age. Maccoby et al (1972) assert that the major gender differences ... in intellectual performance ... emerge after age 11, when culture and socialisation have had time to make an impact.

Culture and Education in the Reinforcement of Gender Identity.

Stenhouse (1971) provides two useful, broad definitions of culture:

1) Anthropological,

> "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of a society." (Tyler 1952)

2) Sociological,

> "first ... culture is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or a social tradition; second ... it is learned, it is not a manifestation, in particular content, of man's genetic constitution; and third ... it is shared. Culture ... is on the one hand the product of, on the other hand the determinant of, systems of human social interaction." (Parsons, 1952, p.12)

While it is possible to broadly define the sociological concept of culture, there are a range of current theories in relation to the function of culture and these in turn relate to different perspectives. In order to elaborate in the next chapter on how feminists have perceived the nature and function of culture, it is necessary here to include

summaries of the major theories.

Sociological Theories of Culture & Education

These will be described under three broad headings:

a) Functionalist theories of cultural reproduction.
b) Theories of action (which include social interactionist perspectives.
c) Marxist perspectives.

Within each of these broad categories there are differing points of view, but for the sake of brevity only major differences are outlined here. For a full discussion, from which the following has been summarised, see Neil Burtonwood (1986) "The Culture Concept in Educational Studies".

a) Functionalist views within the sociology of education see the role of education as the transmission of culture. There is a moral requirement for the collective traits of society to be realised in the individual. In other words education is concerned with social being not individual being. A school's moral duty is to 'inculcate' the traditions which reflect the spirit of the nation, including its values, which become internalised during childhood, and contained in its curriculum.

Within this perspective,

1) some sociologists see education as linked to the wider culture through functional prerequisites required by society. For example, when society needed an unskilled labour force individuals were encouraged to be the same. Distinct social boundaries prevented the mixing of categories, so that control was explicit and hierarchical. Later, increased specialisation changed the structural division of labour so that more individual differences and specialisations were required by society. This was reflected in schools who moved towards regarding the child as unique. Social control in turn became more implicit.

2) Others within this category see school as reproducing the social order by legitimising the dominant class, i.e. giving them power through the control of symbols. Through symbolic power a group or class can impose its own view of reality and individuals acquire a whole system of categories of perception and thought quite unconsciously. The result is a unity of cultural behaviour. These sociologists emphasise the reproduction of a specific class society by the control of cultural selection.

b) The interactionist view has been influenced by phenomenologists, ethnomethodologists, symbolic interactionists and conflict theorists. The basic belief is that individuals are responsible for their actions; they have a duty to choose; to defy determinism and become fully conscious. Individuals are always active in constructing meaning and making sense of the social world. The self is emphatically social, formed in interaction with others, responding to situations, shaped by structure through symbolic systems made available by the culture.

This view acknowledges that individuals are constrained by structure and received culture, pursuing aims within a 'framework of circumstances', yet they argue that individuals can act creatively, can choose from possibilities and are capable of redefining situations and creating new norms. Within this perspective sub-cultures are seen not as groups of individuals but as alternative rules and meanings that people can choose because socialisation is imperfect or partial. This view recognises that individuals are both 'bound' and 'free'.

While sociological perspectives a) and b) can be thought of as opposite ends of a continuum; marxists' perspectives straddle the continuum and thus there are points of similarity with a) and b) as well as differences.
c) The marxist perspectives can be divided into early marxist writings, 1) 'Promethean'marxists and the later writings of Marx, 2) 'Scientific'. While both groups believe that the economy is a major determinant, each has its own distinctive view of culture.

1) 'Prometheans' recognise economic determinism but emphasise the creative potential of working class culture, which, while accomodating to the needs of capital, at the same time is not passive; there's an active element of resistance. It's the collective nature of this resistance which such marxists stress. Individuals make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves - the circumstances are 'given' and transmitted from the past, and embodied in the group culture. Marxist sociologists of education argue for a curriculum that is rooted in the peer group and community, which is a version of the argument for a community education.

2) 'Scientific' marxists view culture as a means of reproducing those relations of production required by capitalism. The essence of the perspective is therefore economic determinism. They argue that the economic base comes first in its relationship with the cultural superstructure, so that "the mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life". In this view it is "not the consciousness of humans that determines their existence; it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." (Marx 1904, pp. 10-11).

Education is fundamental to the reproduction of class society and the curriculum is referred to as an 'ideological apparatus' serving the interests of the dominant class. In schools there is a correspondence between the authority relations in the classroom and the employee in the workplace (Bowles & Gintis 1976). Thus "schools succeed in reproducing a population that is roughly equivalent to the economic and social stratification of society." (Apple 1979, p.58).

When I embarked on this study the assumptions that I held fell mainly into category b), that is theories of action in keeping with a symbolic interactionist perspective of social life. Therefore the next section will describe in a little more detail the thinking which

informs this perspective, and at the same time place this within the 'new sociology of education', which gained prominence in the 1970's.

Symbolic Interactionism and the 'New' Sociology of Education

Within the new sociology of education, knowledge was rooted in the community in line with Berger & Luckman's thesis (1967) that reality is a 'social construction'. Knowledge was no longer thought of as objective and open to assessment by universal criteria. The 'new sociology' proposed that individuals define and interpret events going on around them by employing a framework of reference acquired through interaction with others. Thus reality for the individual is a product of a subjective ordering of the objective world and becomes that which is socially defined as real.

The central proposition of the sociology of knowledge is that human consciousness arises out of social being. It is theoretically underpinned by the ideas of Mead's symbolic interactionism, which is a dialectic view of humans as both producing and being produced by the social world. All humans are possessed of a self which is ever changing. We act according to the way we see, or construe, the world about us. The vast amount of human interaction is symbolic, which means it involves interpretation, i.e. when two people are interacting each one is constantly interpreting their own and the other's acts, and reacting and re-interpreting accordingly. There is also an inner dialectic which occurs between the individual and his/her reflexive self.

There can also be joint or shared acts of constructing reality. The success of these depends on the participants being able to recognise them, i.e. 'construe' them correctly, or interpret them according to their definition of the situation. In order to take part in cultural understanding one has to be able to agree to this definition of the situation and the meaning invested in it.

Stebbins, a psychologist interested in theories of

social perception, provides one definition of this concept:

> "The definition of the situation is the meaning human beings attach to the social, physical and psychological events of the immediate present." (Stebbins 1975, p.1).

Having defined a situation a person can then begin to act within it, with reference to her/his interpretation. It is a mental construction framed partly through a process of selective perception, but also infused by values. It

> "involves the organisation of information about persons and the attribution of properties to them, often on the basis of only sketchy clues. Those properties manifest constancy, in spite of observed variations, and are selectively attributed in the sense that they are influenced by the perceiver's psychological states." (Newcomb et al 1965 p. 157).

In short, people gather information and then categorise it and both are largely unconscious processes. Although the selection and construction of the 'definition of the situation' is affected by numerous factors, according to Stebbins, these can be grouped into two main categories: "personality-cultural" and "situational" 'traits and attitudes' . The first group are organised sets of predispositions that the 'actor' brings to the situation.

> "These predispositions are enduring and remain dormant until activated by situational stimuli. When activated these products of past experience impinge upon our awareness, equip us with specific, usually habitual, views of the world and guide behaviour in the immediate present."

This group of 'personality-cultural' factors are the outcome of an individual's socialisation. He adds,

> "Many of these tendencies originate in the community to which the actor belongs, in its moral and legal codes, in its special definers of situations (e.g. prophets, politicians, judges)." (Stebbins 1975, pp. 12-13).

As these conditions change so do an individual's predispositions in which they are manifested.

The second group are 'situational elements' relating to the number of people/objects, the spatial and social relationships, other people's predispositions etc..

Definitions of situations are cultural:

> "collective representations, the standard meanings of events embedded in the community culture or sub-culture that we learn through primary or secondary socialisation." (Stebbins 1975, p. 14).

A given cultural definition is consensually shared to the

extent that those who are members of a particular group are aware that others in it recognise and utilise that definition the same way they do. The person who cannot accept this is regarded as deviant, or in the case of gender roles - unmasculine or unfeminine. The reward for those who accept is a sense of belonging and feelings of being understood.

> "To live within a culture is to be able to understand, albeit in a partial way, the experience of those around us." (Stenhouse 1971, p.13).

Peter Millward argues that this involves individuals treating social experience,

> "as though it were shared in common ... It is a necessary attitude that we must adopt if the social world is to appear a meaningful place (though whether or not it is, is not the issue). We have to take this attitude towards 'experience', and present it through our talk and actions, if we are to share meanings ... and feel that we understand what is going on." (Millward 1987, pp. 23-24).

The stduy of the 'definition of situations' is in essence the study of motivation and grows out of a symbolic interactionist tradition within sociology. So too does ethnomethodology which is equally interested in <u>how</u> meaning is constructed but more emphasis is placed on a description of the taken-for-granted, routine activities of social life (inspired by the writings of Alfred Shutz, a phenomenologist).

The ethnomethodologist's aim is to analyse the common-sense knowledge of human 'actors' used in their daily affairs, to find out <u>how</u> information is categorised by individuals and subsequently used.

> " ... the investigator suspends interest in what actions the actors are performing and why they are doing so, although the actors themselves are, of course, vitally concerned with these questions. Instead, attention is directed to the 'methods' by which the actors assemble, communicate and justify accounts to themselves and each other of what they are doing and why they are doing it. Of particular importance is the manner in which the participants produce and sustain through their accounts on a given occasion their sense that their interaction is embedded in an objectively existing social world and that they share common definitions and a common language." (Wilson 1970, p. 707).

The main way that we do this is investing meanings in

symbols, especially language systems. Words in themselves do not carry meaning but the way in which we pattern them enables us to communicate something of our unique experiences to each other, since some elements of this pattern will be common to those who share a way of life and a language. Culture is rooted in such common, shared experiences: ideas, thoughts and feelings.

Yet in order to express and communicate such ideas it is necessary to use the language of our culture - a language that, according to feminists, has been controlled by men, since they have traditionally been the dominant group in cultural affairs.

> "One might expect that language and the study of language could be neutral activities, but it must be remembered that men have made up the language, decreed the conditions of its use and set up the framework for its study in a male controlled society." (Spender 1982, p.31).

In this way, through language, women's social perceptions and psychological constructs - their consciousness - have been affected by male perceptions and experience.

> "In the process of naming the objects and events of the world men have used themselves as the reference point, as the centre; they have labelled the world in the light of their experience." (Spender 1982,pp.31-2)

Sue Lees has shown in a study of adolescents how sexual labels like 'slags' and 'drags' constructed by boys are imposed on girls, and how these lables then come to be used by the girls themselves. The use of such terms as a means of framing relationships between young men and women has particular implications for the girls - in terms of the construction of their sexual identities and their feelings of confidence about, and orientation towards, educational achievement. She continues,

> "language is generally deficient in expressing women's active experience - rather women are seen as the object of men's experience. There is, for example, no word to describe the actively sexual women - except derogatory abuse - which is why girls find it difficult to talk in terms of their own sexual desires. It is difficult for girls to conceptualise their feelings." (Lees 1987, p. 176).

Lees sees language and discourse as forms of power. She stresses:

> "the need to look beyond the formal organistion of the school as an institution to the cultural and social interaction that goes on in and around school life. The process of forming attitudes, cultural values and group identities is every bit as important as the formal [curriculum]. (p. 176).

The Transmission of Culture.

There are three main forms in which culture is transmitted by schools, through what ethnomethodologists call a) 'the stock of knowledge' (Shutz 1970), b) the hidden and the formal curriculum and c) 'shared symbols'. All are of course affected and shaped by language, and all

> "involve taken-for-granted assumptions, which are difficult to show in action and even harder to eradicate." (Delamont 1980, p. 4)

Peter Millward, in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis adopts an ethnomethodological perspective in relation to how meaning is made in everyday life and applies this to drama teaching. In this thesis he describes,

a) the 'stock of knowledge' that we use in everyday life as

> "made up of recipes, social types, rules of thumb, definitions etc.. [It] may be thought of as'the way we do things here' ... It is through this stock of knowledge that we experience and present love and hate; that we cry, laugh, are jealous, lonely, afraid. It is the knowledge through which the 'great themes' of human experience are presented ... It is the knowledge whereby we demonstrate our humanity. It is ... at the heart of the drama experience." (Millward 1988, pp. 36-37).

This is not necessarily the kind of learning that is consciously intended by schools as part of their curriculum but it forms part of the cultural curriculum that is handed down to us.

b) The 'hidden' curriculum is equally difficult to pinpoint. The term refers to " ... the unintentional, or undeclared consequences of the way teaching and learning are organised and performed." (Meighan 1979, p. 102). As well as school rules and routines, the expectations of teachers, and "the knowledge structures implied by teaching techniques" (Oakley 1981, p. 129) are part of the hidden "aspects of the knowledge code."(Delamont 1983, p. 44). Oakley stresses its importance both because of its capacity to shape

pupils' attitudes and progress, and because, being implicit and often unconsciously implemented, it is resistant to change.

> "The power relation between teachers, pupils, and knowledge carries with it many assumptions ... about men and women in society ... what is appropriate or possible for pupil and teacher, male and female, to say, think, feel or do. Lessons are learned about status and worth and it is not necessary that such things are referred to explicitly." (Scott 1980, p.106)

b) The formal curriculum.

Sara Delamont distinguishes between three aspects of the teacher's role: "custodial, bureaucratic and knowledge-imparting." (Delamont 1983, p. 41). While the first two are visible, the third is not. The academic content of the teacher-pupil relationship is generally invisible and non-accountable.

The selection of academic knowledge and its presentation via subject study or integrated topic work involves a number of value judgments. Schools decide what shall count as knowledge, the relative importance of different kinds of knowledge, the criteria that become the normative standards by which we evaluate. The notion of controlling knowledge introduces the concept of power into classrooms.

> "The teacher's most potent resource is her possession of, access to, and control, over knowledge ... She defines what should and should not be learnt ... " (Delamont 1983, p. 50).

The curriculum like any other meaning is negotiated or constructed within cultural groups. The fact that some measure of consensus can be reached suggests that

> "The interaction involved is in part a product of the dominant categories which are taken for granted by the teacher ... who is able to confer cultural legitimacy on certain styles of thought and therefore on certain aspects of reality." (Young 1971, p. 67).

Thus, within this view of the sociology of education the school and the curriculum are perceived as "doctrines of control", since they involve the "imposition of meaning" by dominant groups Eastman (1967) argues that educational theory acts selectively as a set of assumptions, which, having in one context originated in practice, in others becomes institutionalised and so either legitimates practice or selectively determines its assessment. Thus:

> "Formal education is based on the assumption that

thought systems organised in curricula are in some sense 'superior' to the thought systems of those who are to be (or have not been) educated." (Young 1971, p. 13).

This becomes important in relation to the teacher and her/his use of power in the classroom. Young argues that if knowledge is socially constructed, then what we call

> "reasoning, being logical, or validating the truth of an assertion, all involve a self-reflection or criticism of one's own thoughts in terms of various standardised models. These models will necessarily be sets of shared meanings of 'what a good argument' is, what is logical, valid etc.. [Equally] ... the interactions in a lesson between teacher and pupils, these shared meanings are taken for granted as sets of unquestioned assumptions." (Young 1971, p. 5).

c) 'Stored symbols' are the broad cultural artefacts, like books, films, television, that separate the world of girls from that of boys. Sexist messages can be found in a wide variety of artefacts from children's comics and reading schemes to television news and dramas or advertisements. These play a major part in the process of sex role socialisation, influencing children's views of themselves as male or female. Stored symbols help to define acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, the options there are in society and to which sex they are available (Stones 1983, p. 8). A disturbing aspect is that these stereotypes come to be seen as 'natural'. Stored symbols can contribute to a view of society that is more stereotyped and partial than 'real life'. Judith Whyte, commenting on research into classroom readers in the U.S.A. says:

> "Children may be learning to adapt to sex roles which are already inappropriate for the lives we lead today." (Whyte, 1983, p. 53)

Cultural Relativism.

The new sociology of education has been referred to as "the subversion of absolutism" (Douglas 1970) because sociologists have conceived of societies as "products of competing definitions and claims to cognitive and moral legitimacy rather than as integrated around a core set of absolute values." (Young 1971, p. 6). The new sociology also drew upon the investigations of anthropologists into the ways of thinking of other cultures to show that in

their own terms they were as 'rational' as Western culture. In relation to gender roles examples taken from cross-cultural studies show that,

> "One culture does not allow women to milk cows because it is men's work, another does not allow men near cows because they are women's work ... In some places women till the field and men sit about and look decorative, while in others this is reversed." (Delamont 1980, p.8)

Margaret Mead (1935) traced connections between sex roles and temperaments in three preliterate societies. She concluded that each culture is highly selective in the traits it assigns to the sexes and the result is a diversity of patterns across cultures.

These kinds of findings led to an attitude of equal respect for alternative cultures which gave rise to the concept that all cultures are equally 'adequate' and therefore the new sociology also embraced cultural relativism.

Instead of taking knowledge and culture for granted the new sociologists regarded 'What we know' as 'problematic' in order that it could become the object of enquiry rather than a 'given'. In relation to education Young (1971) says:

> "The 'out-thereness' of the context of what is taught, whether it be as subjects, forms of enquiry, topics, or ways of knowing, is very much part of the educators taken for granted world."

He asks, "What tacit understandings are involved in the construction of history, mathematics or science for the less able?" (p. 9).

During this study some aspects of drama practice will be viewed as 'problematic' towards examining them as ways of knowing.

CHAPTER THREE: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES.

Much of the research into sexism in education has been undertaken by feminists. In order to appreciate their perspective and assumptions I will provide in this chapter a summary of feminism as I understand it.

This chapter is intended to provide a map, or framework for the reader who has not consciously taken account of how modern feminist thought has evolved and the variety of perspectives within this framework. I believe that it is important to understand the theoretical underpinning of feminism and the stances within it before attempting anti-sexist initiatives in the classroom, otherwise they may amount to little more than tinkering or tokenism. It is necessary to appreciate the complexity and consequences of challenging sexism, at both a general and a personal level. Sexism is a 'lived' experience - it is part of our daily encounters - and as such it forces the teacher to examine her/his own identity and behaviour, which can feel very threatening. Also sexism cannot be separated from social, economic and political life.

Many drama teachers have been reluctant to enter the 'political arena' preferring a more 'neutral' stance. In this chapter I will outline what feminists believe in an attempt to understand what is involved in challenging sexism in the classroom.

Feminism: An Overview

> "To become a feminist means to take a conscious decision to challenge oppression in some way."
>
> (Wandor 1984, p. 5)

The struggle for female emancipation dates back to Victorian Britain,

> "When women in general did not exist as 'persons' under the law. Their personhood was merged with or under the direction of their fathers or husbands." (Oakley 1981, p. 2)

Victorian judges (male) considered whether women could be considered as 'persons'. Similarly,

"A century after the courts had decided that it was unlawful in England to use force to keep a slave in the house, lawyers were still maintaining that it was permissible to use force to keep a wife in the house." (Sachs 1978, p. 35)

The first great feminist writer in English was Mary Wollstonecraft who wrote her 'Vindication of the Rights of Women' in 1792. The most radical aspect of her writing was the central idea that femininity is an artificial construct, an imposition of patriarchal culture, yet regarded as an immutably natural state (this point is made by Walters 1976).

Both the examples cited above are illustrations of the 'imposition of patriarchal culture' that Wollstonecraft referred to. Madeleine Macdonald, writing on Class, Gender and Education for an Open University coursebook, defines patriarchy as,

"a set of relations between men and women, which although appearing to be based upon biological sex differences between men and women, nevertheless derives from the social and cultural transformation of these differences into concepts of masculine and feminine, i.e. gender categories." (Macdonald 1982, pp. 7-8)

This definition is essentially similar to the definitions of sexism and sex role stereotyping outlined in the previous chapter. This aspect of the patriarchal concept seems to be generally acceptable as a description of the socialisation process. However, a more contentious and less acceptable assertion is that,

"gender relations within Patriarchy contain the hierarchy of male over female and the economic, political and cultural subordination of women to the dominance of men." (Macdonald 1982 , pp. 7-8)

The full impact of this can be seen in the following accounts.

For Adrienne Rich,

"Patriarchy is the power of the fathers: a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men - by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male ... Under patriarchy ... I have access to only so much of privilege or influence as the patriarchy is willing to accede to me, and only for so long as I will pay the price for male approval." (Rich 1976, pp. 57-8).

While Kate Millett expresses it thus:

> "Our society, like all other historical civilisations, is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office and finance - in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands." (Millett 1971, p. 250

In a society like Britain, feminists argue that the social control of women is not carried out through a rigid, authoritarian system of force. It takes place by social engineering, so that women are conditioned into embracing their secondary status by the process of sex role stereotyping and media definitions.

Simone de Beauvoir in 'The Second Sex' framed the problem in terms of the predominant sense women have of themselves as the Other: as creatures seen by, and for, men; the object of men's conceptions, explorations, provisions and articulations, rather than their own (De Beauvoir 1960).

> "Taught from infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body, and roaming round its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison." (Mary Wollstonecraft, 1792, p. 90)

Keeping up the image of the adorned woman involves industrial and economic growth. Germaine greer adds; woman,

> "is the chief spender as well as the chief symbol of spending ability and monetary success." (Greer 1971, p. 55)

She continues:

> "The stereotype ... of the 'Eternal Feminine' ... marshals an army of servants and the fashion industry expands its markets." (Greer 1971, p. 55)

This other, more cynical view offers a perspective on the desirability of maintaining both the status quo and the stereotype. Yet there have been challenges throughout history. Anne Oakley (1981, pp. 19-20) describes how during the First World War, women took over the jobs of civilians who enlisted in the armed forces. Between April 1915 and July 1918, 1,659,000 women were added to the workforce, and their efforts were appreciated. In September, 1916, the War Office stated that they had "shown themselves capable of replacing the stronger sex in practically every calling (Rosen 1974, p. 256). The aim of publicising the success of women as substitutes for male workers was however to

persuade employers to release more men for active service, while reassuring them that these roles would be confined to the war period.

In her history of the women's movement, Ray Strachey (1928, pp. 370-1) describes how at the end of the war "thousands upon thousands of women were dismissed" with no work to do. "Everyone assumed, of course, that they would go quietly back to their homes, and that everything would be as it had been before." This was particularly difficult since war deaths meant there was a surplus of women ("nearly one in three had to be self-supporting") and "prices were nearly double what they were in 1914". Yet, "public opinion assumed that all women could still be supported by men; and that if they went on working it was from a sort of deliberate wickedness. The tone of the Press swung, all in a moment, from extravagant praise to the opposite extreme, and the very same people who had been heroines and saviours of their country a few months before were now parasites, blacklegs, and limpets. Employers were implored to turn them out as passionately as they had been implored to employ them." (Strachey 1928, pp. 370-1)

A similar analogy can be drawn with women's participation in the educational process. Dorothy Smith (1978), analysing the Canadian Educational System, argues that although participation has increased at all levels,

> "this participation remains within marked boundaries ... and reserves to men control of the policy-making and decision making apparatus."

This power, says Smith, turns the men into 'gatekeepers'.

> "It is they who are setting the standards, producing the social knowledge, decreeing what is significant, appropriate, relevant, and what will not be admitted to the systems of distribution, determining what will count as innovation in thought, or values, ruling what is legitimate in the light of their own male experience." (Smith 1978, p. 287).

Eileen Byrne (1978) calls this the "government of education" and provides statistics to show that in Britain it is similarly almost exclusively comprised of men. She argues this is one of the reasons why girls receive an inferior education, which consigns them to an inferior place in society, but adds, it is,

> "planned perhaps with no conscious ill-intent by the men who represent 97 per cent of the government of education." (Byrne 1978, p. 15)

Dale Spender, writing about educational institutions, continues this point:

> "There is however, no need to postulate a conspiracy theory, for men have simply tried to make sense of the world by imposing some sort of order upon it. What has happened in patriarchal order is that men have had power to insist on their definitions.
>
> Men have assumed that the male-is-the-norm, the paradigmatic human being, and have imposed their view on women." (Spender 1987, p. 140)
>
> "Thus women have to function in a male defined reality and patriarchy is the educational paradigm." (Spender 1987, p. 143)

Adrienne Rich, in 'Taking Women's Studies Seriously' (1980) asks:

> "What does a woman need to know? Does she not, as a self conscious self-defining human being, need a knowledge of her own history, her much politicised biology, an awareness of the creative work of women of the past, the skills and crafts and techniques and powers exercised by women in different times and cultures, a knowledge of women's rebellious and organised movements against our oppression and how they have been routed or diminished. Without such knowledge women live and have lived without a context, vulnerable to the projections of male fantasy, male prescriptions for us, estranged from our own experience because our education has not reflected or echoed it. I would suggest that not biology, but ignorance of ourselves, has been the key to our powerlessness." (Rich 1980, p. 240)

In a patriarchal education paradigm, patriarchal values are transmitted and knowledge is controlled. Spender (1982) argues that women's ignorance about themselves is hardly surprising since "men have decreed what we know".

> "We have been kept in ignorance about the protests that women have made so that every generation has to begin again from the beginning. The understandings that women have forged do not constitute a discipline or subject, they are not systematically encoded and transmitted to the next generation ... We are required to become familiar with knowledge encoded by men about men, and we are asked to accept that this is all there is, that this is the sum total of human knowledge." (Spender 1982, pp. 11-12)

Elizabeth Janeway adds,

> "We the governed, know what the world looks like from the position of the dominants - for their view has been imposed on us as the view of society ... as subordinates we are excluded (by definition) from

those circles in which social knowledge is constructed and we are isolated with our meanings, unable to articulate them for each other, or for men." (Janeway 1980, p. 3)

The central thesis of Dale Spender's "Invisible Women" is that when we look at our cultural heritage and traditions women are not there. "It is their very absence from the record that is so obvious." (p. 19). Consequently

> "Women learn that they are not as worthy, that they do not count as much, and that what competence they may have is usually restricted to a specialised sphere which does not rank highly in the male scheme of values." (p. 23)
>
> "...'Oh I don't work. I'm only a housewife', illustrates the male monopoly on meaning." (p. 24)

The maintenance of daily life and the rearing of children do not constitute work - women are required to do this for love. This also results in the construction of the dependence of one sex, emotionally and financially, on the other.

But, according to Oakley, the whole ideology of married women's employment as a domestically disruptive influence did not become prominent until the 1830's.

> "In pre-capitalist society the family was the unit of economic production, which allowed there to be a firm division of labour by sex (and age) within the family, but prevented there being a division between the world of the family and the world of commodity production. Women's productive role was respected because it was a necessary part of domestic production as a whole.
>
> When capitalism socialised production, two divisions took place: work was separated from the family, and also became an activity distinct from personal life. An ethic of personal fulfilment, which had hitherto characterised only the leisured classes, became possible for the masses, and the family became the major location of personal meaning for the individual. Because women were more obviously tied by reproduction to the home, it was on their shoulders that this new responsibility for personal relations was laid." (Oakley 1981, p.6)

It was not until 1841 that legal limits were set on women's employment, when male operatives on the 'Short Time Committees' demanded 'the gradual withdrawal of all females from the factories'. They said 'the home, its cares and its employments, is woman's true sphere' and that women's industrial work 'is an inversion of the order of nature'

(cited in Pinchbeck 1969, p. 200).

The percentage of women employed in wage labour between 1881 and 1951 remained constant at just over a quarter of all females; though during the Depression years of the 1930's women could more easily find work than men because of the nature of the work and the low levels of pay (cited in Deem 1978, p. 15).

The examples cited above were selected to illustrate another aspect of the patriarchal system which has been the concern of some feminists - i.e. its relationship to a capitalist economy. Similarly, the expansion of elementary education in England & Wales during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was, according to Rosemary Deem,

> "tied to the interests of capitalism, and increasingly those interests were mediated by the State. It was not in the interests of the capitalist mode of production to encourage women to leave the home and family for the labour market, except on a temporary basis ... since this would have meant funding alternative means of reproducing and rearing a replacement labour force and looking for other ways to ensure the welfare of wage labourers outside of work." (Deem 1978, p. 19)

Hence schools perceived the education of boys and girls differently.

> "In educating girls, the main benefits were seen to accrue to homes and to families ... not to girls themselves ... Education itself does not create the sexual division of labour, nor the kinds of work available in the labour market, nor the class relationships of society, but it rarely does anything to undermine these." (Deem 1978, p. 20).

The 1944 Education Act, however, was an attempt to do something. It provided the first formal recognition of equality of opportunity as a legitimate educational goal. In 1975, International Women's Year, three further pieces of legislation were enacted which aimed to redress the balance for women. The Equal Pay Act sought the establishment of equal pay for work of equal value; the Employment Protection Act encompassed basic maternity provision; the Sex Discrimination Act legislated for education, training, employment, social welfare, goods, services and facilities, and also established the Equal Opportunities Commission to help enforce that legislation

and to further promote equality of opportunity between the sexes.

To all intents and purposes a great deal had been accomplished. But practice lags notoriously behind policy, and the phenomenon of sexism is deeply embedded in our society's beliefs and attitudes.

Major Discourses Within Feminist Thought.

The preceding pages have attempted to outline some of the issues central to feminism. However the account has been presented as if all feminists have always had these beliefs. Both of these assumptions would be wrong and need therefore some further qualification: 1) Feminist thinking has evolved and 2) feminist discourse is based on diverse theories and practices.

In order to summarise the thinking that has evolved and some of the different perspectives, I intend to rely, in the main, on Sue Middleton's account, 'The Sociology of Women's Education as a field of academic study' (1987) in which she clarifies three major discourses: liberal feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism.. The reader will notice that these discourses relate in part to those sociological theories of culture outlined in Chapter Two - though as will be seen, their distinctiveness is not a straight correspondence to those theories. There is disagreement among feminists about how economic and psychological modes interact: which is primary, and what are the mechanisms that cause them to be patterned in this way.

a) Liberal Feminism.

> " ... liberalism is the legitimating ideology of capitalist free enterprise, emphasising the rights of the individual to own property and to accumulate wealth. No longer determined by birth, one's position in the social hierarchy is seen as resulting from 'merit and hard work'. Liberal feminists demand the extension of the liberal ideology to women." (Middleton 1987, p. 76)

Liberal feminism is not a new discourse, its early advocates include Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill. Access to education and entitlement to vote were the major focusses of the 'first wave' of feminism. While not challenging the capitalist social formation, they demanded legal equality of opportunity within it.

Contemporary liberal feminists of the 'second wave' argue that legality is not enough; women are disadvantaged by their socialisation in that they are conditioned for passivity and subservience. In order to bring about true equality education must attempt to change attitudes by challenging and eliminating sex role stereotypes. Eileen Byrne says that inequality results from,

> "the stereotyping of expected roles for men and women and the translation of these into curricula. The most pervasive inherited unexamined assumption is the alleged inferiority of women." (Byrne 1978 p. 34)

The dominant theme of liberal feminism is inequality; the political aims are the removal of discriminatory practices and policies and the active encouragement of women into management positions and fields of non-traditional employment. Middleton argues that while this is desirable for feminists of all persuasions, for liberal feminists, "a more equal distribution of the sexes in the current social formation" is an end in itself (Middleton 1987, p. 78).

b) Radical Feminist Perspectives.

These have in common 1) the belief that women are oppressed - as distinct from disadvantaged - and 2) that this oppression is structural.

> "There are however major debates within the radical strands of feminist thought between classical marxists, radical feminists and socialist feminists." (Middleton 1978, p. 79)

1) Socialist feminism argues that women's oppression lies in the institution of private property. Male dominance (patriarchy) came about as a result of wanting to ensure that accumulated wealth was passed down to their children. In order to ensure this they instituted monogamous marriage to ensure paternity. According to this marxist view

patriarchy is a product of the capitalist class structure. 2) Radical feminism argues that patriarchy is the root cause of women's oppression and that capitalism is a product of patriarchy. It articulates and details women's oppression, refuses to accept the assumptions of biological determinism, and fights back against the idea that women are inferior to men. Theorists argue that the oppression of women by men pre-dates capitalism, and hence all subsequent social injustice and exploitation stem from a basic sexual antagonism between men and women. Thus, the "sphere of reproduction rather than .... the sphere of production are given primacy..." (Delmar 1979, p. 8).

Contemporary socialist feminism analyses the interaction between power relations based on class (capitalism) and power relations based on gender (patriarchy). It recognises the importance of a feminist solidarity (as does radical feminism) but also recognises the importance of solidarity with men on the basis of class. It seeks to challenge men both in their views of women and their views of themselves. This is a double challenge both to men's social (class) power, and their gender power (the male as superior to the female).

Education and Feminism

According to Middleton's critique Liberal feminists differ from other perspectives in that their research falls within what has been termed the 'normative paradigm' (Wilson 1970, Lawton 1975) and tends to share some of the following characeristics: It adopts quantitative methodology modelled on the natural sciences; it rests on functionalist assumptions about human nature and society,

> "its acceptance of current social structures and its implicitly behaviourist theory of socialisation - women are victims of their stereotyped conditioning for social inferiority." (Middleton 1978, p. 77)

Also, in its theme of inequality:

> "Early liberal feminist sociologists of education adopted this framework with its rhetoric of cultural deprivation, disadvantage and compensatory education."

(Middleton 1978, p.77)

Radical feminists embraced the 'new' sociology of education and its "interpretive paradigm" (Wilson 1970, Lawton 1975, Giroux 1982) based on a phenomenological view of knowledge as socially constructed (Berger & Luckman 1971) and have been concerned to describe the processes of its construction. This has been attempted by making 'problematic' what had been taken for granted. This led to the study of both overt and covert dimensions of school curricula: the selection and organisation of 'school knowledge' (e.g. Bernstein 1971, Bowdieu 1971); classroom interaction and the social construction of pupil identities (e.g. Nash 1973, Hargreaves 1972). 'Knowledge' came to include the everyday as well as the academic:

> "the culture of the school and its knowledge codes came to be seen as a reflection of that of the white middle class; the rhetoric of 'cultural deprivation' was replaced by the discourse of cultural relativism." (Middleton 1978, p. 81)

(e.g. Keddie 1973).

The questions raised within the radical feminist perspective mirror the central concerns of the sociology of education, outlined in Chapter Two, in that the,

> "focus of both is on exposing cultural biases of knowledge and on describing the world within a particular cultural perspective." (Middleton, p.81)

Radical feminists wish to widen knowledge to include the experience of women and to this end 'consciousness-raising' has been part of the process. Individual women come to see what they thought of as a 'personal problem' is a product of oppression shared by others in a patriarchal society. Thus the personal is seen as political - a feminist maxim. Since school knowledge is an artifact of male dominance, radical feminists seek to construct new knowledge which is authentic to women and which does not render them 'invisible' (Spender 1982).

But this is not easily accomplished, says Spender, since the 'gatekeepers' also have,

> "a say in what does and what does not get funded as research. They are therefore able to influence what knowledge gets generated... At every level ... men are

able to exclude women from the construction of knowledge." (Spender 1987, pp. 146-7)

For example, the British Research Index selects articles for inclusion but in 1978 there were still no feminist periodicals among the 195 used by the British Research Index. Dale Spender states that,

> "in 1978 ... out of the 3384 listings in the Index there were only 14 under the heading of sex differences ... Sexism and feminism were not entries ... and anyone who attempted to use the Index as a guide to research and publications could be forgiven for concluding that sexism and feminism were absent from the educational agenda." (Spender 1987, pp 148 -149)

On an optimistic note she adds that in the last ten years some of the assumptions are being challenged and some changes have been made.

