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*The language of drama : A study of the way in which  
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Peter Millward

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THE LANGUAGE OF DRAMA

A study of the way in which people accomplish  
the dramatic presentation of experience

In Two Volumes

VOLUME TWO

Peter Millward

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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-i-



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### THE TRANSCRIPT.

This is a transcript of some work done by six children and two teachers. In the first part (pages 1 to 20) the children are engaged in a discussion with one of the teachers. The other teacher then interrupts and moves this discussion into drama. The drama is recorded in the second part of the transcript (pages 21 to 30). The final part (pages 31 to 78) took place some three months later with the same children continuing the drama. On that occasion only one of the teachers was involved.

### BACKGROUND TO THE DISCUSSION.

At the time of the recording I did not intend that the discussion and drama contained in the first two parts of the transcript should become a central feature of the study. I was concerned only to see how a group discussion was managed. I wanted to uncover the kind of work which had to be done by those involved to make such an activity visible. A teacher colleague agreed to lead a discussion which I would record on tape and also observe in order to describe what happened. The choice of topic was left to the teacher and I learned of it as the children did, in the discussion. The teacher told me beforehand that she wanted to leave the discussion to the children, though she felt subsequently that it had 'been hard work' and that she had had to do much more than she expected.

The discussion took place in the school staff room with

with the children gathered around a table with the teacher. The children were selected for me by another teacher who had been asked to send along a group of six children of mixed ability. They all came from the same second year junior classroom, and at the time of the recording were eight years old. The teacher who led the discussion had not worked with any of the children before, though she knew them all by sight.

#### MOVING THE DISCUSSION INTO DRAMA.

There had been no plan to move the discussion into drama and it is not easy to say why I decided to interrupt; it just seemed like a good opportunity. The teacher had already made some attempts to work in this way, encouraged it seems by the contributions of one of the children (see Chapter Three), and maybe I was responding to this. All that I can say now is that it felt right. The teacher who had led the discussion remained in her place in the group though she took no part in the drama.

The second piece of drama (pages 31 to 78 of the transcript) which took place some three months later was one outcome of my decision to use the work as a basis for this study. Whilst the first two parts showed people presenting everyday and dramatic experience, it could be said that the drama was of a very sedentary kind (gathered as we were about the table in the staff room) and that to be creditable as an example it should be of a more active nature. Clearly

we needed as well to increase the material available for study. So, we used it to develop relationships already established in the first piece of drama, but also tried to introduce new themes. It was recorded in one session and the same six children were involved.

#### THE RECORDING.

For the discussion and the first piece of drama the tape recorder was set upon the table around which the group was seated. No attempt was made to conceal the recorder, though nobody (child or adult) referred to it. I sat in the corner watching and making notes.

The recording of the second piece of drama was more complicated as we were using a much larger space and the children were moving around. We tackled the problem by having three recorders and microphones placed in different parts of the room and by giving to the teacher a small hand held recorder.

The transcript was produced by drawing upon each of the tapes, though because of the nature of the work most of the talk was picked up on the teacher's tape and the others were used mainly to clarify ambiguities. However, sometimes a group of children would develop the drama beyond the teacher's hearing and then their conversations would be picked up by one of the outlying microphones. On those occasions the two separate pieces of talk have been transcribed side by side as they occurred (see, for

instance, pages 31 and 32).

Despite the 'ad hoc' nature of these arrangements, I am satisfied that most of the talk was captured and that the transcript does represent a reasonably accurate account of what was said. Even so, and after listening to the tapes time and time again, I still manage to hear them differently. I will find in the transcript a word which is not there or hear another which I have not heard before. When others have matched the transcript to the tapes, they have made small alterations as well. There might be no end to this, and I think it tells us more about the nature of talk and the way in which we attend to it than about the quality of the recordings themselves. There will never be a perfect transcription for there is always an element of interpretation and the problem is that the more accurate the transcription becomes the farther is it removed from the way in which that talk was originally heard and worked upon by those involved. They did not have the opportunity to play back, reconsider and refine their interpretations of what was being said. They had to work with all the ambiguities and the half heard phrases and there were no 'back up' recordings to help them to clarify the sense. This is not to say that it is not worth trying to get an accurate transcription but rather that the transcript must be used imaginatively by the reader if it is to capture the nature of the interaction. I find it useful to keep going back to the tape to listen to the flavour of the talk. All that I

can ask you to do is listen to the tape with the transcript before you and see if you consider it to be a useful account of the taped recording.

Two tapes are included. The first (tape A) is a direct copy of the teacher's tape and it covers most of the talk. The second (tape B) was the one which picked up the priests' talk beyond the main drama and you will see how it fits in with the teacher's tape. The other tapes added nothing to these, though they were used for clarification when some parts were unclear.

#### CONSIDERING THE DISCUSSION AND THE DRAMA.

After the discussion and the piece of drama which developed directly from it (pages 1 to 30 in the transcript) I talked with the children involved. Later I talked to the teacher. In these discussions I replayed the taped recording and tried to get them to think about what they had said. I wanted to see what the children understood about the situation, what they thought was going on. I thought it would be, as well, an opportunity for me to clear up one or two uncertainties about intentions behind words and to clarify some rather obscure observations. With the teacher I discussed not only the discussion and the move into drama, but also the children's responses to the discussion. I wanted to try and throw some light on the nature of 'shared understanding', and I wanted to ensure that the views of those involved concerning what was happening were included

in my account. These discussions (which were also recorded) are referred to throughout the study.

#### A SYNOPSIS OF THE DRAMA.

A stranger talks to a group of 'by-volcano dwelling' villagers and tries to get them to explain why they live by a dangerous volcano. The villagers talk of the difficulties and advantages of such a life and tell the stranger of their belief in a 'great god' who lives at the top of the volcano and protects them. The stranger asks what he must do to join the village.

The stranger is told that he must prove himself by climbing the volcano and meeting the great god. However, before he is allowed to attempt the climb he must satisfy the priests of his worthiness and so he is taken before them by some villagers and they question him. The priests agree to let him climb and they send one of the children with him as a guide. The others say they will watch him climb and pray for him. The priests promise to come for the stranger in the early morning for they must take him by boat to the foot of the volcano. The stranger and his friends wait for the priests and consider the climb which is before him and the problems which it might hold. They tell him of other experiences on the mountain. After a while, the priests call for the stranger.

The stranger now has a change of heart and tries to delay the climb. The children who have helped him get so

far become very agitated and eventually by a trick they get him into the boat. The priests row the boat with the stranger and his guide to the volcano and the others wave goodbye.

On the mountain the stranger is joined by another guide and they meet some very threatening guardians who try to prevent the ascent. They show him the bones and the tombstones of those who went before. The stranger is appalled by what he sees, but the guides try to convince him that it is all done by tricks. The stranger agrees to continue the climb if one of the guides will go before and show that the guardians are harmless. He then follows and suffers much buffeting at the hands of the guardians. Nevertheless, he gets through and continues up the mountain.

Higher up they meet another group of guardians who appear much more welcoming and give him tea. They sympathise with his predicament and understand the awfulness of his experience at the hands of the guardians below. When the stranger is rested, more comfortable and reassured, they introduce him to their blind, deaf father. The stranger learns to his horror that the old man is so afflicted because he succeeded in climbing the volcano and reaching the great god. The stranger thinks better of his intention to climb and accepts the offer of a quick ride down to the bottom. His guides, though, take him by the arms and march him off towards the summit.



THE TRANSCRIPT

01 Teacher. Now what we're going to natter about  
02 is....you people and me.  
03 Shirley. (Oh.  
04 Peter. (Oh no.  
05 Teacher. And...there's a volcano....right? And  
06 we live near it...and that's all...mmm.  
07 Have a little think.  
08 Anyone got any ideas?  
09 [4 second pause]  
10 Peter. Africa?  
11 [some small sniggers here]  
12 Teacher. We could be in Africa because there  
13 are volcanoes there, mmm.  
14 Ian. In South America there are (a lot there.  
15 Mark. (Can you tell  
16 us \*\*\*\*\*/  
17 Teacher. Are there?  
18 Ian. Especially near the volcano....mmm...  
19 there....North America, near the...um...  
20 I think it's the Grand Canyon...there's  
21 one near there.  
22 Peter. Yes.  
23 Teacher. Ah, that's been in the news lately,  
24 hasn't it?  
25 Ian. (Mmm.  
26 Mark. (Mmm.  
27 Peter. Mrs Hayes...I think it's..um..been an  
28 eruption.  
29 Teacher. Yes...yes.



01 Ian. I used to live near there.

02 Teacher. Did you? You lived abroad did you? Mmm,

03 didn't know that. I wonder what it would

04 be like to live near a volcano?

05 Shirley. Mmm.

06 Mark. You'd hear \*\*\*\*\* (as well.

07 Ian. (Not very nice.

08 Teacher. You what?

09 Peter. Probably hear....(sparks

10 Shirley. (Probably hear a lot of

11 stuff/

12 Mark. Probably be quite hot.

13 Teacher. Yes, (it is.

14 Shirley. (Mmm.

15 Ian. It is.

16 Teacher. And you think you'd hear a lot of noises?

17 Mark. Yeah.

18 Ian. I burned my foot once...nearly burned off

19 me toe.

20 [A lot of sniggers here, building to

21 laughter]

22 Teacher. My goodness....how did you do that?

23 Ian. Well...a bit of rock out the volcano come

24 down. I..I thought it was just a lad

25 mucking about and...boyo...when I touched

26 it...it..I n-nearly screamed.

27 Teacher. Good gracious...it was really hot was it?

28 Ian. Mmm.

29 Teacher. Do you think that had come out of the

01 Teacher. centre of the volcano?  
02 Ian. Yeah. It was about there.  
03 Teacher. Mmm...mmm. Now that makes you think  
04 doesn't it?  
05 Peter. Yeah.  
06 Teacher. I wonder how the people live?  
07 Shirley. Yeah.  
08 Peter. Probably dig trenches...dig deep  
09 trenches.  
10 Teacher. What to/  
11 Ian. There were trenches.  
12 Teacher. to protect themselves?  
13 Peter. (Yeah.  
14 Ian. (Yeah.  
15 Teacher. Mmm.  
16 Peter. Dig deep trenches and...when they're  
17 ...when they have to get out...em..get  
18 ladders...get some people to get ladders  
19 and they st...get out.  
20 Teacher. So if...if you lived there that's what  
21 you'd do, is it? You'd/  
22 Peter. Mmm. Yeah.  
23 Teacher. When? When it's erupting?  
24 Peter. Yes.  
25 Teacher. Mmm. What would it be like?  
26 Peter. Or before.  
27 Teacher. Yeah.  
28 Before?  
29 Peter. Yeah.

01 Teacher. Yeah.

02 Ian. They ha...they had..um..wooden huts so  
03 when..if it erupted they usually got  
04 burnt down.

05 Teacher. Ah yes...if you...so if you lived there  
06 (\*\*\*\*\* wooden hut.

07 Ian. (Mmm.  
08 Especially in the Grand Canyon. There's  
09 a river in the middle of the Grand  
10 Canyon/

11 Teacher. Mmm.

12 Ian. and..a couple of people lived in wooden  
13 huts. And...once the volcano did erupt  
14 but it didn't come on the news.

15 Teacher. No.

16 Ian. And it crushed a couple of houses.

17 Teacher. Did it?  
18 What...what crushes the houses then?

19 Mark. Rocks.

20 Peter. Big stones. (Rocks.  
21 Ian. (Big boulders....big  
22 boulders come off 'em.

23 Teacher. It would be pretty frightening,  
24 wouldn't it?

25 Several. Mmm.

26 Ian. It nearly filled up the Grand Canyon  
27 once... \*\* was pretty scared.

28 Teacher. Mmm. I should think so.  
29 How...how do you think the mothers would

01 Teacher. feel?  
02 Mark. \*\*\*\*\* scared.  
03 Shirley. Scared that their children would..em..  
04 Mark. Get hit.  
05 Shirley. Get hit.  
06 Julia. Get hurt.  
07 Several. Mmm.  
08 Teacher. Mmm. Have you seen pictures of  
09 volcanoes on the television?  
10 Several. Yeah.  
11 Teacher. Mmm. What did you see? What did you  
12 see, Julia?  
13 Julia. Well..em..it was just a picture of it  
14 erupting on the news once.  
15 Teacher. And what was happening?  
16 Julia. I don't know. I wasn't taking much  
17 notice.  
18 Teacher. Tch. That's \*\*\*\*\* isn't it?  
19 [laughter here]  
20 Ian. \*\*\*\*\* a couple of miles. Once one..em..  
21 erupted a couple of miles further over..  
22 ...a dust.. a squirt of em..lava just  
23 came out of the ground.  
24 Teacher. Lava...yes.  
25 Ian. Lava.  
26 Teacher. Now what does the lava look like? You  
27 must have seen/  
28 Ian. Red.  
29 Mark. Red (and orange).

01 Ian. (And hot..

02 [laughter]

03 Several. Mmm.

04 Ian. That's what I stood on when I was little.

05 Teacher. Mmm. And..and and what...what happens

06 to it when it is red and hot?

07 Ian. Once it burnt a hole about that big

08 once/

09 Teacher. Mmm. Just a minute.

10 Ian. A piece about that big. A hole that big.

11 Teacher. Mmm.

12 Mark. \*\*\*\*\* chinks in the lava could

13 get in and...and you could/

14 Teacher. It could, (couldn't it?

15 Mark. (\*\*\*\*\* along \*\*\*.

16 Teacher. The lava could get in and fill the

17 trenches up so (in fact...

18 Mark. (Mmm.

19 Teacher. ..perhaps it's not a good idea to build

20 a trench.

21 Several. Mmm.

22 Ian. No.

23 Shirley. \*\*\*\*\* then it go over the walls.

24 Ian. We used to go down the Grand Canyon

25 river...and used to/

26 Teacher. If you/

27 Ian. dig their ditches

28 there.

29 Teacher. Mmm. Yeah.

01 Ian. And it just came in the ditches.

02 Teacher. If you get em..if you get a bit of  
03 warning and you know...well, I wonder  
04 how you know that the...volcano is going  
05 to erupt?

06 Peter. Hear sounds.

07 Ian. Yeah, well/

08 Teacher. What sort of sounds do (you think?

09 Julia. (Rumbling.

10 Several. Yeah, rumbling...rumbles.

11 Ian. \*\*\*\*\* used to say the/

12 Teacher. Why would you hear rumbles?

13 Shirley. Some little rocks coming down.

14 Teacher. Why/

15 Julia. \*\*\*\*\* down the side.

16 Teacher. So there'd be a lot of noise wouldn't  
17 there?

18 Several. Mmm.

19 Ian. We used to/

20 Teacher. And...how would you/  
21 Shirley. You'd probably see sparks  
22 out...(coming out

23 Teacher. (Mmm.

24 Shirley. of the volcano.

25 Teacher. Mmm. Yeah.

26 Peter. The ground would crack.

27 Mark. Yeah.

28 Ian. Houses used to fall in an...it was so  
29 big.

01 Teacher. Mmm.

02 Ian. Once our car got.....the car was about  
03 that...em pretty big/  
04 [some laughs]  
05 and...just a giant crack opened up and  
06 we were just stuck from one side to the  
07 other.

08 Teacher. In this crack?

09 Ian. Yeah. And then it....closed up and we  
10 got...chucked out of it.

11 Teacher. You had a lucky escape if you ask me.

12 Ian. Yeah.

13 Teacher. So....the..ground actually breaks when  
14 there's earth..an eruption/  
15 Shirley. Mmm.

16 Mark. (Yes  
17 Ian. (But we got out the car...we th..the  
18 car was crushed. It was only about  
19 that big, the car.

20 Teacher. Mmm.

21 Ian. After/  
22 Teacher. What....because the earth..the the  
23 rocks came back again, did they?  
24 Mark. Yes/  
25 Several. Mmm.

26 Peter. That's what they normally do.

27 Teacher. So there's the volcano..starting to  
28 erupt...you can feel the....vibrations.

29 Peter. Mmm.

01 Teacher. And you can hear the sounds/  
02 Several. Mmm/  
03 Teacher. and it's  
04 getting hot...you say.  
05 Ian. (Used to send off/  
06 Some. (Mmm. Yes.  
07 Teacher. And what...what do you  
08 think you did...what do you think  
09 (you'd do?  
10 Ian. (Sometimes they used to send off air  
11 raid...air raid si...  
12 Mark. Sirens/  
13 Ian. sirens...bit like them.  
14 Teacher. Yeah, as a warning?  
15 Ian. Mmm.  
16 Teacher. Well...(that would be all/  
17 Peter. (\*\*\*\*\*/  
18 Teacher. be all right  
19 now with/  
20 Ian. 'cause there used to be..(holes/  
21 Peter. (Comes out/  
22 Ian. bit like  
23 em..Peter's but they didn't have...  
24 didn't have..em..the leaks in 'em...they  
25 ...it was just the earth and they dug  
26 a hole and dug under, dug out and...  
27 went in.  
28 Teacher. Ah, so/  
29 Ian. and shut a metal door so it couldn't

01 Ian.            ..em..get in. But it melt the door.  
02 Teacher.       (Yes/  
03 Shirley.       (That's what I thought was happening.  
04 Julia.          Mmm.  
05 Teacher.       What do you think it would have been  
06                   like..a hundred years ago or..or more  
07                   than a hundred years ago then...when  
08                   they didn't have things/  
09 Ian.                        They would have gone out  
10                   the same but they would have got killed.  
11 Teacher.       Mmm.  
12 Ian.                        \*\*\*\*\*.  
13 Julia.          They would go somewhere where they could  
14                   get away from it, I should think.  
15 Teacher.       That's....I think that's what I'd try  
16                   and do, escape..yes.  
17 Ian.                        Get up the mountains.  
18 Shirley.       \*\*\*\*\* (or something like that.  
19 Bev.                        (Run like mad.  
20                   [laughter]  
21 Ian.                        I'd just get a/  
22 Teacher.       Do you think/  
23 Julia.                       Try and (get some/  
24 Teacher.                     (If you ran/  
25 Julia.                       \*\*\*\*\* people.  
26 Teacher.       Sorry?  
27 Julia.          Try and get somewhere with other people  
28                   so y u/  
29 Teacher.       Mmm.

01 Julia. group together.  
02 Teacher. Yes...you don't want to be by yourself  
03 really.  
04 Shirley. No.  
05 Teacher. Because it's dangerous if you get  
06 separated, isn't it?  
07 Ian. Or (I'd try and get a group...and walk  
08 into the mountain.  
09 Teacher. (In a situation like that/  
10 Peter. It's like a Russian rocket.  
11 Julia. If you try running away you might..em..  
12 put your foot somewhere where you wish  
13 you hadn't.  
14 Teacher. Yes.  
15 Peter. Yeah, it's like a Russian rocket.  
16 Julia. Or if you're em/  
17 Shirley. You're scared.  
18 Julia. Yeah.  
19 Teacher. Yes.  
20 Peter. It's like a Russian rocket coming down..  
21 ..to earth.  
22 Teacher. Mmm.  
23 Peter. A Russian satellite.  
24 Ian. I...I/  
25 Teacher. Hey..hey..just a minute, let Pete..  
26 let Peter finish.  
27 Peter. It's like a little Russian rottick....  
28 satellite.  
29 Teacher. Yes...yes.

01 Peter. Coming down to earth.

02 Teacher. So...what, you mean people getting away  
03 from it?

04 Peter. Yeah.

05 Teacher. Mmm.

06 Peter. But..em..it's come down somewhere in  
07 the Russian area but in the ocean.

08 Teacher. Yes...so hopefully it won't hurt people?

09 Peter. No.

10 Teacher. Em..so..we're there with..with the lava  
11 starting to come out..people getting  
12 frightened.

13 Ian. \*\*\*\*\* all goes further up.

14 Teacher. Do you think everyone would just run  
15 away in a group sensibly? What might  
16 happen?

17 Ian. They'd (panic.

18 Julia. (start panicking/

19 Teacher. So what happens?

20 Ian. Thousands of (people would be killed.

21 Shirley. (\*\*\*\*\* start running in  
22 different ways and/

23 Peter. Not running in groups.

24 Teacher. Mmm.

25 Julia. \*\*\*\*\* all separating off \*\*\*\*\*  
26 loads of people.

27 Peter. And if they see any/

28 Shirley. And they'd say, I go that  
29 way and you go that way.

01 Julia. Start trying to get all their things/  
02 Peter. And I'll go  
03 straight ahead.  
04 Julia. \*\*\*\*\* got something with them.  
05 Teacher. Mmm.  
06 Ian. I want to try getting up into the  
07 mountains.  
08 Teacher. Why...y-yes..you'd be up in the  
09 mountains if the volcano...\*\*\*\*\*  
10 around. You might not want to go any  
11 higher.  
12 Ian. We-ll.  
13 Teacher. \*\*\*\*\* you near?  
14 Mark. And if you were near a forest the trees  
15 would....topple over on top of the  
16 houses.  
17 Teacher. Yes, they might.  
18 Julia. Mmm.  
19 Mark. So when you're trying to get out of the  
20 houses you could get toppled on by the  
21 trees.  
22 Julia. Yeah, and/  
23 Teacher. So that's...more danger.  
24 Mark. Mmm.  
25 Julia. Yeah. Mmmm.  
26 Ian. If there's an eruption it can bring a..  
27 tidal wave \*\*\*\* something like that.  
28 Julia. Yeah.  
29 Teacher. Yes.

01 Peter. Or if/  
02 Ian. And then..and then if you are on the  
03 mountain...be much safer.  
04 Teacher. You would indeed.....than if you'd run  
05 down.  
06 Ian. You'd only be about...that much off the  
07 water if you were on the top of the  
08 mountain....still.  
09 Shirley. If you were running..carelessly..and  
10 you..and \*\*\*\*\* back in the ground you  
11 could always fall down.  
12 Julia. Mmm.  
13 Teacher. That's it. Have to be looking and you'd  
14 ...you'd be looking everywhere by the  
15 sound of it.  
16 All this danger.  
17 Julia. Mmm.  
18 Mark. Yeah. (\*\*\*\*\*  
19 Bev. (\*\*\*\*\* by stones or something  
20 like that.  
21 [laughter]  
22 Ian. If..if you do fall down a crack you'll  
23 never get out.  
24 Shirley. Mmm.  
25 Ian. 'Cause when our car did go down we never  
26 found it again.  
27 Teacher. No.  
28 Ian. We dug for ages.  
29 Teacher. Mmm.

01 Ian. We went right down into the earth.  
02 Teacher. Was it warm down there?  
03 Ian. Mmm.  
04 Teacher. It was getting near the volcano wasn't  
05 it?  
06 Ian. So we just piled it back up/  
07 Teacher. So/  
08 Ian. and we went  
09 back home.  
10 Teacher. Ah. How did you...how did you dig down  
11 then to get down there?  
12 Ian. With a giant drill.  
13 Teacher. Did you? Mmm.  
14 So, we've got....volcanoes and...tidal  
15 waves and forests falling down on us.  
16 What are we going to do?  
17 Ian. And cracks.  
18 Teacher. Mmm. Yes. What are we going to do then?  
19 How are we going to escape?  
20 [silence]  
21 Bev. Just run away.  
22 Mark. (Or go by car.  
23 Ian. (\*\*\*\*\* mountains.  
24 Shirley. Try and get a vehicle and/  
25 Peter. Run (for it.  
26 Shirley. (\*\*\*\*\* away.  
27 Peter. What about...../  
28 Ian. The cracks.  
29 Peter. The cracks?

01 Shirley. Oh aye...might fall down.  
02 Teacher. Mmm.  
03 [little laugh]  
04 Mark. They sent some helicopters when  
05 St.Helens erupted.  
06 Teacher. They did.  
07 Peter. Oh yeah.  
08 Teacher. Now that's all right now..what if it  
09 was hundreds of years ago?  
10 [laughter]  
11 Julia. Well they/  
12 Mark. Send a pterodactyl.  
13 Julia. \*\*\*\*\* caves or something.  
14 Teacher. [laughs]  
15 Shirley. \*\*\*\*\* mummy then there's the little  
16 baby going along and....they were on  
17 their own and then the....the (\*\*\*\*\*  
18 Teacher. (Mmm.  
19 Peter. They'd be...they'd be the first ones/  
20 Shirley. To die.  
21 Might get pushed or something.  
22 Teacher. Mmm.  
23 Peter. Yeah.  
24 Ian. It's not very nice/  
25 Shirley. \*\*\*\*\* terrible.  
26 Teacher. Mmm.  
27 Ian. If you're going in a car and a great  
28 big crack comes up in front of you.  
29 Teacher. Mmm.

01 Ian. It's all..like on Superman.  
02 Julia. Yeah.  
03 Ian. A car fell down/  
04 Teacher. Aah..I seem to remember that.  
05 Shirley. Panic and..em/  
06 Bev. Oh yeah.  
07 Shirley. \*\*\*\* jump out.  
08 Teacher. Mmm. Yes.  
09 Mark. \*\*\*\*\* couldn't get out.  
10 Teacher. She couldn't get out could she? No..  
11 Shirley. She died and....you know she died didn't  
12 she?  
13 Teacher. Mmm.  
14 Ian. Then he tried to reverse the world  
15 around.  
16 Shirley. Yeah.  
17 Mark. [laughs]  
18 Teacher. Ye-es...well..I don't..I don't know...  
19 that..that's modern, isn't it? That's  
20 now.  
21 Julia. Mmm.  
22 Ian. Yeah...mmm.  
23 Teacher. Now we've got..em..poor mothers and  
24 babies...  
25 [a little laugh]  
26 Teacher. hundreds of years ago. The tidal wave  
27 coming from the shore...  
28 Peter. Yeah.  
29 Teacher. Is anyone going to save them, or do you

01 think they'll all die?

02 Peter. Probably all die. They wouldn't/

03 Ian. She couldn't

04 get anything/

05 Mark. (\*\*\*\*\*

06 Shirley. (\*\*\*\*\* probably \*\*\*\*\* away/

07 Julia. \*\*\*\*\*

08 somewhere. Probably try and go

09 somewhere.

10 Teacher. Mmm.

11 Julia. \*\*\*\* other than away. Further out than

12 where they live.

13 Shirley. And some of them might get (away but/

14 Mark. (\*\*\*\* go into

15 caves,

16 Teacher. Caves might be a good place, mmm.

17 Mark. Mmm.

18 Ian. Yes.

19 Shirley. What Mark said about the helicopter/

20 Mark. [laughs]

21 Shirley. \*\*\* little piece of rope coming....just/

22 Teacher. Rescue them..

23 .....a helicopter would...you'd have to

24 have more than one to rescue all the

25 people (in the town.

26 Peter. (A hundred.

27 Shirley. Hundreds.

28 Peter. A hundred.

29 Ian. If there was a tidal wave you could go

01 Ian. to the other side of the...island  
02 'cause there won't be....two..the only  
03 one (\*\* up one side/  
04 Teacher. (Ah, it only comes up one side.  
05 Ian. and you (\*\* get out the side.  
06 Shirley. (Could go to the other side.  
07 Teacher. And then what could you (do then?  
08 Shirley. (Mark said that/  
09 Ian. If the boats  
10 aren't wrecked by the storm that..  
11 volcanoes...  
12 Teacher. Mmm.  
13 Ian. You're in luck.  
14 Teacher. You might be able to (sail away.  
15 Shirley. (Yeah, but while  
16 you're sailing away y...em..might  
17 catch a \*\*\*\*\*.  
18 Myself. Can I just interrupt there a minute?  
19 Teacher. Mmm.  
20 Myself. Can you do something for me now?  
21 All. Mmm.  
22 Myself. Em...you know...I've been sitting over  
23 there listening to all this and...er...  
24 seeing how much you know about volcanoes  
25 and things.  
26 Several. Mmm.  
27 Myself. Can we just try something now with you  
28 imagining (something..  
29 Ian. (Mmm.

Ol Myself. For a few moments?

01 Teacher. Can you imagine that each of you....are  
02 a person who lives in a little village  
03 by a volcano, all right? And I'm a  
04 stranger and I'm coming to talk to you.  
05 All right?  
06 All. Mmm.  
07 Teacher. Can you do that from this moment? Stop  
08 being yourselves for a moment, well be  
09 yourselves....but [laughter] be  
10 yourselves in this village.  
11 Ian. Mmm.  
12 Teacher. All right?  
13 All. Mmm.  
14 Teacher. You know, what I can't understand...is,  
15 being a stranger and not living in a  
16 place like this little village which  
17 you live in with that great big volcano  
18 up there smoking away all day..what  
19 I can't understand is why you still  
20 stay here....why do you keep your  
21 village down here below this great  
22 volcano?  
23 [four second pause]  
24 Ian. You get plenty of water.  
25 Teacher. Water?  
26 Ian. Hot water.  
27 Teacher. Can you get hot water from the volcano?  
28 Ian. Mmm...near....near it/  
29 Julia. Oh/

01 Teacher. That's useful,  
02 isn't it?  
03 Ian. There's water in the ground in some  
04 volcanoes.  
05 Teacher. Oh, I see. So you've got..always got  
06 hot water whenever you want it?  
07 Ian. Mmm.  
08 Teacher. Do you all have hot water in your huts?  
09 Julia. Yes/  
10 Shirley. Yes.  
11 Teacher. All from the volcano?  
12 Bev. Yes/  
13 Shirley. (Yes.  
14 Julia. (Mmm.  
15 Teacher. Goodness, that's amazing.  
16 Does it ever go cold or does it always  
17 stay hot for you?  
18 Ian. Stays hot.  
19 Mark. Yes.  
20 Teacher. Oh, that makes..that makes more sense..  
21 ...has anyone...now I mean...I know  
22 this is not a very fair question, not  
23 a very nice question to ask because...  
24 well..has any of you ever had a...close  
25 friend..hurt..or even killed by the  
26 volcano?  
27 All. Yes.  
28 Teacher. Have you?  
29 Several. Yes. Yes.

01 Teacher. Well..you..you know was it a relation  
02 of yours or...  
03 Shirley. No it was just a close friend.  
04 Teacher. A close friend. What happened? Do  
05 you....can you remember what happened?  
06 Shirley. Mmm...it was just a rock fell on her.  
07 Teacher. Really. What/  
08 Shirley. She was running away from it..  
09 Teacher. I see.....and did...I mean....you know,  
10 did...were you there when it happened?  
11 Shirley. Mmm.....yes.  
12 Teacher. Oh that must have been terrible. Were  
13 you able to do anything or..or not?  
14 Shirley. No, I just shouted and..  
15 Teacher. Did you?  
16 Shirley. And they never heard me.  
17 Teacher. Have...has quite a few people in the  
18 village been hurt by the volcano/  
19 Mark. Mmm/  
20 Julia. Mmm/  
21 Shirley. Yes.  
22 Teacher. Have they?  
23 Ian. Especially climbers....trying to get  
24 up it and....and..whoops..they just  
25 come up..more..\*\*\*\*\* down.  
26 Teacher. Why do they try to come up it....I mean  
27 do...do you....any of you try to go up  
28 sometimes?  
29 Mark. No/

01 Julia. No way/  
02 All. No.  
03 Teacher. (Mmm.  
04 Ian. (That's 'cause there's....'cause  
05 there's treasure on the top.  
06 Teacher. Are there? Are they your treasures?  
07 Ian. The island's treasures.  
08 All. Yeah.  
09 Mark. Yeah, the island's.  
10 Teacher. Are they?  
11 Julia. Mmm.  
12 Teacher. Why do you keep them on the top of the  
13 volcano?  
14 Several. So no one can get 'em.  
15 Teacher. Well, who puts them up there?  
16 Ian. The great god.  
17 Teacher. Really?  
18 [laughter]  
19 Teacher. And he keeps them up there all the time?  
20 Ian. Mmm.  
21 Mark. Yes.  
22 Teacher. And do any of you go up at all to look  
23 after them..  
24 Mark. No.  
25 Teacher. or clean them (or..  
26 Mark. (No.  
27 Ian. No.  
28 Teacher. or check/  
29 All. No.

01 Teacher. that they're there?  
02 Julia. No. [laughs]  
03 Ian. Nobody can get up.  
04 Teacher. Nobody?  
05 Ian. Except the great god.  
06 Teacher. How do you know they're up there?  
07 Ian. You can see 'em glittering.  
08 Teacher. Mmm.  
09 Ian. Clear day.  
10 [pause]  
11 Teacher. Can/  
12 Bev. And at night.  
13 Teacher. Sorry?  
14 Bev. And at night.  
15 Teacher. Can you? They shine and gleam at  
16 night?  
17 Bev. (Yeah.  
18 Shirley. (Yeah.  
19 Teacher. What in the moonlight sort of thing?  
20 All. Mmm...Yeah/  
21 Some. Yes.  
22 Teacher. Goodness, it must be a wonderful  
23 sight.  
24 Julia. Yeah.  
25 Mark. Mmm..yes.  
26 Teacher. Do you think anyone might be tempted  
27 to come...out?  
28 Julia. Yes.  
29 Teacher. With their \*\*\*\*\*?

01 Mark. Yes/  
02 Ian. Yeah.  
03 Teacher. I mean they must be worth quite a lot  
04 of money.  
05 Mark. Yes.  
06 Teacher. Aren't they?  
07 All. Yes.  
08 Mark. There have been quite a few climbers  
09 already.  
10 Teacher. Have you.....what do you do with  
11 them?  
12 Ian. Go aft/  
13 Mark. We just don't take any notice....  
14 that's why they get to the top. It's  
15 so hot up there/  
16 Shirley. \*\*\*\* they fall down/  
17 Teacher. Is it?  
18 Mark. That they'll try and climb down again.  
19 Teacher. You know they'll never get there?  
20 All. Mmm.  
21 Ian. And they..they're in the heart, the  
22 heart of the volcano.  
23 Teacher. Are they?  
24 And this great god that put them up  
25 there....do you ever see him?  
26 All. No/  
27 No/  
28 No.  
29 Teacher. How do you know he put them there

01 Teacher. then?  
02 Ian. I do.  
03 Teacher. How do you know?  
04 Shirley. We just believe in him.  
05 Teacher. Do you?  
06 Julia. We believe in him, yes.  
07 Ian. 'cause you see him on a night....his  
08 great crown...going...um..  
09 Mark. Against the sky/  
10 Ian. against the sky.  
11 Shirley. Yeah.  
12 Teacher. What, just up in the air?  
13 Julia. Mmm/  
14 Shirley. Yeah.  
15 Bev. It's round.....and it/  
16 Julia. It glitters around.  
17 Ian. And it's \*\*\*\*\*  
18 Teacher. I see.  
19 [two second pause]  
20 Shirley. And he watches over them.  
21 Teacher. Well, goodness me.....  
22 You know I can understand why you stay  
23 here...  
24 I can understand that now. I couldn't  
25 before but I can understand it now...  
26 hot water...and then you've got a god  
27 looking after you up there/  
28 Julia. And you...and the  
29 warmth in our houses/

01 Teacher.                   The warmth of your houses  
02                   too/  
03 Ian.                    You can fry your fish/  
04 Shirley.                               \*\*\*\*\* a fire/  
05 Ian.                                    can fish  
06                   in the water..it just cooks them for  
07                   you.  
08 Teacher.   Marvellous, isn't it?  
09 Ian.        Mmm.  
10 Teacher.   Do you think I could come and live here.  
11                   too?  
12                                    [chuckles]  
13 Julia.     Yes.  
14 Teacher.   Do you have strangers or not?  
15 Ian.        Mmm...well..  
16 Shirley.   Yeah, we have/  
17 Teacher.                    What would I have to do to  
18                   be able to come and live here?  
19 Shirley.   Believe in our god and do our ways/  
20 Julia.                                       \*\*\*\*\*/  
21 Ian.   Climb  
22                   the great mountain and if he doesn't,  
23                   he won't be (one of our people.  
24 Mark.                                   (Learn to live like we do.  
25 Teacher.   Is that what I have to do? Did all of  
26                   you have to do that..at one time...or  
27                   do...don't you have to do it?  
28 Mark.       Yes.  
29 Shirley.   We will when we get older.

01 Teacher. Mmm...you'll have to climb the great  
02 mountain?  
03 All. Yes/  
04 Mmm.  
05 Teacher. And as long as you get down all right,  
06 you're a member of the group?  
07 All. Yes/  
08 Mmm.  
09 Ian. We..we're true people 'cause/  
10 Mark. Yes/  
11 Ian. our.....  
12 fathers and mothers were and if we go  
13 up now we'll probably be safe.  
14 Teacher. I see....but me being a stranger/  
15 Ian. Mmm/  
16 Teacher. would  
17 I have to do this?  
18 All. Mmm..yes.  
19 Julia. You'll probably have/  
20 Teacher. Well, I'll have to give  
21 some thought to that because/  
22 Bev. If you don't,  
23 you've got to go.....to go away to  
24 another country.  
25 Teacher. Well, I realise that so I'll have  
26 (to give/  
27 All. (Mmm/  
28 Yes/  
29 Teacher. it a bit of thought.

01 Julia. Mmm..yes.  
02 Teacher. Before I decide whether to go or not.  
03 Some. Yes.  
04 Shirley. And then you'll have to build your own  
05 house.  
06 Teacher. All right.  
07 [some mumbles]  
08 Teacher. OK. Well thanks ever so much. Yes,  
09 that's fine. Thank you.

01 Teacher. I'm ever so nervous about this you know.

02 Shirley. When/

03 Bev.           There's no need to be.

04 Teacher. We've been waiting   Mark. What is it?

05           a long time.           Julia. Great

06 Shirley. Yes, I know. But           Priest, a

07           when you go in/           man wishes

08 Teacher.           Yeah/           to see you.

09 Shirley. stand in the           Mark. Is that the

10           middle of us.           new man we

11 Teacher. Between you two?           have seen in

12 Shirley. Yeah.           the village?

13 Bev.           Because they get/           Julia. Yes, Priest

14 Shirley.           Quite           Silver.

15           angry/           Mark. Tell him we

16 Bev.           quite angry.           will see him

17           And you must bow.           now.

18 Teacher. Really? Look...           Julia. Thank you.

19           are you...will you

20           ...when you bow,

21           do I bow then?

22 Shirley. Well, after us.

23 Bev.           After us/

24 Teacher.           After you.

25 Shirley. Yeah.           Ian. \*\*\*\*\* sit

26 Teacher. Right, can we           down and

27           just try that           cross our

28           quickly?           legs.

29           Would you just           Mark. Lets go and

01 Teacher. show me....what Mark. wait in  
02 you're going to here.  
03 do? Peter. This is the  
04 Shirley. Right. Well closed off  
05 walk over there. room.  
06 Teacher. Yeah.  
07 Shirley. And you get in the middle.  
08 Teacher. Wh..where do I stand? Here?  
09 Shirley. Yeah.  
10 Bev. You stand in the middle.  
11 Teacher. Well where are you going to stand?  
12 Bev. Yes..we're (going to stand here.  
13 Teacher. (Yes, I see, yes. Now what  
14 do I do?  
15 Shirley. You just..you just walk.  
16 Teacher. Yes.  
17 Shirley. And then we'll Mark. He's taking  
18 go/ a long time,  
19 Teacher. Yes/ isn't he?  
20 Shirley. like that. Ian. Yes.  
21 Teacher. Yes. Mark. Wait a  
22 Shirley. And they when minute...ah,  
23 we're up you go they're  
24 down. telling him  
25 Teacher. I go down then. what to do.  
26 Bev. Then you sit down. Peter. They're  
27 Teacher. I've got it. OK. chatting him  
28 Shirley. Right. up.  
29 Teacher. Right. Mark. No, they're

01 Julia. The priest wishes Mark. not chatting  
02 to see you now. him up.....

03 Teacher. Thank you. Am I [four second  
04 all right? pause]

05 All. Yes. Peter. We walk out.

06 Teacher. My shoes aren't  
07 very clean are they?

08 Bev. Oh it doesn't matter.  
09 [they walk into the priests' part  
10 of the room]

11 Mark. Wait a minute, I can hear a door \*\*\*\*\*.  
12 Lets go.

13 Peter. [makes a squeaking sound of a door  
14 opening]

15 Teacher. There's no one here.

16 Shirley. Shh.  
17 [the priests come forward]

18 Teacher. Oh look, they're coming.  
19 [five second pause]

20 Mark. What is your name?

21 Teacher. I haven't bowed yet. I'm waiting  
22 for you to bow. Do I bow?

23 Julia. Yes, bow.

24 Teacher. Um..er..Peter, O Great Priest.

25 Mark. Take your shoes off.

26 Teacher. My shoes? Is that right?

27 Julia. Yes, your shoes.

28 Teacher. There you are, O Great Priest.

29 Ian. You may sit down, (Peter.

01 Teacher. (Thank you. Thank you  
02 Great Priest. Who's that?  
03 Julia. Great Priest Gold.  
04 Teacher. Gold. Thank you Great Priest Gold.  
05 Ian. You may sit down, great servants.  
06 Mark. Where do you come from?  
07 Teacher. I come from England, O Great Priest Silver  
08 Peter. And where's that?  
09 Teacher. It...it's right across the oceans....  
10 miles and miles away, Great Priest  
11 Diamonds.  
12 Ian. Wh..where's it near to?  
13 Teacher. It's...it's part of Europe.  
14 Mark. Does it worship the same god as us?  
15 Teacher. Well...several different gods are  
16 worshipped by different people really.  
17 But..um..I think it's probably quite  
18 similar, the god. But we don't have a  
19 god on top of the mountain like I think  
20 you have here.  
21 [the priests turn away for a discussion]  
22 Teacher. What have I said? I've upset them.  
23 They don't like that.  
24 Shirley. No you haven't.  
25 Julia. (No.  
26 Teacher. (Well why are they (turning away?  
27 Julia. (They're just having  
28 a discussion. They're discussing it.  
29 Teacher. Are they? Am I doing all right?

01 Julia. Yes.

02 Teacher. Am I?

03 Bev. Fine.

04 Teacher. Golly, I'm so nervous. I don't think  
05 ...what...I don't really...I don't do  
06 much believing in god.

07 Bev. If you start talking, they'll tell you  
08 off.

09 Mark. Have you ever stolen anything from  
10 anybody?

11 Teacher. Um.

12 Bev. Ah.

13 Teacher. I have/

14 Shirley. (\*\*\*\*\* Tell them.

15 Bev. (Tell the truth.

16 Teacher. It was a long time ago at school.

17 Julia. It doesn't matter.

18 Teacher. O Great God Silver/

19 Shirley. Be honest.

20 Teacher. I did once...long, long time ago when  
21 ...when I was only a child at school,  
22 and I feel ever so bad about it; even  
23 today.

24 They don't like that, I can see it.

25 Bev. They're just having a discussion.

26 Julia. You can't tell what they think.

27 Shirley. Not really. It's just..you see they  
28 might think you're...if you do get up  
29 there you'll steal the...you'll steal

01 Shirley. the jewels.  
02 Teacher. Oh I wouldn't do that.  
03 Shirley. They just/  
04 Teacher. I wouldn't.  
05 Shirley. say things about you.  
06 Teacher. Oh.  
07 Julia. Yes.  
08 Mark. Have you learnt the great laws?  
09 Teacher. I..I...I don't know the great laws. I..  
10 I am a..I'm a stranger that...these  
11 people, I'm sure quite rightly, refused  
12 to let me have the laws of the land as  
13 I'm a stranger. So I don't really know  
14 them. But I'm a quick learner.  
15 Ian. I'll fetch the paper.  
16 Mark. Right.  
17 Bev. Could you do it in English, please?  
18 Teacher. Thank you. I hadn't thought of that.  
19 Will I have to learn them now, do you  
20 think?  
21 Several. Yes.  
22 Teacher. Well, I'm not terribly quick. I'll try.  
23 Julia. Just read them.  
24 Peter. Aha.  
25 Shirley. You can take them back.  
26 Mark. I'm sorry but we are having trouble  
27 (finding it.  
28 Teacher. (Can I?  
29 Oh. Oh thank you, thank you, thank

01                   you, Great..Great Priest Diamonds.