Its critics have argued that radical feminism is primarily descriptive rather than explanatory, and according to Michelene Wandor "has little or no interest in a class analysis, and no desire for a political relationship with socialism". She further argues that there is an inherent contradiction in encouraging women to be "strong and powerful" and refusing to be seen as sexual objects and at the same time conceiving of women as "passive victims of a patriarchal system" (Wandor 1984, p.5)

Socialist Feminism's emphasis within educational research has been described as,

> "The analysis of the historical and contemporary nature of state ideology and provision of women's education, and ... second ... the analysis of the relationship between female education and the 'dual' location of women in the family and the waged labour process." (Arnot 1981, p. 109)

The dominant paradigm contains within it a wide variety of positions; however a distinction can be made between

a) theories of social reproduction, and

b) theories of cultural reproduction.

Socialist feminists in category a) share the view that the hidden curriculum of the school corresponds structurally to the social relations of capitalist production (Bowles &

Gintis 1976). But although the sexual division of labour is reflected in the social relations of school, this is seen, not as a product of the school itself, but as a product of the family - whose influence they see as greater than that of the educational system (Bowles & Gintis 1977) because of the close personal relationships involved.

Similarly, they share Althusser's notion of the school as an ideological state apparatus whose function is reproducing,

> "rules of respect for the sociotechnical division of labour and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination." (Althusser 1971, p. 132)

Critics have accused socialists supporting these views of social reproduction as 'gender blind', assuming that within schooling both sexes experience similar conditioning; and within the family of failing to identify the sexual divisions. They argue the result is that

> "Sexual oppression ... tends to be subsumed into the broader context of economic exploitation, thus avoiding the need to explain how particular forms of patriarchal relations operate within specific modes of production." (Arnot 1981, p. 142)

Socialist feminists in category b) have turned to ethnography to explain how "subjectivity is actually constituted in schools" (Giroux 1982, p.18). Although ethnography has been popular with radical feminists - whose emphasis, like phenomenology - has been descriptive; socialist ethnographers focus on the interconnections between lived cultures and their determinant structural forces. In such an analysis society is viewed not as

> "a series of disconnected individuals living out their own particular lives but as a structured whole within which individuals and groups live under different degrees of domination, expressing and reproducing in different degrees through symbolic patterns and cultural practices a sense of positionality within and perhaps resistance to the hidden, misunderstood or unseen overarching structures which limit their field of choice and help to constitute them in the first place." (Willis 1978, p. 193)

This view suggests that it is "more appropriate to speak of cultures rather than culture." (Giroux 1982, p. 27). Willis argues that it is necessary to,

> "understand how structures become sources of meaning and determinants of behaviour in the cultural milieu at its own level." (Willis 1977, p. 43)

Since sub-cultures disobey other structures, why does patriarchy continue to be obeyed within sub-cultures? Feminist research on working class girls has shown that while they have shown 'resistance' to the authority of the school, they embrace the ideology of love and romance (McRobbie 1978) and feminine domesticity. Resistance therefore results in "merely entrenching more deeply these girls' low social class position." (Middleton 1978, p. 86). Currently socialist feminists are moving towards exploring 'the family-school couple' (Althusser 1971) and focussing on how family and school together reproduce ideologies of class and gender.

Pedagogy and Feminism.

In terms of classroom models feminists are seeking new definitions of the teaching-learning situation. The terms 'teacher' and 'learner' become inadequate since both are perceived as learning. Feminists, in seeking an end to hierarchies and preordained standards, have been evolving more 'egalitarian and co-operative' models of education.

> "By emphasising the role that the personal plays in learning, feminists have developed an educational paradigm which is at times diametrically opposed to the patriarchal one ..." (Spender 1987, p. 151).

It is interesting to note that in many ways the pedagogy of Drama in Education fits into the feminist model, with its blurring of the pupil-teacher distinction and its emphasis on subjective knowledge and starting from the children's experience. Similarly, like drama, women's studies is multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary in that it is not located within the boundaries of any existing, legitimated discipline. It is what Bernstein (1971) refers to as 'weak frame' classification. A 'strong frame' has rigid boundaries and tends to be associated with authoritarian teaching styles. Weak frames tend to be more interdisciplinary and teaching styles are more progressive, encouraging autonomous learning.

Yet, although drama in education practitioners have been perceived as part of the liberal progressive movement in education over the last twenty to thirty years; and have long advocated that teachers should be 'facilitators' or 'enablers' of children's learning,

> "trying to be 'fair' to both girls and boys in mixed classrooms ... raises difficulties not only for indifferent or hostile teachers but also for committed teachers trained in certain 'progressive' pedagogical styles." (Walkerdine 1983)

> "Gender (and race) politics offer [teachers the] chances to liberate not merely their pupils, but also themselves." (Weiner & Arnot 1987, p.354).

Feminists like Spender argue that,

> "if students deny their own experience and accept that of experts then hierarchical structures are strengthened. In feminist groups no member of a group is vested with authority which automatically makes her personal experience better or worse - than anyone else's."(Spender 1980, p. 46)

However, she recognises the problems in practice.

> "For many of us reared with patriarchal models this new frame of reference made many demands... We could not make decrees and pronouncements, we could not present the 'facts', for our understandings would not permit us to make such absolute rulings." (Spender 1982, p. 145).

The kind of education model Spender has in mind has been tried in the main in secondary schools, universities and polytechnics where women's studies courses have been initiated. The title of the course offers some suggestion as to its intention and will therefore influence students' expectations. Teachers using drama as a learning medium do so within the context of a school (from nursery through to polytechnic) and despite most drama teachers desiring more equal and less hierarchical relationships either the pupils' or colleagues' expectations, the beguiling rhetoric of drama in education literature, or the teacher's own unconscious assumptions can make this very difficult in practice. These points will be developed in the third section. For now, I hope to have shown that in terms of pedagogy drama and feminism do hold some beliefs in common.

Summary.

This chapter has been an attempt to describe the similarities and differences within a feminist sociology of education. In Sue Middleton's conclusion to her article she hopes that it will "be useful as a guide for new students to the field." (Middleton 1978) I have included it here firstly, for those readers who, like myself, had no overview of feminist thought, nor any detailed background in the sociology of education. Secondly, to some extent the evolution of feminist thinking reflects my own personal journey while engaged in this research. When I started I had an inbuilt sense of unfairness and injustice at the inequalities in our education system. But, I also found it difficult to think of myself as a feminist or a "women's libber". Both terms seemed too extreme for my very 'liberal' outlook. Effective social conditioning and the expectations of others meant that it was a struggle to realise the degree to which I had been socialised. Looking back through my research notes I found that at one point I had written, "there is some virtue in this since it might minimise accusations of a radical feminist stance." As I now reflect on this I wonder what I thought was so wrong with radicalism and whether it connects with early deep-seated expectations of how 'good little girls' behave.

Equally while recognising sex role stereotyping as a factor in shaping gender identities, I found it initially much more difficult to internalise notions of patriarchy involving male-female power relations in all spheres of life. But the more I reflected on my own experience as a daughter, pupil, teacher, lecturer, wife and mother the less radical such a view seemed. Thus as the research progressed so I came to identify with radical feminist perspectives.

There has not been sufficient time in this study to fully explore for myself the different marxist perspectives or to come to any conclusions about which came first: patriarchy or capitalism. But the research has enabled me to begin to see some of the connections between gender,

class, education and the economic base.

In Chapter One I described how the research process had taken me on an outward journey and how I had felt the need for a map to traverse the universe of ideas. This chapter has been included for those who, like me, need to see some connections between one set of theories and another, and to appreciate how these in turn influence practices in the classroom.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FOUR:
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Influences on the Research Process

There are a number of unrelated influences which have affected the process of this study, and which need to be noted.

Previous Research has focussed on gender relations and the 'hidden' curriculum of classrooms, but there has been no formal analysis of these same concerns in the particular curriculum area: drama in education. This is one reason why this study has chosen to examine the role that the teacher plays in relation to gender stereotyping in drama lessons. Where drama literature has discussed sexism it has tended to be either descriptions of 'good' practice by individual teachers or suggestions and examples of specific teaching strategies which focus on anti-sexist initiatives. More indirect references link sexism or racism as issues that a teacher might decide to tackle through drama. This attitude can result in sexism being regarded rather like the topic 'pollution' or 'the Vikings', and treated in isolation. There is a sense in which a teacher adopting this approach might feel: 'We've done sexism, next we'll do crime'.

a) Drama Practitioners.

i) Kathy Joyce, working with teachers in Manchester in 1981 and later in Cumbria, describes several drama approaches which attempt to confront sexism. One of the Manchester group's stated objectives was:

> "For the teachers involved to become more aware of covert sexism or discrimination in their own attitudes or within their school." (Joyce 1987, p. 34)

While recognising that to effect change there can be no substitute for first hand experience, nor for working collaboratively with others in a supportive atmosphere, in this study I was interested in examining this 'covert sexism'.

In reflecting on the group's anti-sexist initiatives

Joyce distinguishes between the 'overt examination of sexism' and its more general use. She acknowledges that:

> "the overt examination of sexist issues is only one aspect of the contribution drama may make within this area. Potentially, it is the daily influence of the primary class teacher, or the secondary specialist which has real power to affect the children's attitudes and thinking." (Joyce 1987, p. 48)

Joyce however argues that, "Awareness alone ... is not enough. The teacher needs to develop a wide range of strategies ..." While strongly agreeing with this statement the reverse is also important. Out of a keenness to tackle a major social problem, teachers might rush to adopt strategies without unpacking the personal luggage that they carry around. It is this aspect that I wish to examine.

ii) Elyse Dodgson is someone who has made an enormous individual contribution to increasing awareness about sexism and women's issues. In describing her drama work with working class girls in South London, the majority of West Indian origin, she asserts,

> "This kind of work requires a genuine interest, by the teacher, in the social issues being tackled." (Dodgson 1982, p. 99)

For Dodgson, the first step is seeing sexism as a social and political issue. She states explicitly that she is committed to increasing 'political awareness'. She feels strongly that,

> "Issues concerning our relationships with people must be seen in both social and political terms ... [since] There is a politics of the personal as well as of the world at large." (Dodgson 1982, p. 112)

This perspective, which stresses explicitly the political dimension of power in relationships forces teachers to consider their role in terms of transmitting values and ideology.

b) The Race Relations Project directed by Lawrence Stenhouse (1972-5) sought to throw light on the 'problems and effects' associated with teaching about race relations. While the project set out to investigate three different approaches to the teaching of this controversial issue, the team, from the start, stated they did,

> "not hope to solve those problems and recommend a particular curriculum or method of teaching."

(Stenhouse 1982, p.2)

Neither does this study. It is an attempt to understand how sexism is inadvertently reinforced in drama. It does not set out to evaluate or recommend particular anti-sexist drama strategies.

One of the three approaches, reported by Jon Nixon, was the use of drama for learning about race relations. The problems that the teachers encountered could easily have been applied to gender. Ideally issues like race, class and gender should not be seen as separate social issues and the present study wishes to ackowledge this point, while deciding, for reasons of constraint, to examine sexism separately as opposed to its interrelationship with race and class.

The drama teachers involved in Stenhouse's project were engaged in action research, experimenting with drama methods, recording and evaluating their effectiveness. The teachers knew in advance the aims of the project and in that sense were committed to seeking effective solutions to problems they encountered. While appreciating the benefits of this kind of action research, this study will observe teachers when they are not consciously or primarily engaged in confronting or combatting sexism. For Stenhouse, teaching about race is an aspect of general teaching as well as deliberate policy.

> "In the last resort we do teach about ... race relations ... not because of a sense of social mission (though some may), but rather in the light of an educational aim. We encounter race as teachers of social studies ... or art or music ... or drama. To avoid the topic of race in such an area is to falsify the relationship of our subject to real life outside the school." (Stenhouse 1982, p. 3)

c) Children's Literature.

A major influence on this study has been research which focusses on sexism in children's books. In the main such research has been content analyses and critiques of sex role presentation. Findings indicate that either females are not represented at all, or they play only subsidiary roles; or the author has assumed that the subject of the book will only be of interest to one sex and addressed it

to them.

In 1979, the Report of the Bullock Committee commented that it is never too soon to start thinking about the ways in which attitudes may be influenced by reading. One of the roles of fiction is to encourage children to explore relationships and to develop sensitivity in their understanding of their own behaviour and that of others. In this respect it is identical to drama's aim.

Rosemary Stones (1983) examined children's books and identified eight broad areas of sexism. She categorised these as follows: Invisible sex; Language and Sex Roles; Images of Female and male; Male and Female Activities; Women and Men at Work; Character Presentation and Sex Roles; Women and Men in History; Sex Roles in Other Cultures and in British Ethnic Minorities. Where, for example, the book contains no females and/or reference to females; or where the females only play a subsidiary role in either text or illustrations, Stones uses the heading 'The Invisible Sex'.

Under each of these headings Stones suggests questions that might be asked to determine whether or not sexism is occurring. For example, under the heading 'Language and Sex Roles' she sugggests the following kind of questions:

> "Is man used to mean people? Is the terminology sexist, i.e. Fireman instead of firefighter. Is a two-value system of language applied to female and male characters? i.e. Do girls giggle and boys laugh. Are demeaning terms used for females? i.e. tart, slut etc.. Are females described as male appendages? i.e. the farmer's wife."

Under the heading, 'Character Presentation and Sex Roles' in addition to suggested questions, Stones also provides illustrations taken from children's literature. For example,

> "Question: Are individual personalities described or stereotypes? i.e. Are females sensitive, intuitive, frivolous, self-sacrificing? Are males competitive, rational, strong, analytical, serious?
>
> Example: " ... that was one of the things about girls - one of the many, many things - this business of going all secret and ridiculous." From'The Ghost of Thomas Kempe' by P. Lively (Heinemann, 1973)."

Stones' Conclusions are that,

"sexist children's books contribute to a view of

> society in which the options for females and males are more limited by gender typing than they are in real life ... Such partial images ... reinforce their 'correctness'. (Stones 1983, p. 8)

In this study Stones' classification system will be applied to drama lessons.

d) The Debate Within Drama in Education.

Exponents within the 'current debate' (11), attendance at professional drama associations and conferences have influenced this study. During the Eighties drama teachers have been concerned to review their practice with regard to the values and ideology that they are promoting in the light of "the harsh political and economic realities of our time" (Byron 1987, p. 2). In the editorial to the NADATE Conference Booklet (1986) Jim Clark asks the following questions:

> "How often do we as teachers take for granted our own values and assumptions and does the system within which we live and work do likewise?
> Are we doing what we think we are doing or are we kidding ourselves?
> How often do we understand that we impose restricting roles onto our pupils, ignoring the real contexts of gender, class and race within which we live?"(Clark 1986, p. 1)

Ken Byron (1984) suggests an answer:

> "Familiarity with the classroom breeds ... assumptions. Years of teaching tend to make us take many things for granted, because we have established patterns of thinking, of practice, and of expectation ..." (Byron 1984, p. 4)

I hope to examine teachers' assumptions and expectations in relation to gender and the practice of drama.

Anne Seeley, in describing a collaborative research project in which teachers looked closely at their classroom language, states,

> "By looking at the familiar talk of drama lessons through a detailed transcript we were able to see it in a different light, to make it 'anthropologically strange' and thereby to learn something new from it." (Seeley 1984, p. 28)

It is the intention of this study to adopt this kind of approach and attitude in order to make drama practice 'problematic' and therefore see it afresh.

The Design of the Study

The decision to examine sexism through the everyday unconscious interactions between teacher and pupils in drama meant that teachers would need to be observed without being aware of the researcher's intention. This created an ethical problem: either I had to tell the teachers why I wanted to observe them or suggest that I was interested in something else. I was against deception and recognised that honesty might well interfere with the results, since all but the most insensitive teacher might be expected to modify their approach to be seen more favourably.

The ethical problem coupled with the constraint of time led to the decision to use the following data for examination:

1. Drama lessons on video.
2. Extracts of published drama lessons.
3. Observations drawn from my professional role as a lecturer in drama at a polytechnic.

Observing drama lessons on video or published extracts overcame the ethical problem since teachers had already implicitly given permission for their work to be examined.

The advantage of video was that I was able to view in my own time; to start and stop, freeze frame, jump back and forth to check my initial observations. This allowed a more detailed examination than would have been possible if I had observed the same lesson in progress in the classroom.

Conversely, the disadvantages were that I was only able to view what the camera chose to select. Sound quality was a problem in sessions where there was physical activity. In the video that I selected for detailed analysis in Chapter Six the teacher had a clip-on microphone so that all of the teacher's talk was recorded. Unfortunately, the students were recorded by a boom microphone, resulting in indistinct comments on occasions - especially when they had their back to the camera. Another disadvantage that needs to be acknowledged is that the use of a camera may have inhibited the teacher and/or the students, rendering

the setting more artificial than usual.

All the tapes viewed had been made for other purposes, i.e. some were made by an Adviser for use on in-service courses; some were part of M.A. students' practical projects. All the teachers were experienced, though not all of them had previous experience of the groups they were working with. There has been no attempt to cover the age range, though this would have been interesting; nor has there been an attempt to cover all geographical regions. Decisions about which tapes to view were decided by which tapes I had access to. Therefore, the age of the pupils is predominately secondary, the region is mainly the north-east of England and the teachers are mostly women.

One major limitation of the research design has been the lack of opportunity to discover the teachers' or pupils' perceptions. In the analysis which appears in Chapter Six, I did have a brief opportunity to clarify with the teacher some of my interpretations. This was very valuable. If this study were re-designed it would seek methods which allow the perspectives of teacher and pupils to be tested against the interpretations of the researcher.

Research Methods

This study will employ qualitative methods of analysis to drama lessons rather than attempt a statistical count or note the frequency of particular sexist phenomena. Such methods do not lend themselves to teasing out teachers' taken-for-granted assumptions or underlying values. In order to see something familiar as 'problematic' it is necessary to adopt an unfamiliar stance or see it through others' eyes. Therefore this study will adopt different perspectives when viewing the data in order to make it 'anthropologically strange' and 'see it in a different light'.

Presentation of Research Findings

The data analysed will be presented in three chapters.

Chapter Five is presented as an initial survey of the kind of sexism that can occur in drama lessons. It is intended to give a broad, general flavour of the problem as perceived by the researcher who adopted Rosemary Stones' classification system and applied it to drama in education.

Chapter Six represents a second stage in the research process. In this chapter one full drama lesson is analysed. The chapter is in two halves. In Part One the researcher adopts a dual perspective which is simultaneously concerned to a) convey to the reader the drama pedagogy and teacher's intentions, and b) critically examine how sexism is reinforced. In Part Two the lesson is re-examined and the focus is on the teacher's structuring and the negotiation and construction of meaning.

Chapter Seven represents a late stage in the research process. This chapter analyses one full drama lesson and adopts a more radical feminist perspective, as currently understood by the researcher. It is a speculative analysis, which draws attention to the different levels of meaning present in the dramatic activity.

CHAPTER FIVE: SEXISM WITHIN DRAMA IN EDUCATION

Drama lessons from a variety of sources (video, observations, literature) were analysed with a view to identifying examples of sexism. Rosemary Stones' criteria for analysing children's books were used as a guide and applied to these drama lessons. It was found that some categories were more applicable than others and that there was some overlap between categories. This chapter presents a selection of drama extracts that illustrate aspects of sexism and discusses them, as appropriate, in relation to other research findings on sexism in education.

Example One: 'Invisibility' and 'Subsidiary Roles'

One of the first events that I was invited to after starting this study was a local primary school's Christmas concert. Each junior class performed, for friends and relations, a brief dramatic item on the theme of Christmas. All items were either improvised or scripted by pupils and teachers. My first impression that day was that there seemed a predominance of boys. This was not because statistically there were more boys in this school, but because boys occupied most of the prominent roles and major speaking parts in the plays performed. Boys were reindeer pulling the sleigh; various Santas bringing gifts; elves labouring to make toys in Santa's workshop; sailors exploring the universe and following the Star of Bethlehem; fathers telling their children to hurry to bed and astronauts travelling through space in future times.

The girls that day were in role as dancing fairies; carol singers; angels standing silently; children waiting excitedly for presents; wives waving goodbye to their sailor husbands; wives making Christmas puddings, decorating Christmas trees, or feeding the family.

In this school children had been cast into 'traditional' roles and activities on the basis of assumptions about male/female characteristics. There were no girls that day making toys, exploring the universe or pulling the sleigh.

There were no boys feeding the family or dancing. Furthermore, the girls were cast in subsidiary roles while boys took the exciting or prominent parts. This is an aspect of Stones' 'invisibility' and an example of how the symbolic representations in children's play are often more partial than their real lives. Stones (1983) argues that "partial, traditional images" are clung to, thus "reinforcing implicitly or explicitly their correctness." (p. 8). By the same token the drama teacher, in assuming that some roles are more suitable or more interesting for one sex rather than of interest to all is also reinforcing sexist modes of behaviour. and influencing the individual's perception of self.

Conversely, studies on the influence of non-sexist materials found that,

> "nursery school children increased the number and type of jobs they thought were appropriate for women after hearing stories which featured working mothers. Reading a series of stories with female main characters in active roles caused both female and male 7 - 8 year olds to increase their beliefs that both boys and girls could succeed in doing the activities featured in the stories. Before reading the stories, most children felt that 'only boys' or 'mostly boys' would succeed in these activities." (Scott 1977, in Stones 1983, p. 8).

It was with particular interest therefore, that I watched the only play that afternoon where all the class were angels dressed in white unisex robes. Thè play was set in heaven where there appeared to be no gender specific activities. Indeed, far from being 'invisible', to use Stones' term, the four largest parts were played by girls. One girl was the narrator, one was the Archangel, one conducted the choir and one was a mischievous angel who kept getting into trouble and being sent to the Archangel for guidance. These four girls in main parts certainly seemed to redress the balance. However, as I listened to the language being used my optimism turned to dismay. The Archangel addressed the mischievous angel as "My son ..." despite the narrator referring to the gown she was wearing and the new angel replied by prefacing remarks with "Sire ..."

This seems to parallel what happens in children's books

where neutral gender roles or animals tend to become male. A possible explanation for this is suggested by Judith Whyte (1983, p. 44):

> "In a primary school where both the head and deputy head are men, it may seem to an observer as if they are the real holders of power in the school. Children are aware, even if unconsciously, of structures in which men have authority and women are subordinates."

In this particular local primary school both head teacher and deputy were men, the rest of the staff (bar one) were women. This might partly explain why a 10-11 year old girl might perceive the authoritative, high status role of Archangel as a male preserve. It is also interesting that the class teacher had allowed this impression to go unchallenged. Similarly, the mischievous angel, might have assumed this to be a male characteristic, if, in her school career she had observed that "teachers and adults in general" adopt a more "indulgent attitude towards boys' naughtiness", whereas "similar behaviour on the part of girls may be seen as unattractive." (Whyte 1983, p. 40).

Example Two: Language - the male pronoun.

In another local primary school I observed a class of mixed third-fourth year juniors involved in improvised drama about disputes. This had started with an exploration of peer group conflicts, then looked at family conflicts, widened to take in disputes with neighbours and at the end of this third lesson on the theme, the teacher asked the class to think about disputes that affected the whole community. This was in preparation for the following week. One of the boys suggested vandalism and this was subsequently chosen; though perhaps it is worth mentioning that the teacher may have influenced this decision by adding, 'I like your idea, Colin.' It was then established that the following week's lesson would centre around windows that had been smashed at the community centre. The teacher started to prepare the class by asking them who would be in charge of the public meeting, that they as local residents would attend. Some pupils replied, "The Chairman".

Teacher: "Who will he be?"
Pupil: "A councillor"
Teacher: "Why a councillor?"
Pupil: "It's his responsibility".

This snippet of conversation shows not only sexist terminology, i.e. Chairman instead of chairperson, but also the pervasive effect of the male pronoun 'he', which here unconsciously robs half the population of powerful and responsible positions. One might argue that since Victorian times it has become an accepted linguistic convention and that no disrespect is implied. However, the long term cumulative effect suggests that males are more important. In this instance it reinforces the myth that only men are capable of holding high status positions in the community.

Writers within drama in education have until recently continued to use the male pronoun within their work. For example, Gavin Bolton (1981) concluded his article with the following:

> " ... but if you have the chance to appoint the ideal drama teacher then you will have no difficulty in recognising him: he will be ..." (p. 16).

So the ideal drama teacher is male! I discussed this point with Gavin Bolton and noted that by 1984 he was using the pronoun 'she' when referring to the drama teacher. He replied that it was considered more "modern" to do so. Admittedly it redresses the balance, but also in my view complicates matters. The article where I became aware of this change to 'she' contained paragraphs where Bolton was writing about his own teaching:

> "As far as they were concerned, I was virtually changing the situation. Finally, it is not unusual for a teacher to take on a role that attempts to challenge an obvious intransigent attitude of <u>her</u> class ..." (Bolton 1984, p. 22)

So within the same paragraph 'I' who is male becomes 'she' who is female. It is confusing and to my mind illustrates how children might feel.

Jonathan Neelands (1984, pp. 101-110) suggests a way of exploring the text, 'The Iron Man' (12). In this publication he alternates between the use of him or her. The result is rather confusing. For example,

"Explain that the Iron Man will stand on the block to help remind us that he is 'tall as a house'".

This is followed by,

"Give the 'Iron Man' her sealed instructions ..." (p.102, my emphases)

Yet more subtle aspects seem to creep in as the lesson develops.

" ... Choose someone to go forward and ask their question (Remind him that the Iron Man is a fairly frightening sight. He should approach with caution and treat her with respect. It is as well to remind the rest of the group that if they laugh, the Iron Man will be hurt and feel that they are mocking her)" (p.102)

In the first example where height is relevant the Iron Man is he; similarly when the task is difficult and a volunteer is called upon to approach the 'frightening sight' the volunteer is referred to as he. Where respect is demanded and where feelings may be hurt, the Iron Man reverts to her. This might be pure coincidence, but it might also be unconscious assumptions informing the 'random' choice of him/her.

Later in the example the teacher takes on the role of the headteacher and addresses the school:

"Good morning. I am not at all pleased this morning. I have had Sergeant Pickering in my office since 8.00. He tells me he caught some of you at ... " (p. 105)

Note the police sergeant is male. Later the class are put into role as"farmers, gathering outside the police station" A list of suggested questions is provided for the teacher to ask the farmers:

"Now then, sir, what exactly happened? Eaten, sir? Do you expect me to believe that? And did you hear anything, sir? etc." (p. 106)

Michelle Stanworth (1981) drawing on Miller & Swift (1977) says that language conveys to pupils the sense that, men and only men are the initiators, the active agents, the subjects of human life.

Research with primary school children who were asked to illustrate stories about primitive 'man' with drawings, shows that they gave male names to their drawings. Similar tests have been tried with university students in America. They were given chapter headings such as 'Social Man', 'Industrial man' and 'Political Man'. The students

overwhelmingly produced pictures of adult males engaged in social, industrial and political activity.

If university students can unconsciously interpret the generic term 'man' to mean male, then it seems important that writers in drama in education and teachers should take this issue seriously.

Example Three: Male dominance in mixed groups.

The next drama extract is a personal observation of a class of first year secondary pupils working with a student teacher. This lesson was part of a series of lessons on the theme: 'Young Offenders'. The lesson took place in a classroom where desks were moved to create a central space. There were 29 pupils in the class, 15 boys and 14 girls.

One of the specific aims of this teacher was that boys and girls should work together. So in the first lesson she divided the class into mixed groups. The first activity was to decide on the setting for a teenage crime, then to prepare an improvisation for subsequent presentation to the other groups, which would then stimulate class discussion about why such crimes occur. One of the group improvisations was chosen as the crime that the whole class would develop further. This involved arresting the thief; interviews by the police; interviewing witnesses and taking statements; exploring the reactions of the 'young offender's' family, friends and teachers. These lessons culminated in a courtroom trial.

The scenario chosen by the whole class after the first lesson was of an old man who went to the local chip shop. On his way out, two teenagers watched him put his wallet away, then tempted by this they tried to rob him. They were stopped by the chip shop owner who saw them and was later able to identify them.

Prior to the courtroom drama the teacher explained the people they would need in court and the nature of their roles and responsibility. The class was then invited to nominate each other for these court roles and subsequently vote on them.

Although roughly equal numbers existed in this class, more boys were nominated than girls and the majority of girls voted for boys. This may explain in part why almost all of the court roles were played by boys. The judge was chosen first and he was, according to the teacher, popular with both sexes. Both prosecution and defence lawyers were boys, as was the Judge's Marshal and the Clerk of the Court. Two girls were warders, who said they didn't want to speak and one girl was the foreman of the jury. The jury were chosen last and they were all girls.

It is also interesting that a small mixed-sex group of equal numbers devised the crime that was selected by the class. The teacher added that in the devising it was the girls who had most of the ideas. Yet a boy played the old man with the wallet, two boys played the teenage muggers and the chip shop owner was a boy. The girls were mother, sisters and friend of the accused.

The girls in this courtroom drama do seem to have been 'relegated to the sidelines'. Although they were more prominent in the 'traditional' affiliative roles of mother, sister and friend over the three weeks drama,this scene was of secondary importance and although it was planned that they would seek the solicitor's help,lack of time prevented this scene. Similarly,there was not sufficient time to call any of these parts to the witness box in the court scene. The warders stated that they did not want to speak and the jury which consisted entirely of girls was picked last. Their role was to listen.

General classroom research has shown that males dominate 'linguistic space' (Mahoney 1985). In mixed sex classrooms boys asked twice as many questions as girls and made twice as many demands on teacher's time. Spender (1982) explains how in this way,

> "students are learning the lesson that boys are more important than girls, more authoritative, more deserving and worthy of attention and this knowledge possessed by the students adds to the confidence of the boys (who go on to say more and demand more attention) and undermines the confidence of the girls (who react by saying less and by attracting less attention)." (Spender 1982, p. 55)

Swann & Graddol (1988) have demonstrated that girls and boys receive differential treatment and attention from teachers, which in turn affects participation. Analysis of classroom talk in two primary classrooms looked at how individual pupils get to speak. They looked at turn-taking and non-verbal cuing and argued that boys' ability to 'chip in' to discussion, could not be accomplished without the active support of the teacher, and the collaboration of the girls. In their conclusions they state:

> "Boys ... are acquiring and practising skills in competitive public speaking: the skill and confidence to seize the floor, to control topics and develop discourse strategies which ensures the flow of talk returns to them."

A corollary of this is that,

> "girls seem to have learnt to expect a lower participation level than boys, and boys seem to have learned that their fair share is a larger one." (Swann & Graddol 1988, p. 63)

One result is that teachers are not always free to introduce the forms of discussion or materials they would like. In mixed-sex classrooms they may find that they are being manipulated by a group of boys who will engage in unco-operative and disruptive behaviour if their interests are not taken into account. Katherine Clarricoates (1978) cites evidence of teachers' awareness of this in her research on primary schools.One teacher commented:

> "It's a bit harder to keep the boys' attention during a lesson ... at least that's what I've found so I gear the subject to them more than I do the girls who are good at paying attention in class." (Clarricoates 1978, pp. 356-357)

When teachers have consciously attempted to redress gender imbalance, it has often been met with resistance from the boys who feel that they are missing out on their rightful share of teacher's attention.

> ""She always asks the girls questions" said one boy in a classroom where 34 per cent of the teacher's time had been allocated to girls. "She doesn't like boys and just listens to the girls" said another boy where boys had interacted with the teacher for 63 per cent of the time ..." (Spender 1982, p. 57).

The research of Mahoney (1985) and Stanworth (1981) shows that girls are aware of the extra teacher attention that

boys receive. Mahoney quotes one third year girl in a mixed secondary school:

> "The teachers don't give you a chance even if you do decide to say something. They're too worried about the boys starting to play up so they don't let you say things properly. You don't get time so it all comes out wrong. They let boys work things out and we don't get fidgety. It's not fair, I always feel I have to hurry up." (Mahoney 1985, p. 40)

John Stuart Mill (1929) writing on the subjection of women said,

> " ... the rule of men over women differs from all others in not being a rule of force: it is accepted voluntarily..." (Mill, 1929, p. 23)

The feminist movement this century has sought a theoretical understanding of why women are oppressed and have seen this oppression as existing within attitudes and ideologies as much as in actual behaviour, which also suggests that women are collaborators in their own oppression.

Jean Baker-Miller (1978) suggests the psychological constraints of equality in 'Towards a New Psychology of Women'. In a chapter headed 'Domination-Subordination' she emphasises that the existence of such relationships colour the ways we perceive and conceptualise and determines the ways we think and feel, so that,

> "... subordinates ... can come to find it difficult to believe in their own ability ..."
>
> "... subordinates are described in terms of, and encouraged to develop, personal psychological characteristics that are pleasing to the dominant group. These characteristics form a certain familiar cluster: submissiveness, passivity, docility, dependency, lack of initiative, inability to act, to decide, to think ..." (Baker-Miller 1978, p. 7)

Betty Levy (1974) puts forward an interesting explanation for the attention seeking or disruptive behaviour of boys.

> "For boys school is a contradictory experience; as males they are supposed to be assertive and dominant, as pupils - obedient and docile; whereas for the girls there is continuity; school reinforces the social expectations of passivity and conformity. There is no conflict between 'feminine identity' and the school experience of being a 'passive pupil'" (Levy 1974, in Stacey et al, pp. 143-4)

Spender (1980) argues that,

> "To be a silent woman is to be an accomplice in female subordination, to reinforce many of the constraints which keep women 'in their place'".(Spender 1980, (p. 154)

Swann & Graddol's analysis of classroom talk (1988) points out that girls are given,

> "less privileged access to certain kinds of learning experience." (Swann & Graddol 1988, p. 64)

Drama teachers have recognised the importance of talk as a prerequisite to learning - the need to talk new information into place (Barnes 1976). Since research shows that girls are not talking as much and not being given equal access to learning through talking as boys, drama teachers need to consider the relevance of these findings to their own work. Perhaps we have taken for granted the idea that in drama there are opportunities for everyone to talk. Elizabeth Sarah (1980) says,

> "girls resist intruding into traditionally male subject areas when participation involves competing with the boys verbally - 'talking' in class ... being a mainly 'male' activity." (Sarah 1980, p. 55)

Drama teachers might benefit girls by analysing their drama lessons in terms of the amount and kind of male/ female talk, since,

> "Classroom talk forms an important arena for the reproduction of gender inequalities in interactional power ... the Victorian ideal that schools exist to teach pupils how to take their proper position in the social order may still, in at least one respect, hold true." (Swann & Graddol 1988, p. 64)

In terms of drama it is also important to prevent girls serving as a 'negative reference group' for boys (Jenny Shaw, 1977). Not only do girls represent a category that boys do not want to be a member of (that they 'dislike' and 'despise' as some informed Stanworth, 1981) but that the presence of girls is necessary in order to promote the positive image of boys: it is against the girls that boys stand out. Classroom dynamics help to develop this deep-seated hostility.

In the courtroom drama girls may have voted boys into high status roles because they perceived this as representing a more accurate correspondence with reality.

Or, their experience of dominant/subordinate roles in their own peer group may have already coloured their belief in their own ability. Whatever explanation is the true one, perhaps drama teachers should bear in mind that drama as a medium operates at two levels simultaneously: the real social network of the class interacts with the symbolic roles and relationships in the drama. It is therefore conceivable that the girls' perceptions and experiences of both these 'worlds' amounts to the same net experience. If this is allowed than the double-edged encounter in drama could reinforce rather than liberate girls' perception of themselves in subordinate role.

Example Four: Teacher-pupil constructs.

This lesson was recorded on video by a local advisory drama team for use on in-service courses. The lesson took place in a single-sex girls'school with a group of sixth formers who were studying the play "The Crucible" by Arthur Miller as part of their 'A' level English course. This lesson is the second of three lessons in which the teacher uses a modern analogy to explore the kind of influence that Abigail has over the other girls. The teacher, in a previous lesson, suggested a mixed comprehensive school as an analogous setting. The students then agreed an outline plot in preparation for this lesson's improvisation. The girls were divided into two groups (A and B) and they worked at opposite ends of a large hall. The camera moved between the two groups which made a full transcript impossible. What follows are a selection of verbatim comments from the two groups' improvisations presented in a summary form. The lesson will be outlined prior to a discussion.