02 Teacher.   Thank you.   Do I sit down?

03 Shirley.   Sit down.

04 Ian.        You may climb the mountain if you wish.

05 Teacher.   Can I?

06 Ian.        Mmm.

07 Teacher.   That means I'm going to be all right.

08                   Will I be able to climb it all right,

09                   do you think?

10 Mark.      It depends what the Great Lord thinks

11                   of you.   If he does not recommend you,

12                   you will be swallowed up by the great

13                   volcano.

14 Teacher.   I..I can't just go home if I find it

15                   difficult?

16 All.        No.

17 Teacher.   Is that tru/

18 Mark.                There'll be someone following you

19                   to make sure you reach the top.

20 Teacher.   So once I decide, I've either got to

21                   get to the top or.....or..or what?

22 Mark.      Or you will be swallowed up by the

23                   volcano.

24 Shirley.   But please, Great Priests, tell the..

25                   um..the god that he's all right; he's a

26                   good man.

27 Teacher.   Can you do that for me?

28 Mark.      It's not up to us.   It's what the great

29                   god thinks.

01 Bev.           What if it rains and...he might fall down  
02                   ...it might be too slippy.  
03 Ian.           He..he still has to go.  
04 Teacher.       Whatever the weather's like? Does the  
05                   god organise the weather that I've got  
06                   to have?  
07 Mark.          Mmm. The great lord will help you..help  
08                   you with the weather if he thinks you're  
09                   suitable at first.  
10 Julia.         Great Priest God, who will be going with  
11                   him?  
12 Ian.           One of the servants.  
13 Teacher.       Does that mean one of these people who've  
14                   been so friendly to me?  
15 Ian.           (Mmm.  
16 Bev.           (Which.....servant?  
17 Mark.          We have not decided yet.  
18 Shirley.       Do you know when you will?  
19 Mark.          Tomorrow, before he sets off.  
20 Teacher.       How long does it take to climb the great  
21                   mountain?  
22 Mark.          Three hours.  
23 Teacher.       O..O-O Great Priest Diamonds, Great  
24                   Priest Gold....Great Priest Silver, can  
25                   you tell me if I get to the top will I  
26                   see the great god?  
27 Ian.           (Yes.  
28 Mark.          (Yes, you will.  
29 Teacher.       Wh..what/

01 Ian.                    On a great chariot.

02 Teacher.    Then..wh..what do I say to him?

03 Peter.        Then you will believe in him.

04 Teacher.    I will believe, but what do I say to

05                    him? I mean/

06 Julia.                You'll bow and/

07 Teacher.                    I'm so....I was so

08                    nervous coming here. I'm going to be

09                    terribly nervous then, aren't I?

10 Shirley.    You shouldn't tell them that.

11 Teacher.    Shouldn't I?

12 Shirley.    No.

13 Teacher.    Oh.

14 Mark.        You must pray to him/

15 Teacher.                    Pray to him an..and/

16 Mark.                                for one hour...

17                    and then you can come down again, if

18                    you have not been swallowed up by the

19                    volcano.

20 Teacher.    Do..do I take my shoes off, O Great God

21                    Silver, when I get up there?

22 Several.    Yes.

23 Teacher.    Do I? And I kneel like this?

24 Several.    Mmm.

25 Teacher.    Can we go or do we have to ask..or what?

26 Ian.         You may go now.

27 Teacher.    Do I bow?

28 Julia.        Yes.

29 Teacher.    Right. Do we turn our backs on them or

01 Teacher. not?

02 Julia. No.

03 Teacher. Who goes first?

04 Shirley. Follow us.

05 Mark. Good luck.

06 Teacher. Thank you, Great Gods.

07 Hey, I've left my shoes behind.

08 (Can I go back for them?

09 Shirley. (I'll get them.

10 Teacher. (Thanks. Mark. I'm not very

11 sure how

12 he's going

13 to make it.

14 Ian. He's a bit

15 clumsy.

16 Peter. Yes.

17 Teacher. Do you think I Ian. Yeah, he left

18 did all right? his shoes.

19 They liked me,

20 didn't they? They said I could go.

21 Julia. Yes.

22 Teacher. Who's going to come (with me/

23 Shirley. (Yes, but/

24 Teacher. that's what

25 I want to know.

26 Julia. We'll find out/

27 Bev. (Do you want me to

28 go and ask? Mark. Don't know

29 Julia. (in the morning. if the great

01 Teacher. Oh go and see if Mark. god will  
 02 you can find out. recommend him  
 03 Teacher. Be ever so good as one of/  
 04 to them though, Ian. \*\*\*\*\* ours.  
 05 don't disturb Peter. Yes?  
 06 them. Bev. Who will be  
 07 going with  
 08 him...Peter?  
 09 Mark. We have  
 10 decided that  
 11 the one in  
 12 blue will.  
 13 Teacher. That's you isn't it?  
 14 Oh, I'm pleased...  
 15 what's going..what will happen to you  
 16 two then, when/  
 17 Julia. We/  
 18 Teacher. Oh, I'm sorry....  
 19 Julia. We wait at the bottom.  
 20 Teacher. Do you...will you be able  
 21 to follow it  
 22 all the way? Ian. Shall we  
 23 Have you got give him the  
 24 telescopes? Can good boat?  
 25 you see what we're Peter. Yes.  
 26 doing? Mark. We must go  
 27 Bev. Mmm. Yes. and tell him.  
 28 Julia. We pray for you;  
 29 for the god to help you.



01 Ian. (Mmm. .

02 Teacher. The boat's strong enough though?

03 Mark. Yes.

04 Teacher. The boat's strong enough and...and will

05 I get up there before nightfall?

06 Mark. Mmm.

07 Teacher. To the top of the mountain?

08 Ian. It depends.

09 Bev. (It depends \*\*\*\*\*.

10 Julia. (If you set off early/

11 Shirley. You'll get up there but you'll have to

12 come down at the d...in the dark.

13 Teacher. What happens if it's dark on the way up?

14 Will I be all right?

15 Ian. Yes. You will be given a torch.

16 Teacher. Will I?

17 Mark. And when you get to the top it will be

18 light up there, because of the heat of

19 the mountain.

20 Teacher. I see.

21 Julia. Great Priest Silver, will he be sent for

22 in the morning?

23 Mark. Yes.

24 Bev. We will also hold the torch to see how

25 you go.

26 Teacher. Thank you, thank you. You've all been

27 very kind. Great Priests, thank you.

28 Thank you.

29 [the priests leave]

01 Teacher. They're quite nice really, aren't they?  
02           When you get to know them...I mean  
03           they're a bit...they're a bit/  
04 Shirley.                               Yeah.  
05 Teacher. sort of fierce. But I think they're  
06           quite nice really.  
07 Julia.     They're not used to strangers coming.  
08 Shirley. I've known/  
09 Teacher.           Aren't they?  
10 Shirley. And I've known many that've gone up to  
11           the mountain have been swallowed..up.  
12 Teacher. Have they?  
13 Shirley. \*\*\*\*\*.  
14 Teacher. You're comforting aren't you?  
15                               [laughter]  
16           I've got to go up in the morning.  
17                               [more laughter]  
18 Julia.     You don't feel the same.  
19 Teacher. Are you nervous coming with me?  
20 Shirley. Mmm.  
21 Teacher. Are you?  
22 Shirley. I've never been up there.  
23 Teacher. Oh golly.                Ian.     His mind's  
24   took to it.  
25   Mark.    A lot of/  
26   Ian.     His mind's  
27   put to it.  
28   Mark.    A lot of/  
29   Ian.     And we can't

01 Ian. go with him.  
02 Mark. A lot of  
03 people don't  
04 like it,  
05 especially  
06 some..\*\*\*\*\*  
07 other places  
08 \*\*\*\*\* other  
09 countries.

01 Teacher. How long do you think we're going to have  
02 to wait?  
03 Mark. Wh/  
04 Teacher. We seem to have been here for ages  
05 already.  
06 Ian. Nearly two hours.  
07 Shirley. They've got to get the boat all (ready.  
08 Teacher. (Yeah.  
09 Shirley. Make sure that it's....all right  
10 because/  
11 Teacher. Yeah.  
12 Shirley. of the river.  
13 Julia. You might not be warm, but if...if you're  
14 not, you're not to touch the river....  
15 (at all.  
16 Teacher. (All right.  
17 Julia. Otherwise you'll burn.  
18 Teacher. Will I? Yes, yes...I heard about that.  
19 I didn't sleep very well you know. It  
20 seems ages...I seem to have been awake  
21 for ages, and I've got all myself ready  
22 and...I'm all eager to go, you know,  
23 and now...we..we're not getting anywhere.  
24 Look/  
25 Julia. They'll call for you soon.  
26 Teacher. Will they? I don't suppose they rush  
27 for anybody do they?  
28 Several. No.  
29 Teacher. No.

01 Julia. They have to...be careful with it..so  
02 that they know whether you're good  
03 enough or not to go.  
04 Teacher. Well, I can understand that. It's a bit  
05 cold isn't it, though, down here?  
06 Shirley. Mmm.  
07 Teacher. Looks misty up (there on the mountain  
08 too.  
09 Mark. (It's really hot up there.  
10 Shirley. Yes well, it really is very hot up there.  
11 Teacher. Is it? How many times have you been up?  
12 Shirley. Mmm/  
13 Julia. We've all been up once when we had to  
14 (go up.  
15 Teacher. (Have you?  
16 Shirley. Yeah.  
17 Teacher. But you've been up with other people  
18 haven't you...or not..or is this the  
19 first time you've ever gone up  
20 (with someone like me?  
21 Shirley. (It's the first time I've been up with  
22 someone like (you.  
23 Teacher. (Is it?  
24 Shirley. Yeah.  
25 Teacher. Have any of you done that before, taken  
26 someone up for..for this (trial?  
27 Julia. (I've been up  
28 once.  
29 Ian. Mmm.

01 Teacher. Did they/  
02 Bev. I've been three times.  
03 Teacher. Have you?  
04 Shirley. She's been up a lot. (She's the oldest.  
05 Teacher. (You've been up  
06 a lot then, yeah.  
07 And, and did the people who you go up  
08 with, did they all get there...or did  
09 any of them get there..or none of them?  
10 Bev. One got swallowed up.  
11 Teacher. Did he? Oh God.  
12 Shirley. It's terrible if you (lost one like that.  
13 Teacher. (It's the waiting,  
14 you know.  
15 Julia. In fact/  
16 Teacher. I think if I could be on my way  
17 (I wouldn't mind.  
18 Shirley. (Yeah.  
19 Teacher. It's just standing here waiting or  
20 sitting waiting.  
21 Julia. Well...a long time ago we only had two  
22 priests.  
23 Teacher. Mmm.  
24 Julia. And er...I think..em..Sapphire and I  
25 went up with one of the priests when  
26 we were....when they came here.  
27 Teacher. Did you? Does every...does anyone ever  
28 get tired of just waiting? I mean do  
29 you think this is part of the test,

01 Teacher. really...just keeping us waiting? Do  
02 you think/ .  
03 Julia. Yeah.  
04 Mark. Yes, once someone came and just went  
05 [?] off \*\*\*\*\*.  
06 Shirley. Yeah. They start getting impatient/  
07 Teacher. I can  
08 understand it, yeah.  
09 Shirley. ..or..er..they're not going to be  
10 good enough.  
11 Teacher. Yeah.  
12 Julia. I don't think you'll be (able to take  
13 your..er..  
14 Mark. (Your \*\*\*\*\*  
15 Julia. ...tape..recorder..  
16 Teacher. Won't I?  
17 Julia. up with you because they'll..they'll  
18 take everything off you apart from/  
19 Teacher. Will they?  
20 Julia. You know what you've gone/  
21 Shirley. And then we'll  
22 maybe (can hide it/  
23 Teacher. (Well....yeah.  
24 Shirley. when you/  
25 Teacher. I'd like it you know, because it  
26 reminds me of things that we saw and  
27 talked about, you know, on the (way up.  
28 Shirley. (I'll  
29 hide it.

01 Julia. Could you put it under your belt?  
02 Shirley. Yeah.  
03 Bev. Emerald came up with me once but she  
04 was very worried and she went  
05 (straight back down.  
06 Teacher. (Did she?  
07 Bev. Mmm.  
08 Teacher. Yeah.  
09 Mark. A man who went up came back the next day  
10 and..the priests...the priests wouldn't  
11 Mark. let him alone because of...he wouldn't  
12 ....he wouldn't like waiting.  
13 Teacher. Really? I wouldn't come back. So if..  
14 if..I..if..if you go, you really got to  
15 keep going because the priests or....  
16 'll make you stay won't they...if they..  
17 once you've started?  
18 Julia. You might meet...you might meet some  
19 people up there.  
20 Teacher. Yeah.  
21 Julia. They'll try and put you off but don't  
22 take any notice of them.  
23 Shirley. Push through them.  
24 Teacher. Really?  
25 Shirley. We'll tell you what to do.  
26 Julia. They'll...they'll show you bones and  
27 tombstones and all sorts of things.  
28 Teacher. Well that's (not very nice, is it?  
29 Bev. (It's tricks.

01 Julia. It's all tricks....they're all rubber.  
02 They feel like real things but they're  
03 all made of rubber.  
04 Teacher. It makes me (a bit nervous. I'm not at  
05 sure at all..sure..  
06 Shirley. (It's to make you \*\*\*\*\*  
07 put (off.  
08 Teacher. (I'm happy about that.  
09 Julia. If you rub two bones together you'll  
10 hear like..a metal scraping.  
11 Teacher. Really?  
12 Julia. If you rub those together you won't hear  
13 anything.  
14 Teacher. Well, perhaps we won't meet them. Do  
15 you always meet them?  
16 All. Yeah.  
17 Teacher. Do you? (Oh golly.  
18 Bev. (They're always there.  
19 Julia. (They're always there.  
20 Teacher. They never told me about that before,  
21 did they?  
22 Julia. There's some nice people further up  
23 though.  
24 Shirley. Yes, very (nice people.  
25 Teacher. (Are there?  
26 Oh, this takes so long. I wish I could  
27 get going now.  
28 Julia. Gosh, they should be calling for you any  
29 minute now.

01 Shirley. Any minute (yes.  
02 Teacher. (\*\*\*\*\* they?  
03 Shirley. They're not, they'll be/  
04 [the bells rings]  
05 Teacher. What's that? There's (the bell.  
06 Shirley. (Yeah, come now/  
07 Teacher. What do I  
08 do?  
09 Shirley. I'll hide it.  
10 [there is a lot of bustle as they get to  
11 their feet, hide the tape recorder and go  
12 towards the boat]  
13 Teacher. Well, what do I do?  
14 Julia. Tell \*\*\*\* us again.  
15 Teacher. Do I? Just the same as before? Well  
16 I'll follow you. You tell me where...  
17 show me where to go.  
18 [they move to the side of the boat]  
19 Teacher. What a marvellous boat....isn't it  
20 wonderful? Is this only ever got out  
21 for people who are doing this journey?  
22 Ian. Mmm.  
23 Teacher. Th-then they've gone all to this trouble  
24 just for me?  
25 Bev. Yes.  
26 Teacher. Marvellous.  
27 Mark. You may now enter the boat.

01 Mark. As soon as you've crossed the line y-you  
02 cannot turn back.  
03 Julia. If you/  
04 Teacher. You mean.....you mean even if I...if  
05 decide I don't want to go on, I...I...I  
06 can't come back and go home?  
07 Mark. No.  
08 Peter. No.  
09 Teacher. Wh/  
10 Julia. Once your servant's crossed, you must go.  
11 Teacher. And...and what..what will happen to me  
12 if..if I did decide I didn't want to  
13 carry on?  
14 Mark. You (still have got to go up.  
15 Julia. (You got to.  
16 Teacher. Really?  
17 Mark. The servants will make sure you do.  
18 Teacher. Erm..can you just come and talk with me  
19 for a moment? Look, I...you know, I  
20 mean, I..I want to go....I'm ever so  
21 keen but, y'know....but I mean...perhaps  
22 if I went tomorrow because/  
23 Shirley. You won't be allowed.  
24 Julia. You can't, you'll disappoint the gods/  
25 Bev. It's too late.  
26 Julia. and then they won't be on your side.  
27 Teacher. Well, I know I'll disappoint them but you  
28 see, (I want to do it well.  
29 Julia. (It's all been arranged.

01 Shirley. And the god is waiting for you.

02 Julia. The only way you can do it well is to go  
03 up now.

04 Teacher. Well look, the last thing I want to do is  
05 keep the god waiting. You know, I don't  
06 want that. But I want to go properly,  
07 when I've learnt all the rules...and I  
08 think it would be much better if I went/  
09 Shirley. Could  
10 you wait a minute? All..we want to have  
11 some (discussion.

12 Teacher. (Yes, of course..of course.  
13 [the guides withdraw]

14 Mark. Have you decided Bev. Well, I  
15 if you're coming think that  
16 yet? he should  
17 Teacher. I..I'm just..I'm go straight  
18 certainly going away.  
19 to come. It's Shirley. So do I.  
20 just my friends Bev. He's just  
21 and I are wasting time.  
22 trying to make Julia. I know.  
23 up my mind when's Bev. What are we  
24 ...just the best we going to  
25 time for us to do do about it?  
26 it really (well. Shirley. Why don't we/  
27 Mark. (you Julia. I tell  
28 can only go once you what we  
29 ..only once. If could..we

01 Mark.        you don't come        Julia.    could have  
02                now, you won't be        an argument  
03                able to come            and keep  
04                again.                    going on and  
05 Teacher.    Really?                    on and then  
06 Mark.        Yes.                        suddenly you  
07    could go in/  
08    Shirley. I..I could  
09    shud..  
10    suddenly  
11    dash and  
12    then he'd  
13    have to go.  
14    Julia.    Ssh...he's  
15    looking.  
16 Teacher.    Well, look I'm  
17                afraid I've got  
18                some bad news for you. They've told me  
19                that if I...if I...I can only go now or  
20                not at all, and I really don't feel I'm  
21                ready....look..look, I've enjoyed  
22                meeting you/  
23 Julia.                    You'll have to go/  
24 Teacher.    I think you've got  
25                a very nice place but/  
26 Julia.    There's no way (you can/  
27 Teacher.    (if you  
28                don't mind.  
29 Shirley.    Please.

01 Julia. You'll have to leave here and there's  
02 nowhere for you to go. You'll have to  
03 leave all your stuff here and everything.

04 Teacher. Well, I'll leave it. I'll be sorry  
05 (to lose..

06 Julia. (You must go.

07 Teacher. my stuff. Mark. If he leaves  
08 Bev. No. it, he can't  
09 Julia. The god is come again.  
10 waiting for you. I wonder if  
11 He is very realises  
12 impatient. that?

13 Teacher. He doesn't know  
14 (I'm coming, does he?

15 Shirley. (And if he gets angry (on the way he'll..

16 Julia. (Yes, he does...

17 Shirley. (do horrible things to you.

18 Julia. (he was told yesterday.

19 Teacher. Will he?

20 Shirley. Yeah.

21 Julia. I'd say your prayers now (and go in.

22 Shirley. (\*\*\*\*\* the  
23 volcano will erupt.

24 Teacher. Will it? Oh...I'm...well...um..just...  
25 OK...I..I..give me..half and hour to  
26 think on (it.

27 All. (No. No.

28 Julia. Too late.

29 Mark. You must cross now.

01 Teacher. Half an hour isn't too much, surely?  
02 Shirley. Now.  
03 Bev. Quickly....quickly.  
04 Mark. Servant.  
05 Julia. Servant.  
06 Bev. (Servant.  
07 Julia. (Servant.  
08 [Shirley jumps into the boat]  
09 Teacher. Wait. Where's she gone?  
10 Julia. Servant.  
11 Mark. She's crossed.  
12 Teacher. She's gone to the boat.  
13 Bev. Yes, I know.  
14 Teacher. That means I've got to go whether I like  
15 it or not?  
16 Mark. Yes.  
17 Julia. Yes.  
18 Shirley. I had to/  
19 Teacher. I wasn't ready yet.  
20 Shirley. I had to. They/  
21 Julia. She had to go..  
22 Shirley. Ssh.  
23 Ian. Have you got the Bible?  
24 Teacher. Yes, (I've got the Bible.  
25 Julia. (You had to go.  
26 Bev. The Bible.  
27 Julia. You had to go.  
28 Teacher. I..I think/  
29 Julia. You..you risked her/

01 Teacher. I...I hope I'm doing  
02 the right thing.  
03 Peter. Hurry up.  
04 Julia. If you never went you'd have ri..risked  
05 her life.  
06 Teacher. Well I couldn't do that, could I?  
07 Peter. And she would have (had to die.  
08 Teacher. (Are you going to  
09 watch me all the way?  
10 Julia. Yes.  
11 Bev. Yes.  
12 Teacher. Are you sure? And you'll help me if I  
13 need any help?  
14 Shirley. Yes.  
15 Ian. (Yorbbaaaa  
16 Peter. (Schzorbbaaaa  
17 Julia. Goodbye.  
18 Bev. Good luck. 'Bye...have a nice time.  
19 Julia. D..don't touch the river.  
20 Shirley. 'Bye.  
21 Teacher. 'Bye. I didn't want to go yet, you  
22 know.  
23 Julia. Take care.  
24 [Ian makes the sound of swishing oars]  
25 Teacher. Well, I'll try to.  
26 Julia. 'Bye.  
27 Teacher. I didn't want to go yet.  
28 Bev. 'Bye.

01 Teacher. Is it much further?  
02 Bev. Well (quite a lot.  
03 Julia. (Hey, look...there he is.  
04 [?] (Come on.  
05 Teacher. (Hey, who's this? Look. Look.  
06 Shirley. No, it's all right. It's all right.  
07 Teacher. I don't like the look of them.  
08 Mark. What are (you doing?  
09 Bev. (\*\*\*\*\* people.  
10 Teacher. But look at them, look at them.  
11 (They look fearful to me.  
12 Julia. (\*\* you want to slip down and fall.  
13 Bev. Don't take any notice.  
14 Julia. You'll die with the heat.  
15 Teacher. What do you mean, don't take any notice?  
16 They're standing over us.  
17 They're (huge.  
18 Mark. (You're going to the top?  
19 Julia. You'll die with the heat/  
20 Teacher. Look at the size...  
21 ..Beverley.  
22 Julia. You'll get swallowed up.  
23 Teacher. Look at the size of them...they're going  
24 to hurt you, I know they are.  
25 Shirley. We've been up (here before. They're just  
26 trying to stop us.  
27 Bev. (They won't do anything.  
28 Mark. You'll (slip down.  
29 Julia. (\*\*\*\*\* the (heat.

01 Mark. (You'll trip over and  
02 fall in/  
03 Teacher. They're trying to say something. I  
04 can't hear what they're saying. Hello.  
05 Julia. You'll slip down with the heat.  
06 Shirley. You won't.  
07 Julia. The last...got swallowed up.  
08 Mark. Are you going/  
09 Julia. You'll/  
10 Mark. are you going to the top?  
11 Teacher. We..well only if it's all right with you.  
12 I would have quite liked to go and/  
13 Julia. There's  
14 the bones of the other (people who tried.  
15 Teacher. (\*\*\*\*\* is that/  
16 Several. (People.  
17 Teacher. (What?  
18 Mark. (We don't mind. We won't see you again..  
19 ..ever.  
20 Shirley. We're just seeing them because they said.  
21 They're not there really.  
22 Teacher. But I can see bones.  
23 Mark. (You'll need \*\*\*\*\* mountain.  
24 Bev. (We are going.  
25 Julia. (If you don't believe us pick one up.  
26 Teacher. Beverley, I can see bones.  
27 Mark. You'll be boiled.  
28 Julia. If you don't (believe they're real, pick  
29 one up.

01 Ian. (The guards of hell will get  
02 you.  
03 Teacher. Yeah. Look, it's been ever so nice  
04 meeting you. I...I think you've got a  
05 lovely mountain but I think I'd rather  
06 (go back if you don't...  
07 Julia. (Oh no you don't/  
08 Teacher. Hey.  
09 Shirley. Come on.  
10 Ian. The guards of hell will get you.  
11 Teacher. Look, I don't believe this.  
12 Mark. You won't (make it.  
13 Julia. (You'll slip down and die.  
14 Bev. Don't take any notice.  
15 Teacher. Look just...(just a second.  
16 Mark. (You'll be dead.  
17 Bev. It's only (trying to scare you.  
18 Teacher. (Look, just a second..have you  
19 been through these people (before?  
20 Bev. (Yes.  
21 Shirley. (Yes.  
22 Teacher. What about those bones down there?  
23 Bev. They're only animal bones.  
24 Teacher. Are they?  
25 Bev. They're not our bones.  
26 Shirley. Yes.  
27 Teacher. Are you sure?  
28 Bev. (Positive.  
29 Shirley. (Yes.

01 Teacher. Well, they look so tall...they're huge  
02 people.  
03 Shirley. No.  
04 Bev. Because they're monsters.  
05 Julia. (Yes.  
06 Mark. (Yes.  
07 Shirley. They try and stop you.  
08 Julia. (There's the tombstones/  
09 Teacher. (What's happening?  
10 Julia. over there.  
11 Teacher. Look at the tombstones they've built.  
12 Mark. Look what (it says on it.  
13 Julia. (Do you want to get swallowed  
14 up?  
15 Mark. Eaten by the great volcano.  
16 Bev. Don't take any notice.  
17 Shirley. Don't take any/  
18 Teacher. Eh...wh/  
19 Bev. They're only trying to scare  
20 you.  
21 Teacher. Look, I remember the priest said to you  
22 down below that you two would be all  
23 right. They said that 'cause you'd  
24 been up before. They didn't say that  
25 to me and there's a...tombstone which  
26 says, 'Eaten by the great volcano'.  
27 Mark. (Right.  
28 Shirley. (All I know/  
29 Bev. \*\*\*\*\* (has been before.

01 Julia. (\*\*\*\*\*  
02 Bev. They're not fearful or scareful.  
03 Shirley. And if you don't go past them the gods  
04 will think (you're no good.  
05 Julia. (You'll be eaten. Catch this  
06 leg.  
07 Teacher. Hey.  
08 Will you prove it to me? If you get  
09 through there and they don't harm you,  
10 I'll follow. But you stay with me,  
11 Beverley. I'm not going to be left on  
12 my own.  
13 Shirley. Right.  
14 Julia. Want to get swallowed up?  
15 Peter. Yeeeeaaaaah.  
16 Ian. Yeeeeaaaaah.  
17 Mark. You'll be eaten by it.  
18 [there is now much snarling and  
19 threatening; indeed, a great commotion.  
20 But Shirley gets through the guardians  
21 unharmed]  
22 Ian. Drat, she made it. Let's go.  
23 Teacher. Are you all right?  
24 Shirley. Yeah.  
25 Teacher. Are you sure?  
26 Ian. You'll die.  
27 Shirley. Yes...just come through.  
28 Bev. Come through.  
29 Teacher. All right, on on. Go on, I'm

01 Teacher. following.

02 Ian. I'm going to get the others...get the  
03 get the others.

04 Mark. Come on, you won't make it.

05 [and now there begins much struggling  
06 and excitement as the stranger and  
07 his guide force their way through  
08 the mountain people]

09 Teacher. Hey. I'm..I'm not through.

10 Bev. Come on.

11 Teacher. What do I do?

12 Bev. You've got to come through.

13 Teacher. Co/

14 Mark. You'll get swallowed up.

15 Teacher. Pull me. Go on, pull.

16 Julia. (You're slipping.

17 Teacher. (Pull.

18 Mark. (You'll slip.

19 Bev. (The wire...the wire, Mr Millward.

20 Julia. You'll slip.

21 Teacher. Pull.

22 Bev. Pull him.

23 Ian. Drat.

24 Mark. He's made it up there.

25 Bev. He...he's made it.

26 Teacher. Oh.

27 Mark. Let's go.

28 Ian. \*\*\* two black legs and tracks..sss/  
29 Bev. Come in here,



01 Teacher. Well surely the  
02 great god will help though, if I get  
03 up there? You haven't got to go  
04 through that lot again, have I?  
05 Shirley. Not if you make it. He might make it  
06 easier.  
07 Bev. Hurry up..hurry up.

01 Teacher. Oh, I hope we don't meet anyone else  
02 like that again.  
03 Julia. There are some people coming.  
04 Mark. Oh hello.  
05 Julia. Hello.  
06 Teacher. Hey look. Are these more?  
07 Shirley. (No.  
08 Bev. (No. These are nice.  
09 Mark. Oh have you met those (horrible people  
10 down the bottom?  
11 Teacher. (Are you sure?  
12 Shirley. (Yes.  
13 Bev. (Yes.  
14 Mark. Oh come in.  
15 Julia. Co..come in and sit down.  
16 Teacher. Oh we did.  
17 Mark. You must be terribly tired.  
18 Teacher. Well, how (extraordinary.  
19 Julia. (What would you like to drink?  
20 Teacher. Well...well anything that's nice and  
21 refreshing.  
22 Julia. Tea? (Sweet tea?  
23 Teacher. (Tea would be lovely. I'd love  
24 some tea.  
25 Julia. Yes? Yes?  
26 Mark. What are you doing?  
27 Julia. I'll put a lot of sugar (in for you.  
28 Teacher. (Should we tell  
29 them, do you think? Do you think I

01 Teacher. ought to tell them what I'm doing?  
02 Shirley. (Yes.  
03 Bev. (Yes.  
04 Teacher. Do you? (We..we're going to the top  
05 of the mountain.  
06 Julia. (There you are.  
07 Teacher. To the great god.  
08 Julia. Here are some spoons. (You must be  
09 tired.  
10 Mark. (You look like  
11 our father. He went to the top.  
12 Teacher. Really? Well, I've been told...  
13 Mark. Shall I bring him to meet you?  
14 Teacher. Well....in a minute or two, yes.  
15 Mark. OK.  
16 Teacher. I..I've been told that if I can get to  
17 the top and see the great god then I'll  
18 be able to join the village (down below.  
19 Julia. (Yes, that's  
20 right.  
21 Teacher. And that's what I'd like to do.  
22 Julia. Our father tried twice.  
23 Teacher. Really?  
24 Julia. Yes.  
25 Teacher. Well, I've had a terrible time. Did you  
26 have to come thr...did he have to come  
27 through those awful people just down  
28 below?  
29 Mark. (Yes.

01 Julia. (He..he came up from the other side.  
02 But he still met them.  
03 Mark. Yes.  
04 Teacher. Did he?  
05 Julia. Yeah.  
06 Teacher. I'm very concerned because my two..  
07 guides. he..I wouldn't be here if it  
08 wasn't for them. I mean they've got  
09 me through everything but/  
10 Julia. Are they from the little village down  
11 at the bottom?  
12 Teacher. That's right. Only they think that I'm  
13 going to have to go past those people  
14 on the way down and I'm really scared  
15 about this.  
16 Mark. Yes, and there's no other route down.  
17 Teacher. Isn't there?  
18 Julia. What about down through that hole where  
19 the devil came out?  
20 Mark. Oh no...that's very, very dangerous,  
21 that.  
22 Julia. I know.  
23 Mark. Too far down.  
24 Teacher. It doesn't sound very nice, does it?  
25 Julia. It's very slippy/  
26 Mark. Yeah.  
27 Julia. But I'm sure they could get down to the  
28 water's edge.  
29 Teacher. Do you..em..?

01 Mark. You might be a bit (big.  
02 Julia. (There's sand at the  
03 bottom.  
04 Shirley. We'll get lost. We've never been there.  
05 Mark. Yes, I don't think/  
06 Julia. You could take them.  
07 Mark. Well..I've got some more gardening.  
08 Julia. Oh.  
09 Teacher. Do you have a garden up here?  
10 Julia. (Yes.  
11 Mark. (Yes.  
12 Teacher. Gosh. Do you have...(do you have any  
13 problems/  
14 Julia. (Do you want to  
15 see it?  
16 Teacher. with these? What do you call those  
17 horrible people down there? I don't  
18 like them.  
19 Mark. Oh we don't/  
20 Julia. Well, we're not very fond of them  
21 either.  
22 Teacher. But do they cause you any bother or  
23 anything..or give you any trouble?  
24 Julia. No.  
25 Mark. Yes...once some of them come along..  
26 came along and picked a load of our  
27 flowers out of the garden.  
28 Teacher. Really?  
29 Julia. I'll go and see if father can come

01 Julia. along. You stay and talk to your friends.  
02 Teacher. Where are they going to?  
03 Shirley. They're going to see.....to get his  
04 father.  
05 Teacher. Are they? Don't they seem nice?  
06 Mark. She's going to have to guide him  
07 (because he's blind.  
08 Teacher. (They seem really nice people.  
09 Shirley. He's blind.  
10 Teacher. He must be very old, I expect. If he's  
11 blind now/  
12 Mark. He's not that old.  
13 Teacher. Isn't he? (Oh  
14 Mark. (No. He didn't/  
15 Bev. Well why is he blind?  
16 Mark. didn't do the trip that long ago. Ah,  
17 here he is now. Come on..careful...  
18 over here..come on.  
19 Teacher. I don't like the look of this (at/  
20 Julia. (Mind the  
21 steps.  
22 Teacher. Oh dear. Poor fellow..he doesn't look  
23 (very nice.  
24 Mark. (Careful..careful down.  
25 Julia. One more. There you are. We'll  
26 (get you a seat.  
27 Mark. (\*\*\*\*\* a few days ago. He's made it  
28 now, as you can see.  
29 Julia. There you are. Sit down on there.

01 Teacher. He doesn't look very nice.

02 Mark. Sit down. Right...he made it here.

03 Teacher. Hello.

04 Julia. He got/

05 Ian. (Hello.

06 Mark. (He slipped down. I'll get him/

07 Teacher. What thing?

08 Julia. When he first tried it.

09 Mark. I have to put this in his ear.

10 Teacher. Tried what?

11 Julia. (Coming up the mountain.

12 Mark. (Because he's...(he's very deaf.

13 Julia. (He went up a second

14 time, blind.

15 Bev. Why did he try it again, though?

16 Mark. He's very deaf. You'll have to talk

17 through....

18 Teacher. What you mean the..he..he tried to

19 get up the mountain like I am?

20 Mark. (Yeah.

21 Julia. (Yes.

22 Teacher. And this happened to him?

23 Mark. Yes.

24 Julia. Oh yes...

25 He went up a second time blind. My

26 husband went up and helped him.

27 Teacher. And you never got to the top?

28 Julia. Oh yes (he got to the top.

29 Mark. (We got to the top. He's a

01 Mark. member of the tribe now.

02 Julia. He went back down to the bottom and then

03 had to come all the way back up....the

04 way you've come again.

05 Teacher. Yeah.

06 Julia. To get here to live with us.

07 Mark. Yes.

08 Teacher. But....but when he started was he

09 perfectly all right?

10 Julia. Oh (yes.

11 Mark. (Of course he was.

12 Julia. He just had a slight limp in his leg

13 though.

14 Teacher. Can I speak to him?

15 Julia. (Oh yes.

16 Mark. (Yes.

17 Teacher. Do I just shout...just shout at him?

18 Julia. I'll bring you the horn \*\*\*\*\*.

19 Teacher. Does he?

20 Mark. Yes. Don't talk too softly though/

21 Teacher. No.

22 Mark. because he's very/

23 Julia. There you are.

24 Mark. hard of hearing.

25 Teacher. Oh.

26 Julia. Speak through his horn.

27 Teacher. Hello.

28 Ian. Hello.

29 Teacher. I..I...I'm trying to climb up the

01 Teacher. mountain too. Is that a good idea?  
02 Ian. No.  
03 Teacher. What do you think? Do you think we ought  
04 to go on?  
05 Bev. Yes.  
06 Julia. It is a bit dangerous but I'm sure if  
07 your...  
08 Mark. I'm sure you'll make it.  
09 Julia. if your em..guides can help you...  
10 (I'm sure you'll be able to make it.  
11 Teacher. (Well...I mean..I think...I might make  
12 it, but..I mean, you know...I want to  
13 join the village but I don't want to  
14 be like..like this.  
15 Julia. Where...where do you come from?  
16 Bev. If you want to join the village/  
17 Teacher. Yes?  
18 Bev. (you've got to go up.  
19 Shirley. (You've got to carry on.  
20 Teacher. What even if I'm like that.....left like  
21 that?  
22 Shirley. Yes.  
23 Teacher. \*\*\*\* afterwards? I mean, I don't..you  
24 know..I'd love to join your village but  
25 you know, I mean, I do like to be  
26 healthy and..look at this poor fellow...  
27 you know..I mean....  
28 Mark. Well you could of course take a boat  
29 down to the bottom and get/

01 Teacher. Can I?  
02 Mark. out without being seen.  
03 Bev. You are young.  
04 Teacher. Can I?  
05 Shirley. (No.  
06 Mark. (I could take you down now if you wanted.  
07 Teacher. Could you/  
08 Bev. No.  
09 Teacher. And you could probably take me down  
10 another route so I didn't meet those  
11 horrible people.  
12 Julia. (Excuse me a minute.  
13 Mark. (Yes.  
14 Teacher. Oh, that sounds/  
15 Bev. (You've got to go.  
16 Shirley. (No.  
17 Teacher. Look, I think/  
18 Bev. You've got to go up yet.  
19 Teacher. Well, it's not that important.  
20 Teacher. You've got to go.  
21 Bev. Yes it is.  
22 Teacher. It seems such a long way away now since  
23 we set off and..and/  
24 Julia. (Excuse me.  
25 Bev. (You've got to go to the/  
26 Teacher. I think/  
27 Julia. Excuse  
28 me?  
29 Teacher. Yes?

01 Julia. Could you tell us please, why you want  
02 to join the village?  
03 Teacher. Well, I..I don't really have very many  
04 friends at home and I've come a long way  
05 and I....they all looked so friendly and  
06 (they seemed to get on so well.  
07 Julia. (Oh. Have you got your Bible with you?  
08 Bev. If you want to join the village/  
09 Teacher. No, I haven't  
10 actually.  
11 Bev. you've got to go right to the top.  
12 Mark. \*\*\*\*\* take very long.  
13 Teacher. Well I know and I'm...look..I want you  
14 to realise how grateful I am/  
15 Julia. (You'd better take  
16 this Bible...  
17 Shirley. (We're all honest.  
18 Teacher. (for bringing me this far.  
19 Julia. (when you go to the god.  
20 Teacher. I see.  
21 Julia. Yes (and scrape the name off.  
22 Mark. (And you can come down with me to  
23 the boat.  
24 Bev. We're all honest.  
25 Teacher. Well, I think I'll probably/  
26 Bev. We're honest.  
27 Teacher. Because...you know..do you know/  
28 Shirley. If you do,  
29 Shirley. we'll tell.

01 Teacher. Well/  
02 Bev. We'll tell.  
03 Teacher. I'm ever so grateful....but..I don't  
04 think I'd be very good for your village.  
05 I think you've got...  
06 Shirley. You've got to.  
07 Teacher. You've worked so well there/  
08 Julia. I think you'd be a  
09 (lot better going down in the boat.  
10 Teacher. (and.....and. We'll that's what I'm  
11 (beginning to think too.  
12 Julia. (*Much safer.*  
13 Bev. No he won't.  
14 Shirley. No he won't.  
15 Julia. (It is a lot safer.  
16 Mark. (Yes he would.  
17 Shirley. It may be a lot safer but/  
18 Mark. *He can join some*  
19 *other tribe \*\*\*\*\*.* This is a hard  
20 tribe (to get in, you know.  
21 Julia. (*\*\*\*\*\* the way down.* He's come  
22 half way up now so the gods are still  
23 with him.  
24 Shirley. No. He's got to go up.  
25 Mark. No, (he can go down with the/  
26 Bev. (He's got to go up.  
27 Julia. Where did you leave your shoes?  
28 Teacher. I see this poor man here and/  
29 Julia. Where did you leave



A COMMENTARY ON THE MAIN TEXT WITH  
NOTES AND REFERENCES

Notes and references to Chapter One.  
DRAMA AS A MEANINGFUL ACTIVITY.

1. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama in Education' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Durham, England, 1982), p.34.

2. Consider, for example, Mary Robson describing the Bonnington Conference;

'..my main impression of the Bonnington Conference remains the same - the conference of the sheep and the goats, very firmly divided by the central aisle of the hall, Drama Organisers on one side, Training College lecturers on the other. I remember the shock of realising that the two groups were not making any contact - the word DRAMA meant entirely different things to each side'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education: an argument for placing drama at the centre of the curriculum (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1984), p.69.

Actually, I suspect that since that time drama experts have found it easier to talk together and many believe as a result of this that they are doing the same kind of work. As Bolton has pointed out, though, it is not enough just to get rid of the audience or the sense of performance in order to achieve 'living through drama'. We shall see, during the course of this study, that much else is required.

3. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.184.

4. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.184.

5. David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote interviewed by David Davis', in 2D, Vol.4, No.3, Summer 1985.

6. One only has to consider the 'Malcolm Ross/ Gavin Bolton' controversy. See, for instance, Malcolm Ross, Postscript to Gavin Bolton, in Malcolm Ross (Ed.), The Development of Aesthetic Experience: Curriculum Issues in Art Education (London: Pergamon, 1982), and Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art' (a paper written by Gavin Bolton, September 1987).

7. For example, '..a basic definition of drama might be simply "to practise living"'. Brian Way, Development Through Drama (London: Longman, 1967), p.6.

8. In order to meet my interest, a definition of drama needs to bring out the active part played by those involved (and those who watch) in making it meaningful. It should stress the collaborative nature of this 'meaning making' activity and draw attention to the aesthetic quality of the experience.

The following selection of definitions seem to

attend to these qualities and though, as we shall see, I have some reservations about the wording, they do reflect my understanding of drama. I have found them very useful in my attempt to come to terms with the nature of the activity.

'...educational drama can be defined as actively taking on a role which involves identifying intellectually and emotionally with a character in a fictitious situation in an educational context'. David Davis, 'What is "Depth" in Educational Drama?', in Young Drama, Vol.4, No.3, 1976, p.89.

'Drama seems to be doing. It is thought in action; its purpose is the creation of meaning; its medium is the interaction between two concrete contexts'. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama in Education (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1979), p.21.

'Drama in Education is a collaborative and enactive learning process deriving from our common empathetic tendency, accessible to individuals of all aptitudes and abilities. Through this process we 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 and our place in it. The unique features of this activity are as follows: the conscious taking of roles and the motive power of feeling engagement'. John Norman, The Sticking Place: Values and the Drama Teacher, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education: A Curriculum for Change (Banbury, Oxon: Kemble Press, NATD Publications, 1982), p.15.

Even as I read these 'definitions' I am conscious of the fact that behind each one lies a great deal of thought and explanation, so that to quote them out of context, as I do now, cannot really be very helpful. It is for this reason that definitions have to come at the end, and at the point at which they are no longer needed.

9. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.17-18.

10. I appreciate that this statement is rather obscure as it stands, but it will be clarified later (see Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective') and developed in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-11. Indeed, on one level the study is concerned to demonstrate the truth of the statement.

11. Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings on education and drama (London: Hutchinson, 1984), p.104.

12. From the Prologue to 'Every Man in his Humour'. Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour (London: Methuen, 1986 ed.), p.21.

13. Gavin Bolton, Theatre Form in Drama Teaching, in K.Robinson (Ed.), Exploring Theatre and Education (London: Heinemann, 1980), p.81.
14. Tom Stabler, Drama in Primary Schools: Schools Council 5-11 Project (London: Macmillan Education for the Schools Council, 1978), p.10.  
See, also, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning In Drama', note 131.
15. She also speaks of the theatre as a 'depiction of living conditions', and talks of 'language [which] depicts real experience'  
Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill, Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings, pp.127 and 168.
16. Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning: Mantle of the Expert', in Theory into Practice, Vol.24, No.3, Educating Through Drama, Summer 1985, page 178.
17. Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning', p.180.
18. Brian Watkins, Drama and Education (London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd., 1981), Page 17.
19. Brian Watkins, Drama and Education, p.35.
20. Cecily O'Neill, 'Imagined Worlds in Theatre and Drama', in Theory into Practice, Vol.24, No.3, Summer 1985, page 159.
21. Cecily O'Neill, 'Imagined Worlds', p.159.
22. B.Beckerman, Dynamics of Drama (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1970). Quoted by Cecily O'Neill, 'Imagined Worlds', p.158.
23. Cecily O'Neill, 'Imagined Worlds', p.159.
24. 'In a game the pain of life can safely be recaptured, encountered and switched off as required, for....a game and all other forms of playing including the arts are deliberately created second-order experiences removed from the rawness of living'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.105.
25. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.67.
26. Brian Watkins, Drama and Education, p.15.
27. Dorothy Heathcote, Drama as Context (Aberdeen: NATE, 1980), p.22.  
Consider, as well, this statement: 'A broad

definition of educational drama is "role taking", either to understand a social situation more thoroughly or to experience imaginatively via identification in social situations'.

Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings, p.49.

Behind this definition of drama there lurks a social situation which we can come to understand or experience through the implications it has for our role within it. Such a situation seems to exist over and beyond our ability to work in it. It points to a very simple view of the relationship between context and action. It is as if the context were 'given' and the actions within it made meaningful by virtue of that context.

28. Betty J. Wagner, Educational Drama and the Brain's Right Hemisphere, in R.B.Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama for Today's Schools (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), p.139.

29. Patrick Verriour, 'Face to Face: Negotiating Meaning Through Drama', in Theory into Practice, Vol.24, No.3, Summer 1985, p.182.

30. Ken Byron, Drama in the English Classroom (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p.125.

31. Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming: Drama in Education, in R.Baird Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama, p.12.

32. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.21.

33. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.20.

34. Gavin Bolton, Drama in Education and TIE: A Comparison, in T.Jackson (Ed.), Learning Through Theatre (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p.70.

35. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.53.

36. Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings, p.36.

37. Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings, p.130.

38. David Davis, 'Drama for Deference or Drama for Defiance?', in 2D, Vol.3, No. 1, Autumn 1983, pp.30-31.

39. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.232.

40. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.38.

41. Michael Fleming, for instance, describes drama as unreal and then goes on to suggest that 'in one way this statement may appear to be banal'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.230.

Indeed, this 'unreality' which can only be characterised when set beside that which is 'real' is usually taken for granted when we talk of drama and is built into the notion of 'make-believe'. However, whilst a lot of thought has gone into describing the nature of this unreal thing called drama and even into the kind of relationship which exists between the 'fictional' and the 'real' context, this 'real' context is often just taken for granted in the writings of people interested in drama.

42. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.21.

43. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.38.

See, as well, Chapter Three of his book, entitled 'Internal and External Action'.

44. John Norman, The Sticking Place, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.15.

See, as well, note 8 to this chapter and John Norman's definition of drama.

45. David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.69.

46. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.27.

This focusing of meaning through a process of symbolisation seems to suggest something different from searching in the everyday world for meaning in our drama. We have here the sense of 'transforming experience through the drama' or aesthetic meaning.

'Isn't it important in educational drama to build the belief and live through a moment of heightened significance where the art form has focused meaning through a symbolisation process?'

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.71.

Could we link 'aesthetic meaning' with Bolton's suggestion that 'what characterises Type D drama involvement is internal action - the thinking/feeling of the participant who has created significant meaning from external action'?

David Davis, 'Towards a Theory of Drama in Education: A review of Gavin Bolton's new book', in SCYPT Journal 6, 1980, p.12.

47. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.105.

Notes and references to Chapter Two.  
THE ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.

1. The following books and articles, for instance, do this comprehensively and well:

GENERAL INTRODUCTIONS TO ETHNOMETHODOLOGY.

- Paul Attewell, 'Ethnomethodology since Garfinkel', in Theory and Society, Vol.1, 1974, pp.179-210.  
Warren Handel, Ethnomethodology: How People Make Sense (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1982).  
Mary F.Rogers, Sociology, ethnomethodology, and experience: a phenomenological critique (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).  
John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).  
Kenneth Leiter, A Primer on Ethnomethodology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).  
Eric Livingstone, Making Sense of Ethnomethodology, (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987).

These primary sources have also had a strong, and sometimes guiding, influence upon ethnomethodology:

- Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967).  
Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, Translated by G.E.M.Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).  
Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers I: The Problem of Social Reality (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962).  
Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II: Studies in Social Theory (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964).  
Alfred Schutz, The Phenomenology of the Social World (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967).  
Aaron Cicourel, Cognitive Sociology, (London: Penguin, 1974).  
Harvey Sacks, E.A.Schegloff and G.Jefferson, 'A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation', in Language, 50, pp.696-735, 1974).

2. If, that is, we look closely enough, and ask of those involved the right questions, and take account of their answers, and make allowances for what they say, etc..

'In our everyday life, or, as Husserl says, "from the natural standpoint", we accept as unquestionable the world of facts which surrounds us as existent out there. But by a radical effort of our mind we can alter this attitude, not by transforming our naive belief in the outer world into a disbelief, not by replacing our conviction in its existence by the contrary, but by suspending belief. We just make up our mind to refrain from any judgement concerning spacio-temporal existence, or in technical language, we set the existence of the world 'out of action', we 'bracket' our belief in it. By using this particular 'epoche' we not only 'bracket' all the common-sense judgements of our daily life about the world out there, but also all the propositions of the natural sciences which likewise deal with the

realities of this world from the natural standpoint. What remains of the whole world after this bracketing? Neither more nor less than the concrete fulness and entirety of the stream of our experience containing all our perceptions, our reflections, in short, our cogitations...the method of phenomenological reduction, therefore, makes accessible the stream of consciousness in itself as a realm of its own in its absolute uniqueness of nature. We can experience it and describe its inner structure'.

H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz. On Phenomenology and Social Relations (Chicago: University Press, 1970), pp.58-59.

For an account of the way in which the ethnomethodologists have drawn upon the work of Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz (whose work is described by Leiter as the 'touchstone of ethnomethodology') see, Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, Chapter 3. This chapter also demonstrates the phenomenological roots of ethnomethodology and the linguistic connection (the work of A.Cicourel in particular).

See also, P.Filmer, M.Phillipson, D.Silverman and D.Walsh, New Directions in Sociological Theory (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1972), Chapter 6.

For a comparison of the ideas of Husserl and Wittgenstein on Meaning, see J.H.Mohanty, Husserl's Theory of Meaning (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).

3. 'The main rationale for studying commonsense knowledge is the fact that social reality is constituted through meaning and people's meaning-endowing activities'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.20.

4. As, we might think, is the natural world and the topic of science.

'The world of nature, as explored by the natural scientist, does not 'mean' anything to molecules, atoms and electrons. But the observational field of the social scientist [social reality] has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the human beings living, acting, and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense constructs they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as the reality of their daily lives. It is these thought objects of theirs which determine their behaviour by motivating it'.

Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II, pp.48-66.

Clearly understanding social experience will be a different kind of activity requiring a different approach for,

'man is characterised by conscious, meaningful activity, "attention to life" and "wide awakesness".

See Schutz's 'basic assumptions about man' in, H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, chapter one.

In fact, of course, even the natural world is not simply available to us should we care to look. As Rom Harre points out, 'the world is far too complicated [and] scientific observation is never performed just by looking'. Even the natural scientist has to select, focus and describe what he sees; he has to make the world sensible. He, too, needs a model, 'an "as if" to look at the world; [and] an "as if" to explain the world'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind (London: BBC Publications, 1983), p.157.

5. The ethnomethodologist will focus upon the point of interaction, the point where 'meanings are made'.

Garfinkel proposes 'paying to the most common place activities of daily life the attention normally accorded extraordinary events'.

Douglas Benson and John A. Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology (London: Longmans, 1983), p.61.

'The search for universal laws is rejected in favour of detailed descriptions of the concrete experience of life within a particular culture and of the social rules or patterns that constitute it'.  
Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, Ethnography: principles in practice (London: Tavistock, 1983), ch.1.

'Experience is always of something, therefore examine the world of everyday life, i.e. "the whole sphere of everyday experiences, orientations, and actions through which individuals pursue their interests and affairs by manipulating objects, dealing with people, conceiving plans and carrying them out"'.  
H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, pp.14-15.

6. Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, pp.15 & 59.

7. The emphasis is not upon whether or not there is some kind of 'objective reality out there' but upon how ordinary people manage to give the impression that there is.

'Husserl was not just concerned with individual consciousness and subjectivity but also intersubjectivity: that which is (cognitively) common to various individuals. In daily life an individual takes the existence of others for granted. He reasons and acts on the assumption that these others are basically persons like himself, endowed with consciousness and will, desires and emotions. The bulk of the individual's experience confirms the conviction that, in principle and under 'normal' circumstances, persons in contact with one another 'understand' each other at least well enough to deal successfully with each other. Husserl posed the problem of intersubjectivity: how is

the experience of my 'understanding' the other, and his 'understanding' of me, constituted?'

I am indebted to R.F.Colquhoun of Goldsmiths' College, London University for this account of Husserl's concern.

See, as well, H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.7.

'Why do individual people who are apparently acting "of their own free will", nevertheless interact and intermesh with each other in such a way that their actions form fairly stable patterns, or structured processes of change, of which they themselves may be wholly or partly unaware and which they certainly did not plan?'

Stephen Mennel, Sociological Theory, Uses and Unities (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1980), p.2.

'...we are concerned with how society gets put together; the how it is getting done; the how to do it; the social structures of everyday activities. I would say we are doing studies of how persons, as parties to ordinary arrangements, use the features of the arrangement to make for members the visibly organised characteristics happen'.

Harold Garfinkel in a contribution to the Purdue Symposium on Ethnomethodology, in Richard J.Hill and Kathleen S.Crittenden (Eds.), Proceedings of the Purdue Symposium on Ethnomethodology (Institute Monograph Series No.1, Institute for the Study of Social Change, Department of Sociology, Purdue University, 1968), p.12.

'The world of everyday life into which we are born is from the outset an intersubjective world. This implies on the one hand that this world is not my private one but common to all of us; on the other hand, that within this world there exist fellow men with whom I am connected by manifold social relationships'.

Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers I, p.218.

8. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.220.

9. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.220.

10. We are not saying here that the social life ought to be seen as intangible and unreal; on the contrary, it is very real and it is real in its consequences. Nor do ethnomethodologists suggest that social forces do not exert pressure on our lives for they clearly do. But it is the nature of that force that they are concerned to uncover and what people have to do in order that they may see life as real, and present it as 'forceful'.

'It is people's sense of the "objective" reality of social structure that makes social structure "work" for them and, by the way, for social scientists who deal objectively with social structure as well. People have a sense of social (or power) structure that is "only too

real"'.

Jaber Gubrium and David Buckholdt, Toward Maturity (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), p.185.

'Ethnomethodologists do not propose that social forces do not exist...but there is a shift in focus, [for instance] how do people come to see forces like norms, values, social classes and institutions as objectively real and as the cause of behaviour?'

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.37

Consider also, 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences', W.I.Thomas (1968). See, Ronald King, All Things Bright and Beautiful (Chichester: Wiley, 1978), p.16.

11. This is the commonsense way in which we approach the social world, the way in which we take it for granted and trust that it will not let us down. It was described by Husserl as the 'pragmatic, utilitarian, "realistic" attitude of man to the world taken-for-granted'.

H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.74.

'..the natural attitude involves the suspension of doubt that things might not be as they appear or that past experience may not be a valid guide to present and future experience. In the natural attitude, the perceiver simply believes that "as he sees things, so they are"; the cognizer simply assumes, until he has counter-evidence, that his understanding of his circumstances is adequate, and the actor likewise assumes that actions which were successful in previous similar conditions will be successful in the present situation'.

John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.41.

12. If we are inclined to doubt this, it is worth seeing just how persuasive the natural attitude can be, and how it succeeds in preserving itself reflexively by rendering talk problematic in the light of the world's facticity. For at the moment when this facticity is threatened (two witnesses under oath disagree, or a man who seems to 'make things up as he goes along' persists in treating the everyday world as though it were 'make-believe'), then that very same facticity is invoked to render the accounts themselves problematic. So, one (perhaps both) of the witnesses will have perjured themselves (even if this cannot be demonstrated), and the man (when we have made sure he is not drunk, or drugged or playing the fool, when we have satisfied ourselves that he is not presenting experience dramatically) will be put with others who cannot understand, and who cannot take part in the social life of creating and sustaining a sense of the world's facticity. In the face of all such 'threats' the 'real world' will still be preserved. Indeed, such 'threats'

will only serve to strengthen our faith in what is 'right'.

See, too, note 100 to this chapter on 'Agnes'.

'Specifically, on the occasion of conflicting accounts, mundane reason preserves its founding presupposition by rendering problematic not the facticity of the object, but the methods through which the intended object's features are made observable'. Mell Pollner, 'On the Foundations of Mundane Reason' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1970). This is referred to in Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, pp.100-101.

13. This 'sense of social structure' is used by Aaron Cicourel to emphasise the notion that both the layman and the social scientist treat the social world as a factual environment independent of perception. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.69.

See, as well, note 42 to this chapter.

14. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II, pp.72-73.

15. As, for instance, described by Gavin Bolton as 'second order experience'.

See, also, Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', paras.11-12.

16. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers I, p.7.

17. 'Objects and events of the commonsense reality are "already there". The commonsense reality exists without our being present. It existed before we were born, continues to exist when we go to sleep and will continue to exist after we die'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.70.

'Institutions exist day by day and year by year. It is curious, isn't it, that there might be a night on which every member of Oxford University was fast asleep, yet the next day we get up and a recognisably similar institution exists again. I think we ought to be amazed that this kind of thing is possible. There must be something that outlasts all the changes. [It is] the overlapping system of rules, or something approximating to them, some normative entity that is like a system of rules'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.164.

18. It is a 'mistake to suppose we attach meaning to an action that is being lived through since we are immersed

in the act itself. The attaching of meaning to experiences which implies a reflexive look at the act by the actor or by others is something which can only be

applied retrospectively to elapsed acts. It is misleading ever to say that experiences are meaningful; only the already experienced is meaningful, not that which is being experienced'.

Anthony Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method (London: Hutchinson, 1976), p.28.

'For the ethnomethodologist (not the member of society) social reality is the set of activities and interpretive processes of experiencing and depicting the social as factual. [Their] focus is on describing the work performed by people to generate and negotiate the sense of the objective reality of society and social forces'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.21.

In passing we might care to note how this account could well be taken for a description of drama. Indeed, it was statements of this kind which first encouraged me to look at drama from the point of view of the ethnomethodologists.

'Daily practical living is naive. It is immersion in the already-given world, whether it be experiencing, or thinking, or valuing, or acting. Meanwhile all these productive intentional functions of experiencing because of which physical things are simply there go on anonymously. The experiencer knows nothing about them...'. They are the 'hidden performances' of which the facticity of the social world is a product.

Edmund Husserl, Cartesian Meditations (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), pp.152-153.

See, also, Mary Douglas (Ed.), Rules and Meanings: the anthropology of everyday life (London: Penguin, 1973), p.62.

It is these 'hidden performances' that we shall attempt to tease out in the following chapters.

'For the member the corpus of setting features presents itself as a product, as objective and independent scenic features. For the analyst the corpus is the family of practices employed by members to assemble, recognise and realise the corpus-as-a-product.'

Don H. Zimmerman (1970), The practicalities of rule use, in Jack Douglas (Ed.), Understanding Everyday Life (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp.221-238.

Yet, in spite of all this, may we not feel that there are times when we are aware of what we must do and the way in which we do it? Think of Garfinkel's 'practical methodologist' (see note 100 to this chapter) and then think of the drama teacher working through these methods and practices to control and guide the drama and the children's learning (see, for instance, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.30-52, and Chapter Eight,

'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.9-22)..

19. They appear under a variety of different names in the literature:

'Husserl's (1960) processes for creating facticity become either "interpretive procedures" (Cicourel, 1973) or "members' practices" (Garfinkel, 1967). The change in name does not alter their theoretical status as methods used by members of society to produce the factual character of social reality. Furthermore, the nature of their 'use' by societal members remains unchanged from Husserl to Cicourel and Garfinkel'. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.48.

They all work, as well, in the same way and to the same ends;

'The practices of commonsense reasoning are a set of methods for turning our personal experience into experience of an objective reality'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.11.

20. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.174.

'The assumption of the "reciprocity of perspectives" is, therefore, very close to Mead's idea of "taking the role of the other". The assumption is only challenged when the interaction fails to proceed smoothly, when we fail to anticipate the other's reactions, when perspectives prove not to be reciprocal'.

Stephen Menell, Sociological Theory, p.21.

21. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.10.

22. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.174.

23. Heritage shows how crucial this point is, 'It is through the operation of these.....assumptions that a "common world" which transcends the actors' private experiential worlds can be established'.

John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.55.

'It is essential to note.....that Schutz proposes that intersubjective knowledge, as a product of these idealisations ['reciprocity of perspectives', etc.], is derived solely from the fact that the actors sustain the idealisations and has no other "external" guarantee than this maintenance'.

John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.56.

Schutz also shows that it is only through idealisations such as these that 'we both see the "same" flying bird in spite of the difference of our spatial position, sex, age, and the fact that you want to shoot it and I just to enjoy it'.

A.Schutz, Collected Papers I, pp.287-356.

24. For an account of 'Normal Forms' and the other

interpretative procedures described by Cicourel and Garfinkel, see, Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.174.

25. 'Given the enormous array of possible contextualisations for a statement and hence of possible interpretations for it and given also that the producers of the statements can never literally say what they mean, then the producers of statements can only make themselves understandable by assuming that the recipients are accomplishing the relevant contextual determinations for what is being said. Moreover the producers must assume that the recipients are accomplishing this task by 'trusting' and relying on the proposed documentary pattern over the course of its emergence'.

John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, pp.96-97.

26. Cicourel's model includes two main concepts: interpretative procedures and surface (normative) rules. Interpretative procedures (which we have just looked at) are invariant and are used in all situations. In this they are context-free and trans-situational. The surface (normative) rules are context specific and derive their force through examples of their use. See, A.Cicourel, Cognitive Sociology, pp.51-58.

'Surface rules are variant and context-specific. Interpretative procedures are not socially learned, but "underlie and make possible social learning in children and adults. They are the basis of cognitive organisation of social settings"'. Paul Attewell, 'Ethnomethodology since Garfinkel', p.197.

The surface rules, though, are learned through situations in which they have application.

27. 'It [ethnomethodology] has an empirical bias: the only place to find the sense-making methods used to create a sense of social structure is in people's talk and behaviour. It is up to the researcher using this method to locate and describe the sense-making practices and to render them observable as a topic. In other words, an implicit instruction of the method is to study social interaction in everyday settings'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.240.

This we shall attempt to do as we look at people presenting experience in 'real life' and through their dramatic presentations. It is the central concern of this study.

28. The children are talking in role about their experiences of being stranded on a desert island. They were explaining to the 'teacher' what it was like there and describing some of the problems they had to face. The teacher was also in role as one who had arrived

later.

29. The discussion led to this piece of irony in the following way:

- Simon. Fifty people dying is not as bad as say one person/  
Diane. We could do it a nice...or we could do it a nice way...tie him up.  
Teacher. It's a hard job, isn't it?  
Julie. We could...we could do it a nice way like Diane says, tie him up and put a fire under him.  
Mark. [laughter] That's not nice. That's very nice.  
[laughter]

30. See paras.10-14 of this chapter, and notes 19-26.

31. The concept of 'appropriateness' is an important one as we shall see when we come to look at contributions in discussion and drama. It is important to appreciate, though, that 'appropriateness' is not recoverable from the sentence; rather it is supplied by the hearer. Think of how these 'contradictory' words, 'nice and not nice' are made meaningful and seen to be appropriate. Contributions are made meaningful as they are seen to be appropriate. Their appropriateness has to be managed. See also, Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.61.

See, as well, note 70 to this chapter and, particularly, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.20-34 and 106-111. Indeed, it will be seen to have application at every stage of this study.

32. Wittgenstein looked for just such a logical connection between language and the world in his 'Tractatus'. It was, of course, a view which he later repudiated.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2nd.ed. new translation, 1971).

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, para.23.

Also, 'Language does not simply symbolise a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence of that situation or object, for it is part of the mechanism whereby that situation or object is created'.

G.H.Mead (1934), p.78. Quoted by Stephen Mennell, Sociological Theory, p.10.

33. See, for instance, Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.26.

34. 'The social world cannot be understood in terms of causal relationships or by the subsumption of social

events under universal laws....this is because human actions are based upon or informed by social meanings; intentions, motives, attitudes and beliefs. People interpret stimuli and their interpretations, continually under revision as events unfold, shape their actions. The same physical stimulus can mean different things to different people and to the same person at different times. In order to understand people's behaviour we must use an approach that gives us access to the meanings that guide behaviour. The capacities we have developed as social actors can give us such access'. Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, Ethnography, p.7.

35. 'To hear talk as a metaphor, double entendre, or a statement of fact, we must assemble a context through the use of interpretive procedures'. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.238.

'To recognise what is said means to recognise how a person is speaking, e.g. to recognise that the wife in saying "your shoes need heels badly" was speaking narratively, or metaphorically, or euphuistically, or double talking'. Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, p.38.

36. John Barton points to the nature of the problem when talking to actors about presenting irony. 'I suppose we'd agree that though we may be clear about the nature of irony, it still doesn't necessarily enable us always to communicate it. An actor can't just say or even stress the words. He clearly has to do something with them. The most practical advice I can offer therefore about irony is to keep stressing what I've briefly said already. The actor must put the word in inverted commas or give it a capital letter or both. That's what we've actually been doing: 'Brutus is an "honourable" man' in inverted commas. Brutus is an HONOURABLE man': capital letters'. John Barton, Playing Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1984), p.127.

Clearly even for the professional actors of the Royal Shakespeare Company the communication of irony is difficult, and cannot be coped with by reference to a system of rules. They can only be helped to speak ironically.

37. B.Barnes, T.S.Kuhn and Social Science (London: Macmillan, 1982). Quoted by John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, pp.120-121.

'In other words, what the rule is intended to provide for is discovered in the course of employing it over a series of actual situations'. Don H.Zimmerman, Rule Use, in J.Douglas, Everyday Life, pp.221-238.

The significance of all this, of course, is that

people are not blown hither and thither like straws in the wind, for their activities are purposeful and made in the light of their interpretations. They are not to be treated as senseless atoms, or 'judgemental dopes'. Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, p.68.

Similarly, 'Handshakes are psychologically effective in so far as they are interpreted. It is those interpretations out of which we create a fragment of social order, and in the end create the social world'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.158.

'Their [signs] physical appearance is merely a potential vehicle of meaning. Whatever shape it takes, a physical appearance becomes a mark or sign solely by virtue of the meaning some human, or group of humans, attaches to it. There are no marks or signs as such, but only marks or signs for somebody'.

H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.19.

38. As Peter Winch proposes, rules depend upon the context and can, therefore, only be thought of as aids to understanding. See, for example, Peter Winch, The Idea of a Social Science and its Relation to Philosophy (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp.25-39 and 57-65.

'They [rules] are used to convert raw behaviour into social action and to portray that social action as factual to oneself and to others'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.192.

39. We cannot avoid acting in a meaningful way because all our actions will be treated as explicable and will be seen as such. We treat the world as meaningful and then it becomes a question of finding that meaning. We assume that something is happening whether or not we can make sense of it. We look out into space that we might see what is going on and we assume that even the most humble of creatures is acting purposefully. Whether we like it or not, we are bound to produce the intelligible characteristics of the situation within which we are seen. There is no help for it and we all know the force of feeling which accompanies statements of the form, 'people will think that I .....'.

'There is no "time out" from the use of interpretive procedures and the production of social reality'.

Harold Garfinkel and Harvey Sacks (1970), On formal structures of practical activities, in Edward Tiryakian and John McKinney (Eds.), Theoretical Sociology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970), p.356.

'Not only are people unable to leave the field of play at will but the game itself is situated within the stream and flow of living....encounters, interactions and so on are not games or episodes detached from the social world, but are a part of the unfolding process in which sense and understanding are mutually established. Importantly, the bedrock upon which this comprehension is established is that of "trust" and tacit acceptance of background appearances and expectations'.  
Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.22.

See, as well, note 54 to this chapter. Also of interest is the discussion on the 'Victorian Explorer' in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.13-14.

40. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.117.

41. Schutz makes a distinction between two kinds of motives; 'in-order-to' motives which are directed towards future goals and are experienced directly, and 'because' motives which are reasons whereby we account for behaviour. The first are subjective and may be seen to motivate my actions as I walk towards the pillar box 'in order to' post this letter; I have interests which I am concerned to satisfy. A 'because' motive may be applied by an observer witnessing the event and drawing conclusions as he watches me walking along with an envelope in my hand and knowing the significance of red boxes with slits in the top. Of course he might have to reconstruct his 'because' motive in the light of my walking past the post box and still keeping hold of my letter. Clearly this kind of motive may be no part of my concern and I may be unaware of it whilst engaged in my activity. 'Because' motives are anchored in the past and are used to account for what is going on, to make it meaningful.

H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, pp.126-129.

42. 'Rather than being a set of prescriptions which operate independent of context, Zimmerman [who speaks of 'fact' as a practical accomplishment] found that the meaning of rules is located by consulting contexts of their use. Furthermore, the rule and the situation mutually elaborate each other. The rule is used to give meaning to the behaviour, and the behaviour in turn is used to provide the meaning of the rule'.

Don H.Zimmerman and D.Lawrence Wieder (1970), Ethnomethodology and the problem of social order: Comment to Denzin, in Jack Douglas (Ed.), Understanding Everyday Life, p.232. See Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.194.

'The meaning of a rule is obtained from consulting

occasions of its use...'. .

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), para.82.

43. Paul Hirst, Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge, in R.D.Archambault (Ed.), Philosophical Analysis and Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp.113-138. Also, The Logical and Psychological Aspects of Teaching a Subject, in R.S.Peters (Ed.), The Concept of Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) pp.44-60.

As Gavin Bolton points out, 'Two contrary views of education have been in continual conflict throughout this century. The traditionalist view has regarded the purpose of education as the transmission of knowledge... (of a static impersonal kind)...from one generation to another.

The contrary assumption about education stems from the Romantic emphasis on the uniqueness, the importance and sacredness of the individual....The appropriate metaphor taken from Froebel (1887) is that of a seed tended by a caring gardener, the teacher, who must patiently wait for the blossom that was always within it'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, pp.3-4.

'I would like to suggest that all activities that take us outside the practical business of living (sacred worship, carnivals, listening to music and reading a novel, etc., etc.) can be seen as either subsumed under play or as extensions of it. The constraints, pressures, stresses, necessities and obligations of life are temporarily held in abeyance and we allow this "second order" of experiencing to take over. As Huizinga puts it, for Homo Ludens, it is "non-serious and yet intensely absorbing". It is a kind of bracketing-off from everyday events'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, pp.78-79.

And to this list of 'second order' experiences might we not add the formal school subjects which engage our attention whilst being outside the practical business of living, experiences which are beyond Schutz' 'paramount reality'?

44. H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.74.

45. See note 43 to this chapter.

46. H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.75.

47. 'At any moment of his practical life, man finds himself not simply in a specific situation which contains the limitations, the conditions, and the opportunities for his pursuits; for this situation is an episode in his ongoing life. He stands in it as a

person having gone through the long chain of his prior life experiences. Both the content and the sequence of these experiences is unique to him. At any time, the individual finds himself in a "biographically determined situation". Thus, subjectively, no two persons could possibly experience the same situation in the same way. Most of all, each has entered this present situation with his own purposes and objectives in mind, and appraises it accordingly; and these purposes and the concomitant appraisals are rooted in his past, in his unique life history'.  
H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.15.

Dorothy Heathcote describes her position in drama in a way that seems to draw directly upon this kind of knowledge: 'I simply stand midway between all that has happened before I arrived and what is now. What I do now obviously shapes up some part of what is to come. Everything that has happened before me I have something in common with...'.  
Betty Jane Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.13.

48. This notion of 'member' is difficult. It is not a person, a member of society, but rather a contribution through which membership of the meaning making activity is secured. In this sense it is part of the situation, part of that which is done to make the situation (and the people within it) visible. Further, it is described by that very situation which it serves to make visible.

"member"....it has to do with organisationally situated action in its course. That is what "member" means. It does not mean a person. It means a course of activity, recognisable for its directionality, its origins, its motivated character, by a procedure for demonstrating that that is what is going on'.  
Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, p.119.

49. See the discussion in Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.3-5.

50. If this kind of knowledge is hard to teach it is also very hard to assess; '..teachers of drama are not alone in having problems for the important learning areas in any subject may well be those which are difficult to assess; I have in mind true historical or mathematical understanding which accompanies the learning or true literary appreciation rather than the manipulation of superficially acquired ideas'.  
Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.143.

51. Jerome Bruner, Early Social Interaction and Language Acquisition, in H.R.Scheffer (Ed.), Studies in Mother/Infant Interaction (London: Academic Press, 1977), p. 282.

52. 'The limits of my language are the limits of my world'.  
Ludwig Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus, p.115.

53. See, as well, the piece on 'reflexivity', paras. 42-43 in this chapter.

54. 'Social actions are meaningful actions'.  
Jack Douglas, Understanding Everyday Life, pp.3-44.

55. There are always two aspects to 'meaning-making' activities, that which is given to us and that which we make of it at the time.

See, also, note 75 to this chapter on indexicality.

56. The broad areas of commonsense knowledge which we share with all mankind may extend further than we think, as may appear in this account from Peter Hall's diary: 'Vienna: an interesting thing comes from rehearsing Old Times here. When the actor's intention is right, the inflection is virtually the same in German as it is in English. How can this be? There is a human truth which transcends language and is the one thing common to all humanity. This is why we can understand plays in languages that we are ignorant of - always assuming the work is sufficiently realised to reveal the truth'.  
John Goodwin (Ed.), Peter Hall's Diaries: The Story of a Dramatic Battle (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1983), p.10.

57. H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.74.

58. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II, p.13.

59. This, in itself, provides yet another reason why the stock of knowledge receives such short shrift in many schools. As Michael Fleming points out, 'by distinguishing learning from maturation on the basis of intention, school learning is in danger of being narrowly restricted in unhelpful ways'.  
Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.127.

This is related to the notions of 'spontaneous learning' and 'learning by stealth' considered in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'. It is the kind of learning which takes place without the learner knowing that he is learning. In most subjects in school there is an 'intention to learn' on the part of the students but as we develop our ability to present social experience (whether in everyday or make-believe situations) there is no such intention. As Bolton suggests, 'When children enter drama, they don't intend to learn - indeed, if they did, then this would

undermine the drama altogether. The drama as such would never start'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton interviewed by David Davis', in 2D, Vol.4. No.2, Spring 1985, p.13.

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And neither would everyday experience be convincingly presented if those involved were concerned to see how they did it as they did it, and make of the experience a 'managed accomplishment'.

60. See, too, the description of the 'Victorian Explorer' in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.13-15, and also note 39 in this chapter.

61. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers II, pp.72-73.

'..the typifications, maxims, rules of thumb, and definitions.....are potentially equivocal, lending themselves to multiple meanings. [They] derive their meaning (and acquire different meanings) as they are used in different contexts'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.6.

62. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.62.

63. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology,  
p.62.

64. 'An individual cannot interpret his experiences, define his situation or make plans without consulting his "stock of knowledge". In any particular situation, some of its elements are relevant, others marginal, others irrelevant. Some elements may be precise and distinct, others vague and obscure. An individual's stock of knowledge often contains inconsistencies and contradictions, but in so far as they are not made relevant to a particular situation, he may remain happily unaware of them. The same practical interest prevents the individual in the natural attitude from seeking systematic and logically clear knowledge about anything beyond his everyday concerns, which are frequently routine'.

This description of Schutz' approach is by R.H. Colquhoun of Goldsmiths' College, University of London.

See, as well, H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.74.

65. Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning', p.173.

66. This may be likened to Vygotsky's notion of "appropriation"; 'taking what is required for the job at hand from the public conversation.'



Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.169.

67. See Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.8.

68. 'The truth is that in spite of strong leads by educationalists and supportive reports by Government committees (Newsome, 1963 and Plowden, 1967), child centred education has never gained control in this country...the traditional 'empty pitcher' model tends to win in the end [and] in our educational system we give prior status to facts and to the knowers of facts'. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, pp.4-5.

'...knowledge only comes into existence when it is "framed", when there is a seeker, a searcher, a learner whose perspective, however idiosyncratic, endows the printed word, the design, the map, the picture, the computer data, etc. etc. with a focused meaning. Learning is a process of finding a frame through which to make connections'. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.185.

69. 'The meaning of a situation is neither completely given to, nor completely constructed by, the participants. It is not a 'thing' attached in any definitive sense to a set of actions, but an interpretation within agreed boundaries of relevance'. These "boundaries" are 'part of the cultural stock of norms which, as the phenomenologists have shown, are themselves social constructions built up in exactly the same way. We live in a cultural world of fragile, human constructions which are in a constant, though varying, process of reification'. Bill McSweeney, 'Meaning, context and situation'. European Journal of Sociology, 14, 1973, pp.137-153.

See, as well, note 64 to this chapter on 'public knowledge held in a personal and singular way'. It also connects with 'indexicality', note 75 and 'appropriateness', notes 31 and 70.

In the end we have to decide how far we want to go in treating the world as a 'managed accomplishment'. As I said at the beginning, ethnomethodology will not help here for it simply does not address itself to the question. It is not concerned with that which cannot be shown.

'..despite the welcome I readily extend to anyone who questions the reification of social reality or who criticises the disconnection of product from the mode of the production or who insists upon respect for the alternative ways of looking at things introduced to school by the pupil, the more extravagant claims that accompany such excellent points seem to me simply mistaken. There is a sense in which knowledge is

independent of individual knowers and there are limits to which individuals can seek to "redefine knowledge" or to "negotiate meaning".

Richard Pring, Knowledge and Schooling (London: Open Books, 1976), p.70.

This is a useful warning but I do not think we need worry too much about knowledge being purely 'subjective' for we do understand one another on most occasions and though we might have difficulty in explaining what we mean, we do seem to share in common experience. Furthermore, the person looking at life from an ethnomethodological perspective does not interest himself in whether the 'world' is real or not (in this sense everything is left as it is) but rather looks at the methods and practices by which we make it seem real to one another. Finally if we are looking for the 'limits to which individuals can seek to "redefine knowledge" or to "negotiate meaning" we shall find them in the situations in which the individuals seek to act meaningfully; we shall find them in the constraints put upon contributions so that they shall be 'proper' contributions. It is within the notion of 'appropriateness' that such limits may be found.

Indeed, 'there is a growing tendency to say something like this: that practical and social knowledge, the rules of proper action, the actual processes of thought, might not be in an individual's possession at all. All these things might be properties of the social-collective of the human group. In so far as the group has a social structure, so does the system of rules, so does the body of knowledge'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.165.

70. We shall see all of this working in practice later on, as we come to examine the ways in which contributions are 'made appropriate'. See, for instance, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.65; Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.42 and note 33; and particularly, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

See, as well, note 31 to this chapter.

'Unlike understanding within the disciplines, common understanding does not limit itself to any special area of being, but concerns itself with anything which will yield to it. It is not necessarily undisciplined, for discipline, as the following of rules counter to immediate inclination, may be exercised whenever a person is tempted to resort to arbitrariness in thinking. Common understanding is largely embodied in practical capabilities and mastery of language, both of which are acquired largely pre-reflexively but there is also a considerable truistic common lore concerning

human beings and the world. Considered as a whole, this area of common knowledge is rich in content and subtle in distinctions but, compared with theoretical knowledge, lacking in depth and systematic organisation'. R.K.Elliott, Education and Human Being, in S.Brown (Ed.), Philosophers Discuss Education, Proceedings of Royal Institute of Philosophy Conference 1973 (London: Macmillan, 1975), p.62.

Is this another account of the stock of knowledge at hand? It certainly seems like it, and it is interesting that both Fleming and Bolton draw upon Elliott's work.

71. Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.19.

'The point is that language creates a domain which has no counterpart in the animal world - an elaborate system of rules and norms, rights and duties without which it is impossible to visualise, let alone describe, the realities of human existence'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.156.

In this sense language does not simply describe a world or life, it is the means by which that life is made visible and given a sense of structure and meaningfulness.

72. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers I, p.14.

73. Dorothy Heathcote, for instance, talks of 'helping children to feel what they know', and Gavin Bolton reminds us that 'In order to create their drama participants can draw only on what they already know' and offers the warning that 'unless some factor brings about change the drama remains an unconscious reiteration of what is already understood'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.44-45.

However, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', the drama has a 'generative force' which can take those involved, collectively, beyond the knowledge with which they started. It is also part of the process of learning through drama to reflect upon what has happened (as we might reflect upon life) in order that we may appreciate differently that which we knew before. Our concern with what is known is the point at which we can start; thereafter 'what is known' becomes a part of our collective experience built up through the drama. This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.

74. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.43-47.

75. Husserl, for instance, referred to such phrases as 'occasional expressions', and Wittgenstein's

'Philosophical Investigations' has been described as consisting of a 'sustained, extensive and penetrating corpus of observations of indexical phenomena'.

H.Garfinkel and H.Sacks, On formal structures of practical actions, in J.C.McKinney and E.A.Tiryakian (Eds.), Theoretical Sociology, (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1970), p.348.

This paper is reprinted in H.Garfinkel (Ed.), Ethnomethodological Studies of Work (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

They also draw our attention to the interest in indexical expressions of such people as Bertrand Russell and Nelson Goodman.

Bar-Hillel called them 'indexical expressions' and showed that they were understood only through reference to the "pragmatic context" in which they were used. As Leiter makes clear, 'he used the word indexical to note that expressions or words act as "indices" for the context required to make specific sense of those expressions. By their equivocality, such expressions "index" a context which, in turn, provides them with a more precise sense'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.107.

Schutz describes the characteristic form of reasoning within the natural attitude as the use of indexical expressions which he refers to as 'typifications'. The term is used to indicate that all categorisations and inferences have typicality as the standard of adequacy, not the precision of traditional logic.

Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.45.

'Indexicality refers to a property of language: a word may have a meaning which holds true for all situations in which the word is used (e.g. its dictionary meaning); but a word also has meaning which relates to the particular situation in which it is being used. Any piece of talk stands for or indexes more than it actually says'.

Paul Attewell, Ethnomethodology since Garfinkel, p.185.

See, as well, H.Mehan, Accomplishing Classroom Lessons, in A.Cicourel (Ed.), Language and School Performance (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p.88.

76. William James described words as having, "core"/"kernel" meanings (dictionary definitions) but also "fringe" meanings. These are emotional meanings particular to an individual or group. "The fringes are the stuff poetry is made of; they are capable of being set to music but they are not translatable. [They are] understandable only by those who have participated in the common past experiences" in which they arose "or in the tradition connected with them", whereas dictionary definitions, dialects and even idioms do not present insurmountable problems to the stranger or foreigner'. H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, pp.96-98.

'There are in any language terms with several connotations. They, too are noted in the dictionary. But, beside these standardized connotations, every element of the speech acquires its special secondary meaning derived from the context or the social environment within which it is used and, in addition, gets a special tinge from the actual occasion in which it is employed'.

H.R.Wagner (Ed.), Alfred Schutz, p.97.

See, as well, notes 55 and 64 to this chapter.

77. A.Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, p.42.

78. I am indebted to Gavin Bolton for pointing out the highly indexical nature of the speech used in a child's dramatic playing.

79. 'A phrase is not normally plurisemantic for the hearer but for him it is not isolated: he hears it in a precise setting made up of all he knows about the person who pronounces it, about his past experiences, his plans, about what the author of the phrase intended and so forth. This enormous bundle of information, not linguistically formalized, helps the rapid selection of meaning best adapted to the situation in which the phrase was pronounced. Isolated from this framework, every phrase may be plurisemantic'.

Tullio De Mauro, Ludwig Wittgenstein: His Place in the Development of Semantics (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), p.40.

But see, too, A.Cicourel, Cognitive Sociology, p.78.

80. We might think of proper names in this regard; but only think of all the 'Sallys' and then consider whether even names of this kind are basically meaningful. One might instance the names of colours as examples of a direct connection between the name and the state itself; but still, there are not many points at which language touches the world in this way.

Husserl discusses this in a paper on 'redness' in Mary Douglas (Ed.), Rules and Meanings: the anthropology of everyday life (London: Penguin, 1973).

See, as well, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, p.21e, para.47, for a discussion on the nature of 'chairness'.

81. See, for instance, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, paras. 50, 53, 56, 73 and 239.

82. Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.148.

83. 'The big question is not whether actors understand each other or not. The fact is that they do understand each other, that they will understand each other, but the catch is that they will understand each other

regardless of how they would be understood.'  
Harold Garfinkel, 'The Perception of the Other: a Study in Social Order' (Harvard University. Ph.D. thesis, 1952).

See, also, note 39 to this chapter on being 'bound to be meaningful'.

84. 'Instead of beginning from the assumption that the terms of a language invoke a fixed domain of substantive content and that their intelligibility and meaning rest upon a shared agreement between speakers as to what this content consists of, Garfinkel proposed an alternative procedural version of how description works. In this alternative version, he argues that the intelligibility of what is said rests upon the hearer's ability to make out what is meant from what is said according to methods which are tacitly relied on by both speaker and hearer. These methods involve the continual invocation of commonsense knowledge and of context as resources with which to make definite sense of indefinite descriptive terms. A major result of their use is that speaking is inevitably understood as action'.

John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.144.

'Words are also deeds'.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, p.146e, para.546.

85. See paras.10-13 of this Chapter.

86. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.154.

87. 'Skinner tape-recorded doctors' examinations of their patients. After the examinations she interviewed the doctors and patients separately about what each understood the other to have meant. She found that their accounts of the same conversation did not agree. Doctors and patients had different versions of what they understood the other to mean. At the same time, doctors and patients unanimously reported that they felt they were being understood by the other as well as understanding what the other said'.

Thelma-Jean Skinner, 'The processes of understanding in doctor-patient interaction' (Rice University. Ph.D. thesis, 1975). This work is referred to by Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.78.

88. 'It is what human beings say that is true and false; and they agree in the language they use. That is not agreement in opinions but in form of life.

If language is to be a means of communication there must be agreement not only in the definitions but also (queer as this may sound) in judgements'.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, p.88e, paras.241 and 242.

We have to appeal to contexts of its (language)

use, and that requires judgement. There are decisions to be made and sometimes we make mistakes.

89. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, p.81e, para.199.

'Language, I should like to say, relates to a way of living. In order to describe the phenomenon of language, one must describe a practice, not something that happens once, no matter of what kind'.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), p.335.