Group A's scene is set in the headteacher's study where Abigail is brought by another teacher for disruptive behaviour. Group B's scene continues from this point when Abigail and peers 'turn the tables' and begin to accuse the staff and sixth formers of poor teaching and unfair behaviour. The headteacher investigates their accusations.

The school system is likened to the Court of Law in Salem, and the headteacher fulfils a role not dissimilar to the role of Judge Danforth.

Group A's Improvisation.

The scene is set in the headmaster's office. The characters are Abigail, the headmaster and another teacher. Abigail has been accused of misbehaviour and defends herself. She refers to Miss Smith, the student-teacher, as "useless", adding, "she can't teach". The headmaster explains, "Miss Smith's on the verge of tears," and admonishes: "You sat there constantly chattering [looking down at an imaginary note] What's this about? Chucking missiles across the room?" Abigail interjects: "That was the boys." The headmaster appeals to Abigail: "If you were in my class you wouldn't behave like that, would you? Come on Abigail, this isn't like you. Miss Smith needs your help. You've got to be sympathetic towards her."

Group B's Improvisation.

The camera moves to Group B, which consists of ten girls who play the roles of the headmaster, other teachers, Abigail, her peers and sixth formers. The group is in the middle of improvising when the camera moves to them.
(Extract from Transcript)

"Headmaster: (to Abigail) I've had many complaints about you. I realise it may not be all your fault ...

Abigail: It's the teacher's fault - she can't control the class. The class gets riotous, they don't do the work. Get the other girls in, ask them. It's not just me.

(The peer group enter)

Girl: It's Abigail's fault, sir. She leads everyone on. Everyone looks up to her.

Girl: It's not just her. She didn't do it on her own. It's the teachers who are useless.

Headteacher: If you can give me the names of the teachers you're complaining about, I'll look into the matter. Until then, shut up!

(Knock on door. Two teachers enter. They are invited to stay).

Headteacher: (to teachers) You both have class X and know Abigail Williams. How do you get on with her? What's she like? What sort of person?

Teacher 1: Cheeky!

Teacher 2: Boisterous! She does good work but she disrupts our classes.

Headteacher: Are you sure you know what you're talking about? 'Cause this is serious.

Teacher 1: What has Abigail done?

Headteacher: We've had complaints about her.

Abigail: She's one of the worse teachers (pointing to Teacher 1). She can't control us. She's got no idea. It's true.

(The other girls agree)

Abigail: How are we going to pass our exams if they can't control us?

Teacher 2: Abigail, you should know that if you're unwilling to learn it's highly unlikely the teachers will be able to teach you.

Abigail: It's their fault, they're paid to get us through the exams.

Teacher 1: You're very unco-operative, Abigail, very unco-operative.

Teacher 2: (to Teacher 1) Well, we've had good reports for Abigail, haven't we, over the last few years?

Teacher 1: When it takes her fancy she can be a charming young girl, but it doesn't last for more than a few weeks at a time.

(The group stop here and discuss how to bring in the sixth form prefects. They plan the next stage)

Headteacher: (to sixth formers) Now girls, we have had serious complaints about you bullying.

Sixth Formers: (together) Bullying! Us!

Headteacher: Yes, bullying. Now don't sound so surprised. Now, I know you have a reputation, but I'd like to hear your side of it.

Sixth former: I don't know what the hell you're on about!

Headteacher: Language!

(They pause and discuss this)

: But she's annoyed.

: Well, what do you say when you're very angry with someone?

: There's no other phrase!

The real class teacher intervenes: "Is the headmaster a cool character?". A girl replies, "Yes". The teacher says, "Cool and powerful". The students resume the improvisation. At the end of the lesson the teacher explains that they will show their scenes to each other the next day.

Discussion of the lesson.

It is interesting that in this all-girls' school the headteacher role was male and those girls playing the part were referred to as 'Sir.' While this is similar to Example One, these were sixth formers not eleven year olds. It is curious that the 'headmaster' was the only role that was specified male - all the other teachers assumed they were female, including Miss Smith who could not cope and Miss Jones, the secretary.

Given the limitations of the research method, one can only speculate about the reasons why 'A' level students and their teacher should assume that Danforth's modern counterpart in this analogy could not be a woman. There is perhaps a clue when the teacher intervenes and asks whether the headmaster is 'cool and powerful'. It might be that this teacher does not perceive being 'cool' as a female attribute or being in a 'powerful' high status position as realistic in our contemporary society.

The Women's National Commission (1983) recently produced a report which demonstrated that the proportion of headships filled by women has dropped from 25 to 16 percent" over "the last two decades". Among the 86 local authorities who responded, seven had no women heads at all (WNC 1983, pp. 7-8).

Michael Marland's (1983) research into staffing in schools shows that where there is a clear sexual division of staff by "function and seniority, a powerful message is being daily enacted for the pupils." (Marland 1983, p. 42). The proportion of women and men who reach the different scale levels is significantly different. Marland quotes the 1978 National Union of Teachers figures (p. 42) which are given here in Table 1.

Table 1 . **Percentage of all women and men teachers reaching different scale levels.**

Scale	Percentage of teachers	
	Women	Men
Senior teacher	0.4	2.6
Scale 4	2.3	11.7
Scale 3	9.8	20.4
Scale 2	37.7	27.3
Scale 1	38.9	20.3

Source: NUT & EOC (1980) p. 55.

> "There is of course a similar sexual balance in the inspectors/advisors, in L.E.A. administrators, and in governing bodies. All these groups are very influential, both symbolically and practically." (Marland 1983, p. 45)

Carol Buswell (1981) found that one effect of this unequal structure of school organisation and management was that female teachers internalised this ideology and consequently were just as likely to be responsible for 'stereotyping and classification by sex' as their male colleagues. Rosemary Deem (1978) agrees that women who enter teaching have been no less strongly socialised into accepting the existing sexual division of labour than have other women.

Given these discouraging statistics it is perhaps understandable how the girls and their teacher in this single sex school arrived at their understanding of leadership roles in the teaching profession. In contrast to the 'cool and powerful' figure of the headmaster, was the construction of Miss Smith. She was described by group A as "useless" ... "on the verge of tears" and not good at her job - "she can't teach".

In reprimanding Abigail, the 'headmaster' used the following phrases to describe her behaviour: "constantly chattering" and "chucking missiles". It is interesting that Abigail immediately challenges the latter statement: "That was the boys". She corrects the impression that girls would throw missiles - a 'typical' boy's behaviour, but does not dispute 'chattering' - a supposedly female trait.

These improvised statements are in keeping with Buswell's research which shows that teachers and pupils have different expectations of how boys and girls misbehave.

> "In at least 6 classes girls who were talking about the work were told to"stop gossiping". Gossiping is a definition of talk like chattering, which suggests triviality. Boys were told, "Keep quiet", or "Stop talking" which is at least straightforward."

> "... seating patterns contributed to this labelling, as teachers often addressed remarks to particular areas of the room which would contain either boys or girls: For example ... 'I'm not going to compete with the ladies' chatter' - in this instance two girls were talking and there were eight girls in the group.

> Thus, even if pupils do not behave like 'typical girls' they are included in the remark anyway." (Buswell 1981, p. 33)

Katherine Clarricoates (1983) also found that forms of punishment varied between the sexes. Boys were sent to the headteacher for a serious misdemeanour, whereas girls tended to be sent to the senior female teacher.

> "One of the main variations within punishment practices is that male teachers are lenient towards the girls' behaviour and openly admitted this. This was mainly because they expected trouble to come from the boys." (Clarricoates 1983, p. 11)

In the same improvisation the headmaster said to Abigail, "If you were in my class you wouldn't behave like that, would you? Come on, Abigail, this isn't like you. Miss Smith needs your help. You've got to be sympathetic towards her."

Michelle Stanworth (1981) questioned secondary pupils about discipline in the classroom and found that pupils have assumptions about men teachers being more effective disciplinarians, despite comments bemoaning a lack of firmness being directed at men as often as women. Many were convinced that male teachers tolerate 'less mucking around' and stated that pupils respond more readily to a 'rebuke or command' when it comes from a man. In this drama example, the girl playing the headmaster seems to have assumed this as well as differing notions of respect based on gender. She then appeals to Abigail and asks for her co-operation: 'Miss Smith needs your help'. It has already been established that she can't 'cope' and is on 'the verge of tears'. Girls are expected to help the teacher by being good, not making demands and being compliant.

Clarricoates (1983) found that teachers use girls in order to maintain some form of management amongst the boys. For example, girls are regularly held up as examples of quiet orderly behaviour in an attempt to make the boys, whom research has shown to be more disruptive, conform. Judith Whyte looking at primary schools found,

> "From the outset of schooling, girls are oriented towards the demands of the teacher rather than the

task. While boys seek attention through aggression and rule-breaking, girls seek approval through conforming." (Whyte 1983, p. 11)

Observations in a nursery school showed that if a boy had been 'naughty' he "usually got a loud, public scolding" In this way everyone in the room was aware of his misdemeanour. However girls behaving in the same way tended to receive "a brief, soft rebuke which the others could not hear". Whyte suggests two possible effects:
a) "boys acquire a sort of bravado and become hardened."
b) girls may deduce that naughty behaviour fails to get them attention and so attempt to get it by being 'good'.

"Girls in primary schools are significantly more anxious to please the teacher than boys." (Whyte 1983, pp. 34-35)

Whether or how Abigail replied to the headmaster's request for 'sympathy' is unknown, because at that point the camera moved to follow group B's work.

In group B's first improvisation, several girls playing teachers were summoned to defend themselves against their pupils' accusations. When the headmaster allowed the teachers to defend themselves and comment on how they found Abigail, one replied, "When it takes her fancy she can be a charming young girl, but it doesn't last for more than a few weeks at a time." This illustrates what Spender (1982) calls the "linguistic double standard". The adjective 'charming' is used to describe Abigail's behaviour when she is compliant. The phrase 'when it takes her fancy', with its suggestion of fickleness and frivolity acknowledges her will to choose. It is unlikely that these words and phrases would be used about boys in a similar context. Stones (1983) points out that this "two value system" in our language results in our conception of girls giggling and boys laughing; girls being sensitive and boys being sissy.

The sixth formers show their awareness of the need to be precise about language use and its context later in the second improvisation when the prefects answer a charge of bullying. A prefect replies "I don't know what the hell

you're talking about." The headmaster reprimands immediately with "Language!" The improvisation stops and the girls discuss this quite heatedly. The girl who used "hell" says, "But she's annoyed. Well, what do you say when you're very angry with someone." - said as more of a statement than a question. Another girl shakes her head and replies, "There's no other phrase."

It is interesting that the girls stopped the discussion over a concern for the language used. Perhaps this was also a concern for the video camera which was in the room. Clarricoates does, however state that teachers tend to censure girls more harshly than boys for the use of what they call 'Improper language'. She says it is somehow seen as 'not fit' for girls to swear and use rough speech, whereas for their male counterparts it is seen as part of the 'boys will be boys' syndrome, even though boys are still admonished for such behaviour! (Clarricoates, 1983, p. 11).

Example Five: Characterisation - 'A portrait of Heather'

The following extracts are from a video recording of a drama session with a group aged sixteen-plus. As part of their general course the students viewed a film about drug abuse. The teacher took this as the starting point for a piece of drama work.

In the first session the group decided they were making a video about glue sniffing to take into secondary schools. This convention of 'a play within a play' enabled the students to distance themselves.

In the second session, after lengthy discussion about the effects of glue sniffing, several small groups prepared scenarios for the fictional video, based on a central protagonist.

The extracts that follow are taken from the third session. It is decided to develop the case study of Heather as a whole group. As no one was prepared to play the part of Heather the teacher placed an empty chair to represent her, then moving to a flip chart she asked the students to develop the character.

The following extract shows how a portrait of Heather

was constructed. The teacher started with questions like, "How old is Heather?" "What else do we know about her?" From this the following emerged:

Heather is seventeen and unemployed. Her father has left home and remarried. Heather likes his new wife but she does not want Heather to live with them because the flat is too small. Heather therefore lives with her mother and her stepfather who is horrible to Heather and her brother. Heather belongs to a gang of Hell's Angels who sniff glue. She gets high on glue and doesn't know what she's doing. Later she finds out she's pregnant. Her boyfriend then leaves her for someone else. She is scared of her step-father finding out about the pregnancy because he beats her. She has an abortion, with the help of her real father - though her mother does not know. This affects Heather's mental health. She's quiet, lonely; her friends have dserted her; she gets depressed and sniffs glue. She doesn't like glue sniffing but she can't come off it; the gang force her to continue. One day she gets high, doesn't know what she is doing, has an accident, which results in her death.

While it is refreshing to find a girl the central character of the drama, it is worrying that like so many heroines in popular fiction or magazines, Heather is portrayed chiefly as a victim.

Angela McRobbie (1978) who analysed "Jackie" - a girls' magazine - discovered a world that is,

> "an oddly empty one,populated by rootless young people in search of love. [Which] prefigure[s] the girl's future isolation in the home. Male and female roles are clearly separate and distinct. Boys do, girls simply are ... to be a girl is to abide by the law, to wait passively, to be chosen, taken, loved, rescued. To be female is to be isolated. Women are united by femininity but divided by jealousy and sexual competitiveness; friends, even best friends, are not to be trusted, and the romantic relationship is the only relationship that matters and can provide fulfilment ... her personal life is a continual source of problems." (McRobbie, in Frith 1987, p.121, (eds) Arnot & Weiner 1987)

In narratives of romance women appear in one of two groups:

> "the'good', sexually innocent woman who gets her reward - her man; the 'bad' woman who is often sexually

experienced and makes demands."
(Adams & Laurikietis 1976, p. 48)

In an article about feminism and the theatre, Michelene Wandor analyses both the surface content, and the underlying dynamic of several plays written by and about women. She concludes the article with a discussion of 'Masterpieces' by Sarah Daniels.

The play is about the effect of pornography on marriage - an important feminist concern -

> "yet, the women are victims and powerless (and 'good') and the men are monsters (and 'bad') ... Women remain irresponsible and unhappy ... Women are asserted as powerless."

She adds the danger of this is ,

> "than it can be patronised and ghettoised. It is no real challenge to men and it is no real illumination for women." (Wandor 1984, p. 9)

The 'portrait' or image of Heather that is jointly constructed by these teenagers is interesting in that it points to the conflict and tension inherent in becoming 'feminine' in our society. Although Heather ends up a victim, in the literal sense of the word, there is a strong sense of the group resisting this passive image. The character outline seems to embody this struggle. For example, Heather is a'Hell's Angel' - a group with a strong aggressive image who possess an extreme contempt for a bourgeois lifestyle. Although Heather is sexually active, the students' construction that this happened while she was 'high' on glue is a rationalisation which prevents them from having to consider choice in this matter. In this way it is similar to romantic notions of love in which the girl, overwhelmed by her emotions, deceives herself that she has no choice and that it is not pre-meditated; thus removing social castigation because 'she didn't know what she was doing'.

Yet, in contrast, Heather also shows strength and the ability to make decisions and take charge of her life: she has an abortion. She does not turn to her mother but her father in this instance - the father who left home. Whatever one may think of the morality of abortion, to

decide on this course is not an act of passivity or acceptance of one's fate; it is an act requiring an assertion of rights and as such is an act of courage.

Sara G. Zimet (1980), discussing children's literature, makes the following comment which might have some relevance here:

> "The eventual metamorphosis of the heroine from tomboy to young woman in many stories exemplifies [a] cop-out ... Just imagine the disappointment that girls must experience in having to 'trade in' the spunk, individuality and physical capability .... for the passive, supposedly more mature image of a young woman." (Zimet 1980 edn. p. 75).

'The portrait of Heather' suggests the symbolic struggle with this metamorphosis since there is both rebellion and conformity within this constructed character. Heather's image contains within it the 'spunk', 'individuality' and assertiveness of the tomboy; but it also contains stereotypical views of stepfathers and step-daughters who are beaten (into submission?), romantic notions of being 'taken , loved' while not being responsible for one's actions, punishment for being sexually experienced and 'bad'; as well as 'powerlessness' in not being able to resist peer group pressure to sniff glue.

It is interesting to speculate why the students who constructed Heather have her accidentally killed while she is abusing her body with drugs. Is this a rationalisation for her unconforming behaviour; or is it that that they choose this death rather than death of the spirit - the slow death of conforming to cultural pressures and 'traditional' images of 'femininity'?

Example Six: Roles and simulations.

The final illustration of sexism is not a drama lesson but a drama resource. Many teachers use role play as part of their work but some have occasion to use pre-packaged simulations, complete with role descriptions and background information on the topic.

'Spring Green Motorway' was selected for analysis because I read an article by Rex Walford (1983) in which

he reviewed a newly revised version. The original was published in 1971: Walford's article compared this with the new 1980 version. His comments noted a number of differences including changes to the role card descriptions. He mentioned that "the 1980 version makes several interesting changes to the status of women" in an attempt to make the role of women more "positive and visible" (Walford 1983, pp. 159-160)

> "'Spring Green Motorway' is a simulation of a village meeting in which participants are given some background information and asked to role play individuals with a concern about a new motorway ..." (p. 157)

Walford explains that in the 1971 version the balance of sex roles was "17 male cards, four female and two ambiguous and therefore interchangeable." (p. 159). He claims that the 1980 version is "more even", it has 17 male role cards and 9 female - ambiguous roles have been removed. In regretting the removal of these flexible roles Walford argues that "some roles should be left deliberately vague (e.g. Calling the chairman 'Councillor Ferguson' in the 1971 version allowed this to be played by either male or female)". While agreeing that it should be a flexible role he does not seem to be aware of the impact that sexist terminology can have on the allocation of such roles.

A breakdown of the 1980 role cards reveals a number of sexist attitudes with both sexes suffering from stereotyping, even though Walford says the role cards are meant to be "individual personalites".

Almost all the cards start with the words: "You are ..." and then mention employment as the first step towards establishing a role, e.g. "You are the Director of Skimpy Construction Limited ..." or "You own the London Road Garage ..." Then a particular concern regarding the motorway is stated alongside an attitude or some further personal details. Nine male roles are described as owners of businesses or employers of high status in a large organisation, compared to one woman, who is described as "the boss of Snelling's Restaurant" - a more colloquial tone.

All the roles are described with reference to paid

employment, with the exception of three - two of them women. One card 'Mrs. Berry' starts with: You have two children ..." and her concerns about the motorway are concerns for her children's safety. This role card allows the player no separate identity of her own. Mrs. Berry is described solely through her children. Similarly, Mrs. Stone's card starts: "Your house is slap-bang in the path of the motorway. You have lived in it all your life and before your husband died you had a chicken farm ..." Mrs. Stone is described therefore as an obstacle to progress, and further clues about her identity are revealed via her late husband. Further, in terms of ascribed attitudes this card says: "You are determined to stay in your house and will go to any lengths to stop the motorway..." Perhaps this is what Walford meant in his article by more "positive" women. If so, the designers of this simulation are taking few chances; the sentence continues: "... even though the 'men from the ministry' made a fair offer for your house."

Positive? Strong and determined? But also unreasonable, ungrateful, sentimental might be hinted at!

A third card is also demeaning. Mrs. Gifford is described as follows: "You work for Fred Jenkins and you are dissatisfied with your wages ... You have two grown-up children and have only gone back to work since they left home."

One assumes that the job is so lowly that it does not merit description. What relevance have the two children - now grown up - to this motorway debate? Why is the fact that she has 'only just' gone back to work important? Is it that people who have only just gone back to work, i.e. have stayed in the home all those years, know/care less about motorways? Or perhaps the implication that is intended is that she is a caring person because she stayed home and looked after her children, which implies an attitude toward those irresponsible mothers who go out to work.

It is also interesting that there is no equivalent male role. Indeed it is not known whether any of the male roles have wives or children. The designers cannot think that such information is relevant to their roles. Neither do we

know whether the male roles are married or single. In contrast, the 1980 version has two Ms. roles and six married women - their title signifies this, unlike their male counterparts who are all Mr.. The ninth woman is a doctor and it is not revealed whether she is married or single. Of the six married women, two have children and one, the headmistress has children in her care.

It seems strange that the designers consider it important for females to be described in terms of their family ties and not males. Again the double standard is operating.

There is another striking difference. The reasons given for, and hence implied attitudes to, the proposed motorway fall into two categories: one category reveals concerns for health, safety, the environment; the other for progress and personal profit. Seven of the nine female roles are opposed to the motorway and all state reasons in the first category. Seven of the seventeen males and one female support the motorway and state reasons in the second category. The remaining cards are deliberately open or state conflicting interests. Of the seven males who are in favour of the motorway, most are in business. The role cards express stereotyped attitudes like: "You are a businessman. Keen for profit and hard at bargaining."; or, "You're a firm believer in the motto: 'Where there's muck there's brass'."

It is a pity that the designers did not give more concern to the language used on the role cards. In the example above the card could have said 'You are in business' - this would have avoided sexist terminology. Notice how words and phrases like "hard at bargaining", "Firm believer" "muck" and "brass" convey the stereotype of the rapacious, aggressive, successful businessman. Mr. Ralph Johnson's role card uses technical language. He is in the "electronics business (making printed circuits for a computer company)". What a pity the designers did not make this a female role, it might have encouraged girls to be more "visible" in the new technologies.

It is also interesting that two of the seven women's

role cards have the phrase "you are worried" on them, whereas on Mr. Joe Gifford's card (he is a cafe owner) it says, "You think you would be ruined by the proposed service area." There seems to be an assumtion that men 'think' and women are 'worried'; yet in Mr. Gifford's shoes it would make perfect sense for him to be worried.

Joanna Snelling is the only woman in business and her card says, "... Your mission is simple - you want to tell the local residents that they will find lots of employment opportunities". The use of the words "simple" and "mission" here are patronising. The role is tempered by a concern with increased prospects for the community, unlike the male in business who "believe[s] in enterprise", thus perpetuating the myth that it is women who show care and concern for others while men are concerned with 'progress', 'economic recovery', 'profits' and 'boost[ing] business'.

As well as the language,I analysed the female role cards in the light of Walford's claim that they were now more 'positive' and 'visible'. Ms. Paula Green is 'Co-ordinator' of the local branch of 'Friends of the World' (14), an 'environmental pressure group'. Her role is "to persuade the people in Spring Green to campaign against the motorway" The card also says "you are young and idealist". The juxtaposition of these two statements by the designers seems to suggest that her campaign may be well meaning but her lack of experience and attitude will result in her not being taken seriously. Furthermore, none of the male role cards are disparaging in respect of age, while another female role, Ms. Finlay, is also described as "young", this time with the addition of "talented". Initially this sounds flattering but the designers go on to say "You used to work in London but gave up possible promotion there to move to the country which you love". Thus Ms. Finlay is perceived as giving up career prospects and the use of her talent for reasons of sentiment, rather than economic enhancement or job satisfaction. It is also interesting that the two roles that have Ms. - a deliberate move on the designer's part to remove "reference to marital status" (Walford 1983, p. 160) - are the only two roles where we are told they are "young". Perhaps this is an unconscious

inference that they are therefore unlikely to be married.

Dr. Mary Rose is the local doctor. The card continues: "Although you have lived here for five years, some of the local folk are still a little unsure of you because you are Spring Green's first woman doctor." As none of the other role players have this information (or ascribed attitude) on their cards I am unsure why it has been included. Perhaps the designers wanted to convince Dr.Rose that others would not be readily convinced by her arguments, in an attempt to undermine her confidence.

Mrs. Ann Benson is "a senior official in the Department of the Environment". Her card says: "You have travelled to Spring Green by train as you have never driven a car." This high status role may well constitute a more 'visible', 'positive' image but note that she cannot drive a car. We are not told how many of the males cannot drive! Furthermore the card adds "Although you have a Departmental Chauffeur, you prefer travelling by train." Why is it important to know about the chauffeur? Does it increase her status? Or does it increase her dependence, as she cannot drive herself?

Walford criticises in his article the visual sketches on the reverse side of the role cards as promoting stereotypes. "The sketches seem to me to verge on the edge of caricature and to encourage the role player to work in a one-dimensional way." (p. 163). Yet nowhere does Walford mention the language, attitudes and differential treatment that the roles receive, which contribute just as strongly to the creation of the stereotype, albeit in a less obvious way. Furthermore, he states a concern that the visual sketches may lead to the player creating a "sense of otherness ... so that it becomes less likely that the role player will be able to slip into 'other people's shoes' sympathetically." (p. 163). This suggests that a degree of empathy is desired and that characters should be perceived as multi-faceted or well-rounded. He recognises that a caricatured approach may result in a "melodramatic theatrical occasion" and states clearly that this would be "at the expense of participants playing any part which is

sensitively coincident with real life ... the intentions of making a simulation a 'dramatic occasion' may come to conflict with an intent to reproduce reality effectively ... [whereas] ... the intention of the simulation ought to be in drawing attention to the humanisation of apparent stereotyped positions, rather than in reinforcing hackneyed stereotypes." (pp. 163-4).

So Walford seems to be suggesting that there is a distinction between a 'stereotyped position' or attitude and a stereotyped characterisation. I am not clear about his distinction and do not see how they can be divorced from each other. Any stereotype or caricature will lead to a superficial and cliché-ridden approach to the role play, resulting in the reinforcement of prejudice and entrenched views. If the designers deliberately created these stereotyped positions in order to expose them and to encourage a critical evaluation of them through the de-briefing or reflection period at the end of the simulation, then why is there no mention of this in the teachers' notes that accompany the pack? There are slides, maps, the Ildridge Gazette, notes on follow-up projects to do with planning and transport. There is advice to teachers on preparation for the public meeting which very definitely centres on the motorway controversy and encourages the pupils towards factual research related to traffic fumes, noise, motorway costs etc.. There are additional information sheets on 'Roads', 'Transport' and a book list - but no suggestion that these roles have been created in order to explore and explode the myths behind the stereotypes.

This simulation, Walford explains, is seen "primarily as a replica ... i.e. an accurate representation of what is true in contemporary public affairs ..." He admits to being curious about the reasons behind the changes to the role of women players in the 1980 version. He wonders whether this was to reflect a "more accurate representation" or whether this was because the designers desired to encourage such changes, i.e. the simulation seen primarily as idealised reality, or whether it made the simulation "more viable in mixed classrooms", i.e. the simulation seen

primarily as effective pedagogy. He ends his speculation with, "such differences in intention may well alter the structure of other simulations in quite fundamental ways." (p. 160).

These comments in relation to designing simulation exercises apply equally to the drama teacher. Intentions affect the structuring of a lesson, the approach to the material and the specific focussing and questioning. Walford raises questions which are pertinent to ask of drama lessons in general. Is the intention of dramatic playing or role play in the classroom to replicate, idealise or to be effective pedagogy? Most certainly the difference in intention will affect the experience for the participants and ultimately the learning areas. The role of the teacher like the designer of the simulation, is critical in determining, for example, whether the participants accept, adopt and conform to the relationships and represented life situations; or whether they remain critical and questioning of them.

Conclusion.

This chapter has used isolated examples of drama in education to illustrate the occurrence of sexism and its particular manifestations in drama. The following implications emerge for the teacher. There is a need to constantly monitor language both for sexist terminology and to prevent the continuance of a 'two value' system operating, based on gender assumptions. There is a need to be more conscious about whose interests are being served during interactions within the drama, in particular in relation to opportunities for talk. Equally teachers need to monitor the themes or subject matter of the drama to see whether they are favouring boys' interests and if so to consider the reasons for this and whether it is in their long term interests.

There is also a need for teachers to be aware of their own assumptions about gender attributes and behaviour, occupational roles and role status when creating or allocating characters or roles.

It is important to consider how the teacher's intentions affect the structuring and questioning and ultimately the students' experience. All of the above involve making conscious taken-for-granted assumptions. The next chapter adopts an approach which allows for a more detailed examination of unconscious assumptions by focussing specifically on the role of the teacher.

CHAPTER SIX:

ANALYSIS OF DRAMA LESSON (A).

In terms of the research process the previous chapter represents my initial investigation of sexism in drama in education: a general survey.

Working from the hypothesis that none of the teachers whose work I observed intended to reinforce or legitimate sexism, I decided to investigate more closely the factors that were causing this to happen. By analysing in detail the minutiae of one full drama session I hoped to discover more precisely how such processes operate.

The lesson which is analysed in this chapter was selected initially because from first viewing I was aware that there was an obvious example of sexism within it. Also I was able to ask this teacher's permission to analyse the lesson and later had a brief opportunity to clarify points that arose. Furthermore, from acquaintance with this teacher, I knew that she was committed to countering sexism. I also found myself identifying with the dilemmas that she faced during the drama session. This caused me to reflect on my own practice while analysing her work. I hope that the choice of presentation for this analysis will create this opportunity for the reader. My feelings of identification with this teacher led me to adopt an empathetic attitude towards the development of the drama; my concern about the negative effects of sexism led me to adopt a critical attitude towards sexist inferences and assumptions within the drama session.

In an attempt to reflect this dual attitude I have presented the first analysis of the session in tabulated form. It is set out in three vertical columns. The first column (A) contains a section of the transcript; the second column (B) is an empathetic explanation of the researcher's interpretation of the drama practice; the third column (C) highlights those aspects of sexism perceived by the researcher. It is intended that the reader should read the first item in column A, then read comments in columns B and C before going on to the next section of transcript.

Background to the lesson

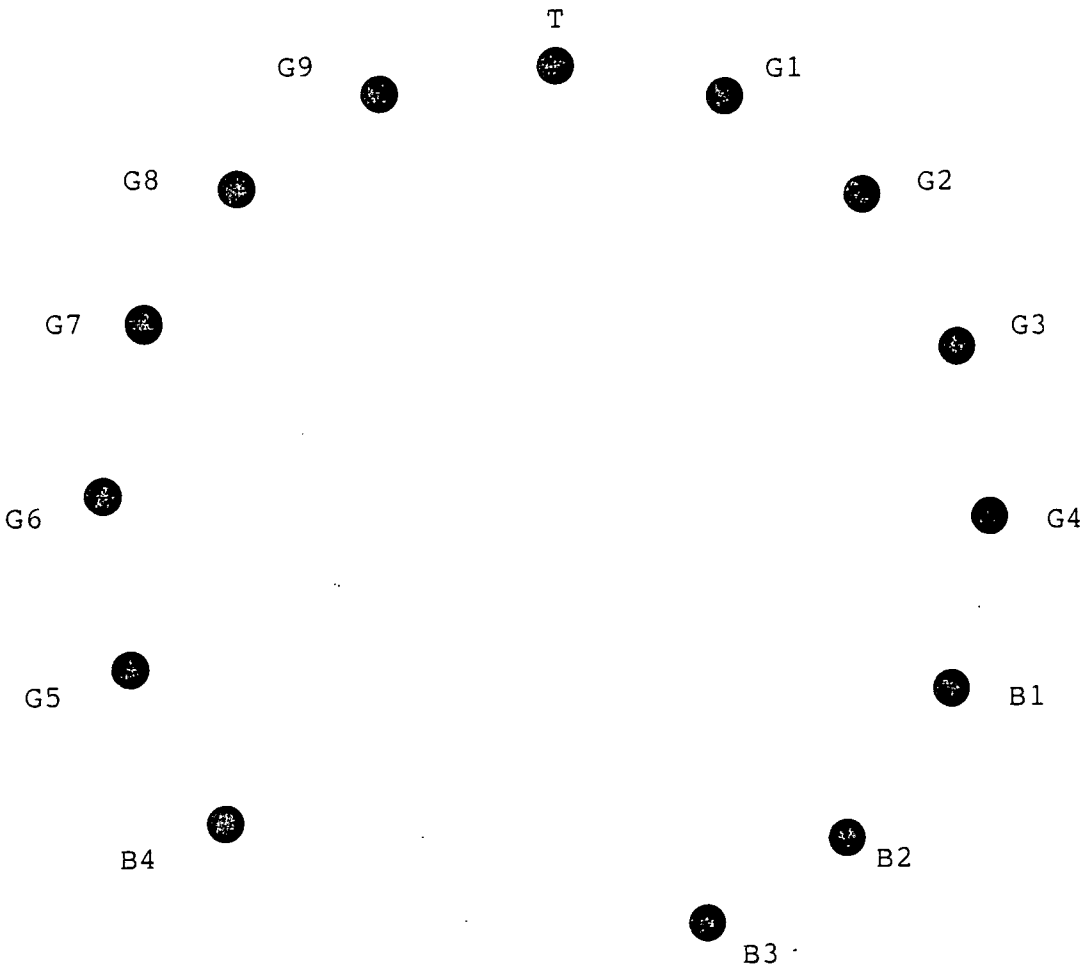
The class are a group of twelve students aged 16 plus on a Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.) course. The location was a television studio on a university campus. The teacher had worked with them only once before, as part of her own M.A. research. Although the students were a group when working with her, they were split into different groupings for the rest of the M.S.C. course. Therefore in planning these drama lessons the teacher had to take into account the fact that they did not know her or each other very well, and that their work was being filmed. Furthermore working in a television studio placed a constraint on the use of physical space.

In a previous session, their first together, the teacher had decided to tackle a sensitive issue - teenage pregnancy - as the students were due to see an educational film on this subject later in the week. She had set herself the task of seeing whether she could 'protect' these students into 'emotional engagement' with sensitive material prior to seeing the film. In this first drama session the decision that the students were faced with was whether or not the pregnant, unmarried teenager should keep the child herself or consider adoption. During this session some students were introduced to role playing for the first time. It was reported by colleagues that the students had been enthusiastic about the session. The lesson I am about to describe is only the second time this group has met.

Summary of the lesson

The students and teacher are seated in a circle (see Fig. 1). The teacher explains that she will give them some information which they must make sense of. The initial stimulus is a hand-written note. From this the students deduce that a girl, Karen, has written to her boyfriend, Dave, informing him that she will not be seeing him because she needs time to sort out her feelings about their relationship. Later a second note, from Dave to

Figure 1. Diagram of the Seating Arrangements Showing the Position of Individual Students in Drama Lesson A.



Key. G = Girl.
B = Boy.
T = Teacher.

NB/. There was a slight gap in the circle between B3 B4.

Karen, indicates his response to her action.

During the session the teacher uses simultaneous pair exercises, whole group role play, and improvised performances to pose and examine a moral issue: should girls under sixteen be given the contraceptive pill without their parents' consent? (This drama session took place in 1983 prior to the changing of the law, following the Gillick case(15). At the end of the session the students are asked to vote on this issue.

Note to the reader.

This analysis will be in two parts: the first will be presented in tabulated form; the second analysis will be a re-examination of the same lesson, focussing on different aspects and presented discursively. In Part One the transcript (Column A) appears in full with the exception of two separate moments of interruption when latecomers arrive and the teacher has to stop, make welcome and explain what is going on. The numbers that appear down the left-hand side of the analysis are to enable the reader to identify particular sections of the transcript. I have adopted this rather than line references. These are referred to in the second analysis of this particular lesson (pages 159-188). Sub-headings introduce the nature of the activity: 'Simultaneous Role Play Exercise' indicates that all the students are working in pairs, at the same time - there is no audience;'Improvised Performance' means selected students spontaneously improvise in front of their peers who become an audience; 'Whole Group Role Play' involves everyone in the same situation listening and responding, as appropriate, to the unfolding drama.

The students and teacher are seated in a circle as shown in Fig. 1 .

First Analysis of Drama Lesson (A).