90. 'Try not to think of understanding as a "mental process" at all. \_\_For that is the expression which confuses you. But ask yourself: in what sort of case, in what kind of circumstances, do we say, "Now I know how to go on,"'

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), p.61e, para.154.

91. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.110.

92. '...the very basic stuff of human living is that terribly precarious thing we call meaning - something that is a continual task for people as they launch on each mundane or dramatic project of everyday life...' Jaber Gubrium and David Buckholdt, Towards Maturity, p.194.

93. Ludwig Wittgenstein, The Foundations of Mathematics, p.344.

'Wittgenstein accounted for meaning in terms of use. Meaning does not refer to entities, but is the use of expressions in different contexts. These contexts are endlessly diversified and are parts of "forms of life".'

Winch [see Peter Winch, Social Science,] turned Wittgenstein's view around; if meaning is the same as use then use is the same as meaning. From this he concluded that the use of expressions is essentially meaningful.

Where Wittgenstein taught philosophers not to ask for the meaning but for the use, Winch tells sociologists not to look for the cause but for the meaning. This is because social behaviour is essentially meaningful and to understand it is to understand its meaning'.

A.Giddens (Ed.), Positivism and Sociology (London: Heinemann, 1974), p.13.

94. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.242.

95. A.Giddens (Ed.), Positivism and Sociology, p.13.

96. See paras.10-13 of this chapter.

97. See para.29 of this chapter.

98. This is the force of reflexivity, and it strikes one strongly as one goes about the business of finding out how situations are made sensible, for you can only locate what has been done after you have made an interpretation. You account for your interpretation; you do not look at what has been done in order to see what people mean. This is the sense in which the methods and practices by which situations are made meaningful are simply not available to us as we are engaged in presenting everyday experience. The point is, of course, that the situation does not in some way contain a sort of 'blue print' for meaning. The meaning helps you to discover how that meaning was indicated. In this way the label, say, 'delinquent' is used to make an individual's behaviour intelligible. This behaviour is also used to point to an individual's 'delinquent' nature and give value to the label.

Ethnomethodology starts with a description and then attempts to uncover the methods whereby that experience was created and sustained. In this sense you have to know what is going on before you can demonstrate what is going on; know what it means before you can account for the ways in which it is meaningful. Furthermore, this is the way in which we ordinarily make sense of the world and the words which we hear. Margaret Donaldson, for instance, talks of the young child as first making sense of situations and then using this kind of understanding to help him make sense of what is said to him.

Margaret Donaldson, Children's Minds (Glasgow: Fontana Press, 1978), p.59.

David Crystal talks of a dominant emphasis in both sociolinguistics and in linguistics, and traces it back to an argument developed in the 1960s: 'would it not make greater sense to look at the uses of language first - at people's needs - and only then make a study of the features of language structure that are needed to fulfil those needs?' He then describes present day practice in these disciplines, 'Approaches to linguistic analysis have become more semantically-orientated, with linguistics attempting to specify the meanings of utterances first, before incorporating information as to how these meanings are expressed in the syntax, lexis or phonology of the language'.

David Crystal, Child Language, Learning and Linguistics: an overview for the teaching and therapeutic professions (London: Arnold, 1987 [2nd.ed.]), p.71.

In this sense we are not analysing language to see what it means but attempting, rather, to explain how it means what it means. We are learning, as the young child is learning, 'how to mean'.

See, also, Michael Halliday, Explorations in the Functions of Language (London: Arnold, 1973).

99. 'Accounts regardless of their subject matter do not describe things. Rather they establish what is accountable in the setting in which they occur. These settings are made up entirely of accounts'.

Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.38.

The nature of this reflexive force is often described in the ethnomethodological literature as the 'documentary method'. It is at the heart of the sense making activities of 'members' and the means by which those who would understand what is going on decide what is going on:

'The Documentary Method...whereby the 'linguistic event treated as "the document of", as "pointing to", as standing on behalf of an underlying pattern of matters that each already supposed to be the matters that the person, by his speaking, would be telling the other about'.

Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, pp.34-40.

'The Documentary Method consists of treating an actual appearance as "the document of", as "pointing to", as "standing on behalf of" a proposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, [they], in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of "what is known" about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other'.

D.L.Weider, On meaning by rule, in Jack Douglas (Ed.), Understanding Everyday Life, pp.184-186.

The Documentary Method... 'a process in which participants see each other's actions as expressions of patterns, the patterns enabling them to see what the patterns are'. So that 'on any occasion in the course of the interaction, the actions that the participants see each other performing are seen as such in terms of the meaning of the context, and the context in turn is understood to be what it is through these same actions'. Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.90.

Like the 'interpretative procedures' (see paras. 10-19 of this chapter) the documentary method is used to create and sustain the factual character of the social world. It produces a sense of social structure by providing objects and events with consistency, or the sense that they are the same over time (See Leiter, Ethnomethodology, pp.165-167). To use the documentary method one must presume the facticity of the social world whilst simultaneously creating it.

'It is the institution that calls for the talk, and it is the talk which, as it were, creates the institution'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.161.

100. The kind of work which has to be done in order that we present ourselves 'properly' is well demonstrated in

a study Garfinkel presented of a person who had chosen to 'change' sex from male to female. Garfinkel's interest was in the things 'she' had to do in order to 'pass' as a woman, and the way in which her activities were 'seen' to support her role as a woman. Of course this is an unusual case, but it is at times like this and within such strange circumstances that we can see something of what has to be done to manage even such apparently 'basic' things as gender.

So Agnes, who had no 'girlhood' to draw upon was forced to manage her 'biography as a female [in] terms of vague generalities'. The way that she talked was seen by her friends (in treating her as female) as a sign of 'natural female modesty'. In this way her inadequate female background was used to reinforce her femaleness. We might remember in this regard the way in which the facticity of the social world is upheld even when it is most threatened (see note 12 to this chapter).

See, as well, the way in which contributions are 'bound to be meaningful' in note 39 to this chapter, and Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.20.

'..her [Agnes'] talk is embedded in tacit assumptions concerning "the fact she was a woman" which operated as an interpretative device for others seeing Agnes' behaviour, and as something which stood in need of construction by Agnes'.

Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, pp.116-185.

For a full and interesting account of the Agnes Study and its implications see 'Agnes, the Practical Methodologist', in Warren Handel, How People make Sense, chapter one. See, too, Garfinkel's own highly readable and sympathetic account in his 'Studies in Ethnomethodology'.

'To be a given kind of person, then, is not merely to possess the required attributes, but also to sustain the standards of conduct and appearance that one's social grouping attaches thereto. The unthinking ease with which performers consistently carry off such standard-maintaining routines does not deny that a performance has occurred, merely that the participants have been unaware of it'.

Erving Goffman, Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday, 1959), p.75.

101. 'Work involved in making sense is, essentially, practical work directed towards realising aims and aspirations; the purpose is not knowledge for knowledge sake. It is work done as interaction; as part of the activities it organises, and of which it is constitutive'.

Douglas Benson and John Hughes, The Perspective of Ethnomethodology, p.195.

It will be my purpose in the remainder of this study to see the kind of 'work' which this is, and what has to be done in order to present situations in drama and everyday life.

Notes and references to Chapter Three.  
MAKING SENSE IN EVERYDAY LIFE.

1. (p.1: 01-02). p.1 refers to the page number of the transcript in Volume Two. The numbers following the colon refer to the lines on that page. This form is followed throughout the study when reference is made to extracts from the transcript.

2. They claimed to be 'really scared' and 'nervous'; Mark thought he 'was in trouble', Shirley that she had come for a 'hearing test'.

These accounts occurred immediately after the discussion and the piece of drama recorded in pages 1-30 of the transcript. I talked first with the children and later with the teacher about our understanding of the teacher/pupil discussion and the drama which followed. This discussion between myself and the others taking part is referred to quite frequently in the study. For further details see the introduction to the transcript in Volume Two.

3. For a description of the use of such 'markers' as boundaries in the discourse, see J.McH.Sinclair and M.Coulthard, Towards an Analysis of Discourse: the English Used by Teachers and Pupils (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.40.

4. And so, of course, do many other factors not directly recoverable from the transcript: teacher's tone of voice and manner of delivery, the arrangement of the group and its size, the unusual location, etc..

5. These comments from the children were made in the discussion which followed this lesson (see note 2 to this chapter). I shall not refer directly to this discussion again, but every time I express the views of the teacher or the children, they will have come from here.

Mary Willes has looked at children 'playing at schools' and noticed on one occasion that an individual firmly asserted the "right" to be the teacher as 'she did all the talking without interruption. [She] played the teacher not as one who dispenses information or asks questions but as one who divides up the day, by coming in and going out, doing registers, collecting milk money, and, of course, starting and ending lessons'. Mary Willes, Learning to take part in Classroom Interaction, in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Introduction to Adult/Child Conversation (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p.76.

This, of course, will come as no surprise to anyone who has watched children 'playing schools'.

6. 'Even a transient conversation between two persons is a relation of power, to which the participants may bring unequal resources. The production of an "orderly" or

"accountable" social world cannot merely be understood as collaborative work carried out by peers: meanings that are made to count express asymmetries of power'. Anthony Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, p.53.

7. This point is well made by Mary Willes when she says that, 'Learning to participate in classroom discourse constitutes a very considerable part of the learning most children do in the initial months of exposure to schooling'. There are, of course, 'wide differences in the rate at which such learning is accomplished'. Mary Willes, Classroom Interaction, in P.French and M.McClure (Eds.), Adult/ Child Conversation, p.73.

8. Of course, we are witnessing here an unusual 'teaching situation' in that the teacher is setting up a discussion in order that a student may see what is happening. She is, in a sense, showing what it is that she does, and the overall situation might be described as 'research student watching teacher getting children to discuss'. In this it might be unusual, but it is not the 'unusualness' which makes it a 'managed situation', and this does nothing to invalidate the basic argument that situations in everyday life (such as when students give an extra dimension to teaching situations by watching what is going on) have to be managed from moment to moment. Neither, in fact, is this particular example so unusual. For this teacher and the student are colleagues, who by the time of the study had worked together for several years. They were used to teaching with one another and being observed by one another. Of course, it would be different from such a discussion in other circumstances, but the difference would lie in the way in which it was managed. You cannot get behind the work done by those involved to make situations visible and meaningful. We shall return to this in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras. 35-51. Consider, also, paras.74 and 78 in this chapter where the way in which the teacher keeps the discussion going because she thought the student wanted a discussion is mentioned.

It is also important to remember, of course, that teachers often set out to have discussions, and deliberately work to achieve them. I do not think we would want to say that such work was 'make-believe' in that it was 'managed'.

9. Frederick Erickson, Classroom Discourse as Improvisation: relationships between academic task structure and social participation structure in lessons, in Louise Cherry Wilkinson (Ed.), Communicating in the Classroom (New York: Academic Press, 1982).

10. See, for instance, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.23-24, and the

difference between 'academic knowledge' and 'the stock of knowledge at hand'.

11. See, also, para.84 of this chapter, and the 'production of a "good pupil"'. The concept of 'appropriateness' is also relevant (see, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.18 and note 31 to that chapter).

12. Indeed, the bulk of this chapter is concerned to examine how Ian interpreted ['wrongly'] the nature of the teaching situation.

13. Some other examples of this 'favourite trick' are discussed in para.73 of this chapter. We can also see the children making use of the same strategy as they try to find out whether they are to present experience dramatically (Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.37).

In the discussion which followed this piece, I tried to discover from the children what it was that the teacher wanted of them. The following exchange occurred:

Me: What do you think Mrs Perkins was as...  
wanting you to do at this point?

[four second pause]

Peter: Get our brains working?

The formulation is identical.

14. Of course there is a distinction to be made here between the contribution as it is part of the task and the contribution as it illuminates the social structure. In the latter sense it is always likely to be acceptable (though, as we shall see, a lot of work may have to be done in order to make it so), whereas a contribution such as 'Africa' may, at a later stage in the discussion, be seen as inadequate in terms of the topic.

See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

15. Teachers spend a lot of time terminating conversations and they have developed many 'nice' ways of doing so. Tizard and Hughes comment upon this; 'In an earlier study, one of us showed that a response such as "Did you?" or "How nice" tends to cut short communication with young children. Conversations were also often terminated when the child's remarks were misunderstood, and the teacher did not detect the misunderstanding'.

Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning: talking and thinking at home and at school (London: Fontana, 1984), p.188.

16. This point is made by Martyn Hammersley when he says that 'knowledge and skills required by pupils to show "intelligence" in this lesson may be specific to the

school setting. Being able to produce "an answer" to the teacher's question requires knowledge of the conventions governing a particular kind of teaching and the ability to "read the signs" in the teacher's structuring of the lesson. Together, they are both a necessary and sufficient condition of answering the question'.

Martyn Hammersley, School Learning - The Cultural Resources required by a pupil to answer a teacher's question, in P.Woods and M.Hammersley (Eds.), School Experience: explorations in the sociology of education (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.82.

'In learning a language the individual is exposed to what constitutes 'proper' usage. They [pre-school children] already have ideas about what terms like 'school', 'learning' and 'classroom' mean, and expectations which surround the general role categories 'boy' and 'girl', 'teacher' and 'pupil'. This is not that they are massively predefined or culturally determined. The specifics of classroom life will be created, negotiated and developed in the course of interaction in school, but this interaction takes place against a background of previously acquired expectations and understandings. What is important is that such ideas have been transmitted through a filter of values contained in other people's subjective interpretations of that setting; in taking on the perceptions of others the child is almost inevitably involved in taking on some of the judgements and evaluations carried in these perceptions'.

Roland Meighan, The Hidden Curriculum of Language, in R.Meighan (Ed.), The Sociology of Educating (London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986 edition), pp.146-147.

Mehan is making a similar point when he says that, 'To participate effectively in the classroom, students must indeed master academic subject matter. In addition to accumulating this stock of academic knowledge, students must also learn that there are interactionally appropriate ways to cast their academic knowledge'.

H.Mehan, 'The Competent Student' (Mimeo: University of San Diego, February 1979), p.10. Referred to in G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult-Child Interaction at Home and School, in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.231.

17. 'By asking questions to which the teacher already knows the answer and [which] are of the form, 'do you know?', [the teacher] is claiming a certain authority: he is claiming superior interactional rights, enforcing an asymmetrical relationship. More than this, knowing the speaker is a teacher provides for the relevance of certain relatively specific resources for answering the question, or at least, for producing an "appropriate" answer, that is one that fits the relevances of the

questioner. Moreover, the teachers (in this school) claim the right to enforce their relevances by publicly and finally evaluating candidate answers'.

Martyn Hammersley, School Learning, in P.Woods and M.Hammersley (Eds.), School Experience, p.77.

Martyn Hammersley is talking of a particular school here, but what he says has relevance for most teachers for much of the time.

The children in this group had no difficulty in recognising such 'psuedo' or 'display' questions and never thought for a moment that the teacher really wanted to know because she did not know. As they said afterwards, 'She wanted to know if we knew'. They could spot genuine questions in the transcript quite easily as well.

18. See, for instance, paras.51-55 in this chapter where we look at examples of the teacher coping with Ian by 'squeezing him out' and by reformulating his statements.

19. See note 17 to this chapter.

20. See, as well, note 12 to Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', which refers to the manner in which the 'facticity' of the social world is upheld just at those times when it is most threatened.

21. See paras.47-48 in this chapter.

22. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.14-19.

23. See page 4, line 29 of the transcript, and the discussion in paras.47-48 in this chapter.

24. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

25. Consider as well, those other occasions (para.41 in this chapter, for instance) when the teacher responded to Ian's account of his experience as though she believed him.

26. See, for instance, para.35 in the present chapter.

27. See page 1 line 5 in the transcript,  
'...there's a volcano....right? And we live near it'. Also, page 8 line 27,  
'So there's the volcano..starting to erupt... you can feel the....vibrations.  
'And you can hear the sounds...and it's getting hot'.  
Also the discussion in paras.14-17.

Warren Handel talks of such 'scene setting' contributions as, 'capsule summaries [which] are, at

once, about the conversation and part of it'.  
Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.140.

He shows how they work to keep track of a conversation and its content, and by so doing help to confirm a sense of shared understanding. They help to develop a respect for that version, a feeling of 'that is how it is', and we should not be surprised to see, in discussions of this kind, that it is the teacher who makes use of such summaries. They also have implications for the action, for the way in which the conversation will develop.

28. The implications of this 'coming together' of the 'social participation structure' and the 'academic task structure' will be discussed later (see, for instance, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.24 and note 35). But see, also, para.16 in this chapter.

29. I am indebted to Gavin Bolton for pointing out that when the teacher asks questions of the form, 'What are we going to do?' and 'How are we going to live?' she has moved into Dorothy Heathcote's 'now time'. This is the point at which she steps into the dramatic presentation of experience (see Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.19-25).

30. See paras.18-20 in this chapter.

31. See paras.21-24, and the discussion about Peter's 'Africa'. See also, note 13 to this chapter.

32. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.8 and note 18.

33. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras. 37-41.

34. It is important to appreciate that the constraints imposed by the teaching situation are not the result of the teacher being asked to have a discussion. As we have seen, this burden upon her activities certainly affected the way in which she used her extra 'rights' in the situation as a teacher, but the constraints I am speaking of now are those involved, necessarily, in any teaching situation. They are the methods and practices by which we make visible a situation in which there is someone teaching and someone being taught. They are not, for instance, the kind of rights a liberal minded teacher might put aside and still be seen as teaching.

See, also, note 8 to this chapter.

35. Though, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama' (see, for instance, paras.70-82), this does not mean that others would not see this little group as 'teacher and pupils in

discussion'. The teaching context is so 'institutionalised' within our schools (even when the 'teaching' takes place in the staff room) that all kinds of contextual information beyond the words and actions of those involved conspire to present a 'lesson'. But still, it is possible to do other things in school, and possible for those involved to forget where they are, or rather, neglect their task to present themselves as teachers or pupils in order to uphold the 'facticity' of school life. The school is a formidable institution, and rugged enough to bear with such 'inadequate' members. However, we should remember that the work done in producing and sustaining the school situation is rarely part of the learning which the school is concerned to see should take place. It may well be, that more was learned about living by volcanoes in this short time than in all the talk (designed primarily to present a particular teaching situation) which went before.

36. Any learning which takes place in such a situation is of a spontaneous nature for they are learning without an intention to learn. Their learning is bound up with their talk. This is an important example and we shall come this way again in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'. For the moment, let us appreciate that it puts us on the way to seeing the kind of learning which can take place within dramatically produced contexts.

37. See note 27 to this chapter.

38. See, for instance, Skinner, who showed that doctors and patients could have different accounts of what they understood the other to mean whilst at the same time unanimously reporting that they felt they were being understood by the other as well as understanding what the other said. As Leiter points out, 'this sense of being understood by the other, as well as understanding despite the lack of substantive agreement, is the sense of social structure'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.78.

Thelma-Jean Skinner, Doctor-Patient Interaction, pp.100-102.

See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.35-42, and note 87.

39. As, of course, do I when I talk of the teacher not understanding what Ian is trying to say!

40. Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, pp.109-110.

41. The kind of work done in order to get attention will be discussed in Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.33 and note 51.

42. See also, note 16 to this chapter.

43. Or, at least, that is what I took him to mean. It is difficult, but I must have some opinion on the matter or his words will be meaningless and but empty babbling. It is not enough to talk, you must have someone by to make sense of what you say, and to treat what you say as being meaningful.

44. See, as well, 'the business of making contributions meaningful' in Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.42, note 33, and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34

Notes and references to Chapter Four.

GETTING DRAMA GOING.

1. It is interesting to consider why the interruption was made at this point. Later, when talking to the teacher who had conducted the discussion, I simply said 'It felt right', and talked of the children being 'ready to make the shift'. She agreed and added that she had been trying to find a way to get into drama. Looking at the transcript now, I am inclined to believe that Ian's contributions (either directly or through the teacher's summaries) had considerable influence upon my decision to interrupt when I did. It only seemed right because Ian had worked to make it right.

2. This will be developed in subsequent chapters. See especially, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama' and Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.

Consider, as well, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.2-7.

3. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', note 16.

4. It seems as if Rom Harre may be pointing in this direction when he suggests that 'all these things [practical and social knowledge, the rules of proper action, the actual process of thought] might not be in an individual's possession at all. [Rather they] might be properties of the social collective of the human group'.

Rom Harre, Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.165.

See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 69.

5. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', note 4.

6. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', note 34.

7. The significance of this statement will be considered in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.

8. 'Minimal, monosyllabic responses such as "yeah", "umm", and "huh" function in two different ways. At the end of someone's statement they discourage further interaction. At short pauses during a turn at talk, they encourage the speaker to continue'.

Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.142.

The children are here using their 'mms' to encourage the second teacher to continue, but think of the way in which the first teacher (of the discussion) used them to discourage Ian (See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.29 and 53).

9. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', note 16.
10. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', beginning at para.29.
11. See, for instance, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.58-59 and 71-73.
12. For a brief account of these two terms as they are used by Frederick Erickson, see Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.9-10.  
Frederick Erickson, Classroom Discourse as Improvisation, in Loiose Cherry Wilkinson (Ed.), Communicating in the Classroom.
13. Indeed, when the influence of the discussion is too strong it can lead to situations in which, as Gavin Bolton suggests, the 'enactment is a kind of demonstration of whatever ideas they have clarified in their pre-discussion rather than a living-through, insightful experience'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.45.  
This can mean 'that at the time of playing there [is] not an appropriate intellectual identification but rather the working out mechanically of a previously held appropriate intellectual identification, i.e., in the preparatory discussion. The learning had taken place already, before the improvisation started'.  
David Davis, 'What is "Depth"?', p.90.
14. I do not want to give the impression that discussion is not important in terms of drama. I can imagine time spent talking beforehand could provide the children with a common background of experience as would, say, a story or a poem. My point is that no amount of talking in this way, will lead into drama. There is a gap which has to be crossed if we are to present experience dramatically, there has to be a change in attitude. If this is not appreciated there is a danger that we may try to reproduce the discussion in our drama and look beyond the drama for its meaningfulness.
15. See, as well, Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.12.
16. Of course, in answer to the first of these questions, there are those who would say, 'so that the children might know it differently', but I think that this would be to misunderstand my point. If children were doing drama about something out there in the world, we might well ask them at the end, 'What did you learn from the lesson then?', and maybe go on to tell them what they had learned or what the lesson meant. As John Norman writes, if we could sensibly do these things 'the

purpose of making abstract ideas concrete through personal experience in the drama would be somewhat doubtful...they might as well tell them before the lesson and save everybody the time and effort involved!' John Norman, Descriptive Outline and Evaluation of Secondary Lesson, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education: A Curriculum for Change (Banbury, Oxon: Kemble Press, NATD Publication, 1982), p.69.

See, also, note 13 to this chapter.

17. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 12, and Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.54.

18. The 'living through mode'.....'the existential living-through structure' in which those involved do not know this moment's future.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.53.

See, as well,

Gavin Bolton, Drama in Education, in T.Jackson (Ed.), Learning Through Theatre, p.70.

19. Betty Jane Wagner, Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium, (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p.67.

20. 'Learning now can be achieved through these other forms when often the form that we most praised years ago, the living-through mode, valuable as it can be, is not accessible or attainable'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton Interviewed by David Davis', in 2D, Vol.4, No.2, 1984-5, p.8.

21. As may be seen here, when Gavin Bolton discusses the properties of two of the more recent forms, 'projection' and 'frame', both of which 'tend to take the participants to the "edge" of the context'. In this they can be used to 'protect into emotion' or 'allow for a state of mind that is both reflective and engaged'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.169.

It is important, though, not to see these things as 'preparations for drama', for in working at the 'edge of the context' they are already in touch with the dramatic experience. Of course, they might go on to work in the 'dramatic mode', for which it could have been a preparation, but then, they might not. Furthermore, having presented experience dramatically they could then go on to use one of the more indirect approaches. It is 'preparing' in that it is handling a dramatic context in a manner suitable to the participants' ability and experience, and in the sense that each dramatic encounter provides a background of common experience to be carried forward into the next. But all of this is true of the 'living through' mode, as well, which may be seen, upon occasion, as preparation for another of the forms available to us.

22. As Gavin Bolton points out, the 'living through'

mode 'is still very important', and it is a mode which 'still has enormous potential'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton Interviewed', p.11.

He goes even further in his most recent paper when he declares that 'the dramatic playing mode [is] the base-line of drama education and training....it is the source of drama experiencing and training, always to be used when needed, or rather when a class is ready for it'.

Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art', p.11.

Also, in essence, drama teachers may not have moved all that much. Here, for instance is Dorothy Heathcote, '..in my mind I'm in the same place..the difference is in how I can explain it and the stubbornness in sticking to it...it would appear to be different'.

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.74.

23. I am aware that 'presentation' does have 'doing drama' connotations as it is linked with performance. However, it needs to be considered alongside the 'everyday presentation of experience' (the social life as a 'managed accomplishment'). The central point of this study is that social experience is presented and not found.

See, as well, para.22 in this chapter.

24. Gavin Bolton is talking of this 'doing of drama' when he suggests that 'in many schools we have trained children to "switch on" imitative, emotional display, so that they give a demonstration'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.67.

They may, for instance, 'have trapped themselves into demonstrating a quarrel'.

Gavin Bolton, 'Towards a Theory of Drama', p.10.

'The children couldn't perceive anything, because their energetic thought and their good nature was entirely taken up with behaving not being'.

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.68.

In this sense 'behaving' takes place in the everyday experience of doing drama, whilst 'being' will be an aspect of presenting experience dramatically.

Dorothy Heathcote also describes this distinction as 'over-there' thinking set against 'now-I-am-engaged' thinking.

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.65.

This 'doing of drama' can take many forms but in each case those involved are presenting everyday rather than dramatic experience. So, for instance, children showing off their plays to other groups are likely to be concerned with the satisfaction they feel as pupils performing well, rather than the kind of feelings which should characterise the situation they are presenting through their drama. They may be doing their drama to impress their audience; they may be concerned to amuse,

aggravate, challenge or whatever. Their motivation is beyond the dramatic context and is rooted in the everyday experience. One could imagine, as well, though, a group of children who were not asked to perform before others and yet were concerned to do well in their drama by giving their teacher the kind of work they thought he wanted from them. In this way they might help him to produce a 'good' lesson. These children and their teacher would be 'doing drama', and the dramatic context weakened because of it. Good and bad drama, as good or bad acting, is accomplished through the everyday presentation of experience, for that is where evaluations of this kind must be made.

25. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.70-82, and Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', note 35.

26. H.Mehan, Accomplishing Classroom Lessons, in A.Cicourel (Ed.), Language and School Performance, p.93.

27. Gavin Bolton stresses the significance of this kind of involvement when he says, 'In dramatic playing you've got to be fully engaged or else nothing will happen'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton Interviewed', p.11.

Bolton's term 'dramatic playing' would match with my 'dramatic presentation of experience'.

28. David Davis' description of what he calls 'category one' drama ('Where the intellectual and emotional identification are superficial and frivolous') is an obvious example of 'doing drama'. But so too, is his 'category two' dramatic activity, 'Where there is a seeming intellectual identification but not an appropriate emotional element'. In such cases, he maintains, the drama 'remains eternally put on by the students, because there is not the right feeling'. David Davis, 'What is "Depth"?', pp.89-91.

I like particularly this idea of the drama being 'put on by the students', for it describes well what I mean by doing drama. Yet it is important to appreciate that it has nothing to do with the idea of performance which can be 'put on' but does not have to be. As we shall see, even the most precisely scripted play performed under the most formal of theatrical conditions can still provide an example of the dramatic presentation of experience. Conversely, every actor knows what it means to be stuck in a part that will not come to life. See, for example, the quotation from Simon Callow's book in para.22 in this chapter. Simon Callow, Being an Actor, (London: Methuen, 1984).

David Davis then goes on to say what should happen to 'category two' drama in order that it should work at the deeper level of 'category three', in which the 'intellectual and emotional identification are

appropriate to the fictitious situation'. In this, he seems to be close to my description of 'presenting experience dramatically', for he links the level of intellectual and emotional identification with the situation presented dramatically. He speaks of 'thoughts and emotions that exist within the symbolic action of the drama and correspond to the range of possible human reactions appropriate to the meaning being extracted from the context', and that, of course, is the dramatic and not the everyday context. This is what Davis refers to as 'drama in depth', drama which 'requires an appropriate affective identification as well as an appropriate intellectual identification'. David Davis, 'What is "Depth"?', pp.92-93.

29. Simon Callow, Being An Actor (London: Methuen, 1984), p.48.

30. David Davis provides several good examples in which the feelings of those 'putting on' drama can be disconnected from the content of the drama. He considers a child, for instance, who might be feeling pleasure 'at his own success, because he was making those watching laugh ("They like me"), and anxiety, 'in case he could not keep it up'. David Davis, 'What is "Depth"?', p.91.

Once again we should be aware that these feelings of 'anxiety' and 'pleasure' do not arise simply because he is performing before an audience. It is still possible to have this sense of 'putting on' the drama whilst working with no audience (as, for instance, when one is trying to 'capture' a character). Under such difficult circumstances it is very easy to present a sense of anxiety that is not an aspect of the dramatic situation. Indeed, there is an example in this piece of drama which we shall be considering later (see Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras. 142-144) where one of the children tries to bring the drama to a close because (it seems) he is finding it difficult and can think of nothing to say. The interesting point is, of course, that he could work to bring the drama to a close for he had 'rights' in the drama which he did not have in the teaching situation. In the same way, it is possible (though very difficult and requiring considerable technical ability) to give no sense of 'putting on' whilst yet performing before an audience. Such 'good acting' should not be confused with 'naturalistic acting', but rather with cases in which the style of presentation, the form and the 'aesthetic' meaning are all aspects of each other. Yet even when the audience and the actors are bound up in such a dramatically presented experience, it would be possible for someone else to point to those involved and say, 'here are actors doing some drama before an audience'. Similarly, the members of that audience could go home afterwards knowing that they had been to a

performance. This treating of the experience as make-believe makes it sensible within the everyday experience, but does not affect its dramatic 'meaningfulness'.

Gavin Bolton also looks at the way in which children whose personal feelings at the time are not relevant to the dramatic situation ('I hate drama'), will simply be 'doing drama' (though he would not use the term in this way) and not presenting a dramatic reality. So too, will those children whose personal feelings, drawn out of and felt within the everyday context, are yet relevant to the dramatic context. Examples of this kind of 'relevant feelings' are again given by Bolton and include, 'I fancy myself dressed in armour' (a lad playing a medieval knight) and 'I'm scared of water' (the play is about a shipwreck). Clearly the motivation is beyond the drama and the drama just a means of satisfying an everyday interest. This is quite different from getting into your armour in order to meet the dragon. These motives might be behind the choice of drama, but they should not provide the meaning of the drama. Gavin Bolton also gives a nice example of children hugely enjoying dying of the plague, as it meant being dragged across the polished floor of the drama hall (Bolton p.44).

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.33-34.

It is possible, though, for a personal feeling, realised in the everyday experience, to work through the drama. This would happen, for instance, if the child who was scared of water allowed her fear to influence her action within the drama (she might refuse to jump into the sea from the sinking ship). Then the feeling of fear is an aspect of the dramatic presentation through which it finds expression.

31. This is not to do with 'subjects' as such, but with the concern to 'pass on' knowledge in an academic, rarified form, which seems to exist beyond the learning situation in which it is 'known'. So we can 'do mathematics' and be made to do mathematics, but we can also treat experience from a mathematical point of view and that would be quite a different thing. The problem is that when we move into the subject disciplines we move out of Schutz' 'paramount reality', out of the everyday world. Schutz would say, of course, that drama is outside this reality as well, and I would counter that by saying the everyday, commonsense view of drama would be, but that is 'doing drama'. The presentation of experience dramatically (though outside in that it is treated as make-believe) is yet constructed in the way of the paramount reality. It is that which makes it different from the other areas of experience.

32. The same emphasis upon the active engagement of the author/actor and his audience is seen in a

discussion of Betsy Byars' book 'The Midnight Fox'.

See,

David Jackson, Using Midnight Fox, in *Children, Language and Literature* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982), p.63.

33. Simon Callow, Being An Actor, p.53.

34. Ralph Richardson, for instance, talked of a play as 'an enormous roller at the top of some hill. Someone takes the blocks away and it begins to roll inevitably down to its end. Maybe its end is destruction or maybe it's brought to a halt by a beautiful finish, but it never stops moving and you're on it all the time... When that curtain goes up, time starts for you, you're moving with that roller and you cannot get off it...'  
Ralph Richardson talking to Bernard Levin on his eightieth birthday.

Antony Sher recalls a director giving him notes: "You haven't learned the part yet. You've learned the lines, you played each scene well, but you haven't got the shape of it yet. It's like you're surfing this magnificent wave, but you're not content to lie on the board and enjoy the ride. You're paddling furiously with your arms, expending lots of energy, but not affecting the progress of the journey in any way".  
Antony Sher, The Year of the King (London: Chatto and Windus, 1985), p.218.

How much energy do we expend in drama lessons getting nowhere but just 'doing drama'? I seem to do an awful lot of paddling about.

Ian McKellan describes the progress towards this 'living through' presentation of experience: 'You have to think and have analysed in rehearsal totally so that your imagination, being fed by the concrete metaphors, concrete images and pictures, can then be fed through into the body, into gesture, into timbre of voice, into eyelids, into every part of the actor's make-up, so that it does seem - as Trevor [Nunn] has just said, that he is making it up as he goes along, although the actor, of course, knows that he isn't'.

Joy Leslie Gibson, Ian McKellan - A biography (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p.24.

Gibson also describes Ian McKellan as being able to raise 'acting from a secondary thing, a reflection of life, into a primary position'. In a similar way Irving Wardle talks of Ian McKellan and Judi Dench as actors capable of reminding us 'that the test of great acting is not impersonation but revelation'.

Gerald Jacobs, Judi Dench: an authorised biography (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), p.90.

The same approach to theatre and acting is found in the words of John Barton: 'The words must be found or

coined or fresh-minted at the moment you utter them. They are not to be thought of as something which pre-exists in a printed text. In the theatre they must seem to find their life for the first time at the moment the actor speaks them. Because he needs them'. John Barton, Playing Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1984), p.50.

And in those of Laurence Olivier: '...if you're practised, rehearsed and thoroughly versed, you've got something to offer. You know what the lines are about, but you haven't waited for the final, ultimate way of saying them or handling a single moment. Those things are still in the process of being tried out and, with any luck, one or two will happen'. Laurence Olivier, On Acting (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p.10.

It is found in the writing of Richard Flecknoe who said of Burbage 'those who called him a player do him wrong, with only this difference from other mens, that is what is but a play to them, is his Business; so their business is but a play to him'. Richard Flecknoe, A Short Discourse on the English Stage (1664).

And is contained in one of Ellen Terry's tenets, 'To act you must make the thing written your own: you must steal the words; steal the thoughts; and convey the stolen treasure to others with great art'. Donald Sinden, Laughter in the Second Act (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), p.191.

It is a theme which is constantly expressed in the talking and writing of actors and it is described by a movement away from the 'doing of drama' and towards the 'dramatic presentation of experience'.

35. David Davis, 'What is "Depth"?', p.92.

Gavin Bolton is uncovering this quality when he describes dramatic playing as, 'essentially being or existential. There is a critical sense of "it is happening now" and "I do not know this present moment's future". I can guess what might happen as I do in moment-to-moment living, but I cannot know it'. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.37.

This is also relevant to our discussion on preparing for drama by drawing attention to a form of life beyond the drama (see, paras.13-15 in this chapter), for Gavin Bolton then goes on to warn of the dangers of building up a story followed by enactment. Such an activity cannot be 'dramatic playing' for 'the existential experience of the lesson has in fact already occurred as the pupils heard the story evolve', and in the enactment '"what is happening now" becomes overshadowed by "what we know will happen next". The child does not engage with the present moment, but rather with moving to the next moment. "What happens

next" becomes the controlling mental set'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.37.

It also means that the drama becomes meaningless in itself, and a mere representation of something else. Furthermore, most children do not have the technical ability to make of it a very good representation; few can cope with this kind of challenge. It does not mean, though, that the 'dramatic presentation of experience' cannot be based on stories, which are a marvellous way of providing a common background and an area of 'shared belief'. Rather, it means that a reproduction of the story line, dramatically, must be of marginal value.

36. Of course, on one level such a view of dramatic activity is built into the notion of theatre: the special building in which we put on plays, costumes for the actors, cast lists to show they are real people playing parts, false sets; curtains to start the performance and bring it to a close, intervals to bring us back to 'reality', darkness to take away the pervading 'reality', curtain calls; one could go on and on. They are the means by which we demonstrate that the activity presented before our eyes is not 'real' life, and by which we prevent our dramatic experience from threatening the facticity of the everyday experience.

However, the methods and practices can also be much more subtle than this, for consider how a piece of drama such as we are examining here looks like 'real' life and yet is not real life. People might make mistakes about the level upon which it is to be taken, but it is not very likely. So how are these people indicating that they are presenting experience dramatically when they use no make up, wear no costumes and do not even think of themselves as acting a part? This is a question to which we shall return again and again.

That the make-believe is not simply 'given' is shown when we look at the way in which very young children approach the social life. Maria Montessori, for instance, argued that 'small children lack sufficient experience to be able to sort out fantasy from truth' and used this as an argument for keeping fairy stories from them.  
Nicholas Tucker, The Child and the Book: a psychological and literary exploration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.67.

Consider, as well, the following comments;  
'Unless the child talked about what she was doing, we had no means of knowing whether, if she played with a doll's house, for example, she was lost in fantasy or simply arranging the furniture'.  
Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.42.

For Catherine Garvey there is 'overwhelming evidence [to suggest] that not all that young children do together is play. They have other modes of

interacting and they mark the play mode as distinct from the other orientations'. Garvey then suggests that 'by the age of three most children are able to verbalise their awareness of whether they are playing or not', and points out that 'the existence of other orientations contributes to the identification of play itself, which is marked thus as a special state. This marking is particularly clear - and critical - when the child is interacting with another child, for in that situation the two must communicate to each other whether what is done is done as play or non-play'. She then concludes, 'successful interaction between children depends upon the participants' mutual awareness of whether they are playing or not playing'.

Catherine Garvey, Play: the developing child (London: Fontana, 1977), pp.20-21.

Clearly it is not enough just to play. We have to show we are playing and we have to be seen as playing. We have to be able to attribute a 'non-literal orientation' to an activity in order to see it as make-believe.

Catherine Garvey examines what we have to do in order to pretend with a companion and she considers the 'signals of play orientation such as giggling or grinning' and shows how such directions, 'the pretend transformations', may become a part of the child's work to present play. See for instance, Catherine Garvey, Play: the developing child, p.86.

She also points out that children receive some basic models of 'non-literal treatment of resources' and uses ritual (which she describes as 'unmistakably play') as an example. 'It exhibits all the descriptive characteristics by which instances of play are recognised [and] rituals are very clearly marked as non-literal by their repetition and by their highly controlled, rhythmic execution. The message, "This is play", is emblazoned on the ritual'.

Catherine Garvey, Play: the developing child, p.116.

We shall see how the children of the transcript take advantage of this in order to present ritual in their drama. For the moment, though, we might consider looking at her work from a different point of view and, in the light of experience treated as a 'managed accomplishment', ask instead, "How do we attribute a literal orientation to certain activities?" How do we mark out some aspects of experience as being 'real'?

See, as well, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', note 16.

37. A useful example can be found in the work of Gavin Bolton and some infant children. In his lesson 'The Soldier', he takes a lot of time to explain to the children the significance of the chair which he is sitting upon. He tells them that when he is on the chair they are all safely in the drama hall, but when he leaves the chair they are in the story. He then puts

this into practice and gives them plenty of opportunity to come in and out of the story, in and out of the make-believe. The point is, that such a transition has to be marked and for the very young child it has to be marked very clearly. There is not simply real life and make-believe (just there to be experienced) and what Gavin Bolton is doing as he sits and as he stands is telling them how to treat the next piece of experience that they manage to produce.

Gavin Bolton, 'The Soldier' (video, University of Durham School of Education).

38. Betty J. Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.67.

Though this 'living at life rate' requires some qualification. '"Life-rate" reads wrong because it suggests time sequence' and drama is not lived at life rate, rather it is episodic.

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.78.

That drama can be 'episodic' and out of 'time sequence' is another means by which we draw attention to its make-believe quality. Conversely by stressing the narrative form of fiction and its ordered quality we point towards our understanding of everyday experience. One only has to think of the countless accounts with which we have been regaled from our earliest days to appreciate how pervasive such 'stories' must be in our understanding of the everyday world. It is from accounts like this, from little constructed narratives that we are encouraged to believe in the ordered, structured, patterned nature of our lives; an order, structure and pattern which the stories seem to reflect.

Consider, for instance, such little narratives and plays from the transcript: the 'bones and tombstones' piece (p.59 to p.66); 'the presentation of the blind man'(p.71 to p.74) and the 'dazzling achievement'(p.67 to p.68); all of which will be looked at in detail during the course of this study.

39. Michael Fleming reminds us that Peter Slade warned against 'providing too many props or clothes which may stultify creative energy', or overwhelm with a sense of requirement.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.80.

And Cecily O'Neill seems similarly concerned when she says that 'Teachers who have access to a drama studio may be able to create quite powerful effects. But too much effort to establish an elaborate setting for the drama lesson may not only pre-determine outcomes and reduce the possibility of negotiation but actually hinder the creation of the dramatic world'.  
Cecily O'Neill, 'Imagined Worlds', p.160.

40. A good example of this 'short step' into drama may be seen in the BBC Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting', featuring the work of Dorothy Heathcote.

Whilst this film must have been hugely influential in introducing people to Dorothy Heathcote's ideas (and heavily drawn upon by experts talking and writing about drama), she would not consider that it gives an accurate representation of her work. It fails to do so because it stresses the 'living through' aspect of her drama at the expense of other ways of experiencing. It needs to be treated, therefore, with some care. Nevertheless, it is useful, because it deals with aspects of Dorothy Heathcote's work which most concern this study, and for so long as we keep in mind that these 'episodes' are taken from some eighty-two hours of filmed drama work covering many different dramatic modes of which these examples of the 'living through' mode are only a part, we should be all right. Unfortunately, a film of this kind, by concentrating on only one aspect of the work, can also present an unbalanced account of the dramatic experience and a very narrow view of what counts as drama. As Gavin Bolton suggests, too many teachers are striving to reach the 'living through' mode as though it represented the ultimate achievement in drama work rather than being another means of presenting experience dramatically (though see note 22 to this chapter).

With this caveat in mind, we may now return to the 'short step' into dramatic experience.

Dorothy Heathcote can be seen in this film working with a group of boys who when asked what they would like to do a play about, say 'prisoners of war'. This is what happens next:

D.H. Lets try this then. You're gonna have to be captured as (prisoners/

Boy(s) (Yes, yes.

D.H. 'cause that's what you want.

Boy. Mmm.

D.H. And for this you will have to agree that I'm cleverer than you because there's only one of me and there's fourteen of you. So if you want to be in a prison camp, you'll have to let me take you there. Right?

Boy. Mmm.

D.H. Now, pick up you guns.

And the drama is underway. She lets them know only what they need to know in order to begin: that she has command over them and that she will take them prisoner. She gives them the chance at once to pick up their guns. When discussing this afterwards she said that a start of this kind 'arrests attention' and 'focuses them as a group'. She is concerned, at this stage, to tell them 'what's up' in such a way that they 'straight away grasp the lot'. She seeks agreement, 'Right?', and she gets it, 'Mmm'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971).

We shall follow this piece of drama in the commentary, for it throws light upon many of the points I am concerned to make. Those whose interest is at once

captured by this extract might like to follow it directly by looking at notes 61 and 67 to this chapter.

On another occasion Dorothy Heathcote makes the point even more dramatically, 'This morning we are going to start an investigation into something quite new. Is it possible for you to agree in a moment I will behave as if I am someone else and so also will you?' Betty Jane Wagner, 'Elevating the Written Word Through the Spoken: Dorothy Heathcote and a Group of 9- to 13-Year Olds as Monks', in Theory into Practice, Vol. 24, No.3, Summer 1985, p.175.

This is what it means to concentrate the minds of those involved upon the 'shift', upon the moment of change. The movement into drama is but a step. We move from presenting the everyday experience of teachers working with their pupils to the make-believe presentation of experience. We agree to treat our experience differently. It is this agreement which moves us into drama rather than anything we do and say whilst presenting life dramatically.

'The remarkable thing about teacher-in-role is that it allows the teacher to change into a different gear, as it were, as subtly or as crudely as the occasion seems to require. In this particular instance, I casually "looked through my window" and muttered to myself that I thought I saw "some people" outside my house. This single action and comment implied a huge transformation in but one simple step, for suddenly we were on the edge of non-projected activity - "some people outside my house" places the children in a markedly different relationship to the drama. They are in danger of losing their spectator status. The tension rises as they sense the difference'. Gavin Bolton then describes how he 'opened the door an inch' and how they felt very threatened. '..the meaning has changed, for now they are included in the "dramatic time" and are much less protected'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.136.

'It simply means that we can, by a shift in the head, experience an "as if it were" reality, and for the time perceive it as the real world'.

Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: collected writings, p.148.

Or consider this example of Gavin Bolton's as he said to a class of five-year-olds, '"I don't know what to do; I've lost Tom Thumb; I put him safely in this vase last night and he's gone. What can I do?"', and moved the problem imperceptibly 'into the action of trying to find out'. He points out that 'in this kind of drama situation there is no group concern that impels them, before the drama started, towards a story; there is no question of establishing who "they" were to be and what feeling qualities would be appropriate for "them" to have in a "searching for Tom Thumb situation". The

problem and the possibility of its resolution were enough to motivate the children to enter the make-believe'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.65.

This might be a special example but still we can see the nature of this 'shift' into drama, the agreement to treat experience in a particular way, and to work from within. We do not have to know how they responded to this challenge to imagine how they responded. We can 'hear' them speaking from within the situation as they grappled with the problem.

Even on those occasions when Dorothy Heathcote uses 'discussion' beforehand, it is of a certain kind. 'Dorothy Heathcote will spend half an hour asking questions of a class to examine the life of a particular group before they together assume the attitude of these people in a particular situation. This discussion is not just a lead in, it is a significant part of the whole experience. It is where identification begins'. Betty J. Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.69.

It is rather as if she were 'testing' them into role, getting them involved, and it seems to have rather more to do with drama than with discussion before the drama. Another example of pre-drama work leading into drama is given by Bolton. He talks of 'focus in action' which allows the children 'to bring out into the open how they appear to want to treat the subject; the imagery of "terrible deeds in the classroom" can hang in the air but it is encapsulated in a form at several removes from the action itself'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.95.

Even so, the children's 'accounts' describe actions and are rooted in events. They are presented as little stories or anecdotes and are used to widen the group consciousness and provide a sense of common experience, as well as to demonstrate the focus of their interest. This common background and group interest are aspects of the forthcoming drama, though both should be developed as the work progresses. It is not the same as a discussion beforehand, and it can be compared with the children in the volcano drama who spent the first section of the drama (and the piece we are examining now) sitting around talking of the problems of living by volcanoes. The significant point is, though, that they were not pupils talking with their teacher about these difficulties (as they had been in the earlier section), but 'by-volcano dwelling' children talking to a stranger. In Bolton's piece of 'pre-drama' he was in role as the headmaster and the children were the staff reporting on incidents of violence they had recently observed. In both cases they might be sitting around and discussing, but they were still presenting experience dramatically. They had made the shift from one reality to another. Furthermore, in both cases, the everyday experience of 'teachers teaching pupils' was

left unattended.

Another good example of work which leads naturally into presenting life dramatically is given in an outline of a drama lesson by John Norman. He tells the children the rules of the drama (teacher's chair used when signalling that it is time to come out of the drama for discussion and reflection), he tests and presents their knowledge of 12th century monastic life, describes the context for the drama (Durham Cathedral community in 1120), asks what kind of jobs the monks and nuns would be likely to do and who would be in charge, and asks for volunteers to be Abbot and Abbess. In all of this he is working in the stage of 'scene setting' and focusing their attention upon the dramatic context, the 'shared in common' experience. It is not discussion but the building of belief.

Here, from his account, is the final piece of this section:

'Teacher recaps on the story of the Sanctuary knocker and its meaning. Introduces his own role as a poor sculptor who has heard that the community has decided to have a knocker and will come to seek the commission. Teacher reminds children that unexpected things may happen and to be ready to respond. Agreement to proceed to action. Children set up garden, kitchen, wine cellar, scriptorium and dining cellar. Action begins'.  
John L. Norman, Evaluation of Secondary Lesson, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.54.

41. Of course, we cannot avoid some form of background just as we cannot face life without some kind of biography. We could make no sense at all if we had no experience with which to 'confront' events. The important thing is that this background, this sign to get us going, is given meaning in our drama. In this sense we begin with a stereotype (strangers, prisoners of war, etc.) and end with characters. As Simon Callow says when considering how a part may come to life, 'To begin with you'll probably conventionalise him, see him as a type. You must do this, simply to separate him, stake out the territory. Then day by day you particularise. Once you've caught the bug, though, it'll start to do the work for you: your conscious brain will sit back, while your motor system - yours and his - takes over. Until you've got hold of the character, you'll be in misery: you'll feel false and laboured; the words will cling to your palette like burrs; your body will drag like lead'.

Simon Callow, Being An Actor, p.138.

The significance of this shared background is not just an aspect of drama but of all meaning making activities. 'The creation of and referral to a shared world [of common experience] is a typical feature of many conversations between mother and child, and we believe that it is of fundamental importance. As we

show later, the lack of a shared world between staff and child at school constitutes a considerable barrier to communication'.

Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.83.

The point is that it is not possible to present experience dramatically without those involved sharing a common background of experience. It is this which helps to keep teachers in touch with children.

42. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.18-20.

43. This is, of course, drama in the form of Dorothy Heathcote's 'Mantle of the Expert'. It has many advantages beyond those mentioned here, and for a good account see, Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning', pp.172-180.

44. Indeed, this should become apparent throughout the study, but see particularly, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning Through Drama', paras.9-22.

45. Malcolm Ross, for instance,

'...too many drama teachers I feel are too ready to jump into role to heighten the tension, thereby running the same risk as the art teacher who takes the brush to the child's painting'.

Malcolm Ross, The Development of Aesthetic Experience: Curriculum Issues in Arts Education (London: Pergamon, 1982), p.149.

Bolton argues forcefully against this view in his latest paper but I would like to make just two points in answer to Malcolm Ross. First, if the drama teacher is really concerned to involve the children in the dramatic presentation of experience, he cannot simply 'meddle' in the drama but has to take part in presenting that experience. We have seen, and shall see more forcefully as the study proceeds, the kinds of constraint which this puts upon the teacher. Secondly, the presentation of experience (whether in the everyday or make-believe world) is a collaborative activity and the result of negotiation between those involved. You cannot do this alone, as one may paint alone, and so the analogy is really very weak. Indeed, this reaching for the dramatic presentation of experience puts a very real check upon the kind of contribution that everyone can make and works as a safeguard against the over zealous teacher. Later, for instance, we shall see the children marking out the teacher's role in the drama and showing him what he can say and do as a stranger (see Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.17 and 63). See, as well, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.59, and Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in

Drama', paras.9-19.

Also refer to Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art', pp.7-8.

46. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective' and the section on 'the stock of knowledge at hand', beginning at para.23. See, particularly, para.31 and note 73.

47. 'This view of acting behaviour as no more than role function has taken us a long time to understand. Most drama books write of children 'playing a part', 'playing someone else', 'taking on a character', whereas what is required of children in drama (or at least, in the dramatic playing mode) is that they be themselves, functioning in whatever way the situation demands of them. It might require them to behave authoritatively, submissively, wickedly or shrewdly; the role might be labelled explorer, prime minister, designer or archaeologist, but they will do no more than adapt functionally to the situation of the drama just as they would adapt to roles required in a game - just as they once learnt to adapt to the limited number of roles imposed on them in real life. In drama, of course, the range and subtleties of roles are far greater than in games or life. Because of this the skill required is often very challenging, but it is not the skill of the performer; it is the skill of bringing oneself to function with a degree of maturity that one's normal "life" role does not demand'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.101.

See, too, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', note 47.

48. When working to present experience dramatically it does not mean that those involved have to work only as themselves. The teacher chooses to start at this point but they do not stay here and, as we have seen in the transcript, at later stages they take on roles as guides, priests, sailors, guardians, fathers, wives, husbands and probably more. What is significant is that they present their roles through the situation, through their words and actions. They do not 'take them on' and they do not play parts. Their roles are an aspect of the situation within which they are made visible and meaningful. In this sense they are always themselves when presenting experience dramatically.

49. See para.27 in this chapter.

50. Consider the reference to Dorothy Heathcote's term, the 'big lie' (see para.27 and note 38 in this chapter). Also consider the way in which she asks the children to accept a particular situation (note 40 in this chapter).

51. See page 1, lines 7-9 in the transcript. See, as well, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life',

paras.18-20.

52. Gavin Bolton refers to the problems of getting a group to commit themselves to the dramatic situation and adds that 'when at last it does take place, no-one can doubt that progress has been made'. I would want to go much further for this is a commitment to present experience dramatically, to engage in a form of life and without it there can be no drama. Those involved have to present life from within the dramatic context, and as Bolton points out, the teacher cannot do that for them. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.111.

See, as well, paras.39-41 in this chapter, and notes 55 and 67.

53. We might remember Peter's similar use of the word, 'Africa' at the beginning of the discussion (see Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.21-24). Perhaps even closer to this example is the way in which the children tried to find out (without speaking out of turn) what the teacher of the discussion wanted as she shifted contexts to cope with Ian. This was discussed as well in Chapter Three, para.73.

54. Gavin Bolton, 'The Soldier' (video, University of Durham School of Education).

See, also note 37 to this chapter.

55. This business of "challenging" the children to engage in the dramatic presentation of experience is seen well in this short extract from Dorothy Heathcote's work;

D.H. Have you got a design here or are you designing the whole thing?

Child. <We've..I'm> not really keen on the idea.

D.H. Oh you can't work that way. If I pay engineers you do the job you're paid to do <man>.

Child. Yes.

D.H. \*\*\*\*\*. That's your job.

Dorothy Heathcote, 'The Lister Tapes' (video, Newcastle University Library).

When the child expresses her lack of enthusiasm for engaging in the drama Dorothy Heathcote (who seemed very angry at this negative response) "challenged" her in role. Her initial response, 'Oh you can't work that way', might be taken on both levels (teacher and foreman), but thereafter she is firmly in role, though still demonstrating her displeasure. Her impatience is transformed by the drama and is demonstrated through the drama (See, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.96-101).

Of course, it is possible to see this as an example of a child being forced to present experience dramatically. For, in spite of the child's reluctance, Dorothy Heathcote takes her contribution as if it were

an aspect of the make-believe reality. She refuses to attend to the way in which it also works to make visible the everyday experience of 'teachers and reluctant pupils'. The child is forced, in spite of herself, to take part. This may seem like very heavy-handed challenging. What the extract points to, though, is the way in which contributions may be variously treated according to our concerns and interests. The child may be doing drama against her will, whilst the teacher is using her contributions to present the social life dramatically. If the child is to take an active part in that presentation (as against just being used in the presentation), she must overcome her reluctance first. The distinction is between 'doing drama' and 'presenting experience dramatically' and, as we shall come to see, there is more to both of these than a person's intentions.

We shall look at this in greater detail in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama'.

56. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.36-51, for an everyday and familiar example of such an unsettling experience.

57. This business of agreement is very important, for those involved in the drama must 'voluntarily move the experience in the direction of credibility [in the sense of giving it stability]. This requires a distinct group effort. It is during this phase that the work can most suffer from individual disruptive behaviour; just when the group appears to be committing itself, a strong signal of disbelief from a single member can wreck the chances of a reality being created'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.118.

58. This will be developed in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.9-19.

59. It might be interesting to see here what can happen when the child's attention is not focused upon the dramatic situation, but the everyday experience of teachers and pupils. In this extract from another piece of drama, Dorothy Heathcote is responding in role to a child's suggestion.

D.H. Four wheels at each corner? That's sixteen wheels. That sounds good.

Child. [looking hard at Dorothy Heathcote and trying to make up her mind whether her contribution was right or wrong. She decides that she was wrong, as she hears the teacher say 'That's sixteen wheels', and accounts for her mistake with a gush and an expression of foolishness]  
Oh!

D.H. [sees what has happened and how the child has been misled]

No....it might be better....I don't know whether it's better to have four than sixteen. What do you think?  
 [but the child now totally bewildered and confused, says nothing and Dorothy Heathcote turns to the others].

Dorothy Heathcote, 'The Lister Tapes' (video, Newcastle University Library).

This short extract is interesting on several counts and they all arise because the child has not engaged with the dramatic situation. I do not know whether she wanted four or sixteen wheels on each corner (I am not even sure that she knew) but I do know that she wanted to satisfy the teacher by providing a suitable answer. As soon as she felt that her reply was inadequate she became upset and confused, and 'laughed it off' as a foolish little slip. We have all seen children do this. Indeed, so concerned was she to cope with the situation in this way, that she failed to mark the rest of the teacher's response, ('that sounds good'). If an 'error' was made here, it would seem to have been made by Dorothy Heathcote who, in role, appears to have misheard the child's answer, interpreting it as four wheels on each corner. However, the child is not involved in the dramatic situation and will not come back at Dorothy on this level. She is working in terms of right or wrong answers for the teacher, and that is all. Dorothy Heathcote on the other hand simply wants to know for information, and presumably had no idea in advance of that information how many wheels were involved. All she is looking for is a reply that is apt in terms of the dramatic context, and in this regard both four and sixteen would have been appropriate. However, she does not want a child working as a pupil, so she has another go at engaging her attention in the dramatic context by pointing to her own role and indicating the kind of response that would be adequate, 'I don't know...what do you think?'. You can only invite a person to treat experience dramatically, you cannot make them do so, and this child's attention is not engaged in that way; the pupil cannot cope with contributions of this kind coming from a teacher and so she says nothing. If, though, the child had been working in role as a designer she would have simply put the 'hospital manager' right, and had she nothing to offer, she would have coped with that too, in terms of the drama by saying, for instance, 'We haven't thought of that yet'. Indeed, this was just the way others coped with a similar problem a little later in the same drama. Dorothy Heathcote and this child are here presenting different experiences, and they are interpreting the situation differently. They are developing and focusing upon different contexts. They cannot meet here, for there is nowhere for them to meet. We can only bring them together, afterwards, as we account for what was happening and explain what was

going on.

60. See especially, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.9-19.

61. It might be helpful at this point to return to the example from Dorothy Heathcote's work given in note 40 to this chapter. Having 'challenged' the boys to engage in the make-believe experience ('Now, pick up your guns') she has to work hard, and from the very edge of the drama to get them involved properly. It is the business of 'stage setting' so that everyone knows where they are for, until they do, the drama cannot proceed. Here is what happens next:

D.H. Now, pick up your guns. Now every man gets used to laying his gun down....in a place where he knows he can put his hand on it. So find out how you pick your gun up and lay it down. Just go on. Now just pick it up and get used to the feel of it. It matters. It's all there is between you and the Germans and their guns. Isn't it...really?

Boys. Yeah.

Boy. What (about if you got a bazooka?)

D.H. (They/

We haven't any bazookas. We have ordinary rifles.

Boys. Yeah.

D.H. Is that agreed?

All. Yes.

D.H. Nobody.....start pulling rank or getting bigger guns. Is that agreed?

All. Yes.

D.H. Ordinary, standard rifles have been issued for this job.

Boy. \*\*\*\* .202 pistols.

D.H. OK. Well, .202 or whatever they are.

Dorothy Heathcote, Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971).

Clearly drama in the 'living through' mode is not underway yet, but neither are they preparing before it begins. They are picking up their rifles and getting the feel of them even as they discuss the kind of guns they will have. It is a nice example of being astride the everyday and makebelieve realities and it is hard to know just where they are. The business of the guns must be sorted out, but they have to get beyond this if the drama is to come alive. It is important to appreciate that this discussion arises out of the drama (from the action of picking up the guns) and is not presented as something which must be talked about before they can begin. It is the drama itself which has presented the problem and given them something to think about. See, as well, notes 21 and 40 to this chapter, which deal with other modes of dramatic experience.

62. Only think of Dorothy Heathcote in this regard, as she demonstrated her authority through the giving of instructions ('Now, pick up your guns', 'Now everyone get used...', 'Now just pick it up', etc.), and so managed to 'put the boys in place' as prisoners. She is directing the drama, but she is also building her own role and thereby getting the others to respond to her in a 'proper' way.

63. See, for instance, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.5-7 and 19 in order to appreciate how contributions that are 'recipient designed' may work.

64. See, particularly, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context'.

65. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.3-7. See, as well, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.3-5, and the way we mistrust people who try to tell us how to take their meaning.

66. In the meantime, we might see what is happening in Dorothy Heathcote's piece of drama, for it continues to throw light upon this chapter.

She feels that it is time to move directly into the drama, to get the boys committed to the dramatic presentation of experience, and so, like the teacher of the transcript, she 'challenges' them to respond properly. Her words 'tell them' how to behave.

D.H. Out you Britishers in there.  
 Boy. \*\*\*\*\*  
 D.H. I know how many there are in/  
 Boy. How (many?  
 Boy. (How many then?  
 D.H. The officer will stand up.  
 Boy. Stay down.  
 D.H. So....you have thirteen men and yourself in this house. We know, we have counted them.  
 Boy. \*\* since when/  
 Boy 1. And they're not coming out.  
 D.H. You will send them out through this window.  
 Boy 1. No.  
 D.H. Thirteen guns plus yours.  
 Boy 1. Instead of (taking/  
 D.H. (Fourteen British standard rifles (come on/  
 Boys. (\*\*\*\*\*  
 D.H. You are covered. You have no way of escaping. (Out.  
 Boy. (But we've (got...families.  
 D.H. (No.  
 Boy. (We've got/  
 D.H. (And I'm not here (to waste words.  
 Boy 1. (Sshh. Quiet..if you wish

to be shot/  
 Boy. We've got/  
 D.H. Thirteen rifles plus your own. Thank you.  
 Boy. We'll get/  
 Boy 2. Hands above your heads.  
 D.H. It is your responsibility.  
 BOY. \*\*\*\*\*  
 Boy 1. Get (your knives out/  
 D.H. (Get their hands above their heads and  
 their knives out.  
 [they stand with hands above their heads]  
 Boy 3. One question?  
 D.H. Yes?  
 Boy 3. Have you got a wife and kids?  
 D.H. Yes.  
 Boy 3. I have.  
 D.H. Then we are equal.  
 [clamour, even uproar]  
 All. No.  
 D.H. You are my prisoners.  
 Boy 1. Oh (no.  
 Others. (No.

Dorothy Heathcote, Ominbus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971).

Clearly the dramatic presentation of experience is now underway and those that contribute, contribute in terms of the developing dramatic situation. There is no evidence that they are 'play acting', and what would you point to in their use of language that would indicate this piece was 'not for real'? Of course, many of the boys say nothing, but that is all right for they are waiting until the context is elaborated sufficiently for them to feel 'at home'. However, whilst they stand and say nothing, they still contribute to the group being captured and their inactivity can be interpreted in the light of the dramatic situation. They are contributing in that they are not actively presenting another level of experience; their inactivity is entirely appropriate within the dramatic context. There is also no doubt that Dorothy Heathcote is in control of the drama. After all, she sets it going as she challenges them to take part, 'Out you Britishers in there', and she puts them firmly in place, 'The officer will stand up' and 'You have no way of escaping'. She directs the course of the action, 'You will send them out through this window', and it is her role which enables her to exert this authority over the dramatic experience. However, whilst she enjoys extra 'rights' in the dramatic context they are not those she commands as a teacher and these 'prisoners', despite their incarceration, have 'rights' which the children, as pupils, do not. They can answer back and generally make life awkward for the German commandant and will do so, as they go about the business of presenting themselves as captives. Think only of the way the English officer draws upon these 'rights' to address the German,

Boy 3. One question?  
 D.H. Yes?  
 Boy 3. Have you got a wife and kids?  
 D.H. Yes.  
 Boy 3. I have.  
 D.H. Then we are equal.  
       [clamour, even uproar]  
 All. No.  
 D.H. You are my prisoners.  
 Boy 1. Oh (no.  
 Others. (No.

Then consider whether the child in the classroom could work like this. After all, not all children are reluctant pupils and they may not choose to take advantage of these 'rights' in everyday life.

Of course, in many ways the teacher in role as the German commandant will have a greater degree of authority over her prisoners than she will, as a teacher, over her pupils. However, she cannot use this authority as she can use her authority in the classroom, for she cannot 'overwhelm' the dramatic context and still present experience dramatically. She is constrained by the situation she is concerned to create and, as we shall see later, this determines how far she can go in imposing her own meanings upon the child's learning and understanding. Her control is through the drama and it is through her role in the drama that she exerts this control. She has to fight for her corner, justify her position, and the boys (in their roles) can make her work hard. She has to attend to their contributions even as they attend to hers, for this 'making of meaning' is a collaborative activity and one which cannot be produced under duress. At times it is they who show Dorothy Heathcote the way of prisoners, and their contributions mark out her role as surely as she puts them in place. They depend upon one another and the teacher in role (even as a German commandant) cannot ignore their contributions. She is no longer in sole control of 'what counts as knowledge', and she has to listen to them and take note of what they say,

Boy 2. Hands above your heads.  
 D.H. It is your responsibility.  
 Boy. \*\*\*\*\*  
 Boy 1. Get (your knives out.  
 D.H. (Get their hands above their heads and  
       their knives out.

It is exchanges of this kind which should help us to feel that the business of making situations meaningful is a collaborative activity, and is contained in our ability to converse and to give a sense of structure to our lives. We shall look at the significance of this statement in Chapter Five.

Notes and references to Chapter Five.  
CONVERSATION ANALYSIS AND LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT.

1. As John Heritage records, the 'basic research orientation, with its treatment of the details of talk as an analytic resource, has been summarized by Schegloff and Sacks in the following passage: "We have proceeded under the assumption (an assumption borne out by our research) that in so far as the materials we worked with exhibited orderliness, they did so not only to us, indeed not in the first place for us, but for the co-participants who had produced them. If the materials (records of natural conversation) were orderly, they were so because they had been methodically produced by members of the society for one another, and it was a feature of the conversations we treated as data that they were produced so as to allow the display by the co-participants to each other of their orderliness, and to allow the participants to display to each other their analysis, appreciation and use of that orderliness. Accordingly, our analysis has sought to explicate the ways in which the materials are produced by members in orderly ways that exhibit their orderliness and have their orderliness appreciated and used, and have that appreciation displayed and treated as the basis for subsequent action".

Emmanuel Schegloff and Harvey Sacks, 1973, 'Openings and closings', in Semiotica, 7, p.290.

Quoted by John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, pp.243-244.

2. It is important to appreciate that this term 'conversation' covers more than that normally referred to as a conversation. It is, in the words of Sacks and Schegloff (1973), 'an occasion in which several people take turns to speak'.

Christine Howe, Aquiring Language in a Conversational Context (London: Academic Press, 1981), p.3.

Clearly this means more than simply two people 'having a chat', and the conversation analyst is concerned with talk in a wider sense. He is concerned because it is partly through the organisation of talk that people accomplish interactional business and demonstrate what is going on. As Leiter points out, conversations 'constitute the sense of social structure; the orderly presence of talk is used by people to assure themselves that the other person is talking about an intersubjective social world and not some private world within his head'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.238.

The conversation analysts, therefore, are interested in more than conversation. Nevertheless, the concern of this chapter is with the kind of talk which we (as well as the analysts) would understand as conversation. It is also the kind of talk out of which most dramatic contexts are created.

See, as well, the properties of conversation described by Harvey Sacks and contained in note 9 to

this chapter, and the work of Christine Howe referred to already and looked at in more detail in note 28 to this chapter.

Also, Gordon Wells, Language as Interaction, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and

A.J.Wootton, Conversation Analysis, in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Adult/ Child Conversation, p.99.

All of these people discuss the nature of conversation and describe its qualities.

From an ethnomethodological point of view, 'the basic outlook of conversation analysis can be briefly summarized in terms of three fundamental assumptions: (1) interaction is structurally organised; (2) contributions to interaction are contextually oriented; (3) these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant'. John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.241.

3. P.L.Berger and T.Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966), pp.172-173.

4. 'Context is both established through the use of language and has a reciprocally determining influence upon the meaning of what is said. And it is in this sense that we may begin to consider the conversation itself as the context for the development of meaning'. Gordon Wells, Becoming a Communicator, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.162.

Consider, too, 'reflexivity' described in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras. 42-43.

5. Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.26.

6. H.P.Grice, Logic and Conversation, in P.Cole and J.L.Morgan (Eds.), Syntax and Semantics III: Speech Acts (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

7. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.12-18

See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.12.

And consider, for instance, the way in which adults tend to treat any change in the very youngest child's behaviour as significant, 'his cryings or sounds of contentment are imbued with meaning by caretaking adults'.

Gordon Wells, Becoming a Communicator, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.73.

Newsom is making a similar point when he says, 'Whenever he is in the presence of another human being, the actions of a baby are not just being automatically

reflected back to him in terms of their physical consequences. Instead, they are being processed through a subjective filter of human interpretation, according to which some, but only some, of his actions are judged to have coherence and relevance in human terms.....it is thus only because mothers impute meaning to 'behaviours' elicited from infants that these eventually do come to constitute meaningful actions so far as the child himself is concerned'.

J.Newsom, Dialogue and Development, in A.Lock (Ed.), Action, Gesture and Symbol (London: Academic Press, 1978), p.37.

See, also, note 28 to this chapter, and Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 39.

8. For an illuminating discussion of Grice's 'conversational maxims' see John Dore, Meryl Gearhart and Dennis Newman, The Structure of Nursery School Conversation, in K.Nelson (Ed.), Children's Language, Vol.1. (New York: Gardiner Press), p.352.

9. Here is Harvey Sacks' list of properties of conversation. Talk possessing these properties is recognised and attended to by members as a conversation.

1. Speaker change is minimal.
2. One party generally speaks at a time.
3. More than one speaker may speak at a time, but such occurrences are brief.
4. Transitions from one speaker to another occur with little or no gap or overlap.
5. The basic unit of a conversation is the turn, which can vary in length from a single word or phrase to several sentences. Transitions from one turn to another mark the end of a turn. Hence, transition points can be at the end of single words, phrases, and sentences.
6. Conversationalists do not decide the order of turn taking before they begin conversing. The order of turn taking develops over the course of the conversation.
7. Conversationalists do not decide the size of turns before conversing: consequently, turn size varies.
8. Conversationalists do not specify the length of a conversation in advance.
9. What people say, or what they have to say in a conversation is not specified in advance.
10. Conversationalists do not decide in advance who is to get a certain number of turns in the conversation.
11. The number of parties to a conversation can vary from two to ten or more. Size affects the distribution of turns, for in a two-part conversation the nonspeaker knows that at some point he will become the speaker. In conversations of three or more parties, there is no such guarantee.

If one does not select oneself as the next speaker or is not selected by the current speaker, the turn goes to someone else. Also, in conversations consisting of several parties, there can be more than one conversation taking place at the same time.

12. Talk in conversations can be continuous or discontinuous. Continuous talk occurs when it goes on across a transition place with a minimum of gap and overlap. Discontinuous talk occurs when the current speaker stops and no other speaker starts.

13. Conversations have openings and closings. They are social events with beginnings and endings that can be closed off (i.e., an opening can be closed) or reopened.

14. Repair mechanisms exist to deal with turn-taking errors.

Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (1974), 'A simplest systematics for the analysis of turn taking in conversations', in Language 50: 696-735.

See also, Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, pp.216-217.

The emphasis here is upon the managed quality of conversations in that decisions about the way in which they will develop are not made in advance.

10. In this sense they are 'both context-free and context-specific'; they have application throughout all conversations and yet are actively generated within particular conversational exchanges.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, pp.218-219.

11. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.217.

12. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.218.

13. For a good account of this quality of conversation at work in everyday interactions, see; Carole L. Menig-Peterson, The modification of communicative behaviour in preschool-aged children as a function of the listener's perspective, in Margaret Donaldson, Robert Grieve and Chris Pratt (Eds.), Early Childhood Development and Education: Readings in Psychology (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), pp.69-74.

14. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context'.

15. 'An image I like is to think of social life as a kind of conversation. All our actions, not only our gestures, and our talk, are creating a kind of conversation, an endless conversation into which individuals enter, make their contribution to the common discourse, and eventually fall silent, though some may go on contributing to the conversations of mankind long after they are dead, by writing books, becoming legendary, and so on. Babies are immersed in this conversation. We construct our worlds in talk of

various kinds. Every exchanging of symbolic objects is a kind of extension of that conversation, I believe. So we have, philosophers, or psychologists, or sociologists, to look at the properties of talk, the form of conversations, if we want really to get to the heart of what it is to be a human being, engaging with other people in constructing a social world'.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.159.

The final sentence of this extract provides a good justification both for this study and for drama.

16. In an interesting paper, Catherine Garvey looks at some of the ways in which children's play is structured. She even considers the ways in which they indicate that they are playing, and that a particular situation is not to be taken for 'real'. She shows through careful observation and analysis that children's 'social play is in fact ordered, and governed by certain conventions. Although it would be a mistake to suggest that children are fully aware of all the social conventions that Garvey describes, they certainly learn to play according to these conventions. At times, they are quite explicit about the nature of the proposed play. For example, Garvey discusses the importance of the distinction between pretend play and reality, and illustrates the way in which children make this distinction. Those familiar with young children at play will certainly have heard the opener: "Hey, lets's pretend that..." which children use frequently to delineate the boundary between play and reality. Garvey also draws attention to more general conventions of social interaction which children exhibit during play, including turn-taking skills which regulate such social interactions. Overall, the paper reveals the extent to which preschool children are adept at dealing with various social conventions'.

Introduction to Catherine Garvey's paper, Some properties of social play, in Margaret Donaldson, Robert Grieve and Chris Pratt (Eds.), Early Childhood Development, p.11.

See, as well, the reference to Catherine Garvey's work in Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 36.

17. See, for instance, the work on sustaining dramatic situations in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.123-151.

18. Jerome S.Bruner, Early Social Interaction and Language Acquisition, in H.R.Schaffer (Ed.), Studies in Mother/Infant Interaction: proceedings of the Loch Lomond symposium (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp.272-273.

19. Jerome Bruner, Early Social Interaction, p.287.

20. Jerome Bruner, Early Social Interaction, p.287.
21. Jerome Bruner, Early Social Interaction, p.288.
22. Grieve, Tunmer and Pratt define language awareness as 'the ability to reflect upon the structure and functions of language as opposed to simply using it to comprehend and produce sentences'.  
R.Grieve, W.E.Tunmer, and C.Pratt, Language awareness in children, in M.Donaldson, R.Grieve, and C.Pratt (Eds.), Early Childhood Development, p.290.
23. Gordon Wells, Becoming a Communicator, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.101.
24. Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes make this point when they give examples of conversations in which 'neither adult nor child is dominating the conversation, but both are equally and independently bringing up their own memories of the event. At the same time, they are both paying careful attention to each other's contributions, and they acknowledge and respond to what the other person says'.  
Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.85.
25. Catherine Snow, Mothers' Speech Research: from input to interaction, in C.E.Snow and C.A.Ferguson (Eds.), Talking to Children: language input and acquisition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.37.
26. Catherine Snow, Mothers' Speech Research, p.37.
27. Catherine Snow, Mothers' Speech Research, p.38.
28. Christine Howe, Aquiring Language in a Conversational Context (London: Academic Press, 1981).  
This does not mean, though, that we have to take their meanings, but rather that we have to treat their contributions as meaningful. Rom Harre shows how this may work.  
'When mothers talk to babies they continually embed their babies in a conversation in which the baby is treated as if it had a full complement of moral and intellectual qualities. [The mother] treats the infant as if it had the moral and psychological attributes which she has ascribed to it in her talk. Bruner has suggested that mothers have theories about how human beings should be and what they are trying to do is fulfil the theory in the person of their infant. The way to do this is to anticipate the full panoply of social and psychological competence. They do not talk about their infants' intentions; they provide them with them, and then they react to the infant as if it had them. It is thought that the infant appropriates slowly from out of the conversational matrix those ways of

talking for its own purposes, so gradually it learns to do intention-ascribing talk for itself, of itself'. Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, pp.168-169.

This, of course, may be linked with the business of treating talk and action as meaningful and then managing to make them so. Indeed, as Harre goes on to say, 'everything that moves, be it mechanical or animal, gets sucked in'. The difference is that these non-human 'movers' do not manage to appropriate much from the family conversation for their own use.

See, as well, Gordon Wells, Language and Learning: An Interactional Perspective, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning: An Interactional Perspective (London: The Falmer Press, 1985), pp.23-25.

Note 7 to this chapter is relevant, and also Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 39.

29. This is the kind of constraint which is put upon teachers who engage with children in a conversational exchange, the kind of constraint which is put upon teachers involved in the dramatic presentation of experience. See, for instance, Chapter Four 'Getting Drama Going', para.45 and note 45, and Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.17 and 63.

30. 'the meanings conveyed by utterances are brought about in the process of actual conversations, via the mode in which the "conversational work" is done in situ: parts of the conversation are ways in which the conversation itself and thus also the meanings of its component utterances, is glossed or characterised'. Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.

31. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.83-98.

32. Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.22 and note 39 on being 'condemned to be meaningful'.

33. Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.36-42.

34. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.

35. See Jerome Bruner, Early Social Interaction, pp. 271-288.

36. See, for instance, Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, (London: Heinemann, 1986) and Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning. See, as well, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning Through Drama', note 106.

37. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 69.

'Another way of expressing the same distinction is to say that some parts of what a speaker says merely make reference to features which he takes to be already present in the interpenetrating worlds of speaker and hearer. Others have the status of information in that they are presented as if likely to change the world of the hearer'.

David Brazil, 'Discourse Intonation', in Discourse Analysis Monographs No.1 (Birmingham: English Language Research, 1975), p.6.

'In interactional terms the known is not redundant (it may sometimes be unsaid or implicit) it serves as a link between the two participants'.

Gunther Kress, Learning to Write (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), p.25..

38. Gunther Kress, Learning to Write, p.23.

39. Lucy Tubb (Lecturer in Education, School of Education, University of Durham) commented here that 'Ian discovered this in relation to the very specific and maybe miscalled thing that is a conversation between children and teachers. If he had made his comments in a conversation outside the teacher/pupil relationship the response to his contribution might have been very different'. This is exactly the point I am seeking to make. Those extra rights taken by the teacher (even in a relatively informal teaching situation such as a discussion) prevent large parts of the exchange from being conversation. This, though, is an aspect of teaching, not learning and it is interesting that even in the discussion there were those occasions when the interaction shifted towards a conversational exchange. As, for instance, when they 'found' themselves talking about the Superman film. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.75-77.

In fact, of course, it is highly likely that had Ian contributed to a conversation outside of the classroom in the way in which he contributed here, then his 'make-believe' attitude to experience would have landed him in more difficulty. We are encouraged to be imaginative in school but not in our 'real' life engagements.

40. Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.130.

41. As Leiter points out (Ethnomethodology, p.215), the sense of social structure applies to conversations as well as social order. Conversations must preserve a sense of social structure.

'Talk is reflexive to participants because it is seen as fundamental to "normal scenes". I am not referring to the content of talk but simply its presence during speech and the expectation that particular forms

of speech will give a setting, the appearance of something recognisable and intelligible'.

Aaron Cicourel, Cognitive Sociology, p.55.

'The properties of everyday conversations constitute a sense of social structure for they are a description of peoples' experience of conversations as patterned, orderly phenomena. As such they constitute the sense of social structure; the orderly presence of talk is used by people to assure themselves that the other person is talking about an intersubjective social world and not some private world in his head'.

Kenneth Leiter, Ethnomethodology, p.238.

42. Of course we are confined in this instance to those methods and practices which are recoverable from the transcript or which may be discerned by listening to the taped recording of the drama. Much of the information necessary to make sense of what is going on is not recoverable from a transcript, though clearly there is enough here for you to see what is happening (and 'fill in' for yourselves much of what is missing). You can follow the narrative without having access to the participants' gestures and expression for they are 'indicated' by that narrative.

There is, of course, sufficient information in the transcript to demonstrate the managed quality of the meaning making process.

See also, para.65 in this chapter and note 73.

43. In a very useful introduction to a book devoted to examining the way language works in an interpersonal context, the editors point towards this 'managing of meaning',

'Whilst it is obvious that language is learned through interacting with other people, what has not always been recognised is the extent to which young children interpret language in ways influenced by the particular setting in which the language is uttered. Generally, children seem more concerned to discover what a person means than to determine precisely what his words mean'. '....the extent to which young children interpret language in this interpersonally context-dependent way when they are presented with formal tasks - tasks of the sort commonly used by teachers in school' has only recently been appreciated. 'We may call these tasks "disembedded", in the sense that they are not embedded in the context of everyday human interaction, where goals typically arise in a spontaneous way. Disembedded tasks are not spontaneous - they are "set" by the adult, and children must in turn "set" their minds to them with deliberate constraint and self-control'.

Margaret Donaldson, Robert Grieve, and Chris Pratt (Eds.), Early Childhood Development, p.4.

See too, M.Donaldson, Childrens' Minds (London: Fontana, 1978).

See, as well, para.19 in this chapter.

44. Pamela Fishman draws attention to the way in which sex roles are displayed in conversational structures. She shows how women 'must do extra work to ensure that topics of their choice will be addressed in conversations'. She points to some of the techniques they are forced to resort to, and also notices that children 'utilise the same techniques in talking to adults that women use talking to men'. Children, she claims, have 'limited rights in conversation with adults and these rights are defined by the adults by exercising the related rights to discipline children and teach them how to behave properly'.

Pamela Fishman (1978), 'Interaction: The Work Women Do', in Social Problems 25:397-406. This work is also referred to by Warren Handel. See Warren Handel, How People make Sense, pp.141-142.

Nowhere is this unequal distribution of rights more obviously demonstrated than in the talk between teachers and their pupils (and especially, presumably, between male teachers and female pupils).

There is an account of how these 'inequalities of rights' are demonstrated as a 'child guide' comes into the presence of the 'priests' in the drama (Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.12 and 21-27.

45. See paras.38-52 in this chapter.

46. See, for instance, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context' and Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play' in which we shall consider the 'shift in rights' which takes place as the children present guides, priests, guardians, husbands and wives, fathers, etc..

47. 'Pupils are consistently treated as consumers of knowledge in a context where they have little status and few rights....a large group of pupils has to behave for considerable periods of time as one subordinate participant. Their main communicative role is to listen'.

A.D.Edwards and V.J.Furlong, The Language of Teaching (London: Heinemann, 1978), p.24.

48. Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, 'A simplest systematics', pp.696-735.

49. Warren Handel points out, and interestingly from our point of view, that the possibility of a third party selecting the next speaker is ignored by Sacks. Warren Handel, How People Make Sense, p.133.

This may be a fairly common occurrence in group teaching situations, and we may be reminded of the

teacher of the discussion who worked hard to ensure that people got a chance to contribute, 'Hey..hey..just a minute, let Pete..let Peter finish.'(p.11: 25-26). Of course, too much 'heavy-handed management' of this kind will destroy the conversation and shift it towards something else; a teacher led discussion, for instance.

50. H.Sacks, E.Schegloff and G.Jefferson (1974), 'A simplest systematics', p.704. Reprinted in Jim Schenkein (Ed.), Studies in the Organisation of Conversational Interaction (New York: Academic Press, 1978).

51. Consider, as well, the way in which Peter worked to make his contribution acceptable. He could not just speak when he had something to say. He had to take his turn, make his turn. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.91.

There are many similar examples in the transcript but see, particularly, Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', para.68.

52. For a description of 'adjacency pairs', see paras. 42-44 in this chapter and, more particularly, H.Sacks, E.Schegloff and G.Jefferson, 'A simplest systematics', pp.696-735.

53. We might be reminded here of the strange formulation ('Stop being yourselves...well be yourselves') by which the teacher indicated the way they were to work in order to present the 'by volcano dwelling' children dramatically. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.34, and page 21, lines 7-10 of the transcript.

54. We shall see this happening even more clearly when we look at the way the guides are 'excluded' whilst yet taking part in the drama. See Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.24-28.

55. See para.53 in this chapter.

56. We might remember, also, how the teacher of the discussion managed to get Peter to 'interrupt' her in order to finish that which she could not finish. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.86.

57. Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning'.

58. H.Sacks, E.Schegloff and G.Jefferson, 'A simplest systematics', pp.696-735.

59. See, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.22.

60. See, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.
61. See, for example, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.16-18.
62. Just refer, for a moment, to some of Sack's rules of conversation (outlined in note 9 and paras.32-33 in this chapter) and you will see what I mean.
63. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.
64. See paras.38-39 in this chapter.
65. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.8 and note 8.
66. See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100, and the 'Agnes account'.
67. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.  
See, as well, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.20-34 and paras.106-111.
68. Of course, some drama teachers might feel that this teacher is letting Shirley 'off the hook' by not getting her to face the consequences of by volcano living. There are two points I would wish to make. First, the teacher is working with these children for the first time and has only been with them for a matter of minutes. At this stage he knows little about them beyond their knowledge of volcanoes, and he would like to feel more confident before he asks them to confront directly the consequences of by volcano living. He is asking them, through their position, to 'make light of' their conditions. Later, he might expect them to probe much more deeply. Secondly, he is anxious that they should not over react and then over act. He knows how easily they can slip into 'adventure drama' of the kind watched on television in which all the excitement of the moment is enjoyed for itself and touches them emotionally not a bit. This does not mean that drama should not be exciting, but that we should not search for excitement. In the end, of course, whether or not you feel this teacher has failed to get Shirley to face up to her position does not affect the purpose of this chapter which is to show that those involved in creating dramatic situations work through the structure of the exchanges.
69. Something of the significance of this statement will be examined in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.23-34.
70. On another level, of course, we also understand what

is going on in terms of drama in schools. It is an interesting question (and one to which we shall address ourselves throughout the study; see, for instance, Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 36 and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras. 70-82) as to how these people indicate that they are doing drama, and are not 'really' involved in the situation they are concerned to present. What do they do to show us it is drama? After all, we are not likely to be confused.

71. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.

72. Through, for instance, 'syntax, lexicon, stylistic register of speech', and in 'speech prosody, in body motion, gaze, postural position and interpersonal distance'.

73. See, Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', where life on the mountain comes alive through our ability to build contexts not directly recoverable from the transcript. Think only of a radio play, and the kind of work the listener must do with the words that he hears.

See also, the 'irony piece', mentioned in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.16-18, and how we may be alerted to features of the context in which the words are spoken by the way in which apparently contradictory statements are juxtaposed.