Item number	A Transcript	B Development of the Drama and Pedagogical Objective	C Sexist Inferences/ Observations
1.	Teacher. I'm going to tell you a story but it's not just an ordinary story. It's like a jigsaw puzzle because there are bits missing. I'm going to give you some pieces of the jigsaw and between us I hope you're going to fill in some of the gaps. And the first piece of the puzzle is this so ... [She hands out a duplicated note to each one. They read it silently.]		
2.	The first note reads: "No I'm not going to meet you at the coffee bar tonight.	The use of an external stimulus - poem, map, news-paper article, object etc.,	

	A	B	C
2 (contd)	I need time to sort things out and decide how I feel and what's gone wrong. Karen."	'protects' students into involvement with the drama, because they can focus on the stimulus,and attention is taken away from themselves. This note, written by the teacher, is deliberately informal and meant to represent the kind of scribbled note a 15 year old might send across the class during a lesson. This is an attempt to sound authentic, plus to set a language model which is informal and colloquial, which might make discussion of the notes easier.	
3.	Teacher. O.K., so it's a note. What does it tell you? What do you find out from reading it? [Pause]. There are obvious things	The teacher asks "What does it tell you?" There are only a few tentative replies, some heads are down continuing to look at the note. The teacher encourages	

	A	B	C
3. (contd)	like it's from a girl ... G2. To a boy I think. T. To a boy you think (Uh Huh). What makes you think that? G2. Sounds as though they've had an argument. T. Uh hum. Right. O.K. What else does it tell you? (long pause). Well it tells you that she's not going to meet him, doesn't it? It also tells you why. Right? So why isn't she going to meet him? B1. She's uncertain about how her feelings are for that person.	them to elaborate further, by gentle questioning, but they are still feeling uncertain, so she does not push them.	
4.	Briefing for first role play Teacher. Now I want you to try to make quite a big shift in your mental attitude because I want you to	Before presenting the second note the teacher reminds them of the role play she introduced the previous week. Everyone is put in the same role -	

	A	B	C
4. (contd)	imagine that you are all teachers. You teach this girl, all of you. O.K.? And there's been a special staff meeting called for all people who teach this girl. And I'm going to be Head teacher. And I called this meeting because something is wrong with this girl. And we're having to find out. Right.	teachers of Karen. The teacher is to be involved in the action and thus in a position to influence the role play, via questions, if the students find it difficult or are reluctant to initiate. But she also has the option of watching and listening. The choice of a staff meeting means the circle they are already sitting in requires no re-arranging. They can sit where they are - implying no 'acting' is required - just a 'mental' shift. This is less threatening than having to stand or move, or work in pairs or groups. Nothing has physically altered.	
5.	First Role Play. [Teacher as headteacher, B1 as form tutor].	The teacher in role is trying to establish a new role relationship with the stud-	The class consists of 8 girls, 4 boys. A boy is chosen by the teacher and

	A	B	C
5. (contd)	T. Well I'm sorry to keep you all behind. I know you have all had a hard day and you've got your marking to do and your lessons to prepare, but we've got to sort out about Karen, Karen Brown. She's just taken her mock 'O' levels; she's failed every one of them. Now she's a bright girl and we need to be finding out what's gone wrong. Now then, um, Mr. Smith, now you're Karen's form tutor. Have you noticed anything particularly wrong with Karen recently? Has she talked to you about anything at all? B1 Well she seems a bit withdrawn. She never speaks to other people within the form on a morning. She keeps herself to	ents. She looks for signs of confidence in them or a relaxed manner. Her evaluation leads her to address one student directly, thus pressing this student for a response in role.	elevated in status to form tutor. Stanworth's research (1981) confirms that small tokens of individual attention are clues that pupils go by when deciding whether or not they are looked on favourably by their teachers. "Because boys are given prominence by both male and female teachers in classroom activity, they have a far greater chance of feeling valued. The converse is that girls tend to assume they are held in low esteem, the cumulative effect of this experience is that pupils tend to see this as evidence that boys in general are more highly valued, and more capable than girls." (p.37).

A B C

5. herself, never smiles, isn't
(contd) as she used to be - she used to be quite cheerful. She used to take part in other things.

T. She did.

B1. [Nods].

T. So this is quite a rapid change then? Um! Right. Now you're her English teacher aren't you and er ... Ann was telling me the other day that Karen was always good at English - it's always been her favourite subject. Now you haven't seen her in your lessons for quite a bit, have you?

G4. No?

T. No ... So what made you realise that she was missing and she wasn't just ill?

	A	B	C
5. (contd)	G4. Because she was good at English and then she just hasn't been in the lessons at all. T. Uh hum. And you've checked in the register? G4. Yes.		
6.	T. This is the problem, she's not missing whole days, only certain lessons. Her work's suffering all the time but she's only missing certain lessons - yours is one isn't it - her English - and I believe yours is another, isn't it? The History. She's not been in History at all. G6. No. T. And was her work suffering before she ... she was truanting?	a) Focussing attention on school subjects is a concrete way of starting on Karen's problems. The stereotypic choice of English/History gives immediate credibility. b) By asking a more general question this time the teacher in role is inviting students to nominate themselves in role as the History or English teacher. They are not prepared to	English and History are among the more traditional female option choices at 13+. In the Arts and Humanities areas the girls dominate. In English Literature a third more girls enter exams than boys and in English Language there are almost twice as many girls as boys (Kant, 1982). The choice of English and History in this role play reinforces traditional stereotyped choices rather

	A	B	C
6. (contd)	G6. No. T. She suddenly stopped coming. I wonder if there's anyone else here who's found she's missing their lessons? (Pause). It's just the two is it? Just the English and History. There's nobody else? ... Did she actually appear to like History? G6. Yeah she loved it, yeah!	elaborate, though the intention was to create this opportunity.	than promoting alternative models, like Maths or Science.
7.	T. So it's something of a mystery. Two subjects which she really enjoyed and yet she's going missing. Does anyone see her around during these lessons? Has anyone noticed her? On corridors or anything? She's such a nice girl. (To B1) Have you seen anything of her?	In role the teacher is able to offer an opinion about Karen .. "a nice girl." She waits to see if this will be challenged. She then invites the students to supply further information and indicates that subsequent role play will build on this. They are given the opportunity	The teacher describes Karen as 'nice'. While this is a fairly non-committal description, it is an adjective that tends to be used more frequently for females than males. In fact the phrase 'he's a nice boy' can have connotations of effeminacy when used in certain contexts. It is an example of

	A	B	C
7. (contd)	B1. The only time I've seen her is on a morning with the register. She gets her mark and then seems to disappear. T. in role. So is there anything else anyone can tell me? I need to have all the information I can because ... I'll have to see her parents. (Pause). So that's it then ... Right, well thank you very much. I'll call in her parents and let you know how I get on with them. We'll see if we can find some help for her somehow. Right thank you very much. Teacher. Right. Good. Well done. You can stop being teachers now, you'll be relieved to know.	to define and contribute to the developing drama.	a two-value system in the language applied to males and females. At another level 'She's not a nice girl' can be a veiled reference to a loss of sexual innocence with the suggestion that something is wrong with her morals.

	A	B	C
8.	A second note is now given out. Teacher. OK so now I am going to give you a little bit more of the puzzle - a little bit more of the story. Here you're going to see another note. The second note reads: "Suit yourself. If you're going to go all serious and boring, I don't want to know. There are plenty more fish in the sea. Dave."	The notes provide two perspectives and imply that Karen and Dave have different attitudes to whatever has happened. This intrigue is designed to capture attention and lure them into the drama.	A difference in attitude is implied in the notes. It might be based on the assumption that males and females have innate differences in their ways of thinking and feeling. Dave's note is casual and off-hand. It imposes conditions. 'If you're going to ... I don't want to know.' The cliche, 'plenty more fish' ... reduces Karen to an object and implies that one 'fish'/girl is as good as another. He accuses her of being 'boring' and 'serious', implying criticism of her decision to act independently.
9.	Teacher. What else do we know? Pupils' responses. G2. He's horrible - I don't	This adds to the development of character and and invites intrigue about the relationship of the	It is established that Karen is uncertain, Dave is 'horrible', not 'fond'. This may be the basis of a stereotyped

	A	B	C
9. (contd)	blame her. T. Uh hum, right he sounds not very nice. G2. He doesn't sound as if he's bothered about her. T. No, he doesn't, does he? (reads extract). If I tell you that these two are in the same class for English and History, does that make sense? Several. Yes. T. Right. So she's got a problem hasn't she, and she's trying to sort it out somehow.	couple.	character. Notice the teacher did not comment after the first note, here she does. This might be perceived by the students as selectively differentiating, i.e. She lends her authority to reinforce one set of conclusions, but not the other.
10.	T. Meanwhile the parents have got a problem as well, haven't they? Because if they don't know anything about this ... they're going to go to school and this daughter, who's never been any bother to them,	a) The teacher recaps what has been established so far in the drama and she focusses attention onto Karen in particular. She asks them to anticipate the parents' response.	The teacher defines through her choice of vocabulary that Karen has a problem. The exact nature of this is not clear. We know that she is uncertain of her feelings and that she has been truanting, and that Dave's note is un-

	A	B	C
10. (contd)	who's always done well at school, suddenly they get a letter from the headteacher saying we're worried about Karen, will you come and see us. And off they go and find out she's truanting. Now this is unheard of. So what are they going to do? B3. Hit the roof! T. They might hit the roof, yes. And who's going to catch it? B2. Karen. T. Right. What other way might they approach it? B1. Sit down and talk to her. T. Yes, sit down to talk and try to find out. It all depends, doesn't it? They might hit the roof first, then sit down and talk.	b) The teacher tries to include both suggestions, incorporating them into one.	sympathetic and conditional. This is now defined as '<u>Karen's problem</u>'. There is a danger here that Karen might be seen in a negative light, i.e. over-sensitive or or incapable of making decisions or facing up to things. Also that this focussing on Karen's problem places unfair emphasis on one protagonist, and thus on the development of the drama; possibly resulting in the central concerns being seen as more relevant to one sex than another.

	A	B	C
11.	Briefing: second role play. T. What I'd like to try doing is ... If you could work in pairs ... or in threes (you can have both parents and the daughter). It doesn't matter whether you're the wrong sex for one of the parents because I'm not asking to act somebody else... I'm going to ask you to take on an attitude of mind, of that person, that's all. So you can be dad if you're a girl and Karen if you're a fella - or mum - it doesn't matter. You're not going to do anything in public.	The teacher facilitates the organisation of this activity by not insisting on mixed sex groups. The students do not know each other very well and in the circle the four boys are sitting together. She attempts to minimise embarassment about the choice of partners through this device; at the same time reminding them that they will not have to physically 'act'.	This may have the effect of reinforcing gender divisions, i.e. when given the choice in mixed sex classrooms, males and females tend to choose the same sex groups to work in. At this age there might also be the added embarassment of choosing someone of the opposite sex in an unfamiliar situation. As a short term strategy the teacher could use her authority to suggest the pairs and thus remove the onus of responsibility from the students - thus making it possible because teacher suggested it.
12.	T. I just want you to have that conversation where mum or dad or both try to find	a) The teacher selected the roles: parents/child. By telling them not to	By selecting the roles of Karen and parents the teacher is further defining the prob-

	A	B	C
12. (contd)	out from Karen why she's truanting. Now parents are determined to be reasonable. She's never been any problem before, they're going to give her every chance. They're not going to shout and rave, they're going to find out. But Karen is determined they're not going to find out, because she's not ready to talk to them about it. Now try to think of the first thing that the parent might say ... Decide who's going to be Karen and who's going to be mum ... Just sitting where you are decide who you're going to be.	worry about which sex they were boys were invited to play Karen, using their experience of child-to-parent, to do this. b) The imposed constraints are designed to slow down the drama and to prevent a superficial and 'relatively' easy verbal conflict from developing. It forces the 'parents' into coaxing and persuading which is emotionally and verbally more demanding.	lem as Karen's rather than Dave's or both. My next comment may seem like a contradiction of the previous point, but I think there might sometimes be an exception. While both sexes have experience of parent and child roles and one can see the teacher's reasons for drawing upon the students' general experience of child, perhaps an exception should be made here given that attitudes towards 'daughters' are being explored and towards 'Karen's problem'. Karen is female. Given the particulars of the constructed situation and the differential treatment of daughters in our society this

	A	B	C
12. (contd)			strategy irons out the exploration of such differentiation.
13.	Reporting back on Second Role Play. T. Parents, did anyone find out? Several. No. T. So how did she seem to you, your daughter, whom you know really well ... Was she like herself? G7. Different. T. How was she different? G2. Stubborn and wouldn't talk to me. T. How did that make you feel? G2. As if she wasn't interested in us ... She wouldn't tell us what was the matter.	The teacher offers opportunities to each pair to tell the others what happened in their improvisation. They all listen to each other and move from direct to reported speech. Some pupils are reluctant to speak in front of the whole class. The teacher uses questions to probe further and to focus on feelings rather than narrative.	The constraint introduced in Item 12 now has the effect, in the reporting back, of developing Karen's character. She is described as 'stubborn' and uninterested in her parents, so that what was a device to protect students into a more considered emotional engagement now colours how Karen is perceived. Note the teacher's use of the word "offspring". Karen here is described as an appendage. Note how the teacher changes 'Nowt' to 'Nothing'. This may be perceived as correcting the girl's speech, which

	A	B	C
13. (contd)	T. Did anyone else find the same thing? B3. Aye. He was sort of like withdrawn. Wouldn't speak about it. You couldn't get anything out of him. T. So how did you feel? B3. Er ... you felt rejected. T. So you felt rejected then by this ... this offspring of yours that you've never had any bother with before. O.K. So how about you [to G3]. G3. Nowt (laughs). T. (laughs) Nothing.		might add to the difficulty of contributing in classroom talk.
14.	T. How did you feel?[to G3] G3. (pause) Well, she just wouldn't say anything at all. T. Um. Did you get angry? G3. No. T. Did you want to get angry?	The teacher replies 'Aah', then laughs aloud and says 'I see'. This supports the girl's contribution and shows that the teacher recognises the implicit meaning in the phrase 'wait till	Both 'mum' and 'dad' are presented in a stereotypical way. Mum wants to get angry, but chooses to avoid confrontation and leave it to dad - who is traditionally expected to show anger. This statement

	A	B	C
14. (contd)	G3. Yeah, but I just said, 'you'll have to wait till your dad comes in' (laughs). T. (laughs) Ah, I see.	dad comes in'. She laughs with the class which relaxes them all and facilitates future contributions.	reinforces several other stereotypes as well. It puts mum in a subordinate position: 'wait till dad gets in' is a threat of greater power, and implies that mum is incapable in some way that dad is not. It also puts dad into the chastiser role associating him with punishments. By laughing and not commenting, the teacher reinforces by omission and agrees complicitly.
15.	T. How about you? G9. She just wouldn't tell us anything. T. (Repeats this) How did you feel? G9. I would have got angry. T. You would have got angry but you were making your-	Having imposed the constraints earlier the teacher now suggests a reason why mum didn't get angry - providing a logic for the tension felt during the role play.	This reinforces the previous point. 'Mums' it seems have to be'reasonable, supportive, co-operative'and this does not involve displaying anger.

	A	B	C
15. (contd)	self not get angry, so that you were being a reasonable, supportive, co-operative mum in the hope that that would work and it wasn't.		
16.	Discussion of Drama's Development. T. Right. What do you think might happen next? Give me some ideas. Here's this girl in this terrible emotional state.	The teacher wants to move the drama on and develop the plot or narrative. She asks the class to take responsibility for its direction. She recaps on the situation adding emotional climate, to increase the tension.	Karen's problem, i.e. truanting and feeling uncertain about Dave and behaving stubbornly with her parents is now described as a "terrible emotional state." This reinforces notions that girls are over-sensitive and over-emotional, especially when seen alongside Dave's note with its unsympathetic, 'off-hand' attitude. This reinforces in general a two-value system in which boys are uncaring; girls are sensitive.

	A	B	C
17.	T. Now she's got the added pressure of mum and dad, who although they're not getting angry yet, are going to (looks towards G9) aren't they? So, what might she do? Think of some things she might do. B3. Run away. T. She might indeed. Yes she might run away. O.K. Let's take that then as a piece of the puzzle you've put in - a piece of the jigsaw puzzle of this story	The teacher invites contributions for developing the drama, accepts the contribution and uses it.	The teacher looks at and addresses a girl. A boy answers. Swann & Graddol's research (1988) suggests that teacher's gaze is important in enabling students to make contributions to discussion. But eye contact as a means of selection also depends on a pupil's readiness to meet and not to avert eye gaze. Boys were found more willing to volunteer to to speak, teacher's gaze was more frequently directed to boys, but girls are also complicit in these arrangements. The teacher asks for some ideas. She accepts the first one offered. By accepting this idea of running away,

	A	B	C
17. (contd)			the teacher reinforces the idea that Karen, in her 'terrible emotional state' runs away from her problems rather than facing up to them. This reinforces an image of weakness, and as being incapable of taking charge of her life.
18.	Teacher Input to Scenario O.K. She's run away. Mum and dad discover that she's gone. Mum also makes another discovery that dad doesn't know about yet, because when she was upstairs searching around in this girl's room to find some sort of clue about where she might have gone, mum finds something which disturbs her very much, because	The teacher injects surprise into the drama through the unexpected discovery of the contraceptive pills. There is a simultaneous surprise at both real and symbolic levels. a) It alters the relationship between Karen and Dave in the drama. b) The students may be surprised that teacher brings	The teacher uses a euphemism to refer to the sexual intercourse that has occurred. Euphemisms suggest a coyness about something. By not making explicit her acceptance that Dave and Karen are sexually involved and experienced, the teacher may be seen to be reinforcing this as an unworthy, or shameful act. It is particularly important in this example since

	A	B	C
18. (contd)	she finds a pack of contraceptive pills (pause). What does that tell you now that you didn't know before? Fairly obvious isn't it? That the relationship between Karen and Dave has been a very close one, shall we say?	this subject into the session.	both the drama scenario and teacher's objectives are explicitly about sexual relationships and responsibility. It is the very issue the teacher is interested in discussing, yet it is never brought out into the open. This in itself implies an attitude which might reflect how the issue is discussed and how the students perceive the climate of the classroom and its hidden agenda. If the teacher is seen to be embarassed about this subject, then students might be reluctant to state personal views which might conflict with this. If this is perceived then, in terms of the drama, Karen is not only in a terrible emot-

	A	B	C
18. (contd)			ional state, she is also someone who has done wrong.
19.	Briefing for Third Role Play Exercise. Teacher. Now mum is going to have to tell dad, who thinks that this daughter's absolutely wonderful - you know can't do any wrong in his eye - and mum has the task of telling him.	The teacher is setting the scene in a very general way. She is less concerned with individual role development and more concerned with the task that mum has. Her description of Karen, as the daughter who can do no wrong, makes mum's task more difficult. The teacher wants the student playing dad to have to suspend his judgment of the issue and so deepen the commitment to the discovery and its consequences. This information, that he has faith in his daughter, is also intended to create a tension in the Scene,	The previous point about the teacher's use of euphemism and coyness, possibly indicating that Karen has behaved wrongly, is reinforced by the phrase, 'dad thinks ... [she] can't do any wrong..." Note also that Karen is again referred to as an appendage, i.e. daughter. The word 'this' plus teacher's tone of voice reinforces this objectification of Karen. She is not seen as a person in her own right. Notice the implicit stereotypical assumptions that: (i) Fathers think daughters are wonderful (ii) Mothers have a breaking

A	B	C
19. (contd)	a) between what he is told and what he wants to believe and b) between the parents' differing attitudes to the news. This overt concern with the task of breaking the news is another device for protecting the students into difficult emotional areas. Bolton (1984, pp. 128-9) says: "some subjects are painful, sensational, controversial or just a bit too exciting ... If a teacher does not handle them indirectly, the class will hastily protect themselves by opting out, fooling around etc.." "The notion of protecting is not ... protecting participants from emotion ... but into emotion ... towards an effective equilibrium so that self-esteem, personal dignity, personal security and group security are never over-challenged."	-bad-news role (iii) Fathers are less sensitive over handling these kinds of matters.

	A	B	C
20.	(Briefing contd). Teacher. They both know she's gone, they've informed the police. But now there's this on top of it. So ... (pause) ... I'd like you to do something similar to what you've just been doing and work in pairs - mum and dad. So - dad's sitting trying to read his newspaper as if everything is normal Mum is trying to sit and get on with her sewing as if everthing is normal. They're both of them extremely upset, obviously, that Karen has gone missing. They're very, very worried, so worried that they can't even really talk about it	a) As far as building the character of Karen is concerned, it is conceivable that some of the group may have already played the role as the kind of daughter who does not run away. For the sake of consensus in the drama - some may now have to take up the group's view. b) The teacher reassures them by saying this is something they have already tackled and managed. c) The teacher describes an activity that they are occupied with, e.g. sewing, to give them something to focus on. By reading or sewing, concentration is on the task in hand and eye contact is	a) Students' individual perceptions of Karen's response to her predicament are subordinated to the group view - which in this case arose from the suggestion of Boy 3. b) The teacher has chosen separate activities which are 'traditionally' male or female. This is further reinforced by the phrase 'trying to be normal', which suggests not only that this is what this couple usually do, but that these are the normal activities of males and females. Although the activities themselves are only important as devices to focus attention, create tension and protect - the danger is that such gen-

	A	B	C
20. (contd)	any more. Mum's got the extra worry because she's got to tell him at some point about this [the pills]. So Mum's sewing, dad's reading his paper. They're trying to be sort of normal. Sit in two's. The same partners if you like. O.K.	minimised. Also, the task helps slow the pace down and legitimises pauses and silences which inexperienced 'actors' may rush to fill with superficial chatter. d) By introducing the constraint: 'you're so worried you can hardly talk about it', the teacher is minimising the risk of them failing to think of anything to say <u>and</u> at the same time allowing them to come closer to experiencing the emotional meaning inherent in the situation. The teacher here is probably interested in exploring the contradiction between the feeling level of the drama and the contrasting physical activities	eralisations lead to reinforcing the idea that there are distinct male and female activities.

A	B	C
20. (contd)	of reading and sewing, or put differently the difference between extrinsic and intrinsic structure. Gavin Bolton (1984) believes that the tighter the straight jacket ("inner structure") the more creative the participants can be. The particular inner structure in this scene seems to be what Bolton terms the opposition between 'we are the ones who know - and he who doesn't know'! This structure works for both mum and dad since dad is in both of these positions simultaneously. Out of role he is 'one who knows' and in symbolic role he is 'one who does not know'. The drama explores this dialectic.	

	A	B	C
21.	Reporting Back on Third Role Play. T. Let's go round and find out what dad's reaction was. (laughter). (to first pair - two girls). Mum, tell us what dad's reaction was. G2. He wouldn't believe it of his daughter. T. Did mum believe it? (The girl nods) Mum did. (The second pair - 2 girls) G4. Mum believed it but dad just didn't want to believe it. He just ignored the fact.	a) The teacher focusses on dad's reaction but asks the student playing mum to report back. This keeps both students involved and listening. b) The teacher establishes that she may ask further questions and that she may comment on what is said. She also repeats statements when barely audible, to keep all the class interested so as not to ask students to repeat themselves, which might cause embarassment (This can of course also have the undesired effect, if over-used, of making students dependent on teacher).	Karen is 'his daughter', and appendage. Implicit in Girl 2's statement is the reinforcement of the myth of innocence and sanctity of virginity that fathers are traditionally supposed to want for their daughters, but not necessarily for their sons. 'He wouldn't believe it of his daughter' also reduces children to mere reflections of their parents and is in itself a dangerous psychological circle, limiting the free development of self.

	A	B	C
22.	(The third pair - 2 boys) B2. He had an idea. T. He had an idea, dad. Aah, very perceptive dad there then. Um! What was mum's reaction? B2. She wasn't really expecting it but it's there. T. Was she surprised that dad had got a clue about this, an inkling about this? B2. No, not really. T. Right.		The tone of the teacher's voice here suggests surprise that dad might previously have considered Karen as sexually active. She further implies this by emphasising the first He as if she has not heard correctly, and checks by adding 'dad' at the end of the sentence with an upward inflection. This is followed by 'Aah' as she realises this is what the boy means. Finally she comments: Very perceptive dad there then, Um'. This suggests that dad's reaction is unexpected and perhaps atypical or unnatural behaviour for a male. As if needing reassurance herself, the teacher asks if mum

	A	B	C
22. (contd)			was surprised by this. The boy, not seeming to react in the same way as teacher, says in a matter-of-fact way 'No, not really'. It is the teacher's assumptions and expectations that have been exposed here.
23.	(To fourth pair - 2 boys) B3. I didn't mention it because I didn't think they were hers. I just thought she was keeping 'em for somebody. T. So you weren't going to tell dad. B3. No. T. Right. Fine. That's OK. That's the kind of decision that might be taken, isn't it? So dad was saved the worry. You thought it just	The teacher reassures boy 3 that his decision - which goes against the agreed consensus - is acceptable. But she tries to press for commitment to the drama by enquiring about the conversation they were having - so that he is not undermining the contributions of others.	It is difficult to know the boy's motives here. One interpretation might be that mums are naive about their daughters' relationships, another might be that he did not like the way the drama was developing and this was a blocking move. The teacher, who may have seen this as a form of opting out asks what mum was 'rabbiting on about'. This implies the talk is of no consequence

	A	B	C
23. (contd)	wasn't necessary to worry him with that on top of everything else. So what was mum rabbiting on to you about, while you were sitting there trying to read your newspaper and take your mind off your daughter who's run away? B4. (reply inaudible). T. (to fifth pair - 2 girls) OK. G6. Shock. T. Shock from dad. Did he believe it? G6. No. T. Not really. Too shocked to believe it. What about mum? Did mum believe it? G6. Ah huh. (nods). T. Mum jumped to that conclusion straight away that the girl was taking them, did she? G6. I don't know. T. (To sixth pair - 2 girls) OK.		but also is more often applied to women than men.

	A	B	C
23. (contd)	G7. Mum believed it but she didn't want to.		
24.	(Seventh pair - girl and teacher). T. Now this mum's reaction here (indicating the partner she worked with - girl 9) she believed it and thought maybe the girl had run away with the fellow involved. And this dad (indicating herself) didn't believe it either. This dad didn't believe his daughter could get involved with anything like this at all, much too innocent, still at school, still only 15, definitely not - not his Karen.	The teacher shows that she is prepared to report back on what happened in her improvisation, like the rest.	a) Distaste is implied in the phrase 'anything like this'. b) Daughters become associated with innocence. Do the same values apply to sons? Are males described in these terms?
25.	T. Now mum I think here (meaning her partner) has	The teacher picks up and supports her partner's	The teacher reinforces the generalisation rather than

	A	B	C
25. (contd)	jumped to a conclusion that many mums might jump to if a girl disappeared, and then they found this - that she'd gone away with the boy.	contribution.	seeking alternative responses. Generalisations can lead towards stereotypes. Dads are not mentioned here, so that it is implied that mums, rather than dads or parents, jump to such conclusions.
26.	T. As it happens we've got inside information, haven't we - in the letters? Mum doesn't know about these so we know in fact she hasn't run away with the boy because she's here (pointing to note) saying she's not going to see him. But mum's not in a position to know that because mum hasn't seen the letter. That's just our inside view of the story. That's our bit of the puzzle	The teacher is clarifying any apparent contradictions in the drama's logic, so the participants can maintain their interest and commitment.	

	A	B	C
26. (contd)	that we have and mum and dad haven't got.		
27.	T. What do you suppose then? Let's sum up what you think Karen's state of mind is now. How is she going to feel? Try to think of one sentence which sums up how this girl feels. And I'm going to ask each one of you to say one sentence which sums up how this girl feels. So get the sentence ready in your head. Just say what you've prepared to say. It doesn't matter if you're repeating someone else. O.K. Let's start here.	Teacher changes focus to a consideration of Karen's feelings which is providing the motivation for the developing narrative. The teacher asks each student to reflect on this and contribute. She reassures them that one sentence will suffice and encourages them that any contribution, even repetition, will be acceptable. Contributing is what is important. The teacher may also be concerned to limit the time for this activity.	The phrase 'state of mind' has connotations of nervous breakdowns and emotional illness. In our society this traditionally implies weakness, or helplessness, rather than strength or a positive image. When we expect someone to be happy or triumphant we rarely use the phrase 'how is his/her state of mind?' There is, I suggest, an implicit, unspoken assumption in this request concerned with a negative rather than positive state. Also, by asking students to sum up her feelings in one sentence, the teacher is encouraging a superficial, glib or stereotyped response,

	A	B	C
27. (contd)			since a more careful, balanced response would require a fuller explanation.
28.	Pupils' Responses/ Reflections G1. She's confused. She doesn't know who to turn to. G2.(inaudible). G3. She's sad and low. G4. She's confused and upset. B1. She's got no-one to turn to really. B2. She's distraught, angry and frightened. B3. Emotionally unstable and confused. B4. She doesn't know who to turn to. G5. She wanted somewhere to go ... (inaudible). G6. Lonely and afraid. G7. She's frustrated. She	The teacher asks every student in turn. NB/. Some of the replies were mumbled and indistinct. The teacher does not comment on their contributions except generally at the end. This way all receive equal attention.	By listening to statements in this consecutive way there may well be increased overlap and association of ideas, i.e. a tendency to conform to the emerging group description. The resultant image of Karen is reinforced as someone in a 'terrible emotional state'. The image has become consolidated through this process. It is interesting that the only positive feeling to emerge from this sea of confusion is stated by a boy: 'She's distraught, angry and frightened' While anger is not usually thought of as positive, this

A	B	C
28. doesn't know what to do.		is at least a strong feeling
(contd) G8. She'll be angry at not .. (inaudible).		and can generate action. Of all the responses this one shows some ambivalence of feeling which could provide a rich avenue for further exploration through drama. Ambivalence has its own inner structure of opposing feeling states and appreciation of this might have led to a more balanced characterisation of Karen. Instead, Karen is portrayed stereotypically as a helpless, overwrought female. It is also interesting that it was a boy who suggested anger. Anger is associated more frequently with traditional 'male aggressive behaviour' than with female timidity, yet he off-
G9. She's got no-one to turn to.		
T. Right.		

	A	B	C
28. (contd)			ers the only counteraction to the cumulative stereotype. The teacher does not comment on this deviation, however, thus colluding with the stereotype.
29.	T. In the meantime how do the parents feel? Let's do the same thing about the parents. How do they feel? We'll start this way this time. (indicating that they should reverse the order of contributions).	The teacher is making sure that it is not always the same students who start first.	
30.	Students' Responses. G9. Bit worried and confused. G8. (inaudible). G7. Mixed up and they just want her back. G6. Worried and angry. G5. Worried and upset that		a) Two of the boys suggest that the paents may in some way be at 'fault', or have gone 'wrong'. Several girls focus on 'worried', 'upset', angry and hurt because they were not confided in.

	A	B	C
30. (contd)	she hasn't gone to them when she needed help. B4. They might think it's their fault. And confused. B3. Shattered. B2. They'll be wondering where they went wrong. B1. They'll be wondering if she is with this lad 'cause they don't know - so they might think she's O.K.. G4. They're worried about will she come back. G3. Worried and upset. G2. Worried and upset that she hasn't confided in them. G1. They want to know where she's at and if she's alright.		b) The suggestion made by Boy 1 is that the parents might think she's with this lad and therefore 'O.K.', implying that we know she's not and thus suggesting by implication that she might not be O.K..One interpretation might be Karen does not have Dave to protect her - thus reinforcing a stereotyped assumption about male-female relationships.
31.	Briefing: Improvised Performance A. T. I wonder if we can try to see some of the things	a) Teacher looks for signs of confidence and then selects two students to role play the parents, observed by the	

	A	B	C
31 (contd)	that might happen at this point. Perhaps ... er ... maybe I could ask .. um .. <u>you</u> to be Karen's father (Boy 1). And would <u>you</u> be Karen's mother for me please, do you think (Girl 4). I'm sorry I don't know your names. It makes it difficult. Now supposing that the parents ... they know that there's a boy involved - where are they going to find out who he is, do you think? <u>Boy/Girl together</u>. School. <u>T</u>. O.K.. School. So, supposing then that I'm the headteacher, alright? And this is my office. Would you bring your chairs in a bit so that you've come to ask.	remaining students. b) The teacher establishes herself in role as the head-teacher. Three chairs are arranged in the centre of the circle and the scene is set.	

	A	B	C
32.	Role Performance A. T. in role. Now I'm terribly sorry to hear about Karen. Have you heard anything else yet? Have you heard from the police? G4 as mum. No. B1 as dad. No. We were hoping you'd be able to help us. T. in role. Well,of course we'll do everything we can to help you. What is it that you particularly want us to do? G4 as mum. We wondered if there was a boy involved. If she's been going out with anyone. T. in role. Ah, I see! So you think there might possibly be a boy involved in	a) The teacher's role is high status and therefore allows her to initiate questions and set the scene. b) She involves the observers by the use of 'us' - thus reminding them of their earlier role as teachers of Karen. c)The role allows teacher to introduce factual information into the drama. d) The role can take on opinions or hold strong views, which can provoke argument in the drama.	a) The teacher is maintaining the normal pupil-teacher power relationship by assuming a high status role. b) In her role as headteacher the teacher could have dropped the euphemistic phrase 'this sort of relationship' and presented the image of a high status female role able to talk, without embarassment, about sex. c) It is interesting that 'emotional involvement' is linked with lack of achievement for this girl. Lobban (1977, p.59) found that: "Intelligence for boys is linked in teachers' minds with independence and confidence. Intelligence

	A	B	C
32.	this.		for girls is linked with compliance and dependence."
(contd)	G4 as mum. Yes.	In role, a teacher can	
	B1 as dad. This started with school so this must be where the roots are, so there ... must be somebody in the school who ...	support any view and deliberately play Devil's Advocate in an attempt to deepen thinking, provide an alternative perspective, or press students to qualify statements.	Does this teacher in role assume that girls' interest in boyfriends is an explanation for their low academic achievement - rather than looking for other factors, including teacher's expectations?
	T. in role. ... So what's made you think there's a boy involved?		
	G4 as mum. Well, I went into her room the other day and found a packet of pills. So I just thought there's a boy involved. (smiles and sticks her tongue out).		
	T. in role. I'm getting increasingly concerned about this you know. These have to be got on prescription these pills. So it means at some time she's been either to your doctor or to		

A B C

32. (contd) the Family Planning Clinic. And you didn't know anything about this? Nothing at all?

G4 as mum. No. (they both shake heads).

T. in role. Um ... You see I'm very concerned about this. Um ... I don't know how you feel about this. Um ... Would you have liked to have been informed about it?

G4 as mum. Yes.

B1 as dad. (pause) Well she's nearly an adult so let her get on with it, I think. She's nearly an adult.

T. in role. Nearly, but not quite, is she? Umm ... Yes I'm a bit concerned about this. I'll certainly make enquiries and see whether any of the staff have noticed this sort of

	A	B	C
32. (contd)	relationship between them, because it does become apparent in school if they are getting emotionally involved and it is often the answer when work slides. Is there anything else you want us to do besides that? (Both shake heads). Right what we will do is, we'll ask around among her friends and see if any of them have any idea. I've already started this in fact, just gently asking around her friends to see if they have any idea where she might have gone. I'm glad that you came to see us because it does give us just that little bit more idea. Thank you very much.		
33.	Briefing: Improvised Performance B. Teacher (Out of role). Now	a) The teacher explains how she will conduct her enquiries. She invites students	The structure that the teacher selects is still a hierarchical one, even though she

	A	B	C
33. (contd)	the school is going to find out about whether there's a boy. Who, in school, is most likely to know? Boy. Friends. T. Yes. So, I reckon maybe the headteacher might think that perhaps she's a bit too distant from Karen's friends to ask, and maybe it's going to be one of the staff who really knows Karen well - perhaps her form tutor to ask. So she might ask the form tutor to find out. So can I ask you please (Boy 3) and would you two be Karen's friends (Girls 1 and 2). Would you bring your chairs in. Let him try and find out from you because it's for Karen's good. See	to suggest who she might interview. b) Teacher wishes to hand over the interviewer role to one of the students, so contrives a reason for delegating the responsibility to the form tutor - a boy who has already shown that he can cope with being observed, since he also played the father. Two friends are chosen, rather than one, to give each other support. c) The teacher is also handing over responsibility to the students for the drama's development.	has stepped down. Two girls are to be interviewed by a male teacher with more power and status than them because of the professional role-relationship. The teacher could have used the device of eavesdropping on a conversation between Karen's friends when they were alone at break-time. This might have freed the participants from the kind of response expected by the school.