See, as well, note 42 to this chapter.

Notes and references to Chapter Six.

PUTTING PEOPLE IN THEIR PLACE AND ELABORATING THE SETTING.

1. Pages 31-78 of transcript. Also refer to the notes on the background to this piece of drama in the introduction to the transcript in Volume Two.
2. See, for instance, references to being 'bound to be meaningful' in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', notes 39 and 83.
3. Phillips, in looking at the peer group conversations of children about to move into secondary education, found that, '...utterances in which speakers state their intentions as directly as this appear to be comparatively uncommon. It is likely that this is because an uncompromising statement of intentions is perceived as the prerogative of those speakers who have the authority to take control of events'. He concludes, 'It seems clear that, in peer group discussions, children tend to avoid saying outright what function they intend their words to perform'.  
Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip-service: Discourse Development after the Age of Nine, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.66.  
He is looking for examples of words which have performative force, such as 'agree' and 'promise', and, of course, by saying 'I promise' you are promising. The point is that we often try to use other words and phrases as though they carried this kind of compulsion. It is an attempt to get others to take our meaning, but it often goes awry.
4. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.22, and John Heritage, Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology, p.117.
5. Consider how the teacher's opening remarks in the discussion were 'misinterpreted' by Ian. Telling what we mean does not count for much, we have to show what we mean as well. See, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.2-7.
6. See, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.36-41, and the introduction to indexicality.
7. See, as well, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.38-39 and note 76.
8. See, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.23-34.
9. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.30-32 and note 44, for an account of the nature of these rights. Also Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.7, and Chapter Three, 'Making Sense

in Everyday Life', note 34.

10. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.

11. Of course, this 'situation' is nothing more than those significant aspects to which our attention is drawn through the sense making activities of those involved. There is no more but that to which we attend. What form, for instance, would an 'insignificant aspect' take? Why, it would not be noticed for it would be part of a world of extreme discontinuity. Still, as I said in chapter one, it is difficult to talk about the 'managed social life' without giving it a stability beyond the methods and practices of its production. See Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.16.

12. How are we inclined to see our experiences? We believe the words we use put us 'in touch' with what is happening, that they are used to describe a situation that is, in a sense, beyond those words. Because we 'speak the same language' and use the same words we believe we must be dealing with a 'common experience' which those words directly describe. The words are used as a 'standard' to give stability to experience, and the common experience is then used to invest our words with meaning. We need this 'trick' to keep going.

Drama, narrative, accounting, anecdote, story all serve to make the world meaningful in so far as they are treated as reflecting reality. However, the stability they seem to reflect is part of the structure of the account, it is part of the telling, and not to be found beyond that telling. Without this kind of accounting there would be no sense of reality.

We cannot, as it were, stand aside and use words to describe what is going on as if the words and the actions they describe were separate and distinct. By treating words as actions (as we are doing here, as we look at the way in which they are found to be meaningful in our daily practical living) we may come to see that we are, willy nilly, involved, and that our words, far from standing for something else, are an aspect of that which is going on. We cannot escape this, we cannot stand aloof and comment beyond the action ("Now, I'm going to be perfectly honest with you"). Our words and our actions commit us, we are condemned to be meaningful.

This will be developed in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama'.

13. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.9-16 and paras.26-31, and the accompanying notes.

14. It is even more institutionalised than 'schooling'. But see Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.73-75

15. 'When we do drama relating to social events requiring ritual, we similarly are controlled by its form and, to the extent to which it seems necessary to retain the appropriate ritualistic actions, so there will be a degree of modelling behaviour. But here again the creation of drama is not dependent on some precise imitation of an established ceremony, but rather on capturing an appropriate ritualistic style'.  
Gavin Bolton, 'Drama As Art', p.9.

Gavin Bolton makes a distinction between 'modelling' and 'managing' situations in drama; it is a distinction which is similar to that of finding meaning in our drama by reference to a 'real world' beyond our dramatic activities and working to make them (in themselves) meaningful.  
Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art', pp.3-5.

16. From an historical perspective, we might feel that first men looked to 'God's word' for basic meaning, and then to science, as a means for describing the world as an objective reality which could be explained and found to be meaningful. In both cases, language was seen as simply a system to carry that reality (we might think of the work of Wittgenstein, who in his 'Tractatus' looked for those 'essential points' at which language touched a world that was given to us). However, Wittgenstein like Galileo, had a change of heart, and the scientific method has failed to uncover a basic reality, and seems, if anything, to now hypothesise a universe founded upon chance and happenstance. Perhaps at this time we must to be content with Dom Cupitt's 'necessary fiction' whereby we have to treat words and actions as meaningful in order to find them so. This can be rather frightening, and may not help us 'to sleep well o'nights'. On the other hand, it may help us to cope with that fear by letting us see it for what it is, another aspect of the 'managed accomplishment'. What then are we, and where does that leave us? Are we no more but a collection of methods and practices? Well, we may be no more (look ahead, for instance, to the discussion concerning the creation of character and personality in paras.76-83 of this chapter).  
Ethnomethodology can appear a soulless perspective. We may feel there is a kind of gap at the heart of our being which is left unattended, and for which it cannot account. Do we not feel that there is more to life than that which is produced by social interaction? Well, of course, we like to think so, but at this point we have to make up our own minds as to where we stand and as to how far we wish to go. Ethnomethodology will not reveal the meaning of life, only, it seems, its basic meaninglessness.

B.M.Bullivant talks of knowledge in terms of an Orthodox Jewish school in Australia, and points not only to academic knowledge but also to the corpus of

religious knowledge which is 'transcendentally derived or divinely revealed knowledge, and [which] is immutable'. It is referred to as 'super-empirical knowledge'.

B.M. Bullivant, Knowledge at Lubavitcher School, in Sara Delamont (Ed.), Readings on Interaction in the Classroom (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), pp.82-83.

17. One of the great comforts of church going is, surely, the familiarity of the service: the heightened language, the ordered course of the ceremonial, the regular use of initiation and response, the sense of tradition. All of these things serve to provide a feeling of stability as they put us in touch with our past and our future and bring to the present order and calm. It is not really surprising that services should have this effect when we consider the way in which our social experience has to be managed from moment to moment and with no relief. Of course, this is not to say that during such a time we can just sit back and let the service take over. All kinds of negotiating may take place in church.

18. This priestly language is unusual in that it may be highly structured and institutionalised, but then so can be the language of the teacher, who finds himself drawing upon the same forms and structures again and again.

It is rather easy, as well, for those engaged in drama to 'pluck' meaning from the world by drawing upon stereotypes in order to provide immediate characters. When they do this, though, the results can be superficial and untrue. Even more important, drama of this kind can demean the very life it seeks to emulate.

19. As well as pointing to the teacher's 'strangeness', these activities also serve to elaborate the children's roles as teachers. There are a number of practices which they draw upon and by which they are seen to be engaged in teaching: displaying members' knowledge, offering reassurance, taking charge, evaluating progress and so on. It is interesting to see the 'reversal in roles' displayed through this drama, with the children teaching and the teacher learning. This will be examined in some detail in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama' (see, for instance, para.37).

20. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

See, as well, note 24 to this chapter.

21. 'A participant in a game adopts a role based on his conception of others' roles, what George Herbert Mead (1934) calls a "generalised other": a child cannot play hide-and-seek unless in "hiding" he understands the function of the "seeker". His role only exists in terms

of other roles in the game. As Lawrence Stenhouse (1981) puts it, there has to be a mutuality'. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.100.

22. Of course, we can be helped. But though these 'priests' might be given long robes to wear, altars to work behind, books, incense, a darkened room, these things will count for nothing unless they are continually given significance by those who make use of them.

See, also, para.40 and note 32 in this chapter.

23. We should note, too, that their contributions as priests are also aspects of their presentation of 'pupils in school doing some drama'. This 'being lost for words' (in terms of pupils who do not know what to say next), is seen as 'not being lost for words' (in the dramatic context of priests and supplicants). So, their contributions work on two levels, and serve to present them as priests 'who are never lost for words' and children doing drama who 'are lost for words'. We can 'see' both of these in what they say and do, and the way in which we 'take their meaning' will depend upon whether we wish to treat the situation as a presentation of dramatic or everyday experience. See, as well, note 49 to this chapter.

The way in which contributions work to illuminate different levels of meaning as they are interpreted in different contexts, is a primary concern of this study, and will be looked at again and again. See particularly, though, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-95 and 96-99.

24. The way in which these shoes are given significance through the dramatic presentation of experience is quite interesting. They are introduced first as the teacher is about to come into the presence of the priests and realises that they 'aren't very clean'(p.33: 06-08), and they work in the drama to indicate the importance of the impending encounter, the stranger's sense of inadequacy and Beverley's comforting nature. Now they become significant as they are the stranger's shoes removed in the presence of the priests. The act of removing the shoes elaborates the context even as it brings the shoes to our attention and gives them significance. At the end of this section (p.40: 07-14) they become a mark of the stranger's inadequacy and clumsiness as he forgets to take them with him. Finally, at the end of the drama they are used to point to the stranger's dependency upon those about him ('Where did you leave your shoes?' p.77: 27, and 'But you've forgotten your shoes.' p.78: 10), as the guides and the guardians take him in hand and treat him like a child.

These shoes are presented as shoes (as they are taken off, as they are left behind) but they are also given extra significance in the drama. They are given

symbolic significance as they elaborate the stranger's condition but that significance changes as he stands before the priests and as he stands before the guardians. This extra significance is managed through the drama (as, indeed, is their 'shoeness') and it alters as the dramatic context is variously presented. It is appropriate that the stranger should remove his shoes in the company of the priests and that appropriateness contributes to the meaningfulness of the stranger/priest encounter. It is inappropriate that the stranger should be shoeless on the mountain but his 'shoelessness' is made appropriate in that he is presented as being inadequate. These shoes leave footprints running through the drama but the prints are never the same from moment to moment and are managed at every stage of their presentation. When they are not so managed they fade away and appear again only as they are brought to our attention. These shoes can tell us a lot about the nature of the managed accomplishment and the way in which experience is made visible and meaningful.

See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.52-66.

25. See para.20 and note 25 to this chapter.

26. This is another example of the way in which we contribute in our small way to the 'universal knowledge' of priestliness, and to what counts as 'proper usage'. See, as well, Chapter Four 'Getting Drama Going', para.5 and note 4.

27. Of course, one might reasonably point here to the common purpose of those involved, to present life dramatically. But still, if the drama is to be coherent, if we are to see the situation they present as being meaningful, then we have to believe they are contributing to a shared in common experience; it has to have internal coherence and we have to feel they are taking part in the same drama. See, as well, paras. 56-75 in this Chapter.

28. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 12, and, for instance, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama' paras.35-51. There are examples, though, throughout this study.

29. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.52-66 and pages 59-63 in the transcript.

30. Dorothy Heathcote refers to this when she asks, 'what is implicit in the relationships of the people in this situation?' Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.50.

31. Rather as some of the descriptions of drama given in the first chapter seemed to indicate. See Chapter One,

'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.12, for example.

32. In fact, of course, even such a stubborn addition to one's features as a false beard does have to be continually presented (and attended to) if it is to remain relevant, if it is to be noticed. We could quickly get 'used' to it and then it would be discounted for much of the time and only brought back into view as it was considered and made meaningful.

33. This requirement that contributions should be appropriate is expressed in a pertinent comment by a child from a group of second and third year juniors when he says, 'You have to do what the play needs'.

Tom Stabler, Drama in Primary Schools, p.13.

See, as well, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34, for a discussion on the nature of 'appropriateness'.

See, also, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.17-18, and note 31, and all of Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', which shows (like this chapter) how contributions are made appropriate.

The concept is, of course, at the heart of the 'interactive meaning making process'. Further, this spirit of 'aptness' is an aspect of the managed accomplishment which works to accommodate and make sensible every contribution. Contributions are made appropriate, they do not simply arrive in that state. Consider, for instance, Ian's remarks which were so often inappropriate in terms of the teacher's 'hypothetical type discussion' but made appropriate in terms of 'a teacher trying to cope with a muddled child'. It is a very perverse utterance which cannot be coped with at all, and too many might point to madness.

See note 60 to this chapter.

34. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.93-95.

35. We shall look at the nature of reflection in the presentation of experience later (Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.43-49) but, as Gavin Bolton points out, reflection from within the dramatic experience should be the concern of all drama teachers.

'Perhaps the most powerful is the reflection that goes on at the same time as the drama, so that as things are happening and as words are spoken, their implications and applications can be articulated legitimately as part of the drama itself'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.127.

This is what it means to realise a teaching concern within the dramatic context, and it is what the teacher is trying to do here. See, as well, note 44, to this chapter.

36. 'The projection of feeling onto a structure is often given the generic term "tension". When in football someone takes aim at the goal we say there is a sudden heightening of tension; when it is all over after a noble save by the goalie there is an equally sudden slackening of tension'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.91.

As we shall shortly see, Julia continually keeps this 'edge of tension' before the stranger as she gets him to consider the reasons for them being there and waiting. But it is often more subtle than this. For instance, consider the tension provided by the guardians in the last section of the drama (pp.67-78 of the transcript) as they work to convince the stranger of their good intentions whilst arranging for his downfall. And then, what of the children trying to avoid tension by bringing matters to a head, interpreting the stranger's signs of wanting to back out as backing out? Is the teacher trying to hold the tension whilst the children are trying to get on to the climbing and the battles on the mountain, and the point at which it may be released?

See this chapter, parás.59-75, and Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play'.

37. We are now within Dorothy Heathcote's 'brotherhood of all those who have waited'. It is this 'brotherhood code' which enables us 'to transcend quickly the notion that drama is acting out stories, [for] "what is implicit is the relationship between people and their situations". [Furthermore], because each of the brotherhoods focuses on the inner significance of the outer action each contains within it a potential tension'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.49.

38. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.42-45.

39. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.62, and Shirley's 'I shouted but they never heard me'. See, as well, para.64 to this chapter, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.115, and Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.40.

40. This is the kind of learning which Wells refers to as 'spontaneous learning' and which does not depend upon formal provision. Rather, as he says, it makes use of the 'home-like strategies of "guidance and contingent responsiveness"'.  
Gordon Wells, Language and Learning, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.21.

41. Of course this waiting is unique but it is presented by drawing upon the stock of knowledge at hand through

which all who have waited make their condition plain. We cannot be 'seen' as waiting if others cannot interpret our words and actions as those of one who waits; nor can we 'wait' in our very own and private way. In this sense, this particular act of waiting is part of the great spirit of waiting, part of a universal experience. It also, of course, contributes in some small measure to that universal experience.

42. Michael Fleming, drawing upon the work of James Britton, describes situations in drama where 'children not only use language as "participants" but also remain "spectators" of their actions'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama'.

We may feel that this 'detached' view of our own condition is an aspect of the dramatic presentation of experience through which we consciously treat the social life as a managed accomplishment. However, it might be a characteristic of 'waiting' rather than drama, and one of the means (say, considered reflection upon the state of our lives) by which we show we are waiting and have time to stop and think. Certainly, we do approach much of our everyday experience with this detached attitude and in the form of a spectator.

See, also, James Britton, 'Language and Learning' (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), Chapter 3.

As the children in this drama tell stories in this way, they are within Phillips' 'experiential style of talk';

'...when they begin with "I remember..." or recount an anecdote starting "once when...", or enquire "you know so and so...", they are saying to each other something like "please treat the words that follow as something to be shared and savoured and contemplated". At these points where...experiential talk is developed and sustained, a framework is provided which encourages children to turn away from the immediate and to reflect, hypothesize, evaluate, and order. They are encouraged, in fact, to become actively involved in their own learning'.

Terry Phillips, 'Beyond Lip-service', in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), 'Language and Learning', p.77.

Statements such as these have important implications for teaching and learning in drama, and we shall look at them in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'. See, as well, note 35, to this chapter.

43. See, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-95.

44. We shall be looking at this piece of work with the tape recorder in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.97-99.

45. See, for instance, Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play'.

46. See this chapter, paras.28-38.

47. Usually though, and even in 'real' life, we do know what is expected of us. Just consider, for instance, a family deciding to see friends off at the railway station. Once they have decided to do this ('We'll see you off' 'No really, there's no need' 'Don't be so silly, we're coming to the station') they all know what will be expected of them. They know they have to work in a particular way in order to present 'saying goodbye at the railway station', and it is not enough just to turn up. So they will help with luggage, re-check the time of the train, lead their guests to the right platform, perhaps buy them some tea and a bun, talk of their next meeting, and so on. Eventually, they will have to say their 'goodbyes' and the way in which they do this will depend upon the relationships they enjoy (get this wrong and it could be very awkward), the time they expect to elapse before they meet again, the pressure of finding seats, etc. The point is, they will all have a fairly general idea of what is going to happen and they will know, in a general way, what they must do to make it happen. This is like saying, 'you be guardians, and you be guides, and the guardians will try to stop the guides and their charge from climbing the mountain' (see Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.4-6). So, of the family seeing their friends off, 'you will be leaving and we will be staying, and we shall say our goodbyes at the railway station'. How each situation is presented and developed will depend upon the situated work carried out by each of those involved, but they all set out with a high level of expectation and there is work to be done if it is to be realised.

48. See note 47 to this chapter.

49. This 'change of heart' by the teacher in role seems to be particularly disturbing. It may carry with it a residue of the teacher's own role of being 'the one who knows'. John Norman describes some drama in which he was in role and decided to challenge the children's resolve. He had a change of heart. His description of their reaction is interesting and familiar;

'Many of the children are shocked at this change of heart, call him a coward and tell him to leave. Others say he cannot leave because he cannot be trusted not to talk'.

John Norman, Evaluation of Secondary Lesson, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.62.

This is a good example of contributions working on different levels as they are interpreted within the everyday and dramatic contexts. See note 23 to this

chapter, and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-95.

50. This is the kind of constraint that is put upon the teacher working through dramatic situations. He has to listen and take note of the others if the drama is to be sustained.

See paras.17 and 63 to this chapter, as well as Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.32, notes 45 and 67, and Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.59. Indeed, it will be referred to regularly during the remaining chapters of this study.

51. See para.50 and note 39 to this chapter.

52. As we look at the work these children do with their teacher are we uncovering Peter Slade's 'natural form'?

"Between the years of seven and twelve we find extreme spiritual beauties and intense sensitivity, at times equalling in skill the talents of supreme artists - the adventures, attempts and creation have their forms of skill (many of them now conscious) and all their beauty. And yet they have what Clive Bell has called 'significant form' - and it has been suggested that that which has significant form is Art".

Peter Slade, Child Drama, (London: University of London Press, 1954), p.68.

I think we might be, but I should want to question whether this 'natural form' were an attribute of art and not simply of 'meaning making'. Are we really seeing something different here? Is this 'aesthetic meaning' over and beyond 'meaning' and the appreciation of meaning making? And, of this extract from Slade, I would not want to suggest that children's drama is infused with a kind of 'naive form' over which they have no control any more than I would want to say this form is the result of careful, thoughtful, craft-ful, action. It is much too subtle and complicated for that, and is 'teased out' rather than 'put in'. This is all part of seeing 'meaningfulness' as an interpretation rather than an intention. I am not surprised that Slade saw 'form' in the children's work but that may be no more than discovering how it is meaningful and accepting it as an achievement and a managed accomplishment. We find such 'form' when we treat everyday life in this way.

See, as well, para.86 to this chapter, and Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.76-78.

53. See as well, para.25 to this chapter.

54. See Chapter Seven 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.132, and Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', para.71.

55. This business of bringing about a sense of agreement

seems to occur at particular stages within interactions. For instance, it was seen as the people involved in the discussion realised what was required of them and demonstrated this realisation through their agreement (see, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.27). It was also used at a similar point in the drama as the the children realised the nature of the situation they were required to present (Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.43-47). In both cases, those involved are concerned to show they know where they are, and they do this by showing where they are. They work to give the situation stability. This kind of activity also occurs after 'threats' to the drama have been successfully managed, and then it works to reinforce the context in the light of those threats. This seems to be what is happening here, and we shall look at further examples in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.30 and 33.

56. It is interesting to wonder about the drama which takes place as a matter of course beyond the hearing of the teacher. We are inclined to think that everything happens around us, or within that piece to which we are attending. Of course, we may believe that other things are taking place, but if we cannot get in touch with them, either directly or later through talk and discussion or by listening to a taped recording, then they are bound to count as nothing for us. This, in itself, points to the nature of the managed accomplishment. We can only be aware of that which engages our attention, of that which we can 'make sense'. In this instance, it took a tape recorder to bring those other activities within the teacher's ken.

See, also, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.147-148.

57. 'Commonsense suggests that in addition to picking up clues from speakers' intonation, facial expression, etc. and from the denotational meaning of words in the context, listeners are also scanning the conversation for textual information about the way in which speakers would like their words to be heard. What they are listening for, and what we as commentators must identify, are textual markers which hint at a speaker's reason for speaking. These markers may be single words, or they may be syntactic structures.

Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip Service, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls, Language and Learning, p.67.

Such markers are being used by the teacher in role to indicate that he is making an excuse.

58. Dorothy Heathcote talks of 'surprises in drama' and relates the experience to everyday life. Here is a description of her 'prisoner of war drama', from which we have already quoted at length (see Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', notes 40, 61 and 67). This

description is by David Davis;

'The captured British soldiers steal the keys from the German guards and plan to escape. But the Germans have planted a stool pigeon. At the crucial moment when they are planning last minute details of the escape the German Commandant asks the stool pigeon to reveal who has the keys, "Hans, where are the keys?". Now the boys knew there was a stool pigeon amongst them, what they did not know was the moment of using him. This comes as a real moment of experienced drama that works as art. Dorothy Heathcote working as the creative artist has manipulated into being a strong central symbol - the keys - they stand for freedom (the boys are actually in a remand home, keys will already be highly significant in their lives). The keys have been won and are to be lost. They stand for hope and despair. The timing of the entry of the commandant will surely have been the teacher's. The particular dramatic action of the stool pigeon revealing who has the keys is an outstanding example of a moment of creative drama reaching the level of art where the particular dramatic action resonates universal meanings....it stands as a moment for all those people in history who have been betrayed, seen their vision at least temporarily shattered. David Davis, 'Drama for Deference', p.31.

59. 'To be a given kind of person.....is not merely to possess the required attributes but also to sustain the standards of conduct and appearances that one's social grouping attaches thereto. The unthinking ease with which performers consistently carry off such standard maintaining does not deny that a performance has occurred, merely that the participants have been unaware of it'.

Erving Goffman, Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday, 1959), p.75.

Consider, too, the work that Agnes had to do in order to 'pass' as a woman (Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100).

60. Or consider the statement, 'now she's shown her true colours'. Either way stability of personality is maintained. It is like her to do that, and it is not like her to do that. If it is neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic behaviour, then we can cope with that, too, by treating the actor as a psychopath and not responsible for his actions. His behaviour is then seen as erratic and meaningless. The point is, though, that in every case we have to make decisions and we have to decide whether a contribution is to be treated (and managed) as characteristic, uncharacteristic or destructive.

61. Character begins to assert itself even as situations are made meaningful. In the early stages of this drama, the stranger was aware of Shirley's 'no nonsense, let me

explain' approach, whilst Beverley appeared to him as much more protective and comforting,

'There's no need to be [nervous]' (p.31: 03)

'Oh it doesn't matter [that his shoes are dirty]' (p.33: 08). Though neither of the children were aware of this difference at the time, the stranger felt it acutely and it influenced his perception of the situation.

Interestingly, it was Beverley who drew our attention to this whilst we were listening to the taped recording afterwards. She said she didn't feel as kind as she sounded (nor, presumably, as kind as the teacher in role as the stranger took her to be). She was surprised to see what she was like for she took herself to be acting differently (which only goes to show that our intentions are no guide to others' interpretations). The meaningfulness of a situation seems to take place somewhere between the two, or where they meet at the point of interaction.

A further point of interest in drama of this kind is the extent to which the children's characters as they are presented in everyday life impinge upon the dramatic context and their personalities within it. That they do (and that there are ways in which these children demonstrate that they are themselves within the drama) points once more to the blurred distinction between the make-believe and everyday experience. Of course, our ability to 'see' the children in the characters of the drama, is a managed accomplishment and part of our need to sustain their identity beyond the work they do as guardians, priests and guides. We must uphold the stability of the everyday experience and one of the ways in which we do this is to demonstrate that the children are themselves acting parts. Think, for instance, how comments such as these serve to achieve this end, 'Wasn't she good? I would never have known it was Sarah'. And then, what of 'She tried but she was awfully miscast', or 'Paul was just Paul; but Paul is always Paul'? There are many ways of showing that we are to treat some aspects of the managed accomplishment as make-believe and thereby give stability to our everyday world.

See, also, note 49 to this chapter.

62. The way in which the language can demonstrate character and feeling is brought out well in the following discussion:

'Ben Kingsley: It makes me shake, this language. It actually makes me shake. It is so strong, that if I let it push me, it's like getting a little vial of something and whacking it into your arm. It works on you.

Roger Rees: Yes, the language made you angry. Good, the language made you angry. We did an interesting thing there, didn't we? We worked the wrong way round. We started with the language and then went

to the intentions...occasionally it's valuable to start with the text and the language only'.

John Barton, Playing Shakespeare, pp.60-61.

Michael Billington wondered how it was possible for a person like Peggy Ashcroft to find within herself the experience and feeling to play such parts as Hedda Gabler and Margaret of Anjou. In reply, Peggy Ashcroft said that 'it is the words and actions of the character, the accounting, the explanations for the actions and not some inner feeling'. Of course acting (and understanding another human being) would be impossible if we had always to seek some inner feeling residing deep inside ourselves and according to which we could recognise what was happening. Rather we can get in touch with ourselves and others through the language we use and by which we feel we share experience. In other words, the ability to 'simulate this tigerish quality' comes from the ability to use words properly. Of course we can search for psychological truth, but in the end as Beckett pointed out, 'the only meaning [is] to say the words'. We cannot get beyond what was said and done and neither do we need to in order to account for human activities.

Dame Peggy Ashcroft talking to Michael Billington in 'Dame Peggy: A Portrait of Peggy Ashcroft', Channel Four, 24th December, 1986.

63. This section gives detailed support to some of Michael Fleming's work on 'emotion'. It shows how his analysis has application.

'An emotion is what it is, not simply by virtue of its intrinsic characteristics as a feeling but also by virtue of its relationship to its object and to its situation' (Fleming, p.249). The children are not just indignant, they have to display feelings within a context in which it makes sense to interpret their actions as those of someone who is indignant. 'Emotion words are in this sense part of the situation' (Fleming, p.248). Further, 'the emotion is not induced by an internal trigger but emerges from the context and the individual's evaluation and apprehension of that particular situation' (Fleming, p.253). This 'evaluation and apprehension' will, of course be, influenced by the individual's previous experiences, as will his contributions to the situation within which the 'indignation' is displayed. Such an account puts emotions fairly firmly in the 'public domain', and treats them as an aspect of the managed accomplishment rather than as some kind of 'inner turmoil'.

This is not to say that we cannot be asked to play, say, a jealous person and that we cannot embark upon our drama with such a character already 'in mind'. Indeed, as Simon Callow made clear (Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 41) this might be part of that 'shove' (Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.27) needed to

get us going. The point is that it is not, in itself, enough, for we have to give meaning to that label 'jealous person' through our activities in the dramatic context. So, too, in our everyday experience, where our activities are constantly 'seen' against expectations concerning our personality.

'In the drama it is necessary for the individual to sustain himself in some way as a jealous person in the course of the drama. He will sustain an image of himself and cultivate a particular attitude of mind of one who is jealous; he will begin to formulate the role prior to any particular action which betrays his jealousy'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into

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Drama', p.268.

But still we have to remember that such a person is jealous in situations in which his jealousy is displayed or within which his jealousy is 'kept hidden'. Once again, it seems important to recognise that he cannot simply label himself jealous and leave it at that; it is not enough to concentrate upon jealous thoughts. If his jealous disposition is to have any meaning it must be grounded and developed within a public context.

Consider in this regard the way in which Shirley's 'caring character' is consistently displayed by the collaborative work of those involved in the drama. This would seem to apply just as forcefully in the presentation of everyday experience as in dramatically produced contexts. Indeed, this is why it is possible to say that 'a jealous man may have feelings he is not aware are feelings of jealousy' (Fleming, p.261).

Jealousy is not some internal upset like a touch of indigestion, nor is it just a response to a subjectively apprehended context. It is an aspect of that context, part of the way in which that context is made visible. 'Dispositions [may] give direction to behaviour' (Bolton, p.6), but they are also characterised by that behaviour and we judge people by the way they talk and act, rather than the way they are disposed to act. What meaning could a 'disposition' possibly have beyond contexts within which it is displayed, how could we get in touch with it, how describe it?

See, Gavin Bolton, 'Emotion' (Mimeograph, University of Durham, 1981), p.6.

The point is clearly made by Midgley, '....fear, greed and the like are not just feelings, sensations. They are attitudes...Saying that somebody has a feeling is not claiming a hot line to his private experience; it is finding a pattern in his life'.

M.Midgley, Beast and Man - The Roots of Human Nature (London: Methuen, 1980), p.345.

And neither can we studiously peer into ourselves in order to see what we mean, or who we are, nor conjure up some kind of feeling beyond a context within which that feeling makes sense.

64. Consider, for instance, this account of the way in which 'mantle of the expert' may work;

'In mantle of the expert the power of communication is invested with the group; the teacher does not assume the role of the main communicant. The traditional role of giver of information is relinquished in favour of becoming a member of the group and sharing in the group construction of knowledge. The child now becomes the expert and the teacher assumes a more flexible enabling role.

The position of the teacher as an enabler from within the group is perhaps the cornerstone from which an open-ended communicative network evolves. This switch separates the role of the teacher from a giver of knowledge to an enabler of knowledge. The child is inside the structure, taking an active part in the process. This position in the process is seminal to the generative dynamics of this pedagogy and is its *raison d'etre*'.

Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning'.

We are attempting to uncover here, the methods and practices by which this 'switch' operates. We are showing how it works.

Consider also, the way in which it may be seen to underpin some of Fleming's work, as referred to in note 63 to this chapter.

65. Peter Slade, Child Drama, p.25.

66. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.199.

67. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.

68. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', and also Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', para.76.

69. David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton Interviewed', p.14.

70. David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton Interviewed', p.14.

71. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.276.

See also, note 42 to this chapter.

72. See para.52 in this chapter where we looked at the 'spectator' aspect of the 'waiting time', and also Chapter Seven 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.100 and the point at which the children 'challenge the teacher'.

73. I have focused in this chapter upon social interaction within conversational exchanges. It would, of course, have been possible to do a 'pure language'

study of the material, a linguistic account of the dramatic presentation. That is beyond my scope at the present and will have to await another opportunity.

Notes and references to Chapter Seven.

MEANING AND UNDERSTANDING IN DRAMA

1. See, Chapter Five, 'Language Management and Conversation Analysis', paras.25-52, and pages 22-23 of the transcript.

2. And, of course, there is no end to this work, in that contexts are managed and may always be further elaborated. There is, as Polyani argues, a tacit or implicit dimension to all knowing which cannot be specified or articulated. Further, the ability to integrate and apply knowledge is largely a tacit process and draws upon the indexical qualities of talk and action.

'.....owing to the ultimately tacit character of all our knowledge, we remain ever unable to say all that we know, so also, in view of the tacit character of meaning, we can never quite know what is implied in what we say'.

Michael Polyani, Personal Knowledge Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), part three, p.95.

Similarly, and in the words of Taylor;

'..we know what we mean, but no one can say just what they do mean'.

D.M.Taylor, Explanation and Meaning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.110.

3. See para.3 and note 1 in this chapter.

4. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 69, and Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.20 and note 37, for the connection between 'that which is "given"', and 'that which is made of that which is "given"'.

5. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.32-33.

6. Of course the grammatical structure (which we have not looked at) serves to give stability to the world and helps us to see a 'reality' beyond our words. Think only of the simple subject-verb-object form which seems to reflect something beyond the sentence it serves to describe. In this sense, as well, our language gives structure to our experience.

7. There may, or may not, be more than we can make of things. The 'world' may, or may not, be real beyond our perceptions; we cannot know, and it is futile to ask. All we may sensibly do is look at how it appears as real to us, through the ways in which we speak and act.

8. See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.10-13, and note 39.

9. We might even think of a naturalist treating the

activities of, say, ants as being explicable, and then going on to find them so.

Consider, too, the way in which we treat inanimate objects as being sentient and their actions as being purposeful.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.169.

10. There is, of course, no word for such 'things' which does not give to them the significance of events. This is the problem of coping with the ineffable in terms of our language. The very use of words gives a sense of stability, so what am I to say? I know only that it is that about which we cannot speak, yet I have to talk so you must bear with me and at least accept the power of words to create form out of nothing. I speak a word and, at once, I have form. See, too, Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.16, and the difficulties people have had in describing such 'uneventful events'.

See, as well, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', note 11.

11. This 'predicting' is in the sense that when something has happened we can trace back through a series of events to show how it happened. We may never find out why a plane crashed, but we do not doubt that there was a chain of events which lead to that crash. And we do not doubt that, in principle, we could have foreseen that crash by following the (hypothetical) chain of events in the other direction. It is this that lies behind statements of the form 'It was an accident waiting to happen' and, indeed, is the only reason why we bother to try to find out what happened anyway. We trust that such knowledge may help us to prevent the same thing occurring again.

12. Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, pp.80-85.

'It was Eisenstein, I think, who made a short demonstration film showing various emotive subjects: a beautiful girl; a sumptuous meal; a yacht on a placid sea; a young child; a car crash; a body in a coffin etc; and between each shot he showed a young man in close-up reacting to each of the subjects. He later admitted that he had used precisely the same shot of the young man each time - it was the viewer who read into his face the expected emotion'.

Donald Sinden, Laughter in the Second Act, p.67.

13. Even after they discovered that they were talking about two different Katies, they were not then put in touch with the 'reality of the situation', for the presentation of 'two Katies' is itself a managed accomplishment. Indeed, the agreement to present two

Katies and the presentation of two Katies may be seen as a means of coping with a 'reality threatening' situation. There is not a way in which we can get 'in touch' with the two Katies beyond the work done in order to present them as being the same but different.

Consider, for instance, the work done to give Shirley an identity beyond the presentation of that identity. See, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.76-83.

Think, as well, of Agnes and the work done to present 'her'. See, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100.

14. These are direct quotations from Shirley and taken from the discussion about the drama mentioned in the introduction to the transcript in Volume Two.

15. See paras.23-34 in this chapter.

16. See note 33 to this chapter.

17. If such people persist in 'contributing' in this way, they may end up in an institution with others who do not know how to present a 'shared in common' world but seem to go along in their own sweet way. Of course, whilst they are allowed to do so, they represent a constant threat to the facticity of the social world, but when they are locked away and shown to be inadequate then they serve to uphold that same facticity. It is a sad situation.

See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 12.

18. We might remember the 'guardians', who managed to be dangerous and not dangerous at the same time. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.30-38.

19. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.67 and note 55 where the children work to reinforce the drama after it has been threatened. See, too, Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.44.

20. See Chapter Five 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.32-33.

21. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 12.

22. Think only of the teacher who had to 'keep going' that her discussion might work, that her presentation of teachers and pupils should stay visible. It was clearly not enough just to say what they were going to do. See, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.

23. In order to participate in a social environment (take part in a form of life) and through this participation present that environment, a person 'has to employ language and gesture appropriate to the context in which he finds himself - he may shout "Halt!" or give a salute on an army parade ground, but not at a picnic. In other words there is a publicly accepted code of conduct which he is expected to perform'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.123.

But it is more complicated than this, for part of what makes an army parade ground recognisable as an army parade ground is people shouting "Halt!" and giving salutes. Furthermore, it is quite possible to have a picnic in the middle of an army parade ground without being seen as soldiers. In other words it is not simply a matter of contributing appropriately in terms of some absolute standard such as, this is a picnic so therefore you must behave and act in a 'picnicish' manner. Rather we can be seen as having a picnic by the way we talk and act. The context is indicated by the way we contribute and within that context are our contributions seen as appropriate. Of course we can 'butt against' the context, say by shouting "Halt!" in the middle of a picnic, but in treating that contribution as inappropriate we are also making it sensible. It is not seen as nonsense (unless someone persists in throwing out random remarks, in which case they might be hastily removed until they can contribute in a sensible way) but as an interruption and we wait to see what lies behind it as the context is developed to take account of this new contribution. We can cope with it (account for it) in all kinds of different ways before we have to assume we have a lunatic amongst us (perhaps our disruptive contributor is fed up with a long and boring monologue delivered by one of the company at the picnic, perhaps he is testing a theory about the social construction of reality, perhaps he is calling to his friend, James Ault, to come and join the picnic, perhaps he is recounting an anecdote of his army days, perhaps...). The point is, that all involved will do everything they can to elaborate the context in order to make sense of his remark before they are forced to treat his contribution as disruptive. They will do this because they work on the assumption that what he says is said in 'good faith' and with an intention to speak sensibly. Our contributions point to the context within which they are to be seen as meaningful. It is more dynamic than the quotation from Gavin Bolton seems to imply. It is also much harder to pin down.

24. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.26.

25. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.42-43, and also Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.12-15, 'The Dazzling

Performance'.

26. We shall consider shortly the levels of meaning which may be presented as we make everyday and dramatic experience visible. See paras.96-101 in this chapter and the 'The Dramatic Transformation of the Everyday Life'.

27. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.62-83.

28. Consider examples of 'non negotiation', uncovered in Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.35.

29. Furthermore, it is firmly rooted within the drama itself and has no significance beyond that drama. As Cecily O'Neil points out,

'Symbolic objects are difficult to select at the beginning of the work but may emerge from it'.  
Cecily O'Neil, 'Imagined Worlds', p.160.

Fleming's discussion on symbolism in Harold Pinter's play 'The Caretaker' is also interesting in this regard. He quotes Pinter:

"I start off with people, who come into a particular situation. I certainly don't write from any kind of abstract idea. And I wouldn't know a symbol if I saw one".

This from an interview with Kenneth Tynan, and quoted by Martin Esslin, The Theatre of the Absurd (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.280.

This should help us to appreciate the importance of the action in the creation of meaning. It also brings out the significance of interpretation in the making of meaning, as those involved work to make sense of what is going on. This is the way in which I find this drama to be so meaningful.

'The point is that objects and actions in the play accrue a deep significance in the way they are presented in the play without losing their essential realistic meaning in the context of the particular situation in the play. The nature of the dramatic art form is to transcend but not to leave the particular'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.284.

Is this an example of transformation by the drama (see paras.96-101 in this chapter)? It also seems to connect with levels of meaning (beginning at para.67 in this chapter); for instance, do those involved in the dramatic presentation of experience work on the level of people in a situation (Pinter's starting point) whilst others, and especially those with the time to probe deeper, see extra significance in what is going on? Is it the difference between presenting a form of

life, and seeing how that form of life is presented, between 'meaning' and 'aesthetic meaning'?

30. Of course, they could have been told to bring in some bones and a tombstone (as, indeed, they 'planned' to do in the 'waiting time', discussed in paras.93-95 in this chapter). But that would not have been enough to make them significant in the way that these are significant. That would be like putting a 'Marks and Spencer' badge on someone and then leaving it at that. We have to do much more than simply set people going.

Consider, for instance, how the shoes had to be made significant (Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', note 24).

31. We shall return to this 'generative force' within the dramatic presentation of experience (and which seems to be at the heart of all meaning making activities) as the chapter (and study) proceeds. See, for instance, para.124 in this chapter.

32. This is a good example of the teacher learning within in his own teaching situation (a point to which we shall come back in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.37, for example).

33. '..if you don't go past them the gods will think you're no good'.

This touches the stranger upon a point of honour. The preservation of one's self respect may be the motivation that drives actors to contribute properly and in an appropriate way. Harre suggests that the upholding of honour could be the principle impulse behind our behaviour, one towards another.

'From what one knows about cultures of the past and remote cultures of the present, from history and anthropology, the search for honour and the humiliation occasioned by the loss of it seems to be a recurring, dominant, human theme; the institutions that subserve this, the ritual devices by which honour is lost or gained, the rituals by which such losses and gains are publicly acknowledged to have been achieved, these are the institutions which one finds in almost every culture, however inverted, subverted or perverted they may be.

If one takes the idea of the search for honour as the guide, and looks at institutions and activities which in our society have sometimes seemed to be mysterious, or even perhaps not social at all, then one can sometimes get a glimpse of something quite exciting behind the facade of apparent meaninglessness'. Rom Harre then considers the 'anti social' activities of some elements of football crowds and points to the 'moral order' which such groups have, and within which 'people gained status and honour and resisted humiliation by passing up the scale of respect'. He

concludes, 'Whatever else people may do, the search for honour is a very central activity. It may even have predominance over the maintenance of life itself'. Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, pp.166-167.

It is interesting to look at the contributions to this drama in terms of the actor's concern to uphold his honour (think of the priests who did not want to appear ignorant and the child who did not want to be treated as foolish). This may be behind our concern to sustain dramatic and everyday experience, and we shall reconsider it later in this chapter (See, 'Sustaining Situations in Drama', beginning at para.123). It might even lie behind the 'rights' we enjoy in situations and the way in which these rights are upheld. It certainly ensures that we are concerned to contribute appropriately, for nobody likes to appear foolish.

Margaret Donaldson emphasises the importance of children having a positive sense of their own value and concludes: 'If we do not genuinely respect and value the children, I am afraid they will come to know'. Margaret Donaldson, Children's Minds, p.114.

34. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.241.

35. 'The notion of aesthetic meaning does not interpret the meaning of drama in terms of mere content or external form but reflects the fact that drama operates by virtue of an integration of those factors which contribute to meaning'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.241.

It is certain that we could see this happening as we looked at people putting others in place and elaborating the dramatic context, in Chapter Six. But could we not also see it in the discussion which took place before the drama? Would we want to characterise that as an example of aesthetic meaning as well?

Similarly, those terms which are often used by drama teachers to bring out the unique quality of the activity (focus, tension, symbol) are grounded in our everyday experience, and that should serve to give us pause. May not these be qualities of the activity of 'meaning-making' rather than 'make-believe'? Do we not see all these things as we look for the ways in which situations are presented and made meaningful in everyday life? Does not the aesthetic quality creep in as we attend to life and the ways in which we make it meaningful?

Consider, also, Bolton's, 'key aspects of theatre form; contrast, tension, surprise and symbolisation [which] moves [drama] to the level of working in an art'.

David Davis, 'Towards a Theory of Drama in Education: A review of Gavin Bolton's new book' in SCYPT Journal 6,

1980, p.12.

The conscious manipulation of the form and structure is part of everyday experience as well as make-believe experience. Consider the way in which the teacher used the structure of the conversational exchange to influence and guide the course of the drama (Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.30-52), and the way Julia used it to 'challenge' the teacher (see this chapter, paras. 100-101), and always remember, as well, Garfinkel's study of Agnes, the 'practising methodologist' (Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100.

We shall return to this in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.12-19.

36. See, for instance, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.11 and paras. 35-41.

37. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, paras.154-155.

38. Refer, for example, to Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.35.

'To understand something, I suggest, is to know how to relate it to its structure or to the structure of which it forms a part, element or constituent. In a chaotic universe there would be no structures other than the laws of chance. The world we live in, because it is not chaotic and so has regularities and structures, permits us to structure it in different ways. Our attempts to structure, classify and categorise may sometimes resemble inventions more closely than discoveries, but they are always restricted by what the world permits. Here by "the world" I mean not merely the physical world but the social world also, which includes societies, institutions, people, works of art, texts and languages. Language is part of the world and understanding language is not distinct from but is part of understanding the world'.