	A	B	C
33. (contd)	what you can find out.		
34.	Improvised Perforance B. B3 as form tutor. Well you both know me and you know I'm not going to do anything canny. The only reason I kept you two back from signing the register was about Karen, as you've probably guessed. But as I've just said, you know me. I'd just like to know if there was anybody getting at her, or if she was sort of like involved with anybody. Was she involved with a boy, pressured by anybody, bullied? I mean I don't know. You've got to give us some kind of a clue so we can inform the police and she can be found. G2. Well she used to go around with Dave, (looking to G1)		

	A	B	C
34.	didn't she?		
(contd)	G1. Well she never used to tell us much. She just went distant. B3 as tutor. Is that Dave Morgan? G2. Um. She used to skip out of History and English but she didn't tell us why. So we thought she must have had an argument with him. B3 as tutor. Is that why she was skipping History and English, because of David? Oh I see! G2. Well, that's what we thought. B3 as tutor. I see. Well thank you very much.		
35.	Briefing; Improvised Performance C. T. Good. Well done! So he's got what he needs to know. So once they know who it is what do you think is the next step?	a) The teacher invites the group to be responsible for the direction of the drama. b) The teacher suggests, to the girl about to play the headteacher, that her role	In the real social network, the teacher may have perceived the girl's lack of confidence as also to do with a reluctance to ask direct questions of a boy. Peer group hierarchies tradition-

	A	B	C
35. (contd)	B3. Get David into the headmistress. T. Well, let's have a different Head instead of me. O.K.? (she points to Girl 7) Pull your chair in.(To Boy 2) Perhaps you'd be Dave. (To Girl 7) Think what you're going to need to find out from him. G7. If he has had an argument with Karen and if he knows where she'll be. T. Perhaps you will have to establish first whether the girls are right. So you'll have to be quite careful to establish whether they have been together ... It's quite easy for Headteachers to do this because they've got authority. And kids normally tell Headteachers things, don't	will enable her to ask questions that might otherwise seem impertinent. The teacher may also have read non-verbal signs that this student lacked confidence about the activity and this may have been intended as a way of encouraging her that she would be able to cope.	ally feature males in dominant and females in submissive roles. Perhaps the teacher senses this and responds by providing an explanation for the 'non-typical' relationship.

	A	B	C
35. (contd)	they? O.K.. Right, off you go.		
36.	Improvised Performance C. G7. as headteacher. I've called you to ask about Karen, because some of Karen's friends said she'd been a bit involved with you and we just wanted to know if it was true. B2 as Dave.(shrugs) It might be. G7 as headteacher. We must find out because if she is in trouble, she might talk to you better than she'd talk to anyone else. Have you got any idea where she might be? B2. No. G7. None at all? B2. No.	G7 immediately asks the suggested question. B2's answers are very brief allowing no room for elaboration or development. However, they are in keeping with a student being quizzed by a headteacher about his private life. Also he is telling the truth - according to the scenario - he does not know where Karen is. The students seem reluctant to continue. The teacher smiles and nods, reassuringly.	The somewhat negative attitude and tone of Dave may also be in keeping with the image that has been constructed - i.e. 'not very nice','not fond'. B2 may well be abiding by the constructed character. If so his contribution and perspective is constrained. He is not meant to show concern or interest because the constructed role precludes these feelings. The stereotype remains intact.

	A	B	C
36. (contd)	G7. Have you had any sort of argument with her? B2. Uh huh! G7. That could be the cause of it. So do you think if we could find her you could talk to her? B2. Yes. G7. Right. That's all we really wanted to know - if it's you. T. Thank you.		
37.	Briefing: Improvised Performance D. T. Can we go back to poor old mum and dad, do you think? As I see it mum and dad have got a disagreement between them from what they said in the Headteacher's room. Anybody else notice? What is that disagreement? G2. About the pills.	a) As the previous role play did not develop any new direction, the teacher picks up an element of controversy touched upon earlier (Item 32), which might be a more fruitful avenue to pursue. b) The teacher paraphrases her perception of the area	'Karen's problem' is here defined as a problem that Karen has got herself into. At one level this suggests that Dave had no part in this. Indeed he has played a very small part in the drama - his views and feelings have not been considered at all. The implication is that it is only Karen's

	A	B	C
37. (contd)	T. Yes - what was the real disagreement between them? G2. The mum would have liked to have known but the dad said it was up to her. T. I'd like to hear what mum's got to say to dad about this. I mean here's this girl run away from home because she's had this sexual relationship with this boy. The parents know nothing about it. She's got herself into such deep emotional water that she's disappeared. And the father, saying she's nearly an adult, let her get on with it. I'd like to hear what mam's got to say about this when they get home. O.K. Now my guess is she might be on	of disagreement as a reminder, then gives a brief resumé of the scenario. c) The teacher wants them to explore further dad's feelings and his perspective therefore she constrains the mother's role by suggesting that she's trying to keep calm, while acknowledging inside she's probably 'steamed up'. This constraint is an attempt to prevent an over-emotional attack diffusing the logic or rationale of father's viewpoint; it also forces them to listen to each other. d) The teacher decides that they should all participate in this,	problem. While this issue is at one level sexist, it also touches on more general moral attitudes and assumptions which are also being introduced into the drama. While this analysis is focussing on sexist assumptions, there are a variety of other assumptions about the social world also operating at an unconscious or taken-for-granted level.

	A	B	C
37. (contd)	top of everything else - the worry about Karen - I wonder whether she mightn't be a little bit steamed up about this but trying to keep calm because you know they've got to face this together, they've got to rely on each other to get this put right. But maybe she's going to try and find out a little bit more about how dad feels. Will you (To G4) be mum and will you (To B1) be dad? Alright just try it where you're sitting. Have a go.	perhaps so that more than one viewpoint will be expressed in the reporting back, perhaps to revive interest, if it had waned after the last improvised performance.	
38.	Improvised Performance D. (G4 as mum, B1 as dad). G. How do you feel about our Karen being on the pill? B1. (Out of role). That's a	The boy indicates that he wasn't expecting the role to be so direct. He had probably anticipated more general scene setting. Girl 4 seems	

	A	B	C
38. (contd)	bit brief isn't it? Umm. (He scratches his head and neck). T. Alright. O.K. Stop and start again. If you want, think for a minute about how ... G4. I can't think of anything to say. T. O.K. Right. Shall I give you a first line and that'll start you off. So supposing you say ... erm ... (pause) I was a bit surprised what you said to that headteacher. G4. I was a bit surprised what you said to that headteacher. B1. What d'ya mean? I just expressed me views. She asked us. G4. Well you said our Karen was nearly an adult. She's only 15 you know.	embarassed after this and behaves defensively to what she may have interpreted as criticism. The teacher therefore rescues the situation by providing a first line. This gives both students time to recompose themselves.	

	A	B	C
38. (contd)	B1. I knaa. But we used to get up to things like that when we were 15, man (16). (Laughter, including teacher and G4). Well, not like that! But ya knaa what I mean. She's just the same as we were. G4. No, I don't know what you mean. She shouldn't have been on the pill. I don't ... B1. ... I know she shouldn't have run away, she's nearly an adult. G4. She's not though - that's the point. B1. Well that's your views. G4. (Looks towards teacher). T. O.K. Right. Hold it there.		
39.	Briefing: Fourth Role Play Exercise. T. I'd like you all to try this in twos because it is	The teacher acknowledges any difficulties G4 and B1 might have experienced, and wants to explore the emot-	B1's point of view that Karen is old enough to decide for herself is here referred to negatively. It has been int-

	A	B	C
39. (contd)	difficult. Try to think of your mum with all this ... a load of worry on top of her and dad just sort of brushing it aside, you know, like this: she's nearly grown up. And mum still sees Karen, you know, as her baby (cradling gesture, arms rocking) she rocked in her arms. O.K. Decide who's mum, who's dad. Ready, steady, go. (The teacher again works with G9. Pairs are as before).	ional tension arising out of these conflicting points of view.	erpreted as 'dad just .. brushing it aside' - or not taking mum's feelings seriously. Further reinforcement of male insensitivity. This may also suggest that teacher favours one point of view - especially since later in the briefing she encourages the students to get 'mum's point of view across'.
40.	Students' Responses. T. O.K. Let's hear some of the arguments that mum's put forward. (To first pair) Mum, what did you argue with him? G2. She's far too young and Lorraine was saying: well she's old enough.		The structure of the drama results in the issue of age related to sexual experience being discussed only with reference to females. If Dave's sexual development had been discussed would the same attitudes have applied? Would

	A	B	C
40. (contd)	T. Too young for what? G2. Sex. But he was saying she was old enough. G4. I just said she was too emotionally unstable. T. To emotionally unstable to cope with that sort of relationship? (Girl 4 nods). B1. That she was too young and just didn't really care about what she was doing. B3. Mum said that it was still illegal and that they never did it when they were that age. And father said that she was mature for her age and it should be her decision what she does. G6. She said that it was her decision, but I said if she had asked me I'd said 'No' ... (inaudible). G7. She said she was far too		he be described as 'too young', 'emotionally unstable'. The focussing of the drama has prevented the exposure of society's contradictory attitudes i.e. double standards. Furthermore the drama structure has polarised this issue into opposing male/female views, i.e. All the mum's think she's too young, all the dad's think she's old enough.

	A	B	C
40. (contd)	young to be doing that sort of thing. I said she was old enough to make up her own mind and I wished she'd come to talk to me about it. T. Tell them what you told me. G9. She's not supposed to be on the pill at her age. It's illegal to do anything ... T. Yeah. Right.		
41.	Teacher reflects on drama and feeds in information. T. A couple of people picked up on the fact that not only is she too young, in the mother's eyes in terms of maturity, but a couple of people picked up on the fact that it is in fact illegal under the age of 16. And yet, here is a doctor who has prescribed	The teacher draws a parallel between the created fiction and real life. This adds relevance to their work and may cause the students to reflect afresh on the work and the issues. The teacher states the issues in terms of rights, pointing out both sides of the debate.	a) The teacher lends authority to mum's point of view and to what she calls fact, but again does not refer to dad's viewpoint. b) There is a potential danger in this approach to drama: In accepting that girls under 16 can obtain 'the pill', i.e. (the facts) students might also accept the partic-

	A	B	C
41. (contd)	contraceptive pills for a 15-year old girl. And this does actually happen, I mean we are into reality here, because this does actually happen, they are prescribed for teenage girls. In fact there was even, funnily enough, a bit on the radio this morning about it - there's a new report out about this very subject. So what you're into here is maybe a story of Karen but you are into real facts, because it is done: doctors, clinics do prescribe these pills for girls under the age of 15 and without telling their parents, which is the crux of the argument which goes on in society, about should the parents be told? Have they a right to be told? Or, is the		ular created fiction i.e. Karen is confused and in a terrible emotional state because of this. The generalisation from this then becomes either girls under 16 are 'far too young to be doing that sort of thing' - which is a moral judgment; or girls are emotional creatures incapable of dealing with their lives. Perhaps this is an example of what Sharpe (1976) means by the "insidious influence" of"mixing fantasy and reality."

	A	B	C
41. (contd)	right of the girl, greater? So you've got two sets of rights involved: the right of the girl to be private in what she wishes to do; and the right of the parents who feel that they are still responsible, as these parents obviously felt.		
42.	Briefing: Improvised Performance E. T. I mean ... how many of you as mum's I wonder, in this situation were saying - several of you were - why didn't she come to me because you felt a responsibility towards looking after her and so you've got this kind of feeling. Now supposing that mum decides to go and see this doctor (To	The teacher chooses two of the more confident and able students for this. She gives Boy 1 the chance to develop his viewpoint, but at a distance, through the role of doctor. This gives him the opportunity of expressing views, that he might not be prepared to acknowledge as his own. For example he might perceive them as controversial with-	a) B1 has been chosen for 3 main roles: form tutor, dad and now doctor. Yet the ratio of girls to boys in this group is 3:1. b) The role of doctor, one of the professions that women have entered, is cast as male thus reinforcing the traditional stereotype that doctors are male and nurses are female. c) The view that Karen is old

	A	B	C
42. (contd)	Girl 9) Can I ask you to be mum, please. And as you've expressed those views that this girl is old enough (talking to Boy 1 who earlier played the father and form tutor) ... would you like to be the doctor and give the doctor's side of this argument? Right, pull your chair in. Mum is going to see this doctor who has prescribed these pills and sort it out ... with her family doctor.	in the peer group or institution, and not be prepared to risk exposure or ridicule.	enough to make decisions about her sexuality now becomes the medical view. This takes it out of the domestic setting, where parental views clashed despite their equal responsibilities, and in so doing situates the viewpoint outside the family. This is a subtle point, but the effects of this will depend upon existing assumptions, i.e. whether the authority of the family or the authority of the professions holds greater sway.
43.	Improvised Performance E. (G9 as mum, B1 as doctor) G9. What I've really come here about is Karen. I was wondering why you had put her on the pill without letting me know first.		It is interesting that it is the doctor who expresses the view that Karen is a 'person' not an appendage. He makes this point consciously and quite forcefully. This is the

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43. (contd) B1. It's my job as part of the National Health Service to prevent things like unwanted pregnancies. Over 120,000 girls become pregnant and about 70,000 of these are girls in their teens. And it's my job job to prevent these sort of unwanted pregnancies.
G9. I know, but she's not really 16, yet, so she shouldn't be doing anything like that anyway.
B1. Yes, but what would you have preferred? If she'd gone ahead and did what she was doing without the right protection ...
G9. I know, but she should have come to see me first.
B1. I don't know. This is a private matter between me and my patient. I'm not prescribing them to you - it's to your

B

C

first time that Karen is really acknowledged as a person in her own right, and it is a male who points this out. She has been referred to almost constantly as an appendage - daughter or 'offspring'. It is as if she has somehow become incidental to the real concerns - the parents' rights and responsibilities.

	A	B	C
43. (contd)	daughter, who's Karen. She's a person. G9. I know, but I still think you should have asked her to see me first. B1. It's not my job. I don't get involved in families. It's more than my job's worth. (Laughter from Girl 9 and rest of group watching). T. O.K. Thank you very much.		
44.	Conclusion. T. Right I think you've looked only in a superficial way, in some ways, at what is, I'm sure you'll agree, a very real problem and a very big question that has to be asked. And a question that I don't know whether there is a right or a wrong answer to. You know	a) The teacher moves into a reflection period. She asks them to think, as themselves, about the issues that have been raised by the fictional drama. b) Reflecting on their drama she acknowledges its superficiality, but also draws their attention to the nat-	Dave's view has not been considered. Apart from being interviewed by the headteacher he did not figure in the controversy. This is a pity since his note, written by the teacher (female) is the only interpretation heard. The boys in the group are not given a vehicle for express-

	A	B	C
44. (contd)	a lot of things in life are like that, aren't they? There are two sides to this question and we've tried to have a look, a little bit, at the parent's side of it, and in the last bit we've seen perhaps a little bit of the medical view. The thing that we haven't looked at is Karen's view. I wonder if you'd like to make any guesses about how Karen now feels about the whole situation. You've said what you think her state of mind is already. But, how do you think she would feel looking back? Do you think she might want to change what happened?	ure of controversy. c) The teacher explains that in focussing on some aspects, others have been omitted. This is in the nature of the arts approach. By choosing to focus on the parents' views, the students are more easily able to distance themselves from their everyday selves - another device for protecting students into drama and emotion, obliquely. d) The teacher focusses on what has happened to Karen and through selective questioning encourages the students to reflect upon the effect of actions and events on our lives.	ing or commenting upon this supposed male viewpoint, and so the impression that once girls get serious or upset boys don't want to know is unchallenged. Thus the traditional image of 'macho man' is reinforced and the opportunity to discover how males see their responsibility is missed. Instead it is assumed that their attitude will be uncaring and unsympathetic.

	A	B	C
45.	Reflection Period. B3. I think she might - if she looks back and if she's sort of like out of the situation and she's looking into the situation -she'll see how trivial it is. I mean she'll see that it's not the great big emotional sort of land-slide that she thinks it is. I mean she could just - if she wanted to - she could just go back and that would be it - finished - bec-ause she wouldn't know that the parents were ranting, she wouldn't know that they'd found the contra-ceptive pills. The only thing that she knows is David and that's why she's run away. And her emotional sort of (pause) feelings about David and the truanting at school. So, if she was looking back on it, I think she'd want to go back and		Boy 3 suggests 'She has made a big thing out of it' which could mean that he thinks Karen has made an emotional drama out of nothing; or that the drama that has been created to represent 'reality' is not credible. He implies the latter when he says 'she doesn't know that the parents know' - implying there is no logical reason for her to start worrying. Perhaps the mix of 'fantasy and reality' has for this boy created an illogical proposition. The teacher does not comment on this but does repeat the initial question, though subtly re-phrased. There is a considerable difference between 'Do you think she

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45. (contd) try and sort things out and sort of (inaudible) David out. So just sort of get rid of David and go back to her lessons.

T. And is everything then the same as it was? Is everything the same for her?

B1. She'll be treated more grown up I suppose, because she's acting in a situation through her own feelings - the parents haven't had to decide for her - so she'll be treated more as an adult, I think, when she gets back home.

T. Will she? What do other people think? Will she be treated differently at home?

B2. More of an adult.

T. What do you think? (To G1)

G1. More treated like a child a bit for running away, instead

B

C

might want to change what happened?' which implies possible regret, and 'Is everything the same for her?'

The teacher questions Boy 1's suggestion that she will be treated more like an adult with 'Will she?', whereas she reinforces the girl's comment, 'There'll be no trust left' by repeatedly saying 'Yes' (4 times) and 'certainly'. It is interesting that it is the boys who perceive that Karen's actions will result in her being treated more like an adult. Their reasoning seems to relate to her ability to display independent behaviour. In contrast, Girl 1 argues that such action will cause her to be treated in a childish way, i.e. the more adult

A

45. of going to them about it.
(contd) T. Could things ever be exactly the same for Karen when she went back?
B2. No (shakes head).
T. No.
G9. Some of the trust'll be lost.
T. Yes. Yes. Certainly! Some of the trust'll be lost. Yes. Yes. I mean, you know, there was the mum here (indicating G6) who said 'Why didn't she come to me?' I mean isn't the mum going to say that to Karen when she gets home? Yes.
What else is going to be quite different? I mean supposing that she decides - alright, I don't like this offhand way Dave is treating me. You know. I'm just ... there are plenty of other girls around. So to him, that

B

C

action was to talk to the parents about it. Without debating which of these courses is more/less mature, in the girls' answers there is a sense of dependence being rewarded which the boys here don't seem, from their experience, to be able to understand.

	A	B	C
45. (contd)	relationship's not been the same, has it, as it has been to her? So, are things going to be different there? (pause) It's difficult isn't it? I wonder whether she can ever be quite the same again. (this is delivered as a statement rather than a question.)		
46.	Teacher asks students to vote. T. Right, now I'd just like to ask you a very last thing. I'd just like to ask you for your frank, personal opinion about this whole question. Do you think that doctors should prescribe pills for girls, under 16, without their parents' knowledge? Don't say what you think I want you to say - but	The students are asked to express a personal and honest opinion on a relevant and contemporary moral issue that arose in their drama. The drama has provided the students with a common framework which enabled them to distance and protect their real selves, while simultaneously engaging at the symbolic level.	

	A	B	C
46. (contd)	what you honestly feel.		
47.	The Vote. G1. Yes. G2. Yes. G3. Yes. G4. Yes. B1. Definitely yes. B2. Yes. B3. (had to leave before the vote). B4. Yes. G5. No. G6. No. G7. No. G8. Yes. G9. No.		Five girls vote yes, four vote no, but all three remaining boys vote yes. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that boys can take responsibility for contraception by purchasing condoms without having to consult anyone. Of course girls have this option too. But by choosing to focus this drama specifically on the oral contraceptive, it seems the teacher has primarily been interested in the rights of parents rather than in the issue of sexual freedom or contraception. Therefore Sharpe's mixture of fantasy and reality takes on new

	A	B	C
47. (contd)			meaning here. The issue of contraception seems to be the fictional concern, the real issue seems to be parental power.
48.	T. Everybody sees it differently don't they? Those of you who think yes, do you accept there may be an argument against it? Several. Yes. T. Those of you who think no, do you accept there may be an argument for it? Several. Yes. T. Well, thank you ever so much for being with me this morning. It's been really interesting.		

Conclusions to first analysis.

The juxtapositioning of drama pedagogy alongside sexist inferences and assumptions draws attention to the dilemmas that a drama teacher can face when long and short term aims contradict. This teacher regarded countering sexism among her long term aims; yet in the short term, faced with a group of students who were unfamiliar with her and each other, working in unusual surroundings, it was important to relax them and start to build a comfortable relationship. Therefore she needed to 'win them over', to try to anticipate their experience and responses, the likely way they would construe selected social situations, and be able to show that she knew something of their social world. This would make them more comfortable, make the work relevant to their needs and interest, and hopefully motivate them to engage in the drama.

Unfortunately this projection and anticipation can lead to generalisation, stereotypes and familiar cliches. The dilemma for the teacher is that by defining social situations that she assumes students will recognise, she might be seen to be condoning or legitimating such behaviour as 'natural' or 'normal'. However, by defining non-stereotypical situations or roles the students may feel alienated.

The first analysis of this lesson has revealed numerous examples of a teacher's unintentional sexism. It draws attention to the way language is selected in relation to gender, shows how teacher's questions shape development, how structuring and focussing affect potential learning outcomes. It illuminates the preferential treatment of boys in terms of amount of teacher attention and shows how teachers support boys' dominance in mixed classrooms. The lesson also shows how a teacher's assumptions, which are hidden from view, are posited in the created roles and situations.

Second Analysis of Drama Lesson (A).

Lessons can be analysed in a number of different ways depending on the criteria or categories employed. By focussing on some aspects in the previous analysis, I have inevitably overlooked others. My decision to focus on the pedagogical implications of the developing drama; while at the same time looking for examples of sexism, may have restricted other ways of viewing what was actually happening. Therefore in Part Two I intend to re-examine the lesson in order to focus specifically on what, how, and by whom meaning is negotiated and represented and thus to discover the assumptions that these fictional constructs establish and maintain.

To avoid unnecessary repetition I will refer the reader to the item number from the previous analysis when commenting on particular sections of the session. Any analysis which examines negotiation must inevitably discuss the teacher's decision making, both before and during the lesson. I intend to start by considering the teacher's preparation for this lesson and the decisions this involved.

The teacher decided before the lesson to explore a controversial issue: Should the contraceptive pill be prescribed to minors without their parents' consent? Although she chose the subject matter her stated objectives were concerned with discovering the students' views on this; not informing them of the view she thought they should hold. Consequently she made the decision to let them vote on this issue at the end of the lesson and stated specifically, "Don't say what you think I want you to say - but what you honestly feel". She also decided to try and protect the students into emotional engagement with the material by approaching the subject content and their emotional reactions, obliquely. This is a device often used when the participants are self-conscious, inexperienced or have had limited opportunity to establish a group identity and a relationship of trust with the teacher. Also an emotionally-charged situation can become melodramatic when acted out naturalistically. The teacher wanted to avoid

this.

Teachers can decide to prepare a stimulus as a starting point for the drama, or wait and negotiate with the group what the drama will be about. Through questions and discussion an aspect emerges that interests them. The teacher in this video decided to introduce a stimulus: two handwritten notes. Language and presentation was carefully selected by the teacher to convey the impression that they had been written by young people. Therefore, in this lesson the teacher chose both the subject matter and the initial focus.

I now intend to isolate the two notes from their sequence in the lesson and discuss them jointly, looking also at their effect on the subsequent drama and its possible meaning for the students. Having isolated the notes in this way I will then examine the rest of the lesson in sequence.

In preparing the two notes (Items 2 and 8) the teacher presented a construct. The notes contain facts, e.g. Karen will not be meeting Dave at the coffee bar tonight; stated attitudes, e.g. Dave thinks Karen is being 'serious' and 'boring'; stated feelings, e.g. Karen feels she needs time to sort her feelings out plus Dave replies that if she feels like that he does not want to be involved. In addition, there are a number of implied meanings: the girl and boy seem to be involved in a relationship - the exact nature of which is left open; the relationship has existed for some unstated time; Karen implies that something has 'gone wrong' with the relationship, though she does not state what it is; Dave implies that he does not share this attitude/feeling. Criticism and mockery is implicit in the terms 'serious' and 'boring'. The statement 'there are plenty more fish in the sea' is ambiguous. Overtly, it implies that it is easy to find girlfriends and that she is just one among many; covertly it might imply that Dave's reaction is a defence mechanism against Karen's perceived rejection.

As well as the explicit and implicit meanings that have been constructed by the teacher through these notes, there are also some potential interpretations that have already been closed to the students. For example, Karen and Dave do not have the same attitude to whatever has happened, the notes deliberately establish that they feel and react differently. This construction therefore dictates what cannot happen in the developing drama - i.e. Dave cannot be sympathetic, considerate, concerned or caring. This is already ruled out. Karen cannot be decisive and positive; she is'uncertain'.

Drama operates through the interaction of roles and relationships in social situations. It also operates through a particular moment in time and within a particular context - in this case the relationship between school friends, Karen and Dave. As such, any meaning that is constructed is a symbolic representation of one couple's relationship. It is individual, idiosyncratic and but one example. However, while functioning at this very particular level, drama at the same time invites its participants/spectators to view this individual representation as an example of a more generalised observation of human relationships, i.e. it stands for something more universal. It is this double perspective that allows us to participate in one person's shoes; yet also reflect how this touches us, what relevance/meaning it has to our personal lives and to the lives of others in our society, whose role models we incorporate in our own socialised image.

Given that the symbolic representation speaks to us in this dual sense, the particular and individual constructs of Karen and Dave become potentially important role models. So Karen's 'uncertainty' and Dave's 'indifference' have the potential to become part of a more generalised construct, i.e. Dave and his casual, uncaring attitude represents the male image. While Karen's more serious, thoughtful approach is regarded as representative of the female.

It can be argued that this is only fiction, created and understood to be fiction by the participants. But in drama

in education the participants operate at two levels simultaneously: the real peer group network and the fictional/symbolic level via the roles. These two levels interact during participation in the drama. If we add to this the potential for students to function as joint playwrights, actors and directors; and the fact that drama is an experiential learning medium involving physical, intellectual and emotional involvement via interaction in roles; then as S. Sharpe suggests there may well be indirect effects resulting from this "complicated mix" of fiction and reality. In constructing these notes the teacher has, either consciously or unconsciously, assumed certain characteristics to be male; others female. She has then proceeded to elaborate the fiction on the basis of this assumption. This has certain consequences for the negotiation and representation of meaning during the actual session and effects the freedom/constraints that the drama promotes.

At the start of the lesson (Item 1) the teacher's initial explanation was 'I am going to give you some pieces of the jigsaw'. The image of the 'jigsaw' is interesting since it suggests that pieces already exist and that the students' role is to fit these pieces together into a pre-determined pattern or structure. Furthermore, the teacher's decision to give some information now, some later also reinforces this notion. Through this action the teacher is established as having more power than the students because she is with-holding some information and therefore knows more than they do.

In the briefing for the first role play exercise (Item 4) it is also the teacher who decides on the roles: they are all to be Karen's teachers. Therefore the students' first experience of contributing to the construction of the fictional Karen is through the adult professional perspective of a teacher. This choice of role frames the students and gives them a responsible perspective from which to negotiate and further construct Karen. Dorothy Heathcote (1984) drawing upon Goffman's Frame Analysis

(1975) describes this kind of 'frame' as 'interested because I am responsible'. If instead, they had been 'framed' as friends of Karen or neighbours then their selected viewpoint and attitudes, their choice of appropriate language, body stance, register and tone of voice might also have been different. The choice of role and frame involves the students in selecting an appropriate role-style from which to contribute and simultaneously establish facts, beliefs and opinions about the fictional Karen.

In addition, the teacher selects the situation: a school setting and the focus for the 'special staff meeting', i.e. 'something is wrong with this girl'. Interaction in role and thus the construction of the fiction will focus on what is wrong with Karen. The meeting has been called out of concern. This will dictate the tone and also affect the way in which the students build belief about Karen and their relationship to her. The teacher explains that she will be in role as the head-teacher, thus maintaining the usual role-relationship and status gap in the real classroom network, by elevating her own status and power above theirs. Further, as she already knows that 'something is wrong', she must also know more than the rest of the staff. She must be concerned otherwise she would not have called the meeting. This further implies a tone of seriousness and could indirectly affect the students' own attitude when contributing in role, since it is already established that there is something wrong with Karen, and there is a need to be concerned.

During the first role play (Item 5) the teacher initiates the conversation by a direct question to one male student: Mr. Smith, you're her form tutor'. The student is obliged to accept the pastoral role he has been cast in and the particular relationship that is implied. The question, 'What can you tell us about Karen?' suggests that a more personal remark or disclosure is expected than if he had been cast as a subject teacher. In this exchange the teacher also demonstrates her power by directing questions at individuals - her choice of role and status allows this. The kinds of questions she asks further focus

and thus limit the way in which the subject can be subsequently constructed, experienced and discussed.

Although the teacher intended the students to participate more fully in this role play, their reluctance at this stage resulted in the teacher contributing two further statements - albeit phrased as closed questions (Item 6). Thus it becomes established that a) Karen's subjects are English and History, b) she has been missing lessons for 'quite a bit'.

As the headteacher she adds (Item 7) 'She's such a nice girl'. This is a further invitation to the students to participate and a way for the teacher to test whether or not they like the facts that are being constructed. Whether or not these students liked the fictional construct is impossible to determine. It is probable though that their real feelings of uncertainty and perhaps their conscious awareness of the video camera were the main reasons that this exchange was not more of a shared negotiation. There was the potential for staff to disagree with or contradict the headteacher, though the real social circumstances and the teacher's structuring this far, may have made this too great a personal risk.

In contrast to Karen's niceness Dave is established via the second note (Item 8) and the students' responses to it (Item 9) as 'horrible', 'not nice' and 'not fond'. The teacher follows these statements with a personal comment, 'No he's <u>not</u>, is he?'. This effectively closes the discussion and prevents any disagreement. The choice of '<u>not</u>' and the teacher's inflection cements the construction since it acknowledges the ascribed qualities as fact. From this point on these respective qualities of Karen and Dave are established within the developing drama.

It might be argued that the students have decided what should count as relevant information about Karen and Dave by their comments after reading the two notes. I would argue that the kind of question that the teacher asks about the notes (Items 3 and 9) limits the kind of response that the students can make to <u>an interpretation</u>.

As discussed earlier in this section these notes already contain so many explicit and implicit clues that the potential range of the students' response is also prescribed. The careful construction of the notes means that the students are almost obliged to respond with easily anticipated remarks. They are not invited to deconstruct the notes. For example, in your experience is this a valid portrayal of boys? Or are these the kinds of notes fifteen year olds might write? Or, do you wish to modify anything before we start the drama?

In this analysis I am not trying to suggest that the teacher should have done this. Rather I am trying to pin-point how ideas are constructed and what students might therefore infer from the fictional social constructs that have been legitimised, and what kind of freedoms/constraints are being promoted through the drama.

In the briefing for the second role play exercise (Items 10 and 11) the teacher asks what the parents will do when they find out Karen has been truanting. Boy 3 replies 'Hit the roof'. Boy 1 says 'Sit down and talk to her'. These two suggestions are at opposite ends of the spectrum. When the teacher gives the instructions for the role play (Item 11) she selected the second attitude for the parents: 'the parents are determined to be reasonable'. Instead of giving the students a choice of how to react in this situation, the teacher decides. However, this decision by the teacher is in keeping with her pedagogical objectives, i.e. to protect the students into engagement with emotionally-charged material and to slow down the action and prevent a superficial or melodramatic verbal encounter. So while it is a logical decision for the teacher; on the surface it appears to favour one student's contribution and restrict choice. By describing the parents as 'reasonable', the teacher is not only affecting the students' perception of how to play this encounter but also perhaps beginning to establish the parents as reasonable people - a moral or value judgment.

In comparison, Karen 'has got a problem' (Item 9).

This is the teacher's choice of word to describe the 'fictional-fact' that she has been missing lessons. Furthermore, in the briefing for the second role play (Item 12) Karen is determined not to talk about it. How will the students interpret this instruction? Is Karen being 'reasonable' or not? What attitudes and feelings will this'determination' generate during the interaction in roles? And how will the feelings generated colour the subsequent construction of the drama?

There is some evidence from which to answer these questions in the reporting back (Item 13). The teacher chooses to ask the parents about what happened and how they felt. These students collectively contribute comments like: 'stubborn', 'wasn't interested in us', 'felt rejected'. With hindsight it does not seem surprising that they should feel this, given the constraint placed on the behaviour of Karen. This certainly does not seem to suggest that Karen is behaving reasonably; unlike her parents who now feel rejected by their 'offspring' (Teacher's choice of word). While drama can create opportunities for empathy (by putting oneself in another person's shoes), at this stage the empathy seems biassed towards the parents. Furthermore, the teacher only asks <u>the parents</u> how they perceived the encounter; at no time is Karen given the opportunity to share her fictional perspective of the encounter or her real feelings about the constraints placed on the role exercise which effectively meant she was denied a voice in the developing drama.

After this exchange the teacher invites the students to decide what they think might happen next in the fiction (Item 16). Here, the teacher has decided to allow the students to decide. 'Give me some ideas', she asks. But she immediately adds, 'Here's this girl in this terrible emotional state' and (Item 17) 'under pressure' from parents who 'are going to get angry'.

So the open question is forced to take into account this new description of Karen and the threatened withdrawal of reasonableness by the parents. The teacher repeats 'think of <u>some</u> of the things she might do'. Boy 3 says

'Run away'. Very quickly the teacher continues, 'O.K. let's take that then as a piece of the puzzle that you've put in'. On the surface it looks as if the student's contribution is being elevated. But the teacher accepted only one suggestion when she asked for'some', and did not attempt to discover whether the other students were happy with the establishment of this development within the drama.

There is another aspect connected to this issue and that is the particular role style that this teacher is manifesting. Chris Day (1983, pp. 77-92), discussing teaching styles in drama, draws attention not only to the differences between 'open' and 'closed' teaching styles, but also to the need for teachers to ensure that their practice is consistent with their intentions. In the example above the teacher appears to be acting openly in keeping with her intention to discover the students' views on a controversial issue and to negotiate the development of the drama with them. Yet she acts hastily in this instance. I was able to discuss this point with the teacher concerned who stated that if they had not suggested running away she (Quote) "might have manipulated it". Here the teacher implies that she is involving the students in choices when she is really listening for an answer that fits in with her way of thinking. All teachers do this from time to time, and some would argue that it is the teacher's duty to manipulate towards educational objectives. In this example, however, it is central to the entire construction of the fictional reality and what the students might therefore learn from it, about themselves and gender identity.

If the teacher wants to set up a situation where a girl runs away - if this is important - then the reasons for running away must be important and significant for the participants, and not shallow or silly.