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education (London: The Macmillan Press, 1987), p.64.

Whilst not necessarily sharing Cooper's conviction about the structures in the world, I do feel that this connection between understanding and structure is important and helpful. The ability to fare forward is the ability to work with, and contribute to, the structure of the context. Whether or not that structure reflects structures in the world is another matter and one to which it does not seem possible to provide an answer. What sort of structures would Neil Cooper point to as examples; that the moon is round, appears to be the same size as the sun and always presents the same face to the earth?

39. Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.19-25.
40. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras. 19-25.
41. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'.
42. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras. 19-25. See, as well, note 40 to this chapter.
43. In Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.9-19.
44. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.38-52.

45. Gavin Bolton might be concerned by statements of this kind.

'For a teacher, drama must be a first-order experience - her vested interest is in the educational and aesthetic welfare of her class'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.112.

But that does not stop her realising her teaching concerns through the drama by working to present experience dramatically. This point will be discussed fully when we look at the notion of 'teaching by stealth' in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.21.

And consider too, this statement,

'One man's second-order is another man's first order experience.....[and] sometimes an activity may be both simultaneously'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.111.

Gavin Bolton, whilst looking at some of Dorothy Heathcote's work (see 'Bronze Age People' described in detail in his book, pp.173-180) shows how within dramatic activity several layers of meaning may be presented. He refers to 'double, if not treble "framing"'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.176.

46. See this chapter, paras.86-95.

47. As perhaps we might feel when reading a passage such as this from Gavin Bolton. 'Drama can only function when an actor (using the term broadly here to mean participant) uses himself in time and space (action) to invoke some meaning that is not present in actuality'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.58.

What is this meaning 'not present in actuality'? Is there not only the meaning made manifest through our actions, as we draw attention to the context through which our words are to be taken? There is no more but what we do, no more but the presentation of dramatic (make-believe) or everyday experience. It is of further

interest, of course, to discover how we indicate the way in which the situation is to be taken; whether it is to be treated as real or make-believe.

What, I wonder, is the 'actual context'? I may know what Gavin Bolton means when he uses the term, but if his actual context is, like the fictitious one, a 'managed accomplishment' and the result of the work done by those involved to make it visible, then how can we make sense of descriptions such as this, 'Drama is a metaphor. Its meaning lies not in the actual context nor in the fictitious one, but the dialectic set up between the two'?

Gavin Bolton, Towards A Theory of Drama, p.128.

We can make sense because we agree to treat one of the contexts as 'actual' and the other as 'fictitious' (and Gavin Bolton spends a lot of time, whilst working with very young children, in making sure they are in agreement about which is which. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 37). They may not, of themselves, be different, only in the way in which they are treated.

Gavin Bolton also talks of children in drama 'functioning in whatever way the situation demands of them. [They] will do no more than adapt functionally to the situation of the drama just as they would adapt to roles required in a game - just as they once learnt to adapt to the limited number of roles imposed on them in real life'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.101.

There are several points which worry me here. The first is the phrase 'once learnt' which implies that the roles are in some way 'labelled' and wait to be picked up and learned. Perhaps it fails to do justice to the continuous work which has to be done in order to sustain a role. We do not learn how to be a pupil, and 'there's an end of it', as the phrase 'once learnt' might seem to imply; indeed, the role itself forever changes. I am also concerned about the suggestion that there is a 'limited number of roles imposed [upon us] in real life'. In the first place, it does not describe the work done by those involved in presenting roles (suggesting, as it does, that they are simply imposed upon us). Secondly, whilst I appreciate that his suggestion that there are a 'limited number of roles' available to us in everyday life is designed to bring out the way in which those involved in drama can function in as many roles as may be brought to mind, it does leave the impression that the number of roles available to us in everyday experience is 'fairly limited'. Yet our days are spent in continually shifting roles and re-affirming and developing those roles as we do so. This is not in the sense (either in our everyday or dramatic experience) that we are 'ourselves behaving differently in different situations', but in the sense that our very identity is maintained through treating the situations as different.

So we behave, and are treated, differently according to circumstances, and we are as we are treated and as we behave. We manage to preserve our sense of identity in spite of our various roles by presenting a kind of inner 'me' which remains constant and true to itself even though it will be forced to put on many different faces. We achieve this by 'indexing' the altered nature of our surroundings in order to 'account for' our change and cope with what would otherwise be an overwhelming threat to our sense of identity. But it would be hard to find some 'inner being' beyond the work done by us as we function in role (see note 53 to this chapter).

Consider, as well, the way in which Shirley's character was presented in the drama (Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.76-83.

48. In treating our drama as make-believe we are consciously pointing to the work done by those engaged in presenting the situation. We are putting some emphasis (as participants or observers) on the managed quality of the meaning making process, rather than on the 'living through' or 'it's happening to me' quality. Conversely, when we treat experience as 'real' we are emphasising the more passive qualities of those involved, as they feel the presence of an insistent, pervading reality within which they have to cope. But the meaning making business is neither real nor unreal, and the methods and practices by which we present experience are no more but methods and practices. Contained within these methods and practices are the means to indicate whether or not we are to treat a particular experience as real or fictional, and one of these is the extent to which we demonstrate either the 'managed' or 'received' quality of the experience.

There are, within any experience, the two elements of 'I'm making it happen' and 'It's happening to me', and part of the way in which we indicate the nature of the experience is through emphasis upon one of these two aspects. So, of dramatic experience Bolton can ask that we should not neglect the element of 'It's happening to me', whilst being confident that all involved are aware of the managed quality of the experience. Similarly, when looking at everyday experience it is much harder to bring out the quality of 'I'm making it happen'. Both, though, are aspects of meaningful experience, and if either of them are neglected by us, then the nature of 'meaning-making' will be obscured. You cannot just set up drama against an 'objective reality' and leave it at that.

49. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', and Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going'.

50. One might think here of signs and the way in which they are made and kept meaningful. A sign is

meaningless unless it is consistently and regularly regarded and acted upon. A 'stop' sign, for instance, is only a stop sign for so long as people stop when they come upon it. If people regularly fail to take any notice of the sign then it will fail to signify. Of course, there is room for people to ignore the sign should they choose to do so and deliberately keep going when told to stop, but if this happens too often then the sign will lose its significance. It is not the sign which, in some way, means stop, and it is not enough simply to say this sign means stop and then leave it to do its work. It is the activities of people who regularly do stop when confronted by this sign which make it meaningful. In the same way, wearing a badge with Marks and Spencer upon it does not make a person a Marks and Spencer assistant, rather the activities of persons with such badges upon them invest the badge with meaningfulness. Further, these activities will be in a state of continuous change, so that one can say no more but that the meaningfulness of such badges is the way in which people who wear them talk and act. We cannot get behind this and find some kind of absolute significance. Of course signs do have a kind of stability, some more than others, for most people have learned how to take them, how to behave in their presence, and by acting appropriately they reinforce the significance they have. It would be hard for one person to effect a change in use for a public sign, and possibly dangerous, but people can. They can do so in the manner in which they treat it. Indeed, one might wonder whether we could tell whether a sign's significance had altered when it means no more but those things which people say or do when confronted by it. How would we be able to recognise a change?

'Every sign by itself seems dead. What gives it life? - in use it is alive. Is life breathed into it there? - Or is the use its life?'  
Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, para.432.

'If we had to name anything which is the life of the sign, we should have to say it was its use'.  
Ludwig Wittgenstein, The Blue and Brown Books: Preliminary Studies for the Philosophical Investigations (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972 ed.), p.4.

51. Think of Rom Harre's members of Oxford University who, though all asleep, may yet wake up the next day to find that 'a recognisably familiar institution exists again', in spite of a lamentable lack of attention. Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.164.

See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 17.

52. It is interesting to see how even drama teachers who

have come with the purpose of seeing some drama may fail to see it if they are building the wrong context. Apparently this seemed to happen quite regularly when people watched some of Dorothy Heathcote's later work. David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote interviewed'.

An example is also referred to by Gavin Bolton when he explains how the "as if" frame can 'often be so sketchily drawn that one can hardly recognise it'.

"Let's put them [the children's bronze age pictures] up on the wall as if in a gallery.....", Dorothy [Heathcote] suggests. They do this and proceed to walk round the walls. The "as if in a gallery" gives a slight but significantly different perspective to the looking - and drama has started. The pupils' behaviour may not be outwardly affected; certainly no passer-by is going to perceive a drama lesson going on; but the opportunity for metaxis, the special state of mind that permits them to see a "gallery" wall instead of a classroom space has been "casually" offered by the teacher'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.170.

This stepping into drama need not be such a dramatic event; indeed, even those involved may hardly know it has happened. See, also, Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.27-31.

Furthermore, and interestingly, the reverse can be true. I recently watched a student teacher doing some language work with a group of junior children. It so happened it was 'Comic Relief Day' and the children were dressed as clowns. The teacher was dressed as Batman in tights, swimming trunks and mask. Yet beyond all of this they had agreed (with some reluctance on the part of the children) to continue with lessons as normal in the morning, and in spite of all appearances still managed to present teachers and pupils and soon stopped seeing the incongruity of the situation. This special state of mind was operating, and it enabled them to see 'teacher' and not Mr.Warbrick dressed as Batman.

53. When the doctor works in this way, he is treating that 'strange and mysterious being' which we think lies behind the teacher and the patient. It is as if we had a kind of basic identity, an inner 'me', which goes through life doing different things, like teaching and acting, being ill and growing old. Rather, the ways in which we talk and act and the ways in which we are 'put in place' by those with whom we talk and act, serve to provide the experience of a stable identity.

Think of Agnes having to present and sustain her being as a female member of society (See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100), and, also, note 47 to this chapter.

54. How do we make particular aspects of the managed accomplishment (our sense of experience) seem real?

This question has run through the study and time and again we have had glimpses of the ways in which it is done. Consider the predictability and regularity of everyday life, the mother showing the young child what he 'means' and 'intends', the way in which large areas of the child's experience are treated as 'only play' and how they are indicated as such, the strategies used to cope with threats to the world's facticity, the presentation of character, the drama, the make-believe. The study is concerned with making life meaningful, visible and real and it is the question which lies behind all that we have done.

55. 'Human beings are potentially creative, capable of creating new worlds as well as sustaining old ones, yet much of their energies go to the maintenance of routine forms of conduct because they find it hard to believe that there are alternatives - that things need not be as they are'.

John L. Norman, 'Learning To Be Able', in London Drama, Vol.7, No.1, p.9. This is a quotation from J.P.Hewitt, Self and Society - A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology (London: Allyn and Bacon, 1984)

By looking at what they have done, may not those engaged in the dramatic presentation of life, see more clearly that 'things need not be as they are'? If they see what has to be done in order to give a sense of stability to the social life, they may come to understand something of the nature of that life, and the responsibility they have for sustaining it as a 'shared in common world'. This will be touched upon in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.52.

56. Play, for instance, may be seen as another means of maintaining the sense of facticity which bounds about the everyday life, a facticity which can so easily be threatened by the activities of the child. To treat the child as 'only playing' and to show him when he is playing serves to give stability to the 'real world' and mark out its boundaries.

See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 36, and the comments upon Catherine Garvey's work.

57. This may also help to explain why the everyday experience of life is instantly recoverable. We treat the experience as being real unless it is shown to be otherwise. We have to do extra work in order to produce the make-believe, for we have to appear to be doing extra work, seen to be managing or modelling.

58. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 36.

59. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', note 30, where an occasion is described in which the adults considered they were doing drama whilst the children just thought they were having a good day out.

60. See Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', paras.5-12.
61. See, especially, the end of Chapter Nine, 'Drama as Well-made Play', paras.80-81.
62. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.15-16.
63. This point was brought out in discussion with Gavin Bolton. See, as well, his latest paper, Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art'.
64. Denholm Elliott recounted this experience on a Channel Four television programme on acting.
65. In a similar way, a well established, successful theatre company (the Royal Shakespeare Company might be a fair example) can easily become constrained by a kind of 'house style' (to be seen in the direction, acting, design, verse speaking, but as well, in the programming policy, publicity and all that goes to make such a company 'visible'). This style can regularly overwhelm their productions. Of course, they may be very good to watch, and they may live up to our expectations as intensely theatrical events, but a lot is lost if we are beguiled by the production and bemused by their craft and expertise. It is possible to have very successful theatre whilst doing little to present the experience of life dramatically.

'For the first time I understand why friends...warn me against staying too long with the RSC. The speech has flair but [can be] quite, quite empty. It can so easily happen at the RSC given that we play to a relatively uncritical audience who come along expecting to see brilliance. Also you develop a swagger from having to prowl those vast stages at Stratford and the Barbican. Taken to the extreme (who shall be nameless), RSC acting can cease to bear any relation to recognisable human behaviour'.  
Antony Sher, Year of the King, p.91.

In examples of this kind as in Denholm Elliott's unhappy experience in New York, the mechanics of the production are not part of the presentation of dramatic experience, and the audience is distracted by the insistent present. For such occasions to be more than theatrical events, the trappings of theatre have to be transformed by the drama so that they have relevance within the dramatic context. We shall appreciate the full significance of this later (see paras. 96-101 in this chapter), when we look at children drawing objects from the everyday reality into their drama in such a way that they are made to work (and be meaningful) within the dramatic context.

It is usually very hard for the drama to transform animals and small children, who remain horribly locked

into the present when brought on before an audience. They do not perform, and so they are not part of the dramatic experience. Launce's dog, for instance, in 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona', is never a part of the dramatic context in the way that Launce may be (at least until he brings his dog on). In fact, the play stops whilst the dog is mucking about and we are all hauled back into the present. Maybe it is this which lies behind the warning to all actors to avoid appearing with animals and young children. Some things are so firmly rooted in the everyday world that they stubbornly resist all attempts to give them life within the dramatic context. Animals and small children are unable to indicate the nature of the experience as being make-believe. It is this which is important, for it is not realism that I am asking for, nor yet a drama which is 'true to life', but rather, a congruence between the methods and practices of production and the dramatic presentation of experience. I am asking that all aspects of craft have significance within the dramatic experience. It is worth working for.

All of this is put rather more robustly by Antony Sher; 'The trouble with bringing on a real horse is that it distracts an audience. They sit there thinking, "That's a real horse, which might shit any moment", instead of listening to the lines'. Antony Sher, Year of the King, pp.34-35.

The audience is distracted by the everyday reality.

'A work of art, like a portrait of Charles VIII which he [Sartre] takes as an example, is an object. But it is not the same object as the painting, the canvas, which are real objects of which the painting is composed.

"As long as we observe the canvas and the frame for themselves the aesthetic object 'Charles VIII' will not appear. It is not that it is hidden by the picture, but that it cannot present itself to a realising consciousness".

This quotation is from J.P.Sartre, The Psychology of Imagination (London: Methuen, 1972), p.219. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.332.

'Now in drama an excessive degree of vested interest in either the technical aspects or in the substance of the subject-matter can upset the balance so that the "game" of drama and the necessary spontaneity that goes with it disappear'. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.111.

See, as well, Bolton's reference to Polyani who 'points out that subsidiary awareness is essential to the carrying out of the task, but if the hammerer started to focus on what his hand is doing instead of on the nail, the equally classic result would obtain! He (Polyani) also uses, appropriately enough, the instance

of an actor experiencing stage-fright. If the actor's concentration is on the instrumental means of achieving his role - remembering his lines, saying his words, and making gestures with the right quality and clarity of expression, etc., instead of focusing his attention on the context, the performance is paralysed. The achievement of a performance lies in a tacit integration of these two levels of awareness'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.156.

This seems to be similar to the ethnomethodologist's claim that we cannot be aware of our meaning making practices as we are engaged in making life meaningful (See, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 18). But then consider Agnes, the 'practising methodologist' referred to in note 100 to that chapter. There seems to be some confusion here. Is it the move towards 'aesthetic meaning' and is Agnes performing in an artistic sense?

66. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.43-55.

67. In Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'.

68. Consider here Rom Harre's 'sense of honour' and the way that might explain the children's interest in establishing their future involvement in the drama. Also the business of sustaining situations in everyday and dramatic experience.

See note 33 to this chapter.

69. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.43-55.

70. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.43-55.

71. We shall look at the nature of reflection within the presentation of dramatic experience later (see Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama'). See, also, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', note 35.

72. In both instances they were put in place before the drama in which they were used began. They were kept in place as they were used in the drama and as (in the case of the cable) they elaborated the everyday context (see para.132 in this chapter and p.64: 19 in the transcript).

73. Even a chair cannot simply rest upon its laurels, for it will lose its 'chairness' if this quality is not sustained within situations of its use. Chairs not treated and used as chairs will, in time, cease to be chairs. Think of an archaeologist trying to decide what an object is or how it was used. It is not immediately

apparent and the only way he can come to see its significance is to create a context in which it could work or be used. There are no labels attached, only the work which we can do to provide a context within which it might be seen as meaningful.

Catherine Garvey discusses the way in which a child can become a 'skilled pretender' so that 'large cardboard boxes can be transformed into the family's home, the towers of a fort, a cave, cars on freight train, or a witch's hut'.  
Catherine Garvey, Play: The Developing Child, p.49.

74. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.54.

75. It is important to appreciate that we cannot simply bring things into our drama in order to provide a context and so make our activities meaningful.

Bolton is here describing a drama lesson in which the children were to experience being misers, 'The created situation', he writes, '"means" miser; in order to find that meaning, concrete actions and objects are used: small space, hidden box, locked door, counting money, turning key. This teacher has made a significant selection of ingredients for the drama'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.15.

But these things which the teacher has selected, do not come into the drama 'trailing their own meanings'; they have to be *made meaningful and consistently made meaningful* within the drama. They have to be transformed by the drama so that their significance may be appreciated. After all 'small box' is not, of itself, an aspect of miserliness; its significance has to be managed and there is work to be done (perhaps in the way in which we hold it, handle it, look at it), if it is to become useful in the drama and a part of the context. See, as well, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', note 128.

76. Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.160.

77. Sometimes, though, awkward problems can occur, as in this newspaper account:

'A terrible tangle has arisen in Pakistan over a local soap opera, a sort of Moderately Far-Eastenders. Soap star Usman Pirzada divorced his television wife in traditional Muslim style, pronouncing "Talaq" - "I divorce thee" - three times. The trouble was that his TV spouse was played by his real wife, Samina. Now the ulemas (Islamic scholars) say that the divorce is binding, even though the formula was spoken in the interests of art. Their decree maintains that the Prophet ordained that in three matters (marriage, divorce and the freeing of slaves) words uttered

unintentionally or even in jest cannot be withdrawn. Divorced they are and divorced they must stay'. The Guardian, Tuesday, January 6th 1987.

78. See para.1 in this chapter.

79. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 7.

80. This is also a nice example of a contribution elaborating different situations at the same time. When Shirley says, 'We just believe in him', she may be seen as presenting herself as a pupil doing drama and unable to come up with an adequate justification for her knowledge. At the same time, and within the drama, she is a child pointing to the nature of her knowledge. Now Shirley may, in her discomfort, have fallen back into the pupil role and offered the teacher a rather weak 'We just believe in him'. We cannot tell about this. But we can see the way in which the teacher chooses to take her remark and we can see how he makes it meaningful within the drama. In this, he may be giving it a significance never intended by Shirley, as he 'lifts' her contribution on to another plane. Certainly, it is a level (a child presenting her belief) upon which Shirley is happy and able to work. She shows that she understands how the words work within the dramatic context, and so does Julia.

It is important to appreciate, that this 'double meaning' was not simply fortuitous; a piece of good luck for the teacher. He might have taken her meaning, but she still had to contribute in a way which was appropriate in terms of both levels of experience. She had to be attentive to the dramatic as well as the everyday experience, and her contribution came out of this attentiveness.

81. See, as well, Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.34-37.

82. See, also, Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.12-15 and 'The Dazzling Performance'.

83. Further, and in terms of this study as well, 'The objectivity of results [depend] upon the responsibility and degree of insight possessed by the interpreter'. Warren A.Peterson, Age, teacher's role and the institutional setting, in Sara Delamont (Ed.), Interaction in the Classroom, p.110.

It is not just me, of course, who is the interpreter here, but the others who took part and you, as well.

84. It points as well to the child's learning, for if, as was suggested in note 80 to this Chapter, she introduced belief whilst elaborating the situation of

teachers and pupils, she is now using it to make visible the dramatic context which they are engaged in presenting. Alternatively, of course, she may have introduced it, initially, from within the drama and out of her own role as a 'by volcano dwelling' child. In either case, though, Shirley is able, through the drama, to demonstrate her understanding of 'belief' in a way that may not have been possible in a typical teacher/pupil situation.

85. It may also have implications for what counts as a learned man. Consider on one side those who have passed exams, and then amassed qualifications so that they may be treated as learned. Then think of those who must demonstrate their learning day by day in the flow of life. For how long would we be prepared to consider a foolish man educated by attending to his qualifications? Is it, for instance, enough to put a person in a uniform in order to call him a policeman? Does he not also have to do policeman-like things so that his uniform should be meaningful? And might it not be that those things which can be examined in exams are so dominated by the structure and demands of the test that they lose touch with the situations within which their meaning is generated? To what extent can knowledge be tested in a situation beyond that within which the knowledge has application? These are questions to be asked in the light of the different levels of understanding displayed by these children (to say nothing of the demands for 'bench mark' testing). Can a person become a member by passing a test and waving a certificate, or must he continually demonstrate his membership? The certificate is surely not enough for it will quickly lack currency if it is not consistently made meaningful. However, for so long as it is marked, such a document may serve to encourage others to treat the possessor in a particular way (for instance as one who belongs), and that will make his task of presenting himself properly as a member more easy. These kinds of qualifications serve as 'Marks and Spencer' badges, and it is up to the holder to make them meaningful through the way he talks and acts. The badge can not do that for him. See, as well, paras.35-51 in this chapter and notes 23 and 50.

'An Abbot may have his role usurped by the Head Gardiner if he does not present himself as a leader'. John Norman, Evaluation of Secondary Lesson, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.56.

86. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 69, and Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', note 37.

87. See, for instance, paras.3-34 in this chapter, and think of Ian's contributions being 'dealt with' by the teacher in Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday

Life', paras.29-80.

88. See 'Coping with Errors' in this chapter, paras. 23-34 and note 19.

89. See the discussion about the 'waiting time' in this chapter, paras.93-95.

90. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.76-83.

91. This is not just a concern with 'what happens next', but rather an interest in the future and our own involvement in that future.

'It is the movement towards the future, in terms of the consequences of past actions, rather than a pre-occupation with "what happens next" which gives educational drama its depth and purpose'.

Cecily O'Neill, 'Drama and the Web of Form' (M.A. dissertation, University of Durham, England, 1978), p.53.

92. See paras.23-30 in this chapter and p.26: 08-23 of the transcript.

93. See, for instance, the transcript, p.15: 14-16 and p.17: 23-27.

94. In fact it is difficult to see how one can 'get out' from within. Think of day dreaming, for instance; how, within our day dream, do we decide to stop? We have already stopped day dreaming when we even consider stopping. Is it not, rather, that another reality intrudes? Do we not suddenly 'come to' and find, alarmingly, that we have been driving for many miles and yet been 'far away'? And do we decide to day dream, ('I think I'll have a little day dream now') or is it more likely that we simply find we have been day dreaming; not that we are daydreaming but that we have been daydreaming? Can we be aware of ourselves day dreaming? Or is it something which just happens? Well it might be, but still we have to work to present our daydream or our minds would be empty, and that is not what we usually mean by saying, 'I'm sorry, I was miles away'.

95. Sometimes children can bring in the everyday reality with depressing effect. We were nearing the end of a drama lesson and we were all robbers agreeing to meet again in a week. Suddenly a hand went up (always disconcerting, for such an action brings with it the everyday experience of teachers and pupils and you cannot not be a teacher when a child puts his hand up at you), 'Please, Mr Millward, I can't come. I'm going to the dentist next week'. Your drama lesson is finished and there is nothing you can do about it. The lesson can go on, but the drama is done, and you will have to start

again.

96. See, as well, paras.104-112 in this chapter.

97. Notice, though, that these contributions work on both levels; they are aspects of the dramatic and teaching contexts.

98. A good example of the teacher appearing in the drama occurs in the following description of a lesson by John Norman. In role as a sculptor, Norman asks the children (as monks and nuns) to teach him how to write his own name. He then describes how this caused some embarrassment amongst the children as they tried to cope with a teacher pretending not to be able to write. In this case the teacher role is brought into the drama through the incongruous behaviour of John Norman, and the children's involvement in the dramatic context is not sufficient to cope with such an intrusion. For a moment, the dramatic presentation of experience is not strong enough to transform the teacher role and so that role becomes a threat. The clerks 'teach' him with some impatience and the 'sculptor' has to work quite hard to get the attention he requires.

John Norman, Evaluation of Secondary Lesson, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.55.

99. It will have been noticed that the teacher is now involved, as a learner, in his own teaching situation. He set out to teach and finds that he is learning. This will be developed in the next chapter, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.37.

100. See 'Contributions Working to Elaborate Both Levels' beginning at para.86 in this chapter.

101. Only consider the endings of each section in the transcript and the manner in which each section has a beginning and an end and can be seen and recorded as a section.

102. These 'endings' are not to be confused, of course, with those occasions when the drama just crumbles and dies. In all cases where the people involved fail to produce a dramatic context which can be sustained, they will be working as teachers and pupils 'doing drama'. It is within this form that good and bad drama is done, where the doing of drama is embarrassing, awkward, demonstrative, gauche, clever, persuasive, functional, amusing, etc.. We are considering here, 'endings' which are themselves aspects of the dramatic context and not to be explained in terms of everyday experiences such as a child forgetting what to say next or bursting into a fit of the giggles.

103. See paras.140-141 in this chapter.

104. It would be interesting to know for how long the priests were able to keep the dramatic context going after the recording had been stopped. I wonder, did they have the time and opportunity to bring their piece to a close? Or did the teacher 'pull the plug' upon their endeavours as he switched off the recorder? I suspect that he did, for he always had concerns, as a research student, which reached beyond the drama.

105. See this chapter, paras.142-144.

106. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.84.

Notes and references to Chapter Eight.

TEACHING AND LEARNING IN DRAMA.

1. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory in Drama, p.30.

I should like the reader to keep this question in mind whilst reading this chapter. I hope, at the end you will feel that I have approached an answer, though it may not be as precise as you would wish.

2. See, for example, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.71.

3. Many drama teachers see the teacher as working in just this kind of way. For instance, such an approach is clearly important to Shuman who describes how Elizabeth Drews looks for the 'teacher-counsellor-consultant', who would 'function as a facilitator of learning and who would guide students towards an active involvement in the learning environment, steering them into experiences which would, in highly individualised ways, involve them in group discussion, independent study, the development of social conscience and aesthetic appreciation and use of resources rather than dependence on a curriculum'. She would 'free the student to grow in creativity and, in the Brunerian sense, through discovery to become acquainted with those learning structures which make learning an independent and lifelong possibility'.

R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama and the Creative Process, in R.Baird Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama, p.46.

Dorothy Heathcote speaks of 'a school in which teachers don't intrude between the materials and children, but work as "enablers" to put children in direct touch with the tasks set for them, in a context of meaning'.

Liz Johnson and Cecily O'Neill (Eds.), Dorothy Heathcote: Collected Writings, p.128.

John Norman would like the teacher to be an 'enabler, facilitator, provider of learning opportunities, not prescriber of given outcomes'. John L.Norman, The Sticking Place, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.15.

These things, of course, cannot just be left to happen, for we need to see how a person can become a 'consultant' and a 'facilitator' without also being an intrusive teacher, which we do not need in drama. At the same time, they have to do more than simply set the children going. We expect more from our teachers than that.

4. See, Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.19-25, and the extended discussion in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.70-82.

5. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.13-16.

6. See, also, paras.35-42 in this chapter, and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras. 52-66.

Michael Fleming reminds us that it is not uncommon for aims in drama to be of a very general nature (see Fleming, pp.50-51), and later warns us that,

'education cannot proceed with a combination of unintentional teaching and unintentional learning which would allow so much to chance, although it may be said in passing that many approaches to drama have proceeded on this basis'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.136.

Of course, helping children to produce a context in which significant topics may be considered, though we have no idea beforehand what those topics might be, is not the same as leaving things 'to chance'.

See, as well, note 79 to this chapter.

7. Wagner makes the point well, 'She was not taught ...rather she was thrust into a situation in which she had a chance to bring to bear those past experiences and feelings that were called for in this newly imagined situation. Her thinking was divergent; it could not possibly have been predicted in advance'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama and the Brain's Right Hemisphere, in R.Baird Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama, p.140.

However, we should be a little wary of this statement, for the manner in which Wagner implies that the girl's thinking was produced in response to a situation that was, in some way, beyond her, suggests that by setting up suitable conditions, a clever teacher might be able to call forth particular responses.

On another occasion she states that 'instead of planning what a group will do you lead them to act and discover what they have done. You must not try to predict how the class will respond to what you set up beforehand nor must you care which of the alternatives they choose'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.110.

One child speaking of Dorothy Heathcote's teaching said, 'She lets us make decisions....she doesn't tell us what to do like other teachers'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.20.

It is also worthwhile comparing two quite different approaches to the teaching of drama:

'The role of the teacher in Pemberton-Billing and Clegg's approach, [in which] "The drama teacher's job is to discipline and direct the child's play into channels where he needs to make worthwhile decisions and discoveries"[a], is very different from Slade's

insistence that, "The child, through Child Drama, avoids the imposition of well-intentioned, ill-informed adult plans"[b]'.  
[a]. R.N.Pemberton-Billing and J.D.Clegg, Teaching Drama (London: University of London Press, 1965), p.21.  
[b]. P.Slade, Child Drama, p.108.  
Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.29.

Fleming adds in a footnote, 'It should be acknowledged that in practice Slade did plan for children. Also, the role of the adult changed as the child grew older'.

[a]. R.N.Pemberton-Billing and J.D.Clegg, Teaching Drama (London: University of London Press, 1965), p.21.

[b]. P.Slade, Child Drama, p.108.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.29.

8. See, for instance, Gavin Bolton's contribution to the discussion at a Drama and Theatre in Education Conference.

N.Dodd and W.Hickson (Eds.), Drama and Theatre in Education (London: Heinemann, 1971), pp.104-105.

Gavin Bolton talks of teachers whose 'high degree of tolerance for non-objective treatment encourages, by default, the development in his pupils of the habit of wallowing in meaningless playing, a habit which can become as restrictive as the most rigid theatre form'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.29.

Cox points out the dangers of leaving a child 'to play out his dramatic experience', and alerts us to the ease with which such an activity can lead to 'sterile repetition'.

T.Cox, 'The Development of Drama in Education, 1902-1944' (Unpublished M.Ed.Thesis, University of Durham, England, 1970), p.115.

9. See Chapter One, 'Drama as a Meaningful Activity', para.2, in which some of the other forms are mentioned.

10. Dorothy Heathcote, BBC Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971).

11. Perhaps, for example, by moving from plot to motive, 'I want to know what strength of feeling drives a person to contemplate murder'.

Dorothy Heathcote, BBC Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971)

12. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.34.

13. If one doubts the kind of influence the teacher in drama can exert upon the learning situation, then it is worth looking at 'A Cyclical Framework For Viewing The Drama Process', devised by John Norman and some of his students in 1981. Whilst he makes the point that 'it is in no way definitive or final' it does demonstrate, in a very forceful way, the depth of consideration that should be behind the teacher's lesson. Further, though

it takes account of the teacher's background, the planning for the lesson, the course of the lesson in action, the reflection and evaluation of the lesson and the long term learning involved, it does not attempt to define 'outcomes'. The tools that we need, as Norman explains, are 'OBSERVATION - ANALYSIS - INTERPRETATION', and he stresses the need to ascribe meaning to action. In this he is talking of the tools we need as drama teachers as well as the tools we are developing through our drama work. This 'observation, analysis and interpretation' is, of course, at the centre of this study.

John L. Norman, The Sticking Place, in John Norman, Drama in Education, p.44.

'I think it would be wrong to try to maintain a position where I could spell out what it was they learnt but I would still be justified in attempting to describe with some degree of specificity the kind of area that I was inviting them to engage with'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton interviewed', p.13.

So whilst you may set them going you cannot tell where they will end up, and you cannot know what those involved will make of it. The outcome, on the level of topic, will be uncertain though this need not mean that the value of the activity in educational terms will be left to chance.

14. Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.2-7, and Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.1-5.

15. We are mainly concerned, in this study, with the threat the 'teacher' role has for the dramatic context in which it is used. However, the need to ensure that the 'communication system' is not dominated by the teacher can be justified on wider educational grounds as well. If we consider that pupils ought to be able to take an active part in the 'formulation of knowledge', then we have to accept that it will 'only happen if the teacher sets up a communication system in which pupils have a considerable influence over moment by moment strategies: who asks what questions, what evidence is treated as relevant, what counts as an acceptable answer, etc.'.

Douglas Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p.30.

16. As Cox points out, 'The teacher should help the child to a fuller realisation and progression in his activities by suggestion and stimulation'. However, he also quotes the Chesterfield Education Authority of 1932 who were well aware of the dangers, '"It is fatally easy for the teacher to do all the work and the child merely to imitate". Where such imitation takes place the drama

is only a dead thing'.

T.Cox, 'Development of Drama in Education', p.115.

Gavin Bolton points to the same kind of difficulty when he says that 'the teacher has a responsibility to work towards goals which reach beyond and above the children's. But he cannot do this without respect for their intentions. It is a delicate balance'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.51.

If this delicate balance is not achieved then, as Bolton suggests a little later, there is the danger that the children will no longer feel they are involved in 'making it happen' for the drama will have become one in which 'I, the teacher alone, am making it happen' rather than 'we, the teacher and class, are making it happen'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.55.

17. Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.70-82.

18. Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', see, for instance, paras.35-51 and paras.70-95.

19. See, as well, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.75-76.

20. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.25, and also the piece upon contributions working on different levels, in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-95.

21. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.64-74.

22. Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-92.

23. Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.97-101.

24. Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.58-59.

25. Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.42-43.

Think, also, of the way in which the teacher of the discussion challenged Ian to speak 'properly', or else hold his peace (Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', paras.47-48, and para.63).

26. Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.41-52.

27. Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.149-150.

28. David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p.71.

29. See, as well, the discussion in Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.21 and 29-38.

30. In this sense the teacher cannot 'pull rank' as it were, for he is part of the created context, the dramatic context.

'..when the teacher uses an authority role to bully and discipline the pupils in role within the drama, this [drama] may not be of the deepest quality, although it will look real, because it will be real'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.231.

This is not because the teacher in role is bullying the pupils in role (think only of Dorothy Heathcote as the German Commandant: see Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 40) but because those involved are treating it as real. As the commandant in the drama she has to get her way convincingly and in terms of the drama. It will cease to be drama when the commandant stops taking account of the children in role as prisoners, and simply pushes them about. This is why Fleming's statement has to be treated with caution.

There can be no doubt though, about the following description of a lesson which is also referred to by Fleming;

'Throughout the morning or afternoon, the children have not been aware that a theatrical event is taking place. If you were to ask them whether they had enjoyed the play or liked the actors, they would probably look blank. For them, the adventure they have just been involved in is a reality.....'

See, Gavin Bolton, 'Emotion and Meaning'.

Without knowing the details of the 'adventure they were involved in', it is clear that the children have not been presenting experience dramatically. Rather, they have treated the situation, and contributed to it, as though it were an everyday (if unusual) event. This example has extra interest because, presumably, those involved in directing the 'adventure' were treating it as drama. If they were, then it should help us to see that the two levels of experience (everyday and make-believe) are managed in the same way and by means of the same practices. They differ in the way in which they are treated and not in the manner of their production.

31. 'Mantle of the expert.....simply bears out in a conscious way my inclination as a teacher to be in that situation where the class and I are colleagues...in that marvellous world where everyone cares about what they are doing'.

David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', p76.

Bolton suggests there are two growths possible in 'mantle of the expert'. 'One is an almost awesome

understanding of a sense of responsibility. The other is a respect for expertise and for the objective world that has been studied. It seems to me [he concludes] that more than any other activity across the curriculum this particular form of drama can give children a glimpse of the meaning of scholarship'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.69.

See, as well, note 101 to this chapter.

32. We have to accept the consequences of presenting life dramatically in the manner of our teaching and in the manner of what counts as knowledge. See, for instance;

John L.Norman, The Sticking Place, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.9.

33. Consider just how different will be the world of schooling when the language of the teacher is linked to the dramatic context and not the context of classroom teaching,

'When children hear teachers using linguistic strategies such as asking "closed" questions, insisting on specialised linguistic registers and making evaluative follow-up moves to every answer a child gives, earlier messages about the symmetry of their own conversational rights are confirmed. Only if it were possible to provide unlimited time for discussion and to do away with all prescribed syllabuses would it be possible to reverse this trend. But the taking of such action would imply a different view of education from the one currently held by the majority of education systems in the western world'.

Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, pp.63-64.

34. When we take that 'short step' into the dramatic presentation of life, we are within a new context of meaning where there is no place for the teacher and his pupils, no place for the system of schooling as we have all come to know it. We have to accept that if we are to work in the dramatic mode of presentation.

'I have suggested earlier in describing my own values in relation to drama that I believe there is a style of teaching appropriate to the medium. Although we have not really pursued these in detail, I think that they are to do with the way in which we see the role of the drama teacher; they are to do with children having rights and also taking some considerable responsibility for their own learning, which is as you have said demanding and challenging. They are to do with the nature of that which is to be learned, and indeed what knowledge and learning means. Does it mean only objective bodies of knowledge to be taken in or can it mean a change in understanding or perception'.

John L.Norman, Drama in Education, p.26.

The whole of John Norman's summary, from which this

passage is taken, provides an excellent account of the drama teacher's position in relation to the children with whom he works and the 'knowledge' with which he deals.

'In defining learning as a change in understanding or of perception rather than the acquisition of objective bodies of knowledge, we are implicitly involved in a "curriculum for change"'.  
This change is 'within the nature and quality of what we actually do with the children for whom we are responsible.....I am talking about the promotion of a different view of the curriculum and the nature of learning encounters'.

John L. Norman, Drama in Education, p.7.

It is different, in that we, as teachers, cannot come in with 'something to teach' and it is different in that the children are actively involved in creating what they know. Their knowledge is part of the their experience.

35. Think only of what these children have learned and the dramatic context within which that learning is made visible. They cannot be separated. When this occurs, the quality of learning changes;

'Thinking from within a situation forces a different type of thinking'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama, p.9.

36. Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers: Children Learning Language and Using Language to Learn (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987), p.67.

This 'spontaneous learning' is also referred to by Wells as 'incidental learning'.

Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, p.60.

37. It is 'through entering into relationships with competent speakers of the language that the child learns to express in conventional forms the meanings he wishes to communicate with respect to the shared context, and the meanings themselves are discovered and the relationships embodied and managed by means of linguistic interaction'.

Wells then goes on to say that the 'relationship between language and context is one of the aspects of the child's experience which tends to change dramatically when he goes to school. Whereas most talk [and most learning] in the home arises out of contexts of practical activity, often ones which the child himself has initiated, a great deal of learning in school and the talk associated with the tasks through which that learning takes place is largely teacher initiated and involves contexts which are unfamiliar to the child and ones which in many cases are relatively abstract'.

Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction.

See, as well, G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult/Child Interaction, in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.232.

Furthermore, he makes the point that 'although the child's earliest contributions are extremely rudimentary they permit the adult participant to build around them; and thus provide the framework within which the child can learn by taking part in interaction'.  
Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction.

It is the kind of support referred to by Bruner as 'scaffolding'. See, for example, J.Bruner, Child's Talk (New York: Norton, 1983).

We can see Dorothy Heathcote working in this way as she discusses the nature and significance of a 'fish barrel' in note 63 to this chapter.

38. See Gavin Bolton's question at the beginning of this chapter and note 1.

39. Compare, for instance, what Shirley has learned with what Ian has learned (see Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.114-116). Can we also see their learning in the manner of their 'coping', in their ability to make sense and contribute properly?

'It might be argued that it is enough provided we can spell out in detail what is happening. I would be inclined to go along with this argument provided it is possible to give meaning to the notion of "teaching"'.  
Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', footnote to p.149

40. For the most up to date, and readable, account of Wells' work and the longitudinal research see, Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers.

For a more detailed description of the study and its findings, see, Gordon Wells, Language development in the pre-school years (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) which is the second volume of Language at Home and at School, and of which Learning Through Interaction is the first.

41. See, for instance, Michael F.McTear, Towards a Model for Analysing Conversations Involving Children, in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Adult/Child Conversation, p.194.

42. 'Right up to the early years of schooling and beyond, the adult is the more skilled participant, with a responsibility for helping the child to develop and extend his communicative skills, at first pre-verbally, then verbally, and later in written language. But at each stage, the child also has a contribution to make, stemming from his own interests and directed by his own purposes. The sort of interaction that will be most beneficial for his development, therefore, is that which

gives due weight to the contribution of both parties, and emphasises mutuality and reciprocity in the meanings that are constructed and negotiated through talk. For in learning to talk the child is building his model of reality: the values that he adopts and the abilities that he develops to understand and control the world in which he lives will owe much to those aspects of experience and interpersonal collaboration that are given salience in his day-by-day conversational interactions'.

Gordon Wells, Becoming a Communicator, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.115.

See, as well, Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, p.44.

43. R.Ellis and G.Wells (1980), 'Enabling Factors in Adult-Child Discourse'. First Language I, 1980, pp.46-62.

'There is the need for the adult to interpret the child's contribution in the light of the immediate context and the focus of joint attention. [Also] to maximise uptake, the adult's own contributions need to be closely related to the child's preceding communication and current interest [and] whilst being modified in timing, form and content to the child's receptive capacities, these adult contributions must also provide the means whereby the child can enlarge his linguistic resources and, through them, his understanding of the content of the communication'.  
Gordon Wells, Becoming a Communicator, in Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.108.

44. Wells, Montgomery and MacLure examined 'two samples of discourse involving children in interaction with their mothers and found differences of degree in reciprocity in these interactions. One mother tends to support her child's utterances by acknowledging them and extending them, whereas the other mother tends to ask questions to which she herself knows the answer and corrects the form and content of his responses. The former mother seems to show greater "conversational co-operativeness and encouragement in her dialogue" and it is hypothesised that the child's habitual participation in such dialogues would have beneficial consequences for his learning in comparison with habitual participation in the type of interaction displayed by the second mother'.

G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult-child interaction at home and school, in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Adult/Child Conversation, pp.229-232.

This quotation from M.F.McTear, Analysing Conversation Involving Children, also in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Adult/Child Conversation, p.194-195.

45. Christine Howe has identified three distinct patterns within Mother/Child conversations which she refers to as excursive, recursive, and discursive. Briefly, those excursive conversations which were mother

initiated virtually always began with the mother providing the information and the child giving minimal replies. The child initiated exchanges virtually always began with the child providing the information but ended with the mother giving minimal or extended replies. In the recursive pattern, about half mother initiated exchanges began with the mothers providing information and the other half with the mothers requesting information. Nearly always these ended in children giving minimal replies. The child initiated exchanges virtually always began with the child providing information and the mother giving minimal replies. Conversations cast in the discursive pattern were also characterised by the mother providing and requesting information in equal proportions and the child giving minimal replies. In the child initiated exchanges the children provided the information and they ended with minimal and extended replies.