When the teacher decribes Karen as 'this girl in a terrible emotional state', she may have been looking for ways to move the drama on, towards more problematic encounters. The suggestion that Karen might run away

enables her to explore the aspects that she is really interested in, i.e. 'the play for the teacher'. Unfortunately in doing so she relies on assumptions about the emotionality of females and in so doing gives authority to the myth that girls are emotional creatures or 'incapable beings' who get upset easily and for no good reason.

At this stage in the drama (Item 17) it is only the teacher who knows that Karen and Dave are involved sexually as this piece of the jigsaw has not yet been given to the students. The teacher is therefore anticipating and colouring how the students will respond to this news (Item 18) and their view of her situation. The teacher has already said that Karen is in a terrible state. In disagreeing with this value position the students would have to risk going against teacher, and exposing their own beliefs.

The teacher sets up the third role play at length (Items 19 - 20) again selecting the roles and deciding that mum will 'have the task of' breaking the news of her discovery to dad. The father's emotional attitude is partly defined by 'dad ... thinks his daughter's absolutely wonderful - you know can't do any wrong in his eyes', a description that suggests both incredulity and disbelief or perhaps deep disappointment.

Later (Item 26), the teacher reminds the group that Karen has not really run away - they know this because of the notes. It is strange that the teacher introduces this here since it seems to confuse rather than clarify the situation. A student earlier contributed this suggestion, albeit one the teacher hoped for; now she invokes the notes - the initial starting point - as evidence that she has <u>not</u> run away. It doesn't make logical sense but in terms of the construction of meaning it does seem to influence subsequent student contributions. For example, when asked to comment on 'Karen's state of mind' (Item 27) and consider how 'she might feel' the students reply: 'She

doesn't know who to turn to', 'Doesn't know where to go', 'She's just roaming around' etc.. In the light of the teacher's decision that Karen did not run away after all, it is not surprising that the students perceive her as in limbo. Equally words like 'confused', 'unstable' and 'frustrated' might be clues to the students' real feelings about what has and what has not been established. At the fictional level the myth of 'unstable', 'emotional' females is reinforced.

In the improvised performance A (Item 32) between the headteacher and the parents, interaction in role develops into disagreement and differing views. The mother expresses the opinion that the parents should have been told that the pills were being prescribed. The father appears to disagree with the comment, saying 'She's nearly adult anyway'. This seems to represent an opportunity for the students to explore this difference of opinion in role - one of the arguments for engaging in drama. The teacher in role at this point retorts with 'Nearly, but not quite, is she?' delivered more as a statement than a genuine question, thus concluding the role play. One can only speculate about whether the reflection at the very end of the session would have been the same if this debate had been allowed to develop further. Instead, the teacher cuts it short and decides to set up a second improvised performance B (Item 34) in which the students establish the name of the boyfriend.

A third improvised performance C (Item 36) follows in which Girl 7, as headteacher, asks the boyfried, Dave, if he will help them by talking to Karen. He replies that he is willing to. Although this role play is extremely brief and Dave says few words, this student interaction does suggest a direction in which the drama might have developed. Dave <u>is willing</u> to talk to Karen. This would allow both Karen and Dave a voice and would create the opportunity for them to discuss their relationship and attitudes and their differences. Dave is prepared to act responsibly by talking to Karen and such a meeting might

allow some modification to the initial character traits as established in the notes.

While I am not suggesting that the teacher should have pursued this, I am suggesting that the choice she made not to pursue this, instead returning to the parents' viewpoints, undoubtedly affected the available meanings inherent in the fictional construction and thus the potential learning areas.

After three improvised performances the teacher decided to pick up the disagreement about whether Karen is 'nearly' an adult' referred to earlier in Item 32. Perhaps she chose to wait in order to allow all the students to engage actively in this debate and not just the two students performing in the centre of the circle. She prefaces this briefing by saying 'I'd like to hear what mum's got to say about this'.

Note that the teacher does not ask for both parents views, she focusses on mum's view which had been expressed, by a female student in role, as a desire to be told that Karen had been prescribed the pill. This bias is reinforced in the reporting back (Item 40) which suggests that it is a deliberate choice and not a slip of the tongue. Despite this, three students do in fact report back on the parents' conflicting views (B3, G6, G7).

In Item 41 the teacher draws a parallel between the created fiction and real life with comments like: 'This does actually happen, I mean we are into reality here ... so what you're into here is maybe a story of Karen but you are into real facts, because it is done..'

The teacher in this lesson is making explicit the mix of 'fantasy and reality' that concerned Sue Sharpe. But because drama teachers do not teach about content explicitly in the way other subject specialists might, the teacher here can only refer to the knowledge she possesses incidentally - i.e. as fact within the fiction. She states the central dilemma inherent in the drama as, 'two sets of rights: ... The girl to be private ... the

parents who feel that they are responsible.'

This practice of drawing students' attention to the more general concerns underpinning their particular drama has been a feature of educational drama over recent years. David Davis (1983) defines the purpose of this succinctly:

> "Learning occurs as the sequence goes from the particular of the drama experience to an understanding of universal values or concepts." (p. 14)

In this video'd lesson the potential learning is in the moral arena and concerns rights and responsibilities.

Building on this dilemma the teacher introduces a new perspective into the drama by setting up improvised performance E (Item 42) between the mother and the doctor. The doctor symbolises someone who has made a conscious decision about these two sets of rights, and formed his own conclusions - which is the teacher's stated intention for the students. The drama is the concrete vehicle for them to reflect on this. There is no general discussion of the doctor's role/responsibility or philosophy before the improvisation, the male student playing this role draws on his own experience/imagination.

During this improvisation (Item 43) the doctor invents facts to support his case. For example, over 120,000 girls become pregnant ... 70,000 of them ... in [their] teens'. He argues that his action is more responsible than an unwanted pregnancy and leans on the Hippocratic Oath when he says firmly, 'This is between me and my patient'.The mother attempts to express her concerns by a reliance on a series of 'shoulds/shouldn'ts' appealing therefore to a set of traditional rules and expectations.

These two students are responsible for elaborating the debate, they have contributed to the construction of meaning. Interestingly Karen is here described as 'a person', not as previously an appendage, her status is momentarily elevated by the students' input.

Until this point the teacher had stated two sets of rights: 'the girl to be private' and 'the parents who feel responsible'. In the improvised performance E (Item 43) the role of the doctor, introduced by the teacher,

complicates this moral dilemma, since the doctor symbolises an authority that assumes a superior 'right' to decide. Since the final Gillick ruling this has of course been upheld and thus the doctor accepts a moral responsibility to judge individual cases. The implications of this could have been reflected upon. Instead the teacher concludes the session by acknowledging that they have looked at the'parents' side' and the 'medical view'. In terms of the mix of 'fantasy and reality' one students' contribution now becomes the 'medical view'. If it is a fact that 'doctors do prescribe these pills for girls under age' are these the arguments and evidence that they have used in their defence? If fact was important, a variety of evidence or information could have been introduced into the drama for the students to consider. As it is the teacher has emphasised facts and implied a kind of truth - 'this really does happen' while relying on fantasy.

The teacher does not invite discussion of the doctor-mother scene perhaps because it is near the end of the session and time is running short. Instead she chooses to focus on Karen by saying 'the thing we haven't looked at is Karen's view'. Yet, she nevertheless expects them to be able to comment. Her instruction is phrased to sound like an invitation, 'I wonder if you'd like to make any guesses about how Karen feels now ...'

The mother-doctor improvisation, where the doctor spoke up for Karen as a person, indirectly acknowledging her rights, was the final performance. This might still be in the students' minds. The teacher continues, focussing the question more tightly by reminding them that they have already 'said what [they] think her state of mind is'. She continues with two further questions (Item 44). The first re-frames their perspective of Karen in a subtle way, 'How do you think she'll feel looking back?' This suggests that the students' response might alter with hindsight. In this way the students' response might also be tempered by their knowledge - or lack of it - of Dave; their memory of the reasonableness of the parents; their confusion over where Karen actually is, and the 'terrible emotional state' describing her condition.

While the students are contemplating their response to this the teacher adds, 'Do you think she might want to change what happened?' Boy 3 is the only student to reply. He speaks at length (Item 45). While it is impossible to know what exactly this statement meant to the boy who made it or how his peer group received and interpreted it, I wish to use this example to suggest a number of different levels at which meaning might be resonating.

At one level Boy 3 answers the teacher's question with an implicit yes - she will want to change what happened. His reasons are based on his perception of her problem as 'trivial', 'It's not the great, big emotional landslide she thinks it is'. He reasons that she will want to change things by coming back and sorting them out. This answer is at the level of the fiction - in response to the symbolic representation of Karen. It is also possible that Boy 3 is able, through this answer, to make his feelings about this constructed drama known to the teacher and the peer group. Operating at this level the sub-text is a criticism of the constructed drama - the change would refer to changes he wanted to see in the way the drama had developed. At a third level Boy 3 could be voicing sexist attitudes towards girls generally and the myth of their emotionality. Whether or not this is a sexist attitude the choice of emotional 'landslide' is a particularly strong image evoking the disintegration and collapse of a stable edifice reducing it to debris. I am not suggesting that any one of these interpretations is the correct one; nor am I suggesting that Boy 3 is consciously aware of these possible levels. Rather I have teased out these possible interpretations to illustrate how language and drama might be said to resonate several meanings simultaneously, in order to draw attention to the unconscious ways in which students might be learning in drama sessions. I am here proposing the possibility that Boy 3's understanding of women and their emotions is being stereotypically reinforced at a deeply affective and intuitive level as well as a more conscious one.

The teacher does not comment directly on Boy 3's reflections. When he finishes speaking she rephrases her

original question, 'Do you think she might want to change what happened?' to 'Is everything then the same as it was?' Although these questions sound open, the way that the teacher responds suggests that she prefers some answers rather than others, which implies that she was anticipating a particular kind of answer. Both Boys 1 and 2 reply that she will be treated more like an adult because she has acted independently. Perhaps the boys are bringing their male experience of being rewarded for this behaviour to the drama. The teacher questions Boy 1: 'Will she?' I wonder how this response was interpreted by the students? Boy 2 leant his support to Boy 1's suggestion. This received no response, the teacher turned to the girls. Girl 1 responded with an opposite viewpoint, 'She'll be treated like a child for running away'. This girl has obviously been confused by the mix of fantasy and reality forgetting perhaps that Karen's running away was subsequently denied. This answer also dodges the sexual relationship implicit in the teacher's questioning. This girl has focussed on the 'running away' theme rather than the consequences of the sexual encounter, which was implicit in the teacher's questions. Girl 9 responds with, 'some of the trust'll be lost', the teacher quickly agrees repeating the word 'Yes' four times. Her final remark, before asking the students to vote on this controversial issue, is: 'I wonder whether she can be quite the same again'. This time the question contains the first person and thus suggests, through the musing, an implied viewpoint.

Whether or not teachers should make known their viewpoints is not the issue here. What concerns me is that the teacher asks the students for their 'frank, honest' opinion (Item 46); even making explicit - 'Don't say what <u>you</u> think I want you to say - but what you honestly feel'. The teacher's style suggests that she is neutral and uncritical yet the preceding analysis suggests that the teacher's assumptions are indirectly transmitted through the construction of the drama, the questioning and the period of reflection.

The last student to speak expresses the view that there will be no trust left. The teacher reinforces this, but it is not explored more fully. Left to reflect on this'trust' what are the potential interpretations for the students? The loss of trust might refer to the parents - Karen went to the doctors for the contraceptive pill without telling them. Implicit in this view is that they trusted her to discuss important concerns with them, like the decision to have a sexual relationship with Dave. Or the trust might refer to Karen who did not trust her parents' ability to respond appropriately when she needed help. Or it might refer to Karen's feeling about Dave - she trusted that he would feel the same way as she did about their relationship. Can she ever trust him in this way again? Or it might refer to the medical profession - can they be trusted to uphold the law, to act in a morally responsible way? If applied to Dave, can he trust that others will take him seriously, share their feelings with him, consider him capable of helping?

The constructed drama allows for these (and probably many more) potential interpretations. In one sense it does not matter which interpretation (if any) an individual student selects as personally significant. In educational drama the teacher can never know exactly what experiences, memories, feelings, thoughts the drama has triggered for the individual.

In terms of this second analysis into the construction and negotiation of meaning in one drama lesson it does seem pertinent to consider whether any of these interpretations have been given undue weighting or emphasis and by whom. D. Heathcote (1984)says that in drama 'individuals function via their prejudices' (p.50). She continues,'it is good ground for teachers to till, not by moral judgments and value judgments but by exposure of what has been thrown up so far in order that it may be examined.' It would seem from this analysis that teachers too function via their prejudices and need to examine what their drama structures throw up. S. Bennet (1984) shows

concern for this when he asks:

> "How rigorous is our analysis of the values and assumptions which surround our work?" (p. 4)
>
> "What are the unstated but implied values in teacher-controlled drama?" (p. 16)

In order to examine something you first need to be able to see it, to recognise it. Teachers need to find ways of examining their lessons in order to see what assumptions are informing their drama structures; what attitudes are implicit in their statements/instructions; what they are seen to value and promote in their responses and what they choose to ignore.

By way of summary and as a step towards teachers analysing their own work the last part of this chapter will be a table which charts What, How and By Whom meaning was constructed in the lesson previously analysed. It has been found helpful in the past for teachers attempting to evaluate their own work to invite a colleague to sit in on the lesson, or set up triangulation exercises where the views/perceptions of the students are sought and compared to those of an outside observer and the teacher concerned. Perhaps also, teachers might find it helpful to tape or video a lesson and on listening/viewing, some time later, attempt to break it down under these three headings in order to examine who is influencing the drama, how and about what.

The Construction of Meaning in a Drama Lesson

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
2 & 8	That boys/girls have different attitudes and different ways of thinking about relationships.	Through two notes.	Teacher.
5	Karen is truanting from school.	In whole group role play (staff meeting)	Teacher in role introduces idea, students build on this.
9	Karen has a 'problem' with boyfriend.	Interpretation and response to teacher's notes.	Students interpret; teacher summarises their response and defines Karen as having a problem (based on information in notes).
10	The parents have a problem. Their daughter is truanting.	By making a connection between Karen's truanting and her parents' legal responsibility.	Teacher uses students' contributions about Karen and then chooses to focus on the parents.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
10	Dave does not have a problem.	By omission.	Teacher selects the focus, sets up role plays, asks the questions and chooses to ignore Dave's perspective.
12 & 13	Karen is 'stubborn', 'not interested'in her parents, 'withdrawn'.	First by pair role play (parents and Karen). Constraint: 'The parents are determined to be reasonable, Karen is determined not to talk about it.	Constraint imposed by teacher, feelings experienced by students, and stubborness etc. verbalised by them during reporting back.
15	Mum is 'reasonable, supportive, co-operative'.	Teacher rationalises the result of imposing a constraint and provides a logical explanation for the restrained behaviour.	Teacher.
16	Karen is in a 'terrible emotional state' (mood and attitude implied).	Interpretation taken from feedback of student role play.	Students comments are summarised by teacher, who through her choice of language, defines the situation thus.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
17	That Karen runs away.	In response to teacher's question 'What might happen next?'	Boy 3 suggests this. It is built on by teacher (for the time being).
18	Mother finds contraceptive pills in daughter's bedroom. This implies the relationship between Karen and Dave is sexual.	As a surprise piece of the 'jigsaw'.	Direct teacher input.
19	'Dad thinks his daughter is wonderful, can't do any wrong'. (Implies attitude).	Instruction, i.e. a constraint for role play. Dad is given an attitude.	Teacher - indirectly as instruction/narration.
20	Both parents are worried because Karen is missing. They have informed the police (by implication it must be serious).	Instruction/information for role play. Suggests a mood and tension.	Teacher - indirectly as instruction/narration.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
20	Sewing is a 'normal' activity for mums; reading newspapers is a 'normal' activity for dads.	Choice of 'traditional' activities juxtaposed alongside the comment:'they're trying to be sort of normal' Normality referred to twice.	Teacher - instruction for role play.
26	Karen has not run away (though parents don't know this).	The original notes are invoked as the 'real' evidence. The students have different information from the parents - 'our inside view of the story'.	Teacher when clarifying the situation negates earlier contribution.
28	Karen is 'confused', 'sad', 'upset', 'distraught', 'angry', 'frightened', 'emotionally unstable', 'frustrated', 'has no one to turn to', 'doesn't know what to do'.	Jointly from an accumulation of individual responses to 'sum up' Karen's 'state of mind'.	Students respond to teacher's question, and project how she might be feeling.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
29 - 30	Parents are 'worried and confused', 'mixed-up', 'upset', 'angry', 'wondering where they went wrong' and where she is.	Jointly from an accumulation of individual responses to 'sum up' how the parents feel'.	Students respond to teacher's question, and project how they might be feeling.
31 - 32	Parents ask school for help.	Answer to teacher's question: 'The parents know there's a boy involved - where are they going to find out who he is?'	Students in response to teacher's question.
32	Karen has been to a doctor for contraceptive pills, without telling her parents.	During role play (A) head-teacher responds to mum's discovery with factual information.	By teacher in role.
32	Karen is 'nearly adult' but 'not quite'.	As a point of disagreement during role play.	Boy 1 voices an opinion, teacher modifies it.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
36	Dave agrees to talk to Karen.	During role play.	By students (this is not followed up).
37	Parental disagreement over daughter's maturity and rights.	Comment from a previous role play (Item 32).	Teacher chooses to focus on and develop an earlier tension between the parents that was initiated by a student in role.
38	Dad is 'brushing aside' mum's worries; mum 'still sees Karen as her baby'.	As instruction for role play. Teacher interprets the parental disagreement and reconstructs it.	Teacher.
40.	Two points of view: 'too young', 'illegal' versus 'it's her decision', 'she's mature for her age'.	First students in pairs role play parents; then they summarise their arguments.	Students, then teacher, focusses on the legal aspect and elevates this (Item 41).

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
40	This is 'a story of Karen' based on'real facts'. Doctors, clinics do prescribe pills for girls under age without telling their parents.	Information and comment. Reality invoked to lend weight to fiction = mix of reality and fantasy.	Teacher.
41	Two sets of rights are involved: the girl's privacy; parents' responsibility.	Information and presentation of a dilemma.	Teacher - in response to differing student opinion.
43	It's a doctor's job to prevent unwanted pregnancies. 70,000 pregnancies are teenagers.	During role play.	Boy 1.
43	The doctor-patient relationship is a 'private matter'. Karen is 'a person'.	During role play	Boy 1.

Item	What is Constructed?	How is it Constructed?	By Whom is it Constructed?
44	There is no right or wrong answer, to some problems.	Summary of debate developed during role play.	By two students; observed by others; summarised by teacher.
45	Doubt about whether Karen can be quite the same again (implying some kind of change).	Teacher raises idea as question; male students state opposing reasons.	Initially teacher poses the doubt as a question. Several students respond differently.
45	'Some of the trust will be lost'.	One student responds to teacher's question.	Girl 9 makes statement, teacher agrees, and elevates this statement into a conclusion.

Discussion

The table charts the facts that were created in the fiction. Over all the pattern of negotiation was heavily teacher-dominated (for pedagogical reasons outlined in the first analysis). The amount and kind of participation and negotiation is made visible in this breakdown.

If teachers devise similar tables of analysis for their own lessons in order to tease out the implicit values and assumptions, at each stage the teacher might try asking the question 'Why?', in order to search out what was really of fundamental value or concern. This is not the same as stating intentions or objectives. It is trying to arrive at the unstated intentions and taken-for-granted beliefs that have informed our thinking.

In discussion with the teacher whose work is analysed here, she explained the thinking that had informed the session:

> "I was interested in the fact that girls don't realise that when a relationship becomes sexual, they become very deeply involved and upset; while for him (the boy) it is casual. For her it meant more. I was interested in that fact."

This interest could have led the teacher to openly examine whether boys or girls do indeed feel differently about relationships that become sexual. Instead she had already unconsciously decided that girls become more deeply involved than boys. On the basis of this assumption, the teacher proceeded to construct the drama to expose this view. It was not however expressed as teacher's personal viewpoint, it was turned into a fiction which the students were informed that they had contributed to. This viewpoint or assumption therefore affected the way the lesson was structured; what was written on the notes - i.e. the differing attitudes; and also explains why the teacher described Karen as being in a 'terrible emotional state'.

Later I asked the teacher what was in her mind when she asked the last question: 'I wonder whether she can ever be quite the same again?'

The teacher replied that she was really asking, "Do you think she regrets having a sexual relationship?" She continued, revealing her true concern:

"What are the effects of having a sexual relationship? When it's done it can't be undone - you can't turn back. It's easy to submit and so final. I wanted them to be aware of this dilemma: about the girl taking on the responsibility of getting put on the pill, and then her reactions when she found out it wasn't shared by the boy."

So in this lesson it turns out that the teacher had a very specific intention and quite definite personal views on the subject. She chose to explore this through an enactive mode - drama which demands involvement of intellect, body and emotions in a medium that mixes fantasy and reality.

This teacher really wanted to explore the dilemma that she stated above. Her first fictional construction, the notes, therefore contained within them her basic assumption or premise that boys tend not to share equal responsibility with girls in sexual relationships. The real irony in this particular lesson is that the teacher is personally concerned about something that she considers an unfair contemporary situation, i.e. that girls generally have to shoulder an unequal responsibility for preventing contraception. It is the unfairness which is at the heart of her concern. Yet, as shown in the analysis, the initial construction of the fiction and her subsequent structuring, focussing, questioning and language within the fabrication obscured the very issue she wished the students to explore.

The real question: Do boys and girls take equal responsibility for their sexual freedom? was never tested because the teacher started with this assumption built into the notes. The subsequently biassed the issue by focussing on Karen's problem rather than Karen and Dave's problem, thus in effect supporting the notion that it was her problem. In terms of the actual dilemma expressed: the two sets of rights (Karen's freedom to privacy and the parents' care and responsibility) the structure of the lesson emphasised the parents' view at the expense of Karen's or Dave's thus weakening one of the crucial perspectives in this dilemma. It is interesting that the teacher also introduced a third element into this debate, i.e. the rights of the medical profession to over-rule the

rights of either Karen or her parents. Although it was this aspect that initially stimulated the drama - the result of hearing an item of news (which subsequently became known as the Gillick case) - this aspect is not presented to the students as part of the dilemma. Instead the teacher's assumption becomes the focus of the dilemma.

Conclusions to second analysis.

This second analysis has re-examined one particular drama session in order to consider the construction and negotiation of meaning. While it may seem that I have departed from my original purpose - an examination of sex-role stereotyping - I suggest that this detailed analysis is a necessary step towards understanding how the role of the teacher, combined with the medium of drama, can indirectly influence students' perceptions and attitudes about themselves and others, including their thoughts and feelings about gender. While it has been possible to note the amount and kind of student - teacher participation and negotiation, the limitations of the present research method make it impossible to assess the extent to which pupils are aware of the conscious and unconscious manipulation by the teacher and therefore the extent to which they can resist the messages or take this into account when forming their conclusions.

However, the analysis suggests that this needs investigating in future research. In drama in education lessons the teacher is often in role as someone else; values are disguised in the fictional construct; taken-for-granted assumptions are couched in symbols and hidden from view, as this analysis has revealed. Under such circumstances the teacher cannot abdicate responsibility for the nature of the learning that is promoted and must seek to examine how their own values and assumptions are informing the created fiction.

By focussing in this study on how sexism is learned or reinforced in drama lessons, the analysis has

highlighted specific sexist assumptions. By then focussing on how meaning is constructed the analysis has revealed that sexist assumptions are but one example of a much broader set of assumptions and values that a teacher holds. Given the unequal power relationship that exists in classrooms and specific drama methods and strategies that disguise this power, issues of teacher neutrality, manipulation and indoctrination need to be re-examined. As David Hornbrook says (1984):

> "If ... classes are now 'learning through Drama' ... we must be very much clearer ... not only about the explicit subject matter of the lesson, but also, and maybe more importantly, about the implicit message and values which permeate the drama process." (p. 50)

CHAPTER SEVEN:
ANALYSIS OF DRAMA LESSON (B).

Introduction

The previous analysis represents a particular stage of the researcher's journey as outlined in Chapter One. When I first began looking at lessons my own perspective was essentially that of a liberal feminist with a desire for equity and fairness. In this chapter I will analyse a second drama lesson in full, but from a more radical feminist perspective with a greater awareness of power structures and patriarchal relationships.

The lesson to be analysed is a published account of a drama lesson with nine-ten year olds in a middle school. It appears in Jonathan Neeland's book "Making Sense of Drama", published by Heinemann (1984). It appears as chapter two under the heading: "Beowulf - A Sample Lesson" pp. 8-23.

Reasons for selecting this lesson for analysis

(i) It is a published transcript of an actual lesson with junior age children, that has not been edited, or publicly analysed. In fact, Jonathan Neelands explains to his reader his reasons for not analysing this sample lesson:

> "I would strongly recommend you to use the transcript to frame your own list of questions about drama as they occur." (Neelands 1984, p. 8)

I have interpreted this as an invitation to analyse the work in relation to the purpose of this study.

(ii) The second reason is provided by Neelands in his introduction to the sample lesson when he explains his reasons for including it:

> "The lesson is very static in terms of action; it is therefore possible to give a comprehensive picture of the lesson through transcript. Some lessons hang on the actions, or pauses, or symbolic gestures, or facial expressions. Such drama would be very difficult to describe in writing.
>
> The teacher remains in control, acting as a chair-person for all that is said, i.e. it's a fairly safe

structure (in fact, he remains too much in control).
The lesson was not an easy one for the teacher to maintain and as a result it's perhaps more interesting than a smooth and slick lesson might have been (many of the problems stem from the conflict with Beowulf - a girl who totally amazed her teacher with her uncharacteristic defiance. But this conflict was also the mainspring of the lesson."
(Neelands, 1984 pp. 9-10)

(This lesson was taken by an advisory teacher, not the regular class teacher, consequently he had no real knowledge of the group as individuals.

(iii) It is an example of whole class improvisation where the teacher and children are in symbolic roles throughout. By using an example of whole group improvisation with teacher working in role, controlling from within the drama I hope to examine more fully another facet of the teacher's role.

Neelands says:

"... the purpose of using teacher-role is to put the children into an immediate situation where they have to do the thinking, the responding, the decision-taking, the problem-solving .... it must be the children's work.

In order for this to happen, the teacher-role should never be overpowering and obviously manipulative, it should try not to talk too much, and its contribution should be cut back to a few well-considered, highly selective phrases or actions each designed to activate responses from the children.
The teacher-in-role ... has ... also the further responsibility of working individuals into the drama. This means looking out for individuals who are having difficulty believing in it; keeping a balance between the genders, so neither is overpowered by the other; encouraging (without forcing) the quiet and shy to contribute ..." (Neelands 1984, pp. 50-51)

Neelands also draws attention to other, more general aspects of the teacher's role and attitude, a) as helping "children to see their existing experience of the world as a valid and useful resource for further learning ...", and b) enabling children to "discover their own voice and how to use it for their own purposes in a rich variety of situations..." (p. 24)

(iv) This lesson provides an example of powerful drama that resonates with multiple meanings. Neelands acknowledges

this potential in justifying his choice of stimulus:

> "There is much to respond to in this epic legend of honour, courage, monsters, duty, and sacrifice." (Neelands 1984, p.11)

The transcript illustrates clearly both 'real' and symbolic levels of meaning operating simultaneously in heightened moments of the drama: the meaning that is operating at the level of the 'real' social network, i.e. the peer group, including the teacher-pupil relationships; and the meaning that is operating at the level of the symbolic roles and relationships. As the lesson progresses and the drama develops it is possible to see many layers of meaning in existence at the same time as well as witnessing a tension between these 'real' and symbolic meanings.

(v) Finally, although this did not influence my selection, I believes this drama functions as an analogy of the role of women in our society. By applying a feminist perspective to this analysis I also hope to illuminate what it can feel like to be female in our society.

Background to the lesson

The class consists of 17 mixed nine-ten year olds. This advisory teacher worked with the class for a total of 2½ hours. The transcript represents one activity within this time. On first meeting the class the teacher read the beginning of an adaptation of 'Beowulf'. He decided to stop "at the point where Beowulf and his band settle down in Heorot to wait for Grendel" (Neelands, 1984, p. 11) He explains,

> "I purposefully chose this point because I wanted to work with the children's imaginings of what Grendel might be like. I wanted to stop before Grendel was defined by the storyteller; this would give the group the chance to consider facing a monster of their own making." (p. 11)

Before starting the drama the class had worked in groups of four producing "a group image of Grendel using black and white charcoal." They then started working in drama with a

tableaux exercise, after which they felt ready to work in role. The chairs were arranged in an open circle. The transcript is a record of what went on during the role play.

"(T. = teacher; B. = boy; G. = girl; Be = Beowulf; S. = storyteller; C. = chorus ... Unless otherwise stated everyone remains seated ...)" (Neelands 1984, p. 13)

Figure 2 shows the seating arrangements and the position of speakers.

"Beowulf - A Sample Lesson"
An Analysis of the Transcript

The full transcript appears in Neelands (1984) 'Making Sense of Drama'. pp. 8-23. What follows is an analysis of that lesson which considers most, but not all, moments.

The teacher starts the drama by building belief. He asks the class questions to establish the place they are in, who they are and what they are like. For example:

(line 18) "T. ... So we're in the hall of the Geats. How would we be dressed?"

(line 23) "T. ... What about our hair, would it be wonderfully clean and ...?"

(from line 31) "T. And would we be all smooth-faced?

C. No - beards.

T. Sort of rough beards - so we're pretty tough are we?

C. Yeah.

T. How do we think of ourselves then, us Geats?

G8 We think we're the greatest.

C. Yeah.

T. Yes, we're pretty tough eh? We've fought some good battles in our time hmn?

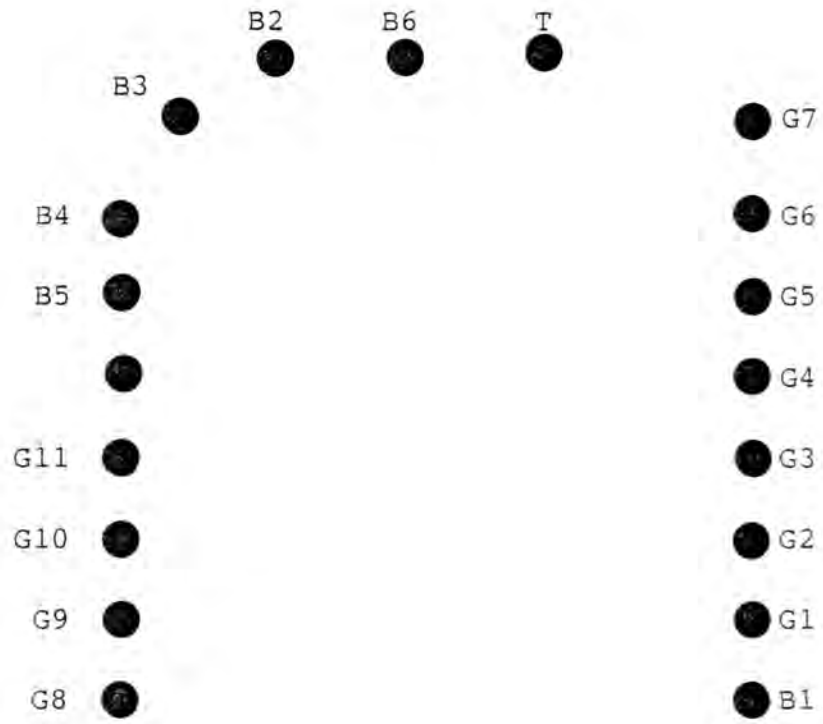
C. Yeah.

T. Nobody dares quarrel with the Geats.

C. No.

T. Right - so I'm going to be Hygelae, King of the Geats - now there are two other roles that we want to use in this opening. The first role is a very difficult one, it's the

Figure 2 A Diagram of the Seating Arrangements showing the position of speakers in Drama Lesson (B).



Key: G = girl
B = boy
T = teacher

role of the storyteller. Who thinks they will be able to take the role of the storyteller? (B1,3,4,5, G2,1,3,4,8 raise hands) You do (indicating G4) O.K.. And the other difficult role is ... who thinks they will be able to take the role of Beowulf? (B1,2,3,4,5, G8,3,1 raise hands) Right (indicates G3)."

Notice how the teacher's questions also introduce his ideas and assumptions: 'Beards' becomes 'rough beards' and the assumption or association in his mind becomes "so we're pretty tough" - even though he phrases it as a question - "are we?" He further defines the situation with a question: "We've fought some good battles in our time, hmn?"

When it comes to selecting the main roles the teacher invites the children to nominate themselves. It is interesting that in a numerically imbalanced class, four out of six boys think they will be able to take the role of storyteller, whereas only five out of eleven girls do. Similarly, five out of six boys feel confident to be Beowulf compared with three out of eleven girls. This suggests a difference in self-concept. The teacher selects two girls for the main roles, thus countering the tendency to appease boys and allow them to dominate. Any feelings of pride experienced by girl 4 are momentarily deflated however, by another girl's comment. As the teacher helps her put the 'Saxon' cloak on girl 2 remarks, "She looks like Little Red Riding Hood" (line 51).

The teacher begins to build belief in the children's role as Geats and in his role as King. During this section it is interesting to note the 'masculine' landscape that emerges through the language and the way it further defines the situation: "eating and drinking" ..."adventures" ... "daring" ... "exciting" ... "boasting your bravery" ... "fighting" ... "stories to stir your blood" (lines 57-80).

Studies of children's books have shown that the world of adventures and quests are considered the male domain, one that boys but not girls are familiar with. It is the teacher who has been largely responsible, in this section of the lesson, for defining the world of the Geats as a

rough, tough world. Perhaps more open questioning might have allowed a different environment to be established. It is true, however, that the class had already read the first fourteen pages of Beowulf and the teacher was capturing the atmosphere of that time as portrayed in this re-telling of the legend; nevertheless what is constructed is largely a traditional 'male' experience. Despite the teacher choosing two girls for main parts and thus elevating their status, there are occasions when it is possible to detect very subtle, possibly unconscious, sexist assumptions:

(from line 72) "T. What about you Beowulf, you're always boasting of your bravery?

Be. Too quiet for me.

T. Too quiet, huh, perhaps the young lad wants a taste of adventure, eh?"

The phrase 'the young lad' is in keeping with the symbolic role of king as is the king's patronising tone, shortly followed by "You'll soon learn" (line 78) which reinforces this.

Given the real social network of the class, in which three out of eleven girls volunteered for Beowulf, there is an irony here. Girl 3 has, within the peer group, shown herself to be brave, especially in a mixed classroom where research shows that boys generally dominate and girls take a back seat and 'learn to lose' (Spender 1980, Sarah 1980). This courage continues when Girl 4, the storyteller, enters and tells of the monster. She points to Beowulf and suggests she try to conquer the monster.

(line 104)"G3. (Jumps up) Alright, I will. I'll get my men and I'll go (walks off, turns). Come on!"

She is immediately ready for action and prepared to show initiative. The teacher stops her.

(line 106) "T. Wait a minute, wait a minute. Beowulf you sit down. (Beowulf returns to her seat)."

The teacher as King outlines the dangers involved.

(from line 120) "Be. (stands) I don't care. I'm going.

T. For what purpose?

Be. I want to kill it (stamps foot).

T. ... Will the Danes let him fight the dragon?

Be. I'll prove it.

T. You've got a wild tongue in your head - take a seat.

Be. No.

T. Beowulf, you don't stand in my court.

Be. I want to take my men.

T. Listen to those who are older and wiser than you - talk this through first. (Beowulf sits)

Bl. She won't even get in the waters.

T. That's right. Do you think the Danes will even let you land?

G11. I think he should go.

T. Why's that?

G11. Well he could have a try.

Be. (stands) I don't care if I get killed. At least I will have tried. I want my men. And I want to go."

This extract throws some light on the tension between the symbolic roles and the real social network and relationships. A power struggle emerges at two levels simultaneously. There is the struggle between the king wishing to retain his authority and have his wisdom and experience respected by his son, who wishes to forgo discussion and planning in favour of impetuous action. There is also a power struggle between girl 3 and the teacher. Girl 3 wants, through her role, to assert herself. Here in the drama, she has indeed a chance to behave in a liberated fashion. She can make demands: 'I want ...'; can stand up to authority and refuse to obey: 'take a seat' - 'No'. She can boast her daring: 'I'll prove it'. The teacher, who for pedagogical reasons wants to slow the action down, encourage the class to describe, discuss, narrate, tries through the role to manage the situation to these ends: 'You've got a wild tongue in your head', ' ... don't stand in my court ... Listen to those who are older and wiser than you ...'

When she is discouraged from the adventure, it is possible that girl 3 (Beowulf) expresses symbolically her real need. She expresses this clearly when she says 'At least I will have tried.' (line 137). The need to go, to try, to achieve, to be active in the world takes precedence over everything else as shown a moment later:

(lines 153-160) "T. ... If we're sending people to help, we should get paid. What do we want from them?

B1. Food.

G4. Food.

G9. Possessions.

Be. Nothing.

(Long pause)

T. Nothing?

Be. I'm going whether you want me to or not."

Girl 3's reply 'Nothing' suggests that the adventure is the reward itself. It is not surprising in view of the fact that adventures and opportunities to fight monsters are traditionally denied to girls in fiction or on television. At last she has her chance and no one is going to stand in her way.

After she has stood up to the father figure in this very determined way it is interesting that the king's (teacher's) tone and manner changes: "Well wait a minute. We don't know whether anybody is going with you."(line 161). This is not the same tone as the earlier, 'Sit down' ... 'Listen to' .. 'You don't'...

During this power struggle at both 'real' and symbolic levels, the peer group also become involved by forming alliances. For example after the king says, 'Listen to those who are older and wiser' (line 130), boy 1 uses the pronoun 'she' to refer to Beowulf: 'She won't even get in the water.' (line 132). This suggests that he was partly operating at the 'real' peer group level with 'traditional' assumptions about girls not 'even' being able to ... Note the king supports the boy's statement: 'That's right'. He too uses the word 'even': 'Do you think the Danes will even let you land?'

Beowulf sits at this point. Girl 11 then supports Beowulf and re-establishes the dramatic convention 'I think he should go', using the male pronoun.

Beowulf decides not to wait as requested by the king.

(line 161) T. ... We don't know whether anybody is going to go with you.

Be. I'm taking them. I'll have you (G2), you

(G4), you (G5)."

Note that girl 3 is taking three female companions. It is usual for children to group according to gender. But I am also intuiting a defiance here and a need for female alliances. In reply the teacher says: "Wait a minute, Beowulf. You're too anxious. These things need careful preparation. Ships need to be armed - and food put on board." (line 164).

The teacher is trying to slow down the action, to press the pupils to consider what would be needed for the voyage - to think and to plan. This is a usual strategy to move drama from superficial to more reflective levels. But this is also creating great tension in girl 3 for whom the drama is about being given a chance to prove something.

(from line 166) "T. ... You need to pick the right people. It's no good picking people who will be no good to you in such a struggle.

B3. Yeah."

The teacher could be wanting to involve the class in considering the qualities that are necessary in such people. However, at another level, this can be seen as a slight to the three girls (G2,4,5) who had been selected as 'good enough' to go by Beowulf. Although unintentional, the teacher's phrase "no use in such a struggle" (line 167) might have been experienced as a derogatory remark aimed at them because they were girls and therefore 'no use'.

When teacher asks:

(line 170) "T. First, Beowulf, you tell us what equips you for this task. What have you done in the past?"

Girl 3 (Beowulf) replies very simply, perhaps honestly:

(line 172)"Be. I don't know. I just want to try. It could be my first and help me to do others."

Paraphrased this might read, If only I can be given the chance, <u>allowed to try</u>, I might find out what I can do.

The teacher turns to boy 1: "Olag, you had the task of training Beowulf in combat, how has he done with his training?" Whether this is conscious or not the teacher has demoted (girl 3) Beowulf here and elevated Olag (boy 1) by the suggestion that Olag taught Beowulf everything he knows.

Later the king asks Olag what sort of people should be

sent with Beowulf.

(from line 182) "B1. Good strong ones.
T. Experienced warriors?
B1. Yeah."

Note the emphasis on physical strength in the language. Might this have an effect on whether the girls still feel capable of going?

Beowulf however is certain. Perhaps she senses this manipulation when she asserts,

(from line 185) "Be. I want to pick my own.
T. You will decide but Olag and the rest of us will guide you in this choice.
B1. I reckon he can go.
T. And he will bring honour back to this hall?
B1. Yeah. Hopefully yeah.
T. And will you go along to protect him?
B1. Yeah."

So the king is sending Olag to 'protect' Beowulf. I feel certain that this is the last thing girl 3 wants at this moment. This drama represents the opportunity for her to shake off patriarchal protection and to 'prove' something alone - without male dominance. There is a sense that Beowulf might have been on the verge of saying something like this, but was prevented - i.e.

(lines 193 - 6) "T. Now who else amongst you has performed tasks that might be useful to us?
Be. Father!
T. Wait a minute, let him speak (points to B4)."

Boys 2,4 and 5 then form a counter alliance to the girls' group:

(from line 197) "B4. ... Me and my two fellows here (puts his hands on the shoulders of B3 and B5) we've just been throwing boulders about that big (gestures) at <u>them</u>" (meaning villagers).

(lines 205-221) "T. Ah, so you have experience with dealing with monsters.
B2,3,4,5. Yeah.
T. And how did you trap this monster?
B3. We made an old Indian trap (gestures) and when it was down there we chucked our spears down onto it.
(At this point Beowulf interrupts)

Be. I don't want those three, they're spiteful. (Stands)

T. What do you mean spiteful?

Be. They are always jeering at me. I want him (G1), him (G6), him (G7).

T. Beowulf you are not yet king. Take your seat. (Pause, then Beowulf sits) You will be guided by your father in this matter. These (indicates B3,4,5) are three experienced warriors. Now who else?

G8. Us four (gestures towards G9, 10, 11) have fought Romans. Many of them.

T. Yes, so you think you are equipped to fight?

G8. Sure we are."

It is interesting that girl 3's accusation of 'spitefulness' follows on logically from boy 3's description of 'chucking' spears at the monster - caught in the trap. Yet when the teacher asks her what she means by 'spiteful' she replies: they are always 'jeering at me'. This suggests that the real peer group network is being described and brought into the drama. Perhaps the image of the trapped and tormented dragon triggered an emotional response in girl 3 that paralleled her own feelings within the peer group relationships.

Again she counters the teacher's move to include the boys as warriors, by insisting on her own men (G1, 6, 7). It is interesting that they are not the same girls that she chose the last time, nor the four girls who claimed to have fought Romans. She has chosen three girls who have hardly spoken in the drama, thereby including nearly all the girls present.

Yet again girl 3 is thwarted. The king (teacher) responds to the challenge to his authority with: "Beowulf you are not yet king ... you will be guided by your father ..." thus reasserting the patriarchal order. Notice also the king's (teacher's) response to girl 8 when she volunteers four girls as warriors (line 220). " ... so you think you are equipped to fight?" It is phrased as a question, which suggests there is some doubt and although there is no way of recapturing the intonation here, the phrase (you think ..' suggests that others may not agree.

The teacher as king then puts an interesting question

to the class, as Geats.

(lines 233-5) "T. Are there any of you who have something to prove, who may wish to risk your lives in this adventure? Any of you who feel there is something to prove?"

The teacher here captures the words and feelings of girl 3 used earlier: 'prove', 'risk'. He gives them the opportunity to tell him what it is they must prove. Certainly girl 3, through the symbolic role, is risking quite a lot in challenging authority and patriarchy.

There are several answers to the king's question:

(lines 226-9) "G10. To prove there is a monster.
G8. So that we can kill it.
B1. Prove who's boss."

It is interesting that girl 3 needed to 'prove' that she could do something; she was prepared to fail but wanted the chance to 'try'. In contrast boy 1 interprets the developing drama to be a struggle for leadership. This response operates at more than one level simultaneously. In one sense, 'prove who's boss' is referring to the dragon - if we kill it, it will prove we are boss or vice versa. But in another sense it refers both to the male/female power struggle that is unconsciously being played out, and the teacher (authority)/pupil (subordinate) struggle for control of the drama. Boy 1 asks a question:

(lines 233-5) "B1. How do we get into the waters first?
T. We will go by ship. We will prepare a large ship.
Be. (Stands) We? I want to go by myself."

Girl 3 (Beowulf) shows genuine surprise: 'We?' She thought she was going on an adventure alone, without paternal protection, to 'prove' something to herself. Now she discovers that the teacher - who had probably always intended that several people would go on this voyage, because in pedagogical terms it involves more people and gives a fairer chance for all to feel involved - has no intention of letting her have the main part, the chance to be a hero, as opposed to a heroine. Girl 3 seems to change at this point in the drama, to give in and accept defeat, as the king appeals to 'feminine' values.

(from line 236) "T. You will have the lives of many others to consider. You must control your recklessness. Many of those that leave this hall will not come back - and we need to know their blood will bring honour back to this hall; not be lost in a foolhardy adventure.

Be. Yes, father.

T. And Olag, He's not too big for a clip ..."

It is interesting that the king (teacher) makes this provocative remark with its suggestions of paternal violence 'for one's own good' immediately after girl 3 (Beowulf) has adopted a submissive tone. This change in character continues. Several suggestions are made regarding preparations for the trip. Beowulf says almost humbly (line 249): "I will take a few of everything. We don't know what he's like. So we might need anything." Girl 3 (Beowulf) is now placating her father (teacher) and in return she is praised: "Wise words Beowulf. It's best to be well-prepared." (line 252). Appropriate behaviour is rewarded. Notice that Beowulf uses 'We' here, not 'I'.

However, this is short-lived. Beowulf is silent for a while listening to ideas for provisions: 'Food', 'Shields', 'armour', then'training more men'. At this point girl 3 (Beowulf) cannot conceal her impatience, though she still shows some control. The struggle now is within herself.

(from line 313) "Be. But father, it will take too long. I want to go now.

T. Well be patient..."

Notice how the teacher's role which started as the king has shifted in emphasis. He is now primarily father and the dramatic tension centres round this father/child relationship - or dominant/submissive structure.

Girl 8 makes a suggestion:

(lines 315-321) "G8. We'll need fireproof armour just in case this Grendel, as the stranger calls it, breathes fire.

T. That is very wise.

Be. If we fight with anything, I'll fight with my bare hands as well. Bare fight.

T. Brave words Beowulf. Brave words. Let's see how you speak when you face the monster."

This is the second time girl 3 has appeared to react

strongly to girl 8. Previously she ignored her offer to be a warrior, preferring to choose three other girls. Here she almost seems jealous of the praise she receives from the king/father (teacher). In retaliation she reasserts her courage. At first she uses if 'we fight' - as if she is one of them, but immediately this becomes 'I'll fight' ... and without weapons, implying again she does not need protection. The double use of the word 'bare' is very interesting - 'bare hands' and 'bare fight' - an almost poetic construction; the heightened language suggesting the powerful effect of the drama on this girl. Indeed, it is itself a metaphor for what has been going on in the drama, and for the emotions that have been laid bare. The king/father replies (line 320) 'Brave words' suggesting that words are easy, and putting her/him down: 'Let's see how you speak when you face the monster.'

This sentence seems to operate at more than one level. There is the literal sense within the context of the play. But there is also a veiled warning - rather like the warning 'Let's see what you've got to say for yourself, young lady, when your father gets in' - or 'when the head-master gets here' - or 'if I really start to get nasty'. In other words there is a 'monster' within warning not to overstep the mark!

While recognising that this kind of interpretation is conjectural, it is because the drama is so powerful and intense that it is possible to read these many-layered meanings into the transcript. It is when drama operates at this level that it 'resonates' with all kinds of meanings, because it is in touch with deeply-felt, but often deeply hidden, emotions.

It seems significant that at this point in the drama boy 6 should speak for the very first time, after the king's question:

(lines 320-2) "T. .. Let's see how you speak when you face the monster.

B6. We will need mirror shields. Just in case its eyes can turn you into stone."

Although boy 6 is speaking of the mythological monster with extraordinary powers, at a deep affective level he could also be associating with girl 3's struggle. The experience of confrontation, of direct anger, unleashed, can feel very daunting. Girl 3 and the teacher seem to be at the moment engaged in confrontation - face to face combat. It is the teacher who backs out first, seeking allies who will support him: "Will someone speak to my son?" (line 329). Note the use of 'son' here - father's possession. Among other replies, girl 2 speaks for only the second time (line 334), "And he doesn't realise how big the monster is." At an intuitive level girl 2 is perhaps warning girl 3 to be careful. Physical size has been referred to several times during this drama. In this instance there is also the teacher's 'size' and status relative to his pupils, to take into account. Monsters are able to turn people to stone on the spot. It is the intense eye contact involved in facing the 'monster' that makes confrontation terrifying. Girls and women in our society are given very little practice or encouragement in dealing with this particular'monster'. It is not part of girls' early socialisation.

In an attempt to get the journey started, Beowulf stands again.

(lines 325-8) "Be. I don't want too much stuff. It'll make the ship sink. I want to go my own way.

T. Be advised Beowulf.

Be. You advise me too much."

It is interesting that girl 3 rationalises this time to try and get her way - i.e. 'too much stuff will make the ship sink'.

At another level the ship becomes a metaphor for girl 3 and it is possible to regard the provisions and weapons that the group intend to load onto the ship as society's expectations and proscriptions about what it is to be 'female'. 'It'll make the ship sink' becomes 'I want to go my own way' - or perhaps I want to be myself.

Her father answers: 'Be advised Beowulf'. Girl 3 throws his words back at him 'You advise me too much'.

(from line 325) "T. Olag, perhaps you should remind her what happened the last time we went unprepared to the land of the Danes.

Bl. Yes. We were beaten. I still feel the ..... shame."

Here a 'traditionally' male stereotype is revealed in the 'sense of shame' that is associated with being 'beaten', not winning. It is also interesting that the father/ teacher slips into referring to Beowulf explicitly, for the first time using the pronoun 'her', instead of the convention 'him'.

Girl 3 (Beowulf) almost unable to contain her feelings retorts,

(from line 328) "Be. You think, you think you know everything.

T. Old heads are wiser than young heads Beowulf and you need to rem...

(Beowulf interrupts)

Be. Young spirits are stronger than old spirits father."

Exasperation results in 'You think you know everything' which she stumbles over in delivery. In relation to the discussion of knowledge and education in Chapter Two of this study, here is an example of a female trying to 'make her own way', to define the situation to fit her own experience and give it meaning - the need to 'try' to be given the chance ... But like the knowledge constructed and defined by the dominant group, here too girl 3 finds that at every turn her definitions, her needs, are frustrated. '... you know everything' is symbolic of the power to decide what will count as knowledge, what is appropriate behaviour, what are appropriate feelings, needs and wants.

When father/teacher replies that older heads are wiser, Beowulf interrupts without a second's hesitation with the retort 'young spirits are stronger ...' Strength of character, of spirit, is here equated with wisdom and knowledge. There is perhaps some unconscious acknowledge-ment that the king/father/teacher has power because of his ability to construct the paradigm within which we are forced to operate. But there is a sense of resistance, of defiance in this challenge with the suggestion that her spirit cannot be broken and she will not give up trying to

change things. This is reinforced a few minutes later when she speaks her last line in the drama. The rest are discussing the monster.

(lines 354-7) "G8. When are we going to see this dragon, as you call it?

S. In the Danes Hall at 12 o'clock.

B2. But what if we fall asleep?

Be. I won't fall asleep, that's for sure.

This is the last contribution that girl 3 (Beowulf) makes and it reinforces the notion of resistance and continued struggle. Young spirits will be watching vigilantly, waiting for old spirits, old heads, to weaken. It is girl 3's last utterance, the discussion continues about how to trap or kill the dragon. During this the monster gets bigger and more powerful as the Geats jointly contribute anecdotes and rumours and consult the story-teller (lines 348-398).

The transcript is interrupted here and we are informed that "the planning continued for another ten minutes"; they then "went home to prepare themselves" and "in pairs ... improvised their farewells"; the group then reassembled in "the roles of warriors ... on the dock ... ready to board ship." (Neelands 1984, p. 21).

The teacher in role addresses them:

(from line 399) "T. Stand in a line, warriors ... Four in a rank! Space out so that I can inspect you. Now the other Geats are all around you watching. So stand and show them you are ready for this mission."

He reminds them that as Geats it is traditional to take an oath - an oath of 'honour and courage'.

(from line 436) "G10. And wisdom.

T. And wisdom. What is the one motto we have, the motto we always say?

B2. Go proudly.

G8. Never boast.

T. Go proudly, never boast.

B1. All for one, one for all."

(from line 445) "T. Let us hear you say it - and let's see you raise your weapons and shake them as we speak. GO PROUDLY NEVER BOAST.

All. (Raising weapons) GO PROUDLY NEVER BOAST.

T. ALL FOR ONE, ONE FOR ALL.

All. ALL FOR ONE, ONE FOR ALL.

T. Good luck,warriors!"

(The session ends)"

Discussion of Issues Arising: the effect on girls' self-concept

It is interesting that the teacher asks for details of an oath to do with honour and courage and a girl adds 'wisdom'. They are about to set out on a journey, a quest, a mission. While courage may be necessary, honour is the assumed motivation. Girl 10's suggestion is that wisdom or learning may also be a justification for the mission. It is also interesting that it is a boy who suggests 'go proudly' and a girl who counters this with 'never boast'. Certainly it is possible that in this drama the girls have learned or had reinforced that it is wrong to boast their daring, to compete; they must be modest about their achievements.

In Chapter Three of his book Neelands states that one of the aims of teachers is to "help children to discover their own voice and how to use it for their own purposes." (pp. 24-25). Girl 3 in this drama does find her own voice and we are told that her class teacher was "amazed" at her "uncharacteristic defiance" (p. 10). She is given the opportunity to participate in a major role but the nature of her participation is defined by the teacher. In this respect, one could argue ironically, girls are, to re-quote Neelands, seeing "their existing experience of the world as a valid and useful resource for further learning", since the drama experience is symbolic of life in an educational paradigm in which men are 'the gate-keepers', making decisions about what shall count as worthwhile knowledge and in doing so preserving the status quo. I am not here suggesting that the teacher intended this, merely that what happened could be seen as reinforcing and therefore legitimating girls' existing experience of the way things are. Dorothy Heathcote reminds teachers that,

"It is not merely telling what you want them to learn;

> it is the experience arising out of the action which enables them to learn." (Heathcote, in Johnson & O'Neill (eds) 1984, p. 209)

The teacher, no doubt, had valid pedagogical reasons for not allowing girl 3 to determine the direction of the drama.

a) Drama as a 'collective activity'

As Neelands explains,

> "Drama is a collective activity; it involves people working together with more-or-less single purpose. Whereas in children's other art-work ... we prize individual ideas and expression, in drama we encourage a collective view, a conspectus, a commonality of expression ... What we need to do is see whether our individual ideas can be meshed, or patterned into an experience that we can share together." (Neelands 1984, p. 40)

By adopting a feminist perspective in relation to the Beowulf lesson the above pedagogy, shared by many drama practitioners, can be perceived as 'problematic'. The taken-for-granted assumptions and values that underpin this philosophic stance need to be examined afresh. There are two aspects arising from this lesson which require further probing.

The pupils, in role as warriors, line up in ranks to be inspected before embarking on their mission; the teacher is here encouraging 'the collective view' - the shared experience or patterning. One way of emphasising this is through ritual. Neelands says:

> "we reveal ourselves through those rituals that have a regular place in our lives. Rituals tend to be either an expression of what we believe in ... or an expression of personal commitments ... In both cases the normal ebb and flow of human behaviour is checked. Instead there is a deliberate shape, contrived and convention-laden, placed on our behaviour." (Neelands 1984, p. 67)

He is here talking about formalised rituals like 'funerals' or 'elections', or 'initiation rites'. But there is a sense in which the structure and ordering of more informal everyday representations can also be thought of in this way. Neelands continues:

> "... ritual is important because it is usually a social

> or a collective experience; and also because cultural activity of a ritualistic nature illustrates an underlying ideology. The rituals we engage in say something about our society and values." (Neelands 1984, p. 67-68).

Idiosyncratic or personal views have been subordinated to the greater good of Geat society. Social order and cohesion has been maintained through patriotic rituals. Is this an act of solidarity or an act of conformity? What kind of 'collective view' are we promoting in our drama work? What are the moral implications?

b) 'Universal roles'/'Brotherhood Codes'.

Linked to this notion of the collective view is the related concept of universal roles.

> "What is important in drama is to identify more generalised, universally recognised roles such as farmer, leader, traveller, tribesman, peasant, farmer, father, brother, guard, etc. - and to explore the personal and social implications of such roles. In other words, one purpose of the drama will be to help children to understand what it is like to occupy these universal roles in the real world." (Neelands 1984, p. 72)

This idea of 'universally-recognised' roles owes much to Dorothy Heathcote's idea of "Brotherhood Codes" (Wagner 1976, pp. 48-52). Irrespective of the particulars of the role or situation she looks for the "underlying significance" of the event so that despite the external features, how people feel on the "inside" is stressed. This bridge with others, who at different times and in different places have felt similar to us now, is achieved by reflecting that, "we are in the brotherhood of all those who ..." (p. 48). In this drama this could be all those who have taken risks, all those who have been treated badly, all those who "find themselves in transit" (p. 51). Heathcote explains the importance is, "What is implicit in the relationships of the people in this situation?" (p. 50).

"Each situation is pregnant with hundreds of brotherhoods" (p. 51) ... "the isolation of one factor that a student can relate to makes focus possible" (p. 52). In the Beowulf lesson the teacher does not explicitly mention "brotherhoods", but it is implicit in the closing stages

of the lesson. These warriors could have been likened to all those who have "courage ... all those who fear ... all those who must not turn back ... all those who may not return..." (p. 51). The isolation of a particular "botherhood" or universal role, like warriors, will influence the way the experience is framed and comes to be reflected upon. Although the teacher does not explicitly define this he does mention 'honour' twice and 'courage' once. The Geats are instructed to raise their weapons and shake them as they speak the motto, so that it is these patriotic rituals that are being emphasised as the drama ends.

A particular problem for feminists is that the 'universally recognised' roles - like the examples cited by Neelands - are traditionally 'male' roles and 'male' experiences and these reinforce the 'male as the norm' syndrome and by implication the 'female as the deficient' human being. What follows may sound a contradiction given the equal opportunities stance adopted in this study. However life is both complex and often contradictory. The 'collective view' and shared experience is on the one hand in keeping with equality in highlighting significant human emotions and celebrating our shared-in-common world. But the disadvantage is that while promoting our similarities, our different experiences of the shared-in-common world are devalued. In terms of multicultural education it is like saying of an ethnically mixed classroom, 'We are all the same here. There are no differences.'

In the Beowulf lesson the present day 'collective experience' of sisterhood and the struggle for equality of opportunity in mixed classrooms which is different from the experience of boys - is not identified and is denied expression. The result is that this differential treatment is not experienced by the boys nor brought to their attention and it is assumed that we all have the same basic needs and drives, irrespective of social and historical contexts.

Girl 3 in this drama is in the sisterhood of all those who have been denied opportunity; all those who have been

thwarted in their ambitions; all those who feel cossetted and over-protected; all those who want the chance to prove what they can do. Elaine Showalter (1976) commenting on the consequences for girls of the preferential treatment of boys, says:

> "Education provides women with a long apprenticeship in negative capability on self-image and self-confidence ... Women are estranged from their own experience and unable to perceive its shape or authenticity. ... [because] ... it is not mirrored and given resonance in the materials or interaction in the classroom. (Showalter 1976, pp. 319-320)

It is rare in mixed drama classrooms to explore 'the personal and social implications' of female experience. One can only muse on what might have happened if girl 3 as Beowulf had been allowed to approach and encounter Grendel alone or with her original choice of warriors (girls 2, 4, 5). Perhaps they would have returned to boast stories of bravery, or having escaped, verify the dangers - but they might have found other ways of dealing with monsters and dragons, ways which drew upon their 'female' experience of dealing with difficult people or hostility and aggression; ways which focussed on "the morality of care and responsibility" rather than the "morality of justice" (Colby 1982) (17).

Conclusion.

At one level, this particular drama did offer liberating opportunities for girls. The teacher created a change of context in which new roles and relationships could be experienced and this in turn resulted in new language demands. The drama context allowed the pupils to challenge authority and to alter the 'normal' pupil-teacher, pupil-pupil relationships. The teacher's contributions to the mounting tension within the developing drama and the distancing provided by the roles allowed girl 3 to 'find her voice' and created the opportunity of experiencing, safely, confrontation, resistance and disapproval. For girls, growing up in our society, the opportunity to both experience and practice such behaviour is essential. Drama has the potential to liberate in this respect.

At another level this lesson illustrates the power of the teacher when working in role inside the drama. The teacher-king-father has the power to invoke traditions - 'you don't stand in my court'; to prescribe the limits of Beowulf's initiative - 'You will decide but Olag and the rest of us will guide you in this choice', or 'you will be guided by your father in this matter'; to belittle,'And Olag. He's not too big for a clip'; to mock, 'Brave words, let's see how you speak when you face the monster'; the power to decide on the 'right' people for the mission (of girls 2, 4, 5), 'It's no good picking people who will be of no use in such a struggle'; the power to ask boy 1 if he will 'go along and protect' Beowulf; the power to invoke age and experience and equate them with wisdom - 'Old heads are wiser than young heads'; to impose value judgments on thought and action, 'you've got a wild tongue' ... 'you must control your recklessness'.

If drama in education is to be liberating for girls then <u>at the present time</u> we may need to consider strategies which will result in more positive discrimination to prevent reinforcing the everyday experience of being 'female' and the detrimental consequences, i.e. thwarted ambition, conformity to group norms to avoid disapproval and the suppression of psychic energy - a major factor in the mental health of a community.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER EIGHT:
THE ROLE OF THE DRAMA TEACHER.

The intention of this study has been to examine the role of the teacher and the processes and practices that reinforce sexism, in order to understand more precisely their interaction. In attempting to do this the study has been divided into three sections: the first focussed on sexism and placed it within a context, the second looked at the details of drama lessons as well as the interaction of all three elements. In this section, Chapter Eight will consider the role of the drama teacher in relation to the professional context, and then will examine some drama methodologies in relation to the values they are promoting.

Teacher at the Crossroads: A context.

During the nineteen eighties drama in education conferences and professional journals have been debating the current and future role of drama and increasingly calling upon practitioners to re-examine the values that their work is promoting. This debate has been summarised by Ken Byron (1987, 1988) in a two-part article entitled 'Drama at the Crossroads'. This image of a crossroads is symbolic of the uncertainty about the future direction of drama practice, and perhaps symbolic of the need for individuals to make different choices in relation to their personal beliefs. This 'crossroads' demands an examination of the extent to which there is consensus and similarity among drama teachers as well as points of difference and disagreement.

The debate is about the content of drama and its relevance to young people's needs - the capacity of different drama approaches to address contemporary issues. In particular the concept of 'universals' and its 'blandness' has been focussed on, and the 'indirectness' of some approaches has been criticised for failing to confront issues like race, class and gender so that pupils can challenge their own taken-for-granted assumptions.

Ken Byron, summarising the debate, says:

> "What is at issue here seems to be this: given that a drama teacher's function is to assist young people to engage with the world in which they live, including those topics which are controversial, what are the best methods of doing this?" (Byron 1987, p. 10)

Should we focus on 'universals' or 'contexts'?

> "On the meanings which are generated by the context but go beyond it? On those which are specific to it? Or both? And if so, in what kind of balance or relationship to each other?" (p. 13)

a) Teaching: A Multi-faceted Role.

Before considering the answers to these questions, I intend to discuss the teacher's multi-faceted conception of the teaching role. I then intend to relate this to the choice of drama methodologies.

Patricia Broadbent et al (1988) conducted a comparative study into how teachers conceived of their professional responsibility in England and France. There were marked differences. Teachers in France were clear that their responsibility was towards their pupils; whereas while equally true of teachers in England, they also felt a responsibility towards parents, the headteacher and their employer. The researchers largely accounted for this difference by pointing to the centralised curriculum in France for which teachers feel no personal responsibility, and the relative autonomy of teachers (particularly primary) in this country in relation to curriculum content.

This dual 'professional responsibility' felt by teachers in England is particularly relevant to the position of drama teachers who, because of a child-centred open pedagogy, i.e. with no prescribed public syllabus, have a similar degree of autonomy in their classrooms. Drama becomes a vehicle for children's learning about aspects of human life. In this participatory activity teacher and children function as playwright, actor and director with their own built-in sense of audience. Since the drama activity takes place within the institution of the school, a teacher's conception of 'professional responsibility' will, I suggest, play a large part in determining the

choice of content, how it is focussed and reflected upon. One aspect of 'professional responsibility' must be that it is educationally 'worthwhile' and this inevitably involves value judgments. Another aspect is that it will need to be justified to colleagues and others beyond the school. These facets of professional responsibility and accountability imply a degree of social consensus and some commitment to the dominant ideology.

In addition to the 'professional responsibility' to pupils and colleagues, a second aspect of the drama teacher's role relates to their conception of themselves as arts educators, and their perceived relationship between the function of art and their professional role. Although drama has emphasised that it is a learning medium, the teacher's conception of the artistic role may cause some degree of role-conflict. Nicholas Wright (in Robinson 1980) highlights this by drawing attention to the differences rather than the similarities between the roles of theatre worker and teacher and between theatre and drama as social practices, in terms of their social functions. Wright argues that theatre workers or artists are not a homogenous group, unlike teachers, whose methods might vary but who nevertheless "share the same function" (p. 91). He sees a "function of theatre <u>as entertainment</u> to make moral and political statements." This is acceptable because the audience understand the context and conventions of theatre which affects the 'frame' or mental-set from which they view the event. While he argues that,

> "theatre is a feature of society's political and social life ... [this is not] ... the same as saying that the play will necessarily make the slightest difference to the audience's future behaviour or change its mind in any way." (p. 92)

The drama teacher however is committed to a positive change in perception or understanding in keeping with the function of the teaching situation. Indeed one phrase used by drama teachers to justify to sceptics what might look like an abdication of responsibility, is "the play for the class and the play for the teacher." (Gillham 1974).

b) Drama Methods: the Teacher's Choice.

Gavin Bolton (1982) explained: Although a teacher may ask a class, What do you want to make a play about? "the invitation to choose is not as open as it sounds." A class of juniors may, for example, vote to make a play about robbers (18).'The play for the class' is therefore about robbers but the teacher decides on the framework within which the class will be allowed to pursue the topic, i.e. the purpose behind the activity. Since the topic 'robbers' is not a usual curriculum area it is the teacher's function to decide, what of educational value can be focussed and reflected upon. This is 'the play for the teacher'; although it is not made explicit to the children. Gavin Bolton takes on the role of gang boss and questions the children about their experience. They are drilled and pressured by him into producing rules which will guarantee the survival of the gang. He constrains them by imposing one rule - none of their lives must be lost. In this drama the focus is not on 'shoot-outs', killings, robberies or 'get-aways'; the teacher focusses the children's attention on loyalty to and protection of the 'gang'. In the period of reflection Bolton asks the children if they had previously considered this sense of honesty and loyalty among thieves.

In this example a subject that might have emphasised anti-social learning is transformed into a consideration of those elements necessary for successful group cohesion and reflectiveness. In this sense 'robbers', the pupils' choice of content, is irrelevant to the teacher's purpose. This kind of strategy and the teacher attitudes and values that are implicit in this way of working has provoked discussion and criticism.

David Clegg (1973) accuses drama of being part of "the creative adjustment to society syndrome".

> "We allow anti-social expression ... just so long as everyone realises that the aim is to modify such responses eventually so that they fit into what society wants and needs ... " (p. 40)

Some teachers would no doubt defend such action as part of their 'professional responsibility'. Clegg continues

however by suggesting that their first responsibility should be artistic:

> "Any self respecting artist would see that as a sell-out to the establishment ... [Drama's] acceptance into the educational system has depended, by and large, on an underlying assumption that its practice will lead to better citizens - and that means better-adjusted to society as it is." (Clegg 1973, p. 40)

These two aspects of a teacher's role are clearly distinguished in this criticism and while Clegg is clear about where his priorities lie, other drama teachers might not agree. In the seventies there was, within the educational system, some degree of consensus and optimism. Perhaps teachers of 'creative adjustment' felt that it was by and large a 'just' society; perhaps they were not fully conscious of the effects of assimilationist cultural policies; perhaps, like Wright they saw the function of theatre artists and drama teachers as quite different. By the eighties however, the changing economic, political and educational climate forced some drama teachers to re-examine this potential conflict in their role.

The 1981 N.A.T.D. Conference for the first time identified "values and ideology in drama teaching as a central issue". A new mood was evident. Jon Nixon, reviewing the conference for the T.E.S. reported that,

> "... the participants talked a great deal about the teacher as an agent of change and drama as a subversive activity ... Commitment to change involves hard thinking, the development of sound practice and a long political struggle..." (Nixon, in Norman (ed) 1981, p. 2)

Yet despite the change in mood and explicit statements about a political struggle, Brian Agar, in his opening remarks as Chair, added,

> "... I would suggest one basic rule. Make sure that you are recognised as a responsible member of staff. You may want to revolutionise the curriculum, but do it from the inside, not the outside. You are a professional teacher first, then a drama teacher." (Agar, in Norman (ed) 1981, p. 47)

The 'new' sociologists like Young (1971) claim that teachers decide what public knowledge is important, as well

as deciding how it should be taught. Furthermore, they argue teachers use their power to control what is to count as knowledge. Yet the social construction of reality makes it impossible to separate knowledge from the knower who has been socialised into a particular culture. A pupil's perspective on knowledge is in theory just as legitimate as his teacher's, since whether it is true or false depends where you happen to be standing at the time.

It is not surprising that drama found a comfortable niche within the relativist school of thought with its child-centred, interactive pedagogy and lack of pre-specified knowledge. Children are encouraged to grow in confidence by expressing their thoughts and feelings, in a context where there are no 'correct' answers. They are encouraged to examine concepts like 'truth' from more than one perspective without the real life consequences. John Norman (1983) defines drama in education's aim:

> "to explore past, present and future experience, our own and other people's, in an attempt to make sense of the world in which we live. The unique features of this activity are a) the taking of roles and b) the motive power of feeling engagement."
> (Norman 1983, in Day & Norman (eds), p. 159)

So in theory a drama lesson can be about anything that the teacher and/or students find interesting or worthwhile. The fact that there have been few outraged parents or employers attacking individual drama teachers for professional irresponsibility suggests that the majority have chosen a 'moderate' course.

However relativism does not necessarily imply pupil autonomy. For in practice, throughout the lesson it is the teacher who decides the extent to which he/she will negotiate with students. So as Stuart Bennett (1984) says,

> "Although ... the activity is in a sense child-centred ... the teacher calls the shots." (p. 16)

However, although there may be no correct answers as there are in some disciplines; the perspectives that are explored, the roles that are chosen, the way in which situations are constructed will - as shown in the Karen Brown analysis - make some perspectives more prominent than others, and consequently elevate some versions of

truth above others.

In the theatre flagrant bias is often an essential element in the development of character or theme. This also applies in drama. Teachers often deliberately adopt roles which allow them to play 'Devil's Advocate' and so challenge or extend the range of views. This allows a variety of opinions to be expressed within the drama that are not necessarily the views of the teacher. The same applies to the pupils.

Teacher neutrality.

Basil Singh (1988), in discussing teacher neutrality, acknowledges that different classroom situations require different approaches;

> "it is for these reasons that we cannot lay down hard and fast rules about teaching controversial issues." (Singh 1988, p.126)

But while children in drama lessons may express opinions without the pressure of a 'correct' answer, where controversial issues are concerned a totally relativist position will cause the teacher committed to countering sexism or racism a dilemma. As Singh (1988) remarks,

> "the teacher cannot allow outright racism or sexism ... to go unchecked because it is the prevailing view of the class, or the stock views of some pupils ... the teacher is not there merely to protect a divergence of views." (p. 126)

Drama teachers during the eighties have debated the place of neutrality. Some teachers in an attempt to allow pupils to make up their own minds have assumed neutrality by refusing to comment on substantive issues; others have avoided controversial issues altogether. Those opposed to the notion of neutrality argue that even if it were desirable it is not possible, since values are implicit in the teacher's language and consciousness and in the procedural activities selected. Furthermore, they argue it is not desirable.

> "The avoidance of controversy, is in practice the same as ... the presentation of the majority opinion: they are the passive and active sides of the same coin." (Richardson 1986, p. 30)

Hornbrook (1984, p. 51) argues that to conceive of drama as a "natural humanising process" and to claim that

> "exposure to it ... leads to greater understanding of the human condition and, as a consequence, to more tolerant and compassionate 'actions' in the world"

is a false premise. Being involved in drama about social problems like racism or sexism does not necessarily involve any greater awareness of race and culture or result in more tolerant actions. Students draw upon their personal experience and bring to the drama lesson

> "the features of their real life interactions, ascribed and achieved roles and their sense of self, it is ... possible that the experience of the enactment does no more than reinforce the child's limited perception of possibilities and self unless we intervene in such a way as to offset the real life dynamic of the group." (Norman 1985, p. 8)

In the Beowulf analysis I argued that the teacher needed to intervene differently in order to support the girl who was attempting to challenge the patriarchal status quo. In stating as an aim the need to maintain gender balance (p.) this teacher ruled out the possibility of positive discrimination. Thus the paradox of a neutral stance is that it may well work in favour of one party to the detriment of another (Montefiore 1976, in Singh 1988, p. 8). Singh argues that,

> "in a classroom composed of pupils, some of whom are disadvantaged by all sorts of reasons, including racial and sexual discrimination, it is the moral duty of the teacher to respond to the crying needs of those pupils." (Singh 1988, p. 132)

The question of teacher neutrality in relation to moral relativity is obviously linked with the teacher's intervention. Since the more extensive use of teacher-in-role strategy, the position of the teacher in relation to the children's learning has become more central and some argue more powerful, because the influence is covert and indirect. Chapters Six and Seven both illustrated the procedural power of the teacher to structure and manipulate the experience, towards desired ends. This is in no sense a neutral activity, neither are methods of intervention and teaching style.

Chris Day (1983) in a consideration of teaching styles distinguished between two styles of discovery-based teaching: 'learning by discovery' and 'learning to discover'. Day defines the former as learning in which the teacher introduces pupils into situations,

> "so selected or devised that they embody in implicit or hidden forms principles and knowledge which he wishes them to learn."

In other words the teacher,

> "has certain content objectives in mind, e.g. knowledge and principles to be learned, but he uses indirect (non-instructional) influences in the learning process."

In learning to discover, however,

> "the teacher is concerned with helping pupils learn procedure for critically evaluating knowledge and principles, leaving what is to be learned as a result of this process an open matter." (Day 1983, pp. 82-83)

But Day also points out some contradictions: "Much drama may be categorised as 'moral education' ... it is involved with values of 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' and 'bad'" (p. 89). The teacher's "values are expressed to the pupils in his [sic] teaching" by procedural strategies, not just at the level of aims and ideals. "In any discussion of teaching we must discuss ... the teacher's ... use of his style" (p.92) and recognise that they "exercise authority without being authoritarian" (p. 87).

Wright (1980), in comparing the contexts in which theatre and drama occur, highlights one critical difference:

> "The audience may come and go as it pleases. The student may not ... however open-minded the teacher may be, the relationship between teacher and student is clouded by features quite outside the teacher's control ... on the deepest level the context remains one of compulsory participation." (Wright, in Robinson (ed) 1980, pp. 98-99)

This legitimate act of coercion is not often discussed among drama teachers but it is a facet of the unequal structural relations of power and it means that the teacher cannot underestimate the authority invested in the role. Wright argues that:

> "the drama teacher stands in relation to the child as the playwright/director/actor does to the audience"

so that the student role seems to "equate with that of the audience in the theatre." But he asks:

> "What terms of reference exist against which the students can evaluate, examine and if necessary reject the statements made by the teacher?" (Wright 1980, p. 97)

The terms of reference for drama students must fall within their conceptions of school and teachers, and equally involve their conceptions of themselves as learners. Thus the 'frame of reference' is different from the theatre. Furthermore, although all students know they are in school, in drama the teacher does not make explicit to the pupils what he/she is hoping they might learn. Educational drama falls within Bernstein's description of "invisible pedagogy" where "children are expected to pick up codes that are implicit rather than explicit" so that "learning is a tacit, invisible act" (19). Codes cannot be explicit or learning expectations defined if students are to contribute to and negotiate the learning area - as in 'robbers'. Equally teachers cannot be explicit, if it is a journey into the unknown, an expressive task with either no pre-specified objective or, as in the next example, a specific objective that becomes a springboard for unexpected outcomes.

Concepts, Contexts or Issues

The following extract is taken from Bolton (1982). He explains that a class of top juniors were exploring the,

> "problems of safety precautions in a zoo where wild animals have to be secured from the public and yet available for the public to enjoy. The children were in role as architects, involved in elaborate designs of cages and compounds, detecting flaws in each other's designs and verbally sharing their findings. In the second lesson they were required in small groups to demonstrate by enactment how the most perfect safety precaution was not perfect enough." (Bolton 1982, in Nixon (ed) 1982, pp. 34-35)

Here the teacher has imposed a constraint on the pupil's experience by requiring them to show that there are always instances when no amount of safety precautions are sufficient. Bolton continues:

> "It was during the preparation of their demonstration that they stumbled on the significance of 'human error', a revelation that allowed the final discussion to take on a sobering aspect: To what extent can the

safety of nuclear reactors be guaranteed as long as we have to rely on the human factor?" (Bolton, p. 35)

In discussion with Gavin Bolton, a long time after the lesson, he informed me that he had not started the lesson with human error in mind. It had started as an exercise in logic - could the pupils-as-designers find a weakness in their design? Yet the structuring in the second lesson and the imposed constraint led to this focus. He replied that this was because all the small group demonstrations happened to be dependent on human error rather than an inadequacy in design. He could not therefore have known in advance that this factor would become significant. Gavin Bolton continued to explain that he did not have in mind nuclear reactors or drawing on a moral position, he was concerned with the question: can you make anything completely safe?

This question relates to a more general concept of safety. In order to explore any concept in drama it is necessary to select a particular instance of that concept. In order to explore the general concept of safety, this teacher made it concrete by choosing the context of a zoo and wild animals in cages. This led to designing safe cages. G. Bolton did not think of the parallel with nuclear reactors until after the performance of the pupils' enactments. Then he decided to make "a bridge" between their experience and an issue in the news at the time.

The change in understanding or perception that might have taken place in this lesson was influenced by the selection of the symbols;the frame as designers within which they perceived the experience; the teacher's explicit constraint or intervention and the bridging role that the teacher assumed in the reflection. While safety might be considered a neutral concept, what counts as a particular instance can overlay this with new meanings. In this example, how would the anti-peace education lobby view the teacher's choice of focus and consequent sphere of influence? Would this be viewed as a valuable change in perception to a government committed to nuclear power?

In terms of the multi-faceted conception of the drama teacher's role a teacher might experience some conflict

here. If Brian Agar's advice is taken and professional responsibility comes first and that includes a conception of responsibility towards employers, then in a Tory-controlled local education authority some teachers might view this teacher as irresponsible. Conversely, teachers who share David Clegg's view might argue that to remain silent about human safety in relation to nuclear reactors would be a "sell-out to the establishment".

Or David Davis' version of this question - as put to delegates at the 1986 NADATE Conference (20) was to focus on whether our "drama" was "responsible" in "meeting young people's needs". He argued that if we are going to work in art, the artist is compelled to expose contradictions. This inevitably comes into conflict with how ideas are held, i.e.the dominant ideology.

The zoo drama showed how a teacher working in drama has the power to make a 'bridge' between the particular situation and wider social, moral or political issues. The fact that teachers make this decision in response to the unfolding situation means that they are likely to select, for reflection, something that they consider to be of value.

Dropping to the Universal

Many drama teachers, following Heathcote's example, use the reflection period to find the 'universal' at the centre of the particular. Wagner (1976), writing about Heathcote's way of working, explains:

> "... she uses what is happening in the drama as an occasion to remind the group that all through time people have found themselves in the position they are in at the moment, that there is an underlying significance to this event which can be recognised by examining its implications. In a sense, dropping to the universal is like using the Brotherhoods Code. Reflecting on the universal, however, is something Heathcote gets the class to do for themselves." (Wagner 1976, p. 76)

David Davis discussing this concept in 1983 illustrated his argument with an extract from the B.B.C. Omnibus programme 'Three Looms Waiting'. The extract is the drama

session which takes place in a boys' remand home.

The situation that the boys choose for the drama is prisoner of war camps. The dramatic action involves a group of British prisoners of war and a stool-pigeon planted by the German guards, their captors. At a crucial moment in the prisoners' escape, the stool-pigeon betrays them revealing to the guards that they have stolen the keys.

Davis explains that the keys are "the central symbol" - they

> "stand for freedom (the boys are actually in a remand home, keys will already be significant in their lives). The keys have been won and are to be lost. They stand for hope and despair.
> ... the particular dramatic action resonates universal meanings - here to do with betrayal of trust, the way illusions can be shattered, the denial of freedom ... It stands as a moment for all those people in history who have been betrayed."
> (Davis 1983, pp. 30-32)

Davis draws attention to the keys as a central symbol of freedom. We are told they stand for hope and despair - they are won and lost. He emphasises the universal concept of betrayal, which is undoubtedly relevant both to the particular drama created and to these boys' real life situation. But in doing so the teacher's choice of universal overshadows other possible universals and suggests direction of the reflection and subsequent understanding.

In this example the teacher might have chosen to reflect on the denial of freedom, by openly considering the concept of power, i.e. the power to lock up, to keep a prisoner. The keys would then become the symbols of power that some people hold. This different universal might have led to different reflection and a different 'change of perception /understanding'. So by'dropping to the universal' a teacher is able to influence the learning. But the use of universals also represents a teacher's decision to 'highlight what people have in common' as was shown in the Beowulf analysis so that similarities in our humanity are emphasised rather than our differences.

One effect of this is that the particulars of the created drama are robbed of their highly specific context.

In the 'stool pigeon' example how far can concepts like freedom, trust and betrayal be understood without reference to a highly specific and individual context? The boys' constructed drama was about two nations at war over ideological differences. The rules governing behaviour towards a fellow human are temporarily suspended. Killing the enemy can become a brave and courageous act. The boys in this remand home might have been heroes in another context. This could have been the 'bridge' between the drama and their real experience; it might have caused them to reflect on the different meanings attached to human actions in different cultural and historical contexts.

In literary criticism a word is not judged in isolation but in relation to its whole. Roland Barthes (1973), a semiologist, argues, "it is when man [sic] proclaims his primal liberty that his subordination is least disputable" (p. 82). We see the universals and gloss over how the cultural facts relate to a particular historical order, or an explicit economic/social status; instead we "invoke the great neutral forms of cosmic commonplaces" (p. 95) resulting in myths that deaden towards,"the most neutral point of their nature" (p. 101). In talking about how cinema perpetuates this he uses the following examples:

> "If we are concerned with fishermen, it is not at all the type of fishing which is shown; but rather, drowned in a garish sunset and eternalised, a romantic essence of the fisherman, presented not as a workman dependent by his technique and his gains on a definite society, but rather as the theme of an eternal condition, in which man is far away and exposed to the perils of the sea, and woman weeping and praying at home." (Barthes 1973, p. 95)

Or, if having been shown the shot of a group of refugees coming down a mountain in a long procession we 'drop to the universal', Barthes argues, they become "eternal essences of refugees". This supplies us with "the necessary alibi and exempts us from accounting for the situation in depth" (p. 96). He claims the "lyricism" of universals leads to the "immobility of the world" (p. 102).

> "This myth of the human 'condition' rests on a very old mystification, which always consists in placing Nature at the bottom of History." (p. 101)

Barthes argues this suppresses history and the examination of differences and injustices. He accepts that there are "facts of nature, universal facts" but says:

> "if one removes History from them, there is nothing more to be said about them ...
> ... Natural facts must be inserted into a category of knowledge which means ... that one can ... subject their naturalness to ... human criticism." (p. 101)

Barthes' comments express concern that elevating universals and removing them from specific contextual details is an attempt to neutralise content by elevating it to sentiment or nature and thus removing the historical context.

Stuart Bennett (1983) drew attention to this, reversing the question.

> "In sessions based on historical periods, where do we obtain our source material? Where do we pick up the particulars from which come the universals?" (Bennett 1983, p. 4)

The Effect of the Particulars on the Universals.

Bennett worries that the teacher's control of the lesson can ensure that drama "only makes explicit what is in the mental spectrum of the teacher at the outset." (Bennett 1983, p. 22).

I intend to examine this question in relation to a drama session taught by Dorothy Heathcote (1984). Here she describes a lesson where she had been given a 'history brief' in a high school:

> "I wanted them to come to some understanding of loyalty within a feudal situation ... I said to myself how do I introduce the idea of loyalty? What strategy shall I use whereby there shall be a slow realisation that the choices between loyalty and disloyalty become available to the class? And, how do I do this within a Tudor framework? And what shall be the dilemma? What will make it possible for them to make that choice? They were fifteen years old." (Heathcote 1984, pp. 117-8)

The particulars that resulted from the teacher's questions were as follows: The setting was the interior of a Tudor mansion; the teacher-in-role was Lady Norris and the students were her servants. The action involved the furnishing of the mansion for Lady Norris' family.

> "... In the course of the furnishing they discovered that there were certain spaces in the house that seemed unnecessary. As soon as three soldiers arrived with their pikes, seeking for evidence of poppery; every child jumped to the conclusion that they were searching for the great Bible which I carried and would not be separated from ... And from then on they hid it ... They did not know they were going to have to choose whether to be loyal or disloyal. They were just caught in 'a moment of authenticity', of real choice and real concern." (p. 120)

In explaining her aims Dorothy Heathcote acknowledges that a teacher must "know why [she wants] to bring the class to that moment of choice", in order to "efficiently teach the precise thing that at that moment you want." (p. 120).

> "I wanted to introduce two things: one was something true, as far as there is any truth in history. The reality of the Norris family and Speke Hall which they built and lived in and in which they hid 34 priests. They were fined constantly, 500 guineas, by the king for hiding priests and would eventually have gone to their deaths if people had not been loyal. I also wanted to bring the children to the realisation that a teacher and a class are in each other's hands. They were in my hands at that moment when the soldiers came, and I was in theirs.
>
> ... The choice of the Tudor mansion was the curriculum choice - they were learning history. The choice of how to use the Tudor mansion was a teacher choice to do with my teaching ethics." (p. 120-1)

Loyalty in this second area implies the ability to put yourself in someone else's'hands', i.e. to allow them to act supportively. Heathcote is choosing to use the drama to teach something about her style of teaching. There can be nothing wrong with that. But if we re-focus on the question of neutrality and procedural values and relate them to calls for relevance and understandings of the world in which we live, ('warts and all') then the procedural values in this example have a neutralising effect on the content, glossing over the problematic aspects of the concept of loyalty.

Bennett raised a question about the source material and particulars which provide the"framework of choices" within which pupils think about loyalty. How does the choice of the Tudor period, for example, affect the concept of loyalty? Feudalism went through many changes from the time of William I, so that the selection of different periods within feudalism would allow different conceptions of

loyalty to be examined.

For example, in earliest times as vassal there was a dual allegiance to one's lord and to the crown. The lord also owed allegiance to the king. In return for swearing the oath the lord received land, while the king could summon an army at a moment's notice. In the 15th century, after the War of the Roses, Henry VIIth forbade nobles from keeping large retainers to prevent them rising up in force against him. This sharpens the concept of loyalty by placing it in a specific context. When Henry VIIIth wanted to divorce Catherine of Aragon she wrote a letter to him, very definitely placing herself in his hands:

> "Sire, I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a stranger ... I take God to witness that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife, that I have made it my constant duty to seek your pleasure ... If there be any offence which can be alleged against me I consent to depart with infamy: if not, then I pray you to do me justice" (Green 1960, p. 311)

During the Reformation, Cromwell told the Church what to preach in the pulpits, and only priests with licences were allowed to preach. Cromwell's administration was, says Green,"a reign of terror." It is said that Cromwell showed an absolute devotion to Henry. Henry VIII while fearless of open danger was very sensitive to hidden disloyalty. "It was on this inner dread that Cromwell based the fabric of his power" (Green 1960, p. 322), employing a host of spies. Erasmus wrote:

> "Men felt in England as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone. Words idly spoken ... were tortured into treason." (Green 1960, p.322)

To return to the Tudor mansion drama, if students are to work within a framework and respond to a moral dilemma then they need to understand something of the structural relations of power and the particular circumstances within which moral action occurs.

In Heathcote's drama three soldiers are sent by Elizabeth I to look for hidden Catholic priests. Prior to Elizabeth's accession, Mary had instigated a three year period of persecution against the Protestants - a counter to the previous 'reign of terror' under Cromwell. When the students in Heathcote's drama demonstrated their loyalty,

what kind of background information informed their choice? We are not told in the account. But if students did not appreciate the contextual background what were they responding to? If they were responding to the symbols presented to them: a woman, alone, holding a Bible in opposition to three soldiers carrying weapons, then they are responding to 'essences'. When the students reflect, will they consider that their choice of loyalty to Lady Norris would have been treason? Will they relate these dilemmas to their own lives today or the dilemmas faced by those who hide members of the IRA in Northern Ireland? Will they reflect on the power structures inherent in feudalism and the material consequences for those who did not fulfil their oath of allegiance? Will they relate this to the power relations in the classroom and the teachers whom they are dependent upon for examination success?

Barthes exposes the values inherent in approaches which elevate universals.

> "The status of the bougeoisie is particular, historical: man as represented by it is universal, eternal. The bourgeois class has precisely built its power on technical, scientific progress, on an unlimited transformation of nature: bourgeois ideology yields in return an unchangeable nature ... [it] is of the intuitive kind, it records facts or perceives values, but refuses explanations...
>
> Myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justiication, and making contingency appear eternal...
>
> The world enters language as a dialectical relation between activities, between human actions, it comes out of myth as a harmonious display of essences. A conjuring trick has taken place; it has turned reality inside out, it has emptied it of history and has filled it with nature ...
>
> Myth abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with dialectics ... it organises a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth ... it establishes a blissful clarity: things appear to mean something by themselves." (Barthes 1973, pp. 141 - 143).

Conclusions.

If students are to understand value judgments and moral actions, they must understand the context of political power and structural relations as well as what it feels like from

the inside of a moral dilemma. But this is not to suggest that the emotional engagement is secondary or less important. In drama both are important. As Bennett suggests drama work should set up a dialogue between our subjective empathetic responses and our awareness of the objective forces which limit action. "There is a dialectical tension between them which generates thinking" (Bennett 1983, p. 24).

Such a view of drama allows the contradictions inherent in social situations to be experienced and permits a view of moral action and value judgments in relation to a particular context, as well as in response to 'emotional memory'.

The second aspect of universals that is relevant to this study relates to the'myth of humanity', or what people have in common with one another. This aspect is similar to the idea of 'brotherhoods' and was discussed in relation to the Beowulf lesson. As a general point it is possible to agree that within

> "the framework of a shared 'form of life' people do share both material and non-material aspects of life."

However while we may share some aspects in common this does not mean that we necessarily,

> "perceive reality, or interpret the world in the same way ...
> We are essentially what our past culture has made us." (Singh 1988, p. 130-1)

Ivan Illich (1983), talking of men and women said, "We do not cohabit the same conceptual universe". Given the differential socialisation that boys and girls are given in our society, Illich concludes that girls and boys must perceive themselves differently. However this does not prevent women from wanting to be treated equally. It is difficult to raise this issue without exposing contradictions. On the one hand it can be argued,

> "that to fail to differentiate is to deny individuality and the unique qualities and needs of people. On the other hand it can be argued that differentiation is iniquitous, for in making distinctions of any sort, some children may be disadvantaged over others." (Pollard 1988, p. 159)

This study has argued that teachers do differentiate, mostly unconsciously on the basis of gender, resulting in

the reinforcement of sexism and its effects on students' life chances. In relation to drama approaches which elevate 'universals' or 'brotherhoods' and seek to unite rather than differentiate, it may sound a contradiction to argue that this practice can be seen as demeaning.

Firstly, the concept of 'brotherhoods' is an indication of this since the very term expresses the 'male-as-norm' paradigm within which girls are invited to celebrate their similarities. The result is that girls have to function in a male - defined reality.

By elevating what we have 'in common' we fail to account for our differences, including the differential treatment of women and their feelings about the social processes and circumstances they have experienced. Universals gloss over women's individuality, and sense of identity; they are dismissive of our perceptions and our feelings.

By using the reflection period to consider universal concepts from the students' present perspective the particular contextual circumstances are not accounted for. Students are reflecting on 'essences' which Barthes argues 'immobilise the world'.

Gavin Bolton (1986) in a postscript to his Joint-Conference address (1985) acknowledges that by inviting general conclusions about humanity he was "in effect 'neutering' the potential explosiveness of the material the pupils are handling and by doing this achieving a kind of false neutrality." He concludes with the thought that if drama in the future is to be about 'Society in a mess' rather than 'man in a mess' (21) then"a particular teacher's politics, morals and religion become inseparable from what s/he is using drama to teach." While previously arguing that indoctrination is not possible he here acknowledges "a politically active teacher will feel

justified in opening his/her own political doors." While thoughts of fanaticism cause him some concern he ends by questioning whether he has been entirely honest about what he is teaching. He asks:

> "Have I really been getting them to look at the world as it is?" (Bolton 1986, p.40).

My main conclusion drawn from this chapter is that it is not a question of focussing on our humanity or our society. Rather it is necessarily to focus on one in relation to the other; to experience the inherent tensions and contradictions that stem from our dialectical relationship to our social system. Jonathan Neelands (1986) echoing Stuart Bennett, expresses this in 'Positive Images' when he urges that drama be used in a dialectical not a didactic manner,

> "to reveal the interaction between contradictory or opposing forces, or even the contradictions within a single force or idea."

In his 'Manifesto for Change' Neelands (1986) states his own commitment to a set of principles, based on an examination of his values. All drama teachers must be encouraged to follow his example and work out where <u>they</u> stand in relation to the everyday lived experience of gender, race and class.

Will your students in their drama, experience oppression or understand how it occurs?

Like Neelands I believe it must do both:

> "... the realisation of what the context tells us about the issue it has generated ... [and the] ... insight into the politics of social life." (Neelands 1986, pp. 17-18).

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS.

As implications for practice have arisen in this study, so they have been noted as conclusions within a particular chapter. This final chapter will not repeat those points but will address some general implications that have arisen from this research, in particular for the role of the teacher. However, first it is necessary to acknowledge a major limitation in the present study.

The choice of research methodology - i.e. viewing recorded drama lessons or analysing published material - has resulted in only one perspective on the issues raised. The teacher's intention and perspectives are not recorded and there has been no interactive dialogue between teacher and researcher. Similarly, the pupils' perspectives are missing and no attempt has been made to discover their responses to their drama experience, or the nature of their learning. Future research in this area would benefit from exploring the triangulation of meaning as well as exploring ways of gaining insights into the nature of pupils' learning at different phases of reflection. This would allow further insight into the extent of the teacher's influence in reinforcing sexism, or other kinds of learning.

This study has demonstrated the 'everyday' aspects of sexism that occur in lessons where teachers are not consciously setting out to tackle sexism as an issue. It reminds teachers therefore to be vigilant in terms of a mental checklist. Teachers may need to initially 'train' themselves to consider the following questions until it becomes a more conscious awareness. For example, questions might focus on:

- how roles are allocated/chosen.
- whether roles reinforce 'traditional' male/female occupations/pastimes.
- whether girls are given the opportunity to experience high status roles.
- Whether women's roles are dependent upon others for their status.

- whether boys are given the opportunity to experience subordinate roles.
- whether girls are given the opportunity to practice confrontation, assertiveness and dominance within drama.
- whether boys are given the opportunity to practice nurturing, caring, affiliation and dependence.
- whether images of women emphasise helplessness, emotionality, the victim etc., and are assumed to be the norm.
- whether images of men emphasise the 'macho', ruthlessness, insensitivity etc., and are assumed to be the norm.
- whether the language that the teacher models is careless or demeaning.
- whether teachers operate a linguistic double standard and thus a double standard of values.
- whether teachers use language differently when talking to/of boys and girls.
- whether silences or laughter colludes with the pupils' stereotypes.
- whether clothing restricts girls' participation.
- whether teachers encourage pupils to work in a variety of mixed groupings.
- whether girls and boys have equal opportunities to determine the choice of drama.
- whether, when teachers choose material, they are favouring the interest of boys in order to ensure their co-operation.
- whether girls and boys have equal opportunities to contribute to discussion.
- whether teachers can facilitate more equal participation by positive discrimination - i.e. giving girls more eye contact or inviting them to speak, allowing them to dominate in order to raise their self-concept.

This study has shown that drama can both liberate and reinforce stereotypes. If it is to liberate then it must offer girls opportunities for a wide range of positive roles and non-traditional behaviours and create opportunities for safely expressing confrontation, defiance and anger as well as giving practice in demanding

attention and learning how to intervene in mixed groups. In order to facilitate, in girls, greater self-esteem and assertion and in boys, positive listening and co-operation, the teacher will need to be prepared for positive discrimination within the drama.

Unless teachers are prepared to examine their own assumptions they will not really be in a position to choose between courses of action or decide which strategies are appropriate for them. To use an analogy from psychoanalysis - you need to see what is in the cupboard before you can decide what to discard, how to tidy it up, and more importantly before you can introduce changes. This study therefore represents a stage to go through, irrespective of the final choice.

Involvement in this process has emphasised for me the need to make choices as a drama teacher that are in keeping with my personal values and beliefs. The artificiality and limitations of this study have meant that I have interpreted other teachers' acts against a set of criteria of my choosing. Ultimately, therefore, the research has been an attempt to discover my own assumptions so that I can be clearer about how to proceed in future practice. The selection of examples and insights that have been revealed during the lesson analyses must also reflect aspects of my own practice, since there is both recognition and identification involved in the act of selection and interpretation.

Yet it cannot be entirely a personal journey, since, as a drama teacher living and working in the seventies and eighties I have also been influenced and shaped by the ideologies of drama in education, progressive theories of child-centred education, professional accountability and increasingly centralised curriculum planning.

I have personally been influenced by advocates of equal opportunities, by feminist debate, and a greater understanding of my power - both the power to liberate and the power to enslave. I have noticed that it is only within the last few years that the concept of 'empowering' our students has appeared in the literature on drama. It

is not therefore surprising that our practice does not show much sign of this - the concept is still relatively new in drama.

We live in a world full of contradictions. The role of the teacher using drama contains inherent contradictions and consequent dilemmas. Drama, in embracing relativism, implicitly embraced cultural diversity including values; but this creates a dilemma for the teacher concerned to promote tolerance and respect - since to tolerate in relativist terms means tolerating racist or sexist remarks and respect must likewise be extended to those who hold such views. Those who have held more absolutist views have been regarded as extreme whether politically 'left' or 'right', but with issues like gender,race and class moral relativity does not work.

> "If discrimination based on race, creed or sex is wrong, then it will only be wrong in terms of certain values which serve as criteria for judging the wrongness of these acts. A wrong only makes sense in relation to a value or a cluster of values and the possession of a value implies a commitment. Consequently, one cannot believe that racial or sexual discrimination is wrong and at the same time accept that others are justified in believing that it is right. Moreover, one cannot detach oneself from what one believes or values, for the simple reason that to hold a value is to be positively attached to it." (Colbeck 1980, p. 66, in Singh 1988, p. 133).

R.Norman (1975) argues that the "ideal of neutrality" is part of "liberal individualism". It assumes that education consists essentially in the learner being left to develop under his/her own impetus; thus the teacher's task is to make experience available, but not to influence in any pre-conceived direction, since this would be to impose one's own values on another (R.Norman,1975, p.175).

There does appear to be some contradictions in terms between 'liberal' concepts like teacher as 'facilitator' or 'enabler' and more subversive ones like 'teacher manipulator' or 'agent of change'; between the conceptions of 'professional teacher' and 'arts educator'. As pedagogues committed to child-centred education we do want to 'facilitate'; as people with commitment to certain values we do hope for changes in perception and understanding of a kind that we feel are 'worthwhile'; as

'professionals' we do want to work in partnership with parents and colleagues; as arts educators we do want to offer pupils a way of knowing their world through the arts. Sometimes there are contradictions. As Sara Delamont (1983) says,

> "Teachers are balancing contradictory aims all the time, but we know little about how they go about it, or how they view the necessity..."

She adds,

> "This is odd when many have argued that the teacher's role is so diffuse because it involves the constant reconciliation of the unreconcilable." (Delamont 1983, p. 71)

Examining the contradictions both within drama philosophy and practice and between individual beliefs and methodology is a necessary first step. The current drama debate reflects this happening. Some practitioners have started to sort out the contradictions and suggest ways forward. Jon Nixon (1987) argues that drama can no longer

> "be justified solely in terms of 'personal growth' and 'personal awareness'. Rather, it becomes a discipline of thought whereby certain kinds of problems can be analysed and thereby more fully understood. The kinds of problems that are particularly well-suited to dramatic exploration are concerned with human motivation and the consequences of human action. But these motives and these consequences are embedded within a social and historical frame of reference which partly shapes their outcome. Drama ... must concern itself not only with the personal experience of the participants, but with the context which frames and informs that experience ... To build a context for drama solely from the received opinions of the pupils and teachers involved can compound misunderstandings, erroneous assumptions and harmful prejudices. Only by building the dramatic context round a wider range of reference can the drama work begin to challenge these misconceptions. Facts, figures, political analysis and ideas can be found and provided by the teacher for the class. As Nicholas Wright has argued, "It's when material ammunition of this kind is at hand for the study of social problems - rather than just the subjective experience of happiness, helplessness, empathy or mistrust - that students begin to be armed against the mystifications of ideology."" (Wright 1980, p. 103, quoted in Nixon 1987, pp. 48-49)

Such views are shared by innovators like Elyse Dodgson whose commitment to a particular set of values has resulted in the development of a teaching method that relies heavily

on the introduction of background material into the drama work.

> "Lessons limited to the subjective experience of pupils ... which do not introduce an element of fact, personal testimony and political analysis, leave us teaching pupils what they in fact already know, or think they know. We thus fail to give our pupils the tools to alter their perspective on these issues and make social change." (Dodgson, 1982a, p. 97)

Change is only possible if pupils are given the tools of analysis and that means 'exposing the inherent contradiction' in things. Drama is particularly well placed to do this. Drama teachers have the potential to empower their students or "to rationalise inaction, complacency and even oppression." (Appleton 1983, in Singh 1988, p. 135).

This study has urged teachers to identify their own values and assumptions and their conception of the role of the teacher. This will involve discovering whether there are personal contradictions and dilemmas in the philosophy and practice of drama in education, and resolving them. Only then will drama teachers be ready to move from the 'crossroads' and be in a position to enable students to perceive the contradictions, including sexism, inherent in the 'social construction of reality', for themselves.

N O T E S .

Chapter One.

1. McGregor et al (1977)

2. Maths: Walden & Walkerdine (1982), Fennema (1980), Ernest (1976), Northam (1987).

3. Science: Kelly (1978, 1981, 1985), Harding (1980).

4. Television: McGhee & Frueh (1980), Zuckerman et al (1980), McArthur & Eisen (1976), Durkin(1984, 1985), Gross & Fox (1978), Barcus (1977), Sternglanz & Serbin (1974), Downs (1981), Welch (1979), Drabman et al (1981).

5. Studies of classroom observation,(pupil-teacher interaction) Stanworth (1981), Whyte (1983), Serbin et al (1979), Clarricoates (1980), Spender (1978), Wolpe (1977), Sharpe (1976), Spender & Sarah (1980), Frazier & Sadker (1973), Levy (1974).

6. Studies of drama in education mentioned: Schaffner et al (1985), Maskell (1985).

7. Since embarking on this research similar studies which combine interests in gender and drama have emerged (for example, Boyd(1988) conducted a piece of class-room based research with infants into drama's contribution to combatting gender stereotyping.

8. a) Joyce (1981). [paper available from, Kathy Joyce, Drama Adviser, Teacher's Centre, 137 Barlow Moor Road, West Didsbury, Manchester M20 8PW].

   b) Eligoloff (1986), London Drama (1981).

9. See Chapter Four, pp. 49-56.

Chapter Two.

10. For a fuller discussion of these theories, see Weiner & Arnot (1987), Oakley (1981), Sharpe (1976), Maccoby & Jacklin (1974), Durkin (1985).

Chapter Four.

11. For a summary of the positions of main exponents in the current drama debate see, Byron (1986, 1987).
    For a continuing dialogue between the exponents themselves see the debate in The New Theatre Quarerly, Vols. I and II.

12. Hughes, T. (1968) The iron man. London, Faber.

Chapter Five.

13. 'Spring Green Motorway'is available from: Community Service Volunteers, 237 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NJ.

14. In the pack it says 'World'; in Walford's article he uses 'Earth'.

Chapter Six.

15. Gillick v. West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority and the Department of Health and Social Security, 1985.

Mrs. Victoria Gillick, who had ten children (five of them daughters under the age of sixteen), obtained a judgment from the courts that it would be unlawful for any of her daughters to be given contraceptive advice or treatment without her express consent. She succeeded initially, and for a while thousands of young women found that the contraceptive advice they had been receiving was no longer available. Eventually the House of Lords reversed earlier decisions. The Lords declared that girls under the age of sixteen had the legal capacity to consent to medical treatment - including contraception - providing, as a matter of reasonable judgment in the circumstances, that the girl in question could give 'informed consent'. This term is taken to mean that the girl can understand the nature of the decision she is making and has the sort of information on which a reasonable person could make a rational choice.
Information from Harris (1986)

16. The term 'man' is a North-Eastern expression.

Chapter Seven.

17. In this article ('Drama as a moral imperative'. 2D, Vol. 2, no. 1, Autumn 1982) Colby discusses two differing concepts of morality. He argues that in childhood there is a logic of relationships as well as a logic of rules, and that both aspects should concern us when considering morality. However, he worries that the latter has predominated, i.e. a 'morality of justice' and urges that we develop the caring, responsible side of morality. He likens these two aspects to an axis, and conceives of one representing a 'masculine' morality and the other as 'feminine'. He concludes that we need to consider both.

Chapter Eight.

18. This example is taken from a video recording of G. Bolton working with a class of juniors in Newcastle. The video is entitled, 'Let's make a play'.

19. Bernstein, B. 'Class pedagogies: visible and invisible', quoted in McGregor (1975).

20. Davis, D. (1986) A paper entitled 'Drama as a weapon' NADATE Conference, Leicester University, September.

21. A phrase used by Dorothy Heathcote in the Omnibus film, 'Three Looms Waiting'. B.B.C.

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