She was able, therefore, to identify four types of conversational exchange:

- (1) Mother initiated beginning with requests for information and ending with minimal replies.
- (2) Mother initiated beginning with provisions of information and ending with minimal replies.
- (3) Child initiated exchanges beginning with provisions of information and ending with minimal replies.
- (4) Child initiated exchanges beginning with provisions of information and ending with elaborate replies.

Her work is detailed and complex but she draws a number of significant implications for teaching through drama. For instance, it seems that 'mother initiated exchanges beginning with requests for information are more helpful than mother initiated exchanges beginning with provisions for information. It implies that children who hold conversations like the excursive group will receive less assistance [in developing their conversational competence] than children who hold conversations like the recursive and discursive groups'. She was finally able to conclude that 'mother initiated requests for information with minimal replies and child initiated exchanges beginning with provisions of information and ending with extended replies were most efficacious' (consider the 'fish barrel' exchange described in note 63 to this chapter). So she could say 'that children participating in conversations of a discursive nature not only receive plenty of incentive to develop in the areas of interest but they should also find their mother's replies relatively informative about new object names, well formed expressions, non names and feature combinations'.

Christine Howe, Acquiring Language in a Conversational Context (London: Academic Press, 1981).

Ironically, and sadly, such exchanges are not typical of school teaching situations characterised by

teacher initiation, pupil response and teacher evaluation. However, they may well be more common in the dramatic presentation of experience, where all of those involved contribute through their roles in the drama rather than in terms of their 'teacherness' or 'pupilness'. Consider only, the stranger's questioning of the children in the drama.

Consider, as well, the comparison in stylistic preferences in interaction between two mothers in the work of Wells and Montgomery:

'One mother adopted a "supporting" style, encouraging the child to develop and extend his initiations [whilst] the other adopted a "leading" style, plying her child with questions about a series of visitors and their modes of transport'. They show how the 'first mother encouraged her child to adopt a predominantly initiating role by making considerable use of "continuing" moves to acknowledge and request further information. The second mother retained control of the discourse herself by making mainly initiating moves, casting the child in the role of the respondent. Whereas the first mother's questions were mainly designed to help her son extend his initial comment into a rudimentary "story", the second mother's questions were requests for Display and usually her son's answers were evaluated as inadequate'. The conversation of the first mother and child, 'contained a variety of realisations of Incorporation such as cohesion, ellipsis and rising tone; all of which serve to create and maintain intersubjectivity of perspective'. The conversation of the second mother seemed 'to insist throughout on her own perspective as the only relevant one and her son's contributions were never accorded equal status'.

They are able to conclude that, 'the first child's contributions to conversations were much fuller and linguistically more mature and this could be seen to result, at least in part, from the opportunities made available by his mother's style of interaction and from the fact that the topic under discussion developed from the child's initiation and concerned a matter of immediate interest to him'.

G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult/Child Interaction, in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.230.

46. O.K.Garnica, Some Prosodic and Paralinguistic Features of Speech to Young Children, in C.E.Snow and C.A.Ferguson (Eds.), Talking to Children, p.63.

47. Roger Brown, 'Introduction', in C.Snow & C.Ferguson (Eds.), Talking to Children, pp.1-27.

48. Unfortunately, this is not the kind of interaction that is typical of school. 'Our study suggests that the kind of dialogue that seems to help the child is not

that currently favoured by many teachers [in nursery schools] in which the adult poses a series of questions. It is rather one in which the adult listens to the child's questions and comments, helps to clarify her ideas, and feeds her the information she asks for'. Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.254.

49. Katharine Nelson (1973), 'Structure and Strategy in Learning to Talk'. Society for Research in Child Development Monographs, 38, 1-2.

50. For an account of the use of this term, see, Michael Stubbs, Language, Schools and Classrooms, (London: Methuen, 1976), p.32.

51. Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, pp.44-51.

52. Kress showed, for instance, that 'speech is much more textured and expressive when it is not a response but self initiated'. He pointed, as well, to the problems associated with getting children to initiate conversational exchanges in school, and cited particularly the large numbers of children involved and the fact that the topic is usually with the teacher. There is simply not the same opportunity for the child to 'ask questions, and evaluate his adult interlocutor .....[nor] the opportunity to introduce new topics [or] change the topic of conversation'. Gunther Kress, Learning to Write.

We have seen that by presenting experience dramatically, we may overcome many of the problems associated with the asymmetry of participants' 'rights' in ordinary teaching situations as we give to all parties the 'rights' drawn from the dramatic context. The problem of numbers is still there and, of course, it is not easy within a class to reproduce frequently this 'language facilitating' interaction between a child and a caring adult. It is difficult to achieve that kind of intimacy with thirty or more children. However, it is possible to encourage conversations between children to develop and flourish, and we might remember in this regard the way in which the priests continued their dialogue even though the teacher had moved off to another part of the room and was unaware that the drama was continuing in his absence. We might consider, too, the 'conversations' that are possible between the teacher in role and a group of children, also working in role. For example, in this piece of drama the stranger would regularly address the guardians or the priests or the guides as a group, allowing them to decide who should respond at any moment but still insisting that they all take part. It is possible to engage in this kind of dialogue if you are concerned to do so and, of course, as a teacher you will be so concerned if you genuinely want to uncover the children's point of view,

want to make sense of their contributions, know what they know.

Finally, of course, although such conversational exchanges between adults and children are much less frequent in school, it yet remains that Wells (and Tizard and Hughes) managed to find plenty of examples of one to one talk. It was the stultifying quality of so much of that talk which worried them.

'When did it occur', as Dorothy Heathcote asks, 'that "turn this way, then that way, never your way" became the pattern of the dance?' Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.7.

Cole, Dore, Hall and Dowley investigated 'the factors which determine situational variability in children's use of language'. They recorded children talking in two settings: 'a fairly free setting in a supermarket....and in a more formal setting at school with a teacher, who questioned the child about the supermarket visit'. The researchers found that 'where variability [in the children's use of language] was produced [it] was a result of changing the relative frequency with which certain speech acts occurred in the corpus. For example, in the supermarket setting the children produced more descriptions, whereas in the school setting they produced more responses to Wh-test questions. They had greater freedom to initiate sequences in the supermarket setting and this gave rise to a wider display of their linguistic competence. M.Cole, J.Dore, W.Hall and G.Dowley (1978), 'Situation and Task in Young Children's Talk', in Discourse Processes, 2, pp.119-176. This account of their work is taken from Michael F.McTear, Analysing Conversations Involving Children, in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.194.

See, as well, note 59 to this chapter.

53. Douglas Barnes shows well how children are made to respond to the teacher's pseudo-questions by clipped sentences without grammatical subjects and single word answers. It is, he says, as if they had 'stopped using language to think with', as though the thinking had been done and they now feel no 'urgency to explain to their teacher what he knows already'. Further, 'Taking the initiative out of the pupils' hands may reduce their learning from an active organizing of knowledge to a mere mimicry of the teacher'. Barnes concludes that because the children have assumed the teacher is asking them to point to certain answers already present in his mind, 'they stop using language in an open exploratory way'. It is the teacher's use of a 'mode of closed assertions' which is responsible for this, and reflects his view of knowledge as something over and beyond the

business of learning.

Douglas Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum, pp. 76-77.

This seems to connect with Bruner's distinction between teaching in the expository mode and teaching in the hypothetical mode. In the former, 'the decisions concerning the mode and pace and style of exposition are principally determined by the teacher as expositor; the student is the listener. In the hypothetical mode the teacher and student are in a more co-operative position. The student is taking part in the formulation and at times may play the principle role in it. He will be aware of alternatives and may even have an "as if" attitude towards these, and he may evaluate information as it comes'.

J.S.Bruner, The Act of Discovery, in J.S.Bruner, On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand (Harvard: University Press, 1965). Quoted by D.Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum, p.114.

It was, of course, in the hypothetical mode that the teacher of the discussion was attempting to work.

The difference lies, in Geoffrey Esland's phrase, between being a "world receiver" and a "world maker". G.M.Esland, Teaching and Learning as the Organisation of Knowledge, in M.F.D.Young (Ed.), Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971), pp.70-115.

For the implications of this kind of distinction it is worth looking at Barnes' account of 'transmission' and 'interpretation' type teaching, and how they reflect different views about the nature of 'knowing'.

D.Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum, Chapter 4.

54. For a depressing account of this (at least from the point of view of the school) see Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, pp.84-94.

In particular, consider his conclusion that 'for no child was the language experience of the classroom richer than that of the home - not even for those believed to be "linguistically deprived"'.  
Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, p.87.

See, too, note 56 to this chapter.

55. J.McH.Sinclair and R.M.Coulthard, Towards an Analysis of Discourse, p.113.

56. Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.183.

They also point out, sadly, that there is more than one kind of learning. 'What Joyce may well have learnt is experience in the kind of conversation she is expected to have with a teacher. As a preparation for what she will encounter later on in school, this may

well be a useful lesson'.

Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.193.

See, as well, Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, pp.93-94, for a list of the messages that children are likely to receive throughout their school experiences.

57. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.5-9 for a reminder of the nature of the 'natural attitude'.

58. See Cicourel's 'invariant procedures' mentioned in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.10-12, and notes 19 and 20 to that chapter.

59. As Barnes points out, language can be seen in two ways, as a 'pattern of expectations which constitute an important part of what children learn', and as a 'means of learning, which children can use to make sense of what is presented to them and relate it to what they already know'. When language is treated in this way the learner becomes 'an active participant in the making of meaning', but too much emphasis upon the former can 'relegate the learner to a passive role as the recipient of socialisation'.

Douglas Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum, p.31.

Children should not always have to contribute as pupils (a role described by the extra 'rights' of the teacher), and learning is much more than being taught. As McTear concludes, it would be 'ironic if the children's own initiations and descriptions, which occur in a setting where the adult is more supportive and less dominant, are more qualitatively beneficial than their responses to test questions for example, and these give rise to a greater display of linguistic potential, [for] the type of language typically elicited from children in formal classrooms and experimental settings is in response to such test questions, which would seem actually to minimise the potential complexity of the child's linguistic performance'.

M.F.McTear, Analysing Conversations Involving Children, in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversations, p.196.

See, as well, note 53 to this chapter.

60. Michael Fleming points clearly to the 'limitations of a reliance upon "transmission teaching"', as if we could pass on what we know through a shared language which directly reflects that knowledge.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.134.

61. Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.39.

62. The opportunity which drama provides to 'water down' the intrusive effect of teachers upon learning situations has long been noted. Peter Slade, for instance, wrote in 1954, 'The child through drama, avoids the imposition of well intentioned, ill-informed adult plans'.

Peter Slade, Child Drama, p.108.

I would not want to suggest, though, that the teacher should not be involved in the child's learning, nor that drama lessons should be unplanned. As Peters makes clear, 'The school of experience is no school at all, not because no one learns in it but because there are no teachers'.

R.S.Peters, quoted by Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.141.

It is the manner of the teacher's involvement which concerns me. The child needs his teacher as he earlier needed the company of a caring adult, and 'teaching is the expedition of learning; a person who is taught learns more quickly than one who is not'.

R.S.Peters in Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.141.

Indeed, it is hard to see how a person could learn to make the world meaningful without the influence of a teacher, that 'knowing adult' (or peer) who can help him to see what he means.

63. 'The need to explain to someone who does not understand is crucial. What audiences are offered to children for their talking and writing? A teacher is likely to be a poor audience for children's speech and writing: if they believe him to possess authoritative knowledge, pupils will be less likely to order their thoughts for him than they would for an uninformed audience'.

Douglas Barnes, From Communication to Curriculum, p.93.

But then think of the teacher in role as the stranger, or Dorothy Heathcote offering the children another form for their drama, 'mantle of the expert', in which 'they are endowed with a role from the beginning of the experience, the role of an expert - craftsman, designer, archaeologist, etc. - with the expertise that the teacher, usually in a different role, requires'.  
Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.67.

We might think of the guides in the drama using this form as they prepare the stranger for his meeting with the priests, and as they help him to cope with the difficulties of the climb.

And look, in this example, at the way in which Dorothy Heathcote lets the child initiate every step of the conversational exchange to which, in role, she offers elaborated responses.

Girl. Alan got knocked down by a fish barrel...the salt that they salt the fishes.....it got in

- his wound.
- D.H. (Yes.
- Girl. (It was...
- D.H. Yes.  
And you wonder if those barrels were treated with tar to keep them waterproof.
- Girl. Mmm.  
And then there's the rotten fish.
- D.H. There's the rotten fish 'cause they maybe don't wash them out every time they change the fish. They may just take the fish out and put the fish in. And then there's all the places it's rolled about in.
- Girl. It's been on the boat and everything.
- D.H. It's been on the boat, it's been in the \*\*\*\*, it's been down the road where the \*\*\*\*\* go and the horses' hooves and the manure and the wheels of the carts. And then there's all... there's all the knives that have to cut open the fish. I mean that's an awful health hazard, isn't it?

Dorothy Heathcote and John Carroll, 'The Lister Tapes', (Newcastle University Library, England).

Clearly Dorothy Heathcote provides the child with a massive amount of information in a very short time, but the information is an aspect of the situation which the teacher and child are both engaged in creating. It is provided in order to meet the child's interests, for it is a response to her initiations. She is elaborating the child's contributions and helping her to see what she means. This child is involved in her learning in a way that would not be the case had the teacher simply chosen to tell her something about the hazards of fish barrels. And if that seems like an unlikely topic for a lesson then consider how our topics are chosen and by what standards they are thought to be relevant or worthwhile. Would we choose to teach about fish barrels? And would anyone doubt the worthwhileness of this little interchange?

These are all examples of children being involved in situations within which they are confronted by the 'need to explain' and are forced to come to grips with their own level of understanding.

64. It still seems remarkable to me that a teacher can so effectively put aside his everyday role as a teacher and work in role to present a make-believe context. He cannot do it alone, but with the right kind of help, he can put aside almost completely his teacherness and be seen on the level of the dramatic context. John Norman describes vividly the way in which this 'transformation' can take place. He is talking of a piece of drama in which a 'popular woman's son who had been a conscientious objector' returns to the village during a street party to celebrate the end of the war and honour those from the village who had fought and died. He

explains how one girl ('small and very anxious') had been persuaded by the teacher to take on the role of the mother, and how on the day of the lesson 'the boy taking the son's role was missing. There was no option other than for me to take the role unbeknown to the Mother'.

Here is what happened:

'The scene was set, the party in full swing, the girl as Mother already feeling the pressure of being different as brave deeds were discussed. I made my entry. In a deafening silence the Mother stood to greet me. With great calm she moved towards me, reached up to my neck gently pulled my face towards her and kissed me, saying, "You are welcome, Son. Come sit by me". My description cannot capture the significance of that moment - despite all the factors about her role and status in the group, me, my size, maleness and status and her own adolescent feelings, plus the element of surprise, the power of the drama and the demands of a highly dissonant role combined to create a moment in which she perceived new possibilities for herself - she was able to attempt the previously unimaginable'.  
John L. Norman, 'Learning To Be Able', p.9.

This is the power of the created context, the managed situation, to create identity. We cannot ignore examples such as these, which enable us to see how we may ride 'roughshod' over our everyday world and in doing so, show it for what it is. Here are we 'transformed' by the drama, by the business of presenting experience dramatically.

65. See notes 53 and 62 to this chapter.

The emphasis here is upon the learning rather than upon the teaching, and whilst it is true to point out, as Fleming does, that 'teaching must characteristically have a central intentional component', and that there must be a deliberate purpose to teach, this is not the case with learning.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.118.

66. 'A child will find it much easier to take on the curricula goals and orientations to knowledge of the classroom, and make them his own, if continuity of learning can be maintained as far as possible between home and school. Most of the child's learning at home occurs as a result of recognising and attempting to solve problems which arise in the course of practical activities that are frequently initiated by the child himself'. In such situations the adult role is 'one of giving encouragement to sustain motivation and providing a resource of information and skill'.

Gordon Wells, 'Language, Literacy and Education', in Gordon Wells (Ed.), 'Learning Through Interaction', p.268.

Unfortunately, in school most of the problems which 'arise in the course of practical activities' are

grounded in the classroom, in the context of 'teachers and pupils'. The kind of drama which we have been looking at, though, gives us the chance (with the teacher working in role) to maintain the 'continuity of learning' and the variety of experience, whilst the child's language develops towards Bruner's 'symbolic representation'.

67. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.67-69, where the concept of understanding was linked to the ability of people to contribute to situations and cope with 'threats' to situations.

Consider, as well, the following definitions of understanding:

'..able to relate that which is to be understood to some wider, more or less determinate framework' or 'able to link that which is to be understood to what is already learned or understood'.

R.G.Woods and R.St.C.Barrow, An Introduction to Philosophy of Education (London: Methuen, 1975), p.49.

'Understanding is relating; it is fitting things into a context'.

M.Midgley, Beast and Man, p.18.

'Understanding, whether in the natural sciences or in the social sciences or humanities, involves finding a context which relates or unifies the apparently disparate. We have no reason to suppose that some particular mode of understanding is always and necessarily superior to all others.....Furthermore, we may find that one mode of understanding complements another like the intersecting beams of two searchlights'.

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.71.

But what of the everyday life of practical living? Can the knowledge required and the method of understanding used claim some kind of superiority? After all, everything serves to meet this end, the illumination of Schutz' 'paramount reality'. It is not part of my concern to give this kind of importance to drama (or literature) but it is worth thinking about.

'An educated person is not a master memory but one who knows how to connect the apparently disparate within a pertinent and unifying context'.

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.72.

See, as well, note 104 to this chapter.

Then think of what these children must do in order to make situations visible and meaningful and ask whether they understand or not. Move on then to consider the business of reflection, and the way in

which their created experience is connected with other persons and other times, the way in which it may be universalised. As Fleming concludes when discussing these descriptions, 'One feature common to these views is that the notion of understanding itself can only be understood in relation to particular contexts'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.154.

Fleming also draws our attention to this account of learning which may be said to have taken place if, 'someone has acquired, otherwise than by simple maturation, an ability to respond to a situation in a new way'.

G.Vesey, Conditioning and Learning, in R.S.Peters (Ed.), The Concept of Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p.61.

Such a definition, though, hardly seems dynamic enough to cope with the learning which takes place in this drama. It seems to imply a 'situation' beyond the activities of those engaged in making it visible and meaningful. The learning which takes place in drama of this kind requires more than a new response for we have to consider the contribution as elaborating the situation, as 'moving the meaning forward'. It may not be enough to know where we are, we may also need to be able to contribute to a progress. In this sense the situation develops with our learning. Of course, as we come to reflect later upon our drama, it may be that we shall adopt a different attitude towards a familiar situation, but the first level of learning is that required that we may contribute in an appropriate way to a developing situation. When this happens that which we have learned is itself affected by our learning.

See, as well, notes 91-97 in this chapter, which are concerned with 'reflection'.

'...if the learning is concerned with "a change in appraisal" what is the criterion of truth here? Gavin Bolton identifies the problem when he says, 'change of understanding itself cannot automatically be of value. Change to understanding what? And who decides? Is it his or society's values that he is to inculcate? Or should the teacher take a "neutral position"?' Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.134.

Might it be helpful in answering questions of this kind to point to what the child does as he produces situations within which he can contribute 'properly'. Can we point to this 'change of understanding' by analysing the development within the dramatic experience and the way in which those involved have brought it about? After all, we can compare the contributions of Shirley and Ian; we can point to different levels of thinking and feeling, and we can see that the children contribute (and are allowed to contribute) with more assurance as the drama proceeds. We can see it in the

generative force, we can see it in the way in which the dramatic experience is sustained. It is an aspect of their 'attentiveness' and their sensitivity to the situation which they create and in which they find themselves. We do not have to link this 'change in understanding' to particular values, though of course the teacher may have strong views. The point remains, though, that if he is to stay in role and if he is concerned to present experience dramatically, then he can only introduce these views through his role in the drama. He cannot make the children understand them or respond to them, and their 'change in understanding' may well be to repudiate that which he is trying to inject into the work. I am not sure that the 'what' of this change is so important, but rather that the people involved are sensitive to a developing situation which, in turn, points to a change in the understanding of those engaged in presenting the situation. This 'change in understanding' is then contained in the changed circumstances of their situation, a situation which they have collectively produced. The situation and the developments attest to the validity of their contributions and the changed level of understanding.

'The more thought we give to the relations between knowledge-that and knowledge-how, or between knowledge and understanding, the more interconnection we find there. Thus an understanding kind of knowledge-that consists in knowing how to connect apparently diverse items. The kind of connection varies according to the subject-matter. It is part of being an educated person that one aims at the kind of connection appropriate to a given subject-matter. An understanding kind of knowledge in any field consists in knowing what counts as understanding in that field'.

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.74.

Only think of Shirley and Julia dealing with religious knowledge as they talked of their belief.

68. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.102-116.

69. It is worth remembering too, that 'Childhood has its own ways of seeing, thinking and feeling; nothing is more foolish than to try and substitute our ways'. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.79.

Though of course we would hope to influence these ways as we interact with children to make visible a sensible experience. Consider, as well, the extra 'rights' the adult enjoys in any interaction with children and which the teacher uses here so that he may teach through the drama.

See Chapter Five, Conversation Analysis and Language

Management', note 44.

Indeed, it may be that schooling is geared to moving the children away from childish ways and towards an adult perception of experience. Attempts to do this deliberately and directly are hard. Moreover, behind such attempts lies the assumption that the 'adult world' is the 'real world', an assumption which is reflected in teachers' talk of children 'developing to maturity'. It is as if this kind of 'growth' were in the hands of the child, and the teacher's task one of helping them towards, and guiding them through, useful experiences. All of this would be done in order that they may know this world a little better. Such an approach, though, fails to take account of the 'managed' quality of experience and gives but scant attention to the child's perception of the world, which is undervalued. The result is that in many classrooms the 'useful experiences' are generated out of the everyday presentation of 'teachers and pupils in school' (consider, for instance, those nursery school children who are adept already at presenting the teacher role). Drama provides the opportunity to present experience beyond these rather narrow confines.

70. See Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.51-63, for instance, and the Transcript, pp.68-74.

71. As Fleming points out, 'One of the strengths of drama is that it employs a "natural" form of learning which includes a prominent tacit element and does not require that the pupils "set about" learning'. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.164.

'Here then in drama we have a unique pedagogic situation, where a teacher sees himself as teaching but the participant does not see himself as learning; where the teacher focuses on the aesthetic overtones or implications of a context, but the participant focuses on the context; where the teacher looks for opportunities to break the perceptions and conceptions of his pupils but the pupils do not set out with this intention'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.157.

Consider, as well, Gordon Wells' 'spontaneous' and 'incidental learning', referred to in note 36 to this chapter.

72. See particularly, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context'. Also consider the justification for this work referred to elsewhere (Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.85) in terms of the study being a 'methodological underpinning' of current practice. See, as well, para.58 in this chapter.

73. Dorothy Heathcote, working from another point of view, demonstrates something of the quality of this kind of learning when she says, 'Sharing thinking, bouncing it off others' thought keeps thought fluidly in action ..constantly clears away fog so that I begin to know the content and the context of my thought which moves me forward to my next endeavour somewhat informed of why'. Dorothy Heathcote, Of Those Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.9.

It would probably be hard to overstress the significance of this 'collaborative learning' within a created context. In 'Children's Minds', Margaret Donaldson describes a number of experiments 'which provide a challenge to Piagetian assumptions about the intellectual capacity of young children because they performed better when tests were altered, although the formal thought process being tested remained the same. The common factor which runs through the description of the nature of the alterations was to place the test in a context of feeling, intentions, motivations'. This quotation is from Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', pp.294-295.

Margaret Donaldson accounts for a child's success in one of these experiments in this way;

'Notice that we cannot appeal to direct actual experience: few, if any, of these children had ever tried to hide from a policeman. But we can appeal to the generalization of experience: they know what it is to try to hide. Also they know what it is to be naughty and to want to evade the consequences'. Margaret Donaldson, Children's Minds, p.24.

'In their minds they've got a feeling they're a mining family but they can't express that yet, because in fact these children are not now living in such families as those of 50 years ago'. Dorothy Heathcote then shows how they can 'construct' on the blackboard a mining village of 50 years ago, and how she did this as she 'created a thing that helped it matter'. David Davis, 'Dorothy Heathcote Interviewed', pp.69-71.

David Davis explores this from a different point of view when he says, 'It is not possible to create drama situations where people are actually beaten up....but it might be possible to set up a drama situation where the social workers [those involved in creating the drama in his example] can experience fear, which could be chosen as a central emotional state of the women involved and one that can be universally tapped'. He then concludes, 'The social workers are no nearer "knowing" what case X feels, in the sense that they cannot feel what she felt, but they have felt something of what they might feel'. David Davis, 'What is "Depth" in Educational Drama?', p.93.

74. Our drama may throw light on the nature of meaning

and it may help us to see, for instance, what is involved when statements such as the 'negotiation of meaning' are discussed.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.180.

And we cannot escape the consequences of our work. The treatment of drama in education 'as a process which has real social consequences: consequences in creating a community of interest, consequences in developing an understanding of human commonalities, consequences in exploring and perceiving social issues, consequences as a working tool for direct social and community action, and above all, as Cecily O'Neill ['Drama: Context or Essence' in C.W.Day and J.L.Norman (Eds.), Issues in Educational Drama (London: Falmer Press, 1984)] suggests, consequences in that learning through drama not only remakes the maker, but can also be a remaking of the experience of the community'.

John L.Norman, 'Learning to be Able', p.7.

By uncovering the work done by these children and their teacher in presenting experience to one another (and to outside observers), we can give a new dimension to the idea of drama 'as a process which has real social consequences'. Those involved are drawing upon the same methods and practices by which they make everyday experience visible to themselves and each other. They are engaged in the business of presenting the social life and, at the same time, they are presenting a sense of 'self' through engagement with others in the creation of a social context by which that 'self' is characterised. They may even come to see something of the way in which a sense of stability is given to ordinary life.

'Over many years I have been fascinated, indeed possibly obsessed, by the way in which drama can create opportunities for participants to enhance their own self esteem, their own sense of worth and value and, above all, their sense of personal power to exercise influence and control over their own lives. Indeed, I would go further and suggest that the particular mechanisms of the drama process represent a means of creating self and as such are a liberating force which allows the perception of new possibilities and the development of personal powers'.

John L.Norman, 'Learning To Be Able', p.7.

It is, I suspect, these 'particular mechanisms of the drama process' which this study is concerned to uncover and describe; the methods and practices by which we make the social life visible and meaningful, by which we give it a sense of stability.

75. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.123-128.

76. 'The dramatic form is chosen so that they learn

inside the event and from their particular involvement in the event'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman (Ed.), Educational Drama, p.27.

It does not mean, necessarily, that the themes were foreseen in the structure, only that they could be seen with hindsight.

77. 'The interior journey made in drama contains all possible arrivals....it is that which makes all arrivals possible.....it makes the next journey possible and to some extent foreshadows what it may be like'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.17.

Think, for instance, of the children in this drama presenting the 'waiting time' as they considered what might happen and, indeed, what later came to pass.

Dorothy Heathcote makes this point well on another occasion, when she says that the introduction to the drama must be 'sufficient to construct a framework in which the actual task could be launched. The design of the task must be used in tandem with that of role. The role is the key to unfolding the context of the framework while the task is the key to generating the work activity'.

Dorothy Heathcote and Phyl Herbert, 'A Drama of Learning', p.175.

'All you can prove is that you can use experiences of different kinds and put them all together in a new shape and learn something new...what matters is how much the little information you do give them can do when you focus on it long enough to let it fill with power and significance'.

Betty J. Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, pp.27-28.

78. See 'Universalising the dramatic experience' which begins at para.43 in this chapter.

79. Michael Fleming talks of drama teachers who may be formulating their 'objectives as the lesson or sequence of lessons progresses'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.106.

He then quotes Kelly and Downey on educational objectives, who suggest that an educational encounter 'identifies a situation in which children are to work, a problem with which they are to cope, a task in which they are to engage but it does not specify what from that encounter, situation, problem or task they are to learn'.

M.Downey and A.V.Kelly, Theory and Practice of Education: An Introduction (London: Harper and Row, 1979), p.207.

See, as well, note 6 to this chapter.

80. One might be put in mind here of Vygotsky talking of play, 'In play a child is always above his average age, above his daily behaviour; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself'.

L.S.Vygotsky (1933), The role of play in the mental development of the child, in J.S.Bruner, A.Jolly, and K.Sylva (Eds.), Play: its role in development and evolution (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p.552.

See, also, David Davis, 'Drama, Learning and Mental Development', in 2D, Vol.6, No.1, Autumn 1986, from whence this extract was taken.

81. See, as well, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', para.62, and Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.50.

82. Such contributions are embedded in contexts of their use. Remember,

'She was not taught.....rather she was thrust into a situation in which she had a chance to bring to bear those past experiences and feelings that were called for in this newly imagined situation. Her thinking was divergent; it could not have been predicted in advance'. Betty Jane Wagner, Educational Drama and the Brain's Right Hemisphere, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.140. Also quoted in note 7 to this chapter.

David Davis describes such an occasion as a group of children, well into a piece of drama, reach a point in which the young woman's husband begins an angry and bitter attack on his wife for having loaned some money to an old friend of hers. 'The girl (13 years old and black) draws herself to her feet and up to her full height against her husband and says quietly but with deep inner passion "I stand up for myself. It is my money. I earned it and I'll spend it how I please. He is a member of our society - he is one of us, we're supposed to be caring". She personified and embodied the struggle for values: women, in the miners' strike; South Africa now; the giving quality in women; all stood together in that moment'.

David Davis then concludes, 'This was all the student's initiative. The scene was intended to evoke the embarrassments of poverty, but she cut through all that at a stroke and created a new level of drama. In that simple action of drawing herself to her feet she inspired new strength in herself and the other members of her class. It was a social act not an individual one'.

David Davis, 'Drama as a Weapon' (A lecture given at the School of Education, University of Durham, 1987).

83. See 'The Dazzling Performance' in Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', paras.12-15.

84. L.S.Vygotsky, Interaction between learning and development, in L.S.Vygotsky, Mind in Society (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1978), p.90.
85. L.S.Vygotsky, Mind and Society, p.57.
86. L.S.Vygotsky, Mind and Society, p.86.
87. L.S.Vygotsky, Mind and Society, p.90.
88. 'What captivated me most was his [Vygotsky] approach to the role of context in mental growth. It was the avoided topic in Piaget. Vygotsky begins with a paradox: "Consciousness and control appear only at a late state in the development of a function, after it has been used and practised unconsciously and spontaneously. In order to subject a function to intellectual and volitional control, we must first possess it". What aids the child to gain control? Vygotsky's sketch of an answer was incorporated in an idea with the drab name "zone of proximal development". It consists in the child's capacity to use hints, to take advantage of others helping him organise his thought processes until he can do so on his own. By using the help of others, he gains consciousness and perspective under his own control, reaches "higher ground"'.  
J.S.Bruner, In Search of Mind (New York: Harper Row, 1983), pp.139-140

Most of these quotations from the work of Vygotsky and Bruner were first brought to my attention in an article by David Davis, and to which I would recommend the reader.

David Davis, 'Drama, Learning and Mental Development'.

89. J.S.Bruner, Actual Minds, Possible Worlds (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1986), p.127.
90. It is not just that drama is a useful learning tool, a means of making that which has to be learned more palatable, but rather that the dramatic activity is itself relevant to the actor's learning. It is an aspect of that learning and can provide a basis as it provides a context for new levels of understanding. Michael Fleming makes this point when discussing play as a useful activity for learning.  
Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.40.
91. Dorothy Heathcote demonstrates the importance of reflection within the learning process: 'every teaching tool I have has been hewn to supply and feed reflection'  
Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.11.

'In drama there is no outside medium to carry the

idea's moulding. The person conceiving of the idea is the medium by which it is expressed....therefore, there is need of the reflection to become active within the experience so as to provide protection from too deep involvement and to lead toward new growth'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.14.

Further, 'when the capacity for reflection is awakened it brings about the capacity also to re-meet experiences, no matter how often they occur, and never find them dull'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.15.

She concludes, 'to sharpen the perception and the reflective process is more important than to store the information', and avows, 'here and now, the next time I teach whatever experiences I seek to bring about will have reflection built into the experience. No longer shall experience only be enough'

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.17.

Furthermore, '...the reflection upon that experience [should be] at the very moment or as close to it as possible'.

Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.15.

Gavin Bolton lays particular emphasis upon this reflection from within the drama, and refers to Dorothy Heathcote when he says,

'...she expects the children to operate intuitively in their make-believe, but she believes the intuition can be a refined instrument, accompanied by a high degree of awareness, at its best, bringing about reflection on what one experiences even as one experiences it'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.55.

'Piaget's findings and arguments are complex, but one point that emerges very clearly is that awareness typically develops when something gives us pause and when consequently, instead of just acting, we stop to consider the possibilities of acting which are before us. The claim is that we heighten our awareness of what is actual by considering what is possible. We are conscious of what we do to the extent that we are conscious also of what we do not do - of what we might have done'.

Margaret Donaldson, Children's Minds, p.94.

92. There is also that reflection which occurs as we consider ourselves and the way we are working within the dramatic context. This is when we have that extra awareness of ourselves working within the drama. Consider, the teacher giving out instructions through the whispering and Julia playing with the tape recorder.

But do not forget that this reflection can take place in the everyday experience as well. Think of an example which Gavin Bolton gives of a new lecturer conducting his first seminar and busily and thoughtfully modelling himself on some conception in his mind of what a seminar should be like. We are sometimes very self-conscious in our everyday lives.

See, Gavin Bolton, 'Drama as Art'.

And do not forget Agnes, the 'practising methodologist' mentioned in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 100.

93. Betty Jane Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.18.

'By keeping only the inner experience itself constant, a person can span all time and circumstances, all social strata and age groupings....instantly into a teacher's hands come dozens of situations in which the inner experience of the participants is the same'. Betty Jane Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.48.

Dorothy Heathcote goes 'into role to develop and heighten emotion: [she] comes out of it to achieve distance and the objectivity needed for reflection'. Betty Jane Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.128.

This spirit of reflection also connects with the nature of meaning discussed in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective'. See, for instance, note 18 to that Chapter.

94. Such reflection puts us in touch with

'...a cognitive community, extended over time and space, each member of which is striving to discover for himself truths which may be collectively owned by all. But nobody can verify for himself all known truths. This is why if we are to combine understanding with co-operation in the advancement of knowledge there has to be a division of labour founded on trust'. Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.74.

See, as well, the piece about every teaching engagement contributing in some small way to the universal experience of teaching (Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', para.5 and note 4).

95. Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.9.

96. And which are described by the 'school curriculum'. See, for example, Paul Hirst, Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge, in P.Hirst, Knowledge and the Curriculum: A collection of philosophical papers (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

97. Dorothy Heathcote, Of These Seeds Becoming, in R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.10.

98. This is a reference to Margaret Donaldson's argument used by Tizard and Hughes.  
B.Tizard and M.Hughes, Young Children Learning, p.264.

99. As they wait, the children and their teacher are ranging beyond the dramatic context and their positions within it and using the occasion to recollect other times and other experiences. These are then used (with the act of recollecting) to infuse a sense of meaningfulness into the present moment. This happens as they 'make sense of' and reflect upon their experience, as they create imaginary situations through their roles in the drama. If we felt inclined to use such figures, we could see the children imagining themselves as guides imagining their previous experiences and creating those experiences out of their imaginations! Rather should we see them as people developing abstract thought as they make life meaningful.

100. 'From the point of view of development, the fact of creating an imaginary situation can be regarded as a means of developing abstract thought'.

L.S.Vygotsky (1933), Play and its role in the mental development of the child, in J.S.Bruner, A.Jolly, and K.Sylva (Eds.), Play: its role in development and evolution, p.553.

Clearly, it would be wrong to conclude that this kind of knowledge is, in some way, beyond the individual in that it is abstracted and appears to be 'untainted' by his personal experience. The process of comprehension depends upon:

'context at every level of development. Language does not become in some way more "abstract" or "free'd" from dependence on immediate context. The relationship between context and comprehension becomes embedded within increasingly complex structures of represented knowledge. These structures whilst still contextually located, allow the individual to act in complex ways upon the representations themselves'.

A.Bridges, C.Sinha and V.Walkerdine, The Development of Comprehension, in Gordon Wells (Ed.), Learning Through Interaction, pp.116-156.

So, whilst we might wish to talk of 'degrees of indexicality' (Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', para.36) we cannot consider any linguistic forms as being meaningful beyond the context created for their 'meaningfulness'.

This 'drawing out' of knowledge is shown vividly in the work of John Fines and Ray Verrier. A particularly good example of their teaching is presented by Gavin Bolton who is able to show 'that whereas at first the dramatic form controlled and indeed modified the

expression of anger, at the end of the lesson their feelings were further contained and harnessed for the exploration of historical subject matter'. In this, the children had been able to 'feel their way into knowledge', and John Fines could step into their drama and say, 'And that was how it was'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.86-87.

Their understanding was generated through the work done by the children and their teacher in order to make a situation visible and meaningful. Then it was but a fairly simple step to connect this experience with other people, other times.

101. G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult/Child Interaction, in P.French and M.MacLure (Eds.), Adult/Child Conversation, p.232.

The difficulties of trying to teach beyond the child's interests and concerns have been appreciated by some teachers for a long, long time. This teacher, Miss Finlay Johnson, was writing in the early part of the century. 'I begin to see how it might be possible to throw more of the actual lessons, including their preparation and arrangement onto the scholars themselves.....for the best notes, prepared by the teacher with laborious care overnight presupposes an attitude of mind which may, in the morning, be missing from the class'.

T.Cox, 'The Development of Drama in Education', p.212.

As Wagner points out, 'the children's interests [their focus of attention] become the paste that holds the drama together'. It also provides a motivating force for, 'the child's answers are the material she [Dorothy Heathcote] dare not ignore, for they show her the child's interests and desires and carry with them the child's commitment'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.21.

All of this should encourage us to work from the child's focus of attention, to start from where we are rather than ever looking towards a goal beyond their experience. This description of Dorothy Heathcote's attitude towards the children with whom she works is illuminating in this regard: 'She starts with the children, not judging them, knowing intuitively it is their right to be where they are, to reject what they feel they must and to affirm their own interests, no matter how different they may be from the ones the school would like them to have'.

Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.111.

102. G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult/Child Interaction, P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.232.

103. Margaret Donaldson, Children's Minds (London: Fontana, 1978). As quoted by G.Wells and M.Montgomery, Adult/Child Interaction in P.French and M.MacLure, Adult/Child Conversation, p.232.

104. Koestler seems to indicate that this is bound to happen when he suggests that 'the laws of disciplined thinking demand that we should stick to a given frame of reference and not shift from one universe of discourse to another'. However, there is more to making life meaningful than 'disciplined thinking' and 'when concentration flags and primitive emotions take over, thought will shift from one matrix to another, like a ball bouncing down a mountain stream, each time an idea provides a link to a more attractive context'. Quoted by R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.46.

Not only does this show how drama may help us to make Schutz' 'leap of consciousness' from the everyday reality of the managed accomplishment to the 'rarified areas of knowledge', it also encourages us to appreciate the way in which our 'disciplined thinking' may have use in our lives. Drama gives us the opportunity to draw upon all aspects of our learning. We may also be aware of the generative force within all meaning making situations which seems to lead us we know not where.

'Common understanding cuts across the "forms" of knowledge and is a rigorous way of approaching school subjects from the "inside", rather than from the more normal view of a subject as a collection of "given" knowledge'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.163.

105. Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, pp.65-66.

106. Gordon Wells, Language, Literacy and Education, in Gordon Wells (Ed.), Language Through Interaction, p.265.

Clearly this is very important for, 'It has been variously suggested (Cross 1977, Wells 1974) that the ideal situation for the language learner is to receive utterances which encode what is currently the focus of intersubjective attention - particularly where such utterances incorporate and extend matter previously contributed to the ongoing discourse by the child. This is strongly confirmed by Wells' research'.

G.Wells, Adjustments in Adult-Child Conversation, in H. Giles, W.P.Robinson and P.M.Smith, Language: Social Psychological Perspectives: selected papers from the first International Conference on Social Psychology and Language held at the University of Bristol, England, July 1979 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), p.46.

107. J.S.Bruner, R.Oliver and P.M.Greenfield, Studies in

Cognitive Growth (New York: Wiley, 1966), p.47.

This extract was taken from Gordon Wells, Learning Through Interaction, p.265.

108. 'This once again draws our attention to the particular power of the dramatic medium: its highest abstractions are tethered to the here and now of action'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.120.

109. Reflection makes an impact on learning in a much more prosaic way as well. For instance, one piece of research concluded that differences in reading comprehension between a group of 10-11 year olds reflected only 'one general aptitude: this being pupils' ability and willingness to reflect on whatever they are reading'.

E.Lunzer and K.Gardiner (Eds.), The Effective Use of Reading (London: Heinemann Educational for the Schools Council, 1979), p.64.

As Roger Beard points out, 'The Effective Use of Reading concluded its final report by setting out three unequivocal recommendations for improving reading for learning across the curriculum:

- (a) that situations be devised which foster a willingness to reflect on what is read;
- (b) that the quality of this reflection be improved by instruction, guidance and practice;
- (c) that the conditions for purposeful reading be created by the monitoring of methods and materials used'.

Roger Beard, Developing Reading 3-13 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987), p.136.

This leads us nicely into the next section on developing abilities for learning and living.

110. Gunther Kress, Learning to Write.

111. Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.35.

This is reinforced by Phillips,

'The research also shows that by engaging in real conversations, i.e. ones in which they genuinely want to discover the child's meaning, adults help children to develop complex speech structures and an increasingly developed set of conversational strategies. Taken as a whole, the research shows how sensitive adults, who are ready to listen to children carefully, to respond with interest and to be flexible in their conversational behaviour take an active and irreplaceable role in the developmental process by which young children learn to use talk'.

Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip-service, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, pp.60-61.

112. Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip-service, in Gordon

Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.65.

113. Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip-service, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.78.

114. Terry Phillips also provides a good reason for looking at the way in which children contribute to the presentation of dramatic experience.

'Spoken language forms a text, too, and with current technology it is possible to capture these texts and study them. If we are to do more than pay lip-service to the need to develop children's spoken language after they leave their first school, we need to make a serious study of their spoken texts'.

Terry Phillips, Beyond Lip-service, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.81.

I hope that this study has made an attempt to do this. Certainly it has enabled us to see their spontaneously produced dramatic talk as text.

115. Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, pp.193-194.

Consider particularly, Rosie, who never had stories read to her. See, 'What does this mean for Rosie?' in Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, p.158.

116. Gordon Wells, Language Learning and Education (Windsor: NFER Nelson, 1985), p.139.

117. Gordon Wells, Language Learning and Education, p.139.

118. Gordon Wells, The Meaning Makers, pp.193-194.

119. See, too, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.82.

120. Of course such activities are time consuming, and it is not always possible for the teacher to find the opportunity to record work and prepare transcripts for study. But still, it ought to be done upon occasion.

'In school, teachers need to have the time and opportunity to devise tasks to elicit talk and, where appropriate, to record it and, if necessary, to transcribe it. They also need time to analyse what is recorded and to discuss their analysis with the pupils concerned'.

Tom Gorman, Language Assessment and Language Teaching: Innovation and Interaction, in Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.133.

121. Such questioning might be of the form, 'How through your words and actions did you show us that you were a priest? Forget that you were told to play the part of a priest and show us how you managed to appear as a

priest. Show us what Shirley did to demonstrate that she was concerned for the stranger's safety or how the guardians of the last section managed to impress the stranger with their concern for his well-being'. Instructions and questions of this kind can encourage quite young children to look at what they have done. They will probably be rather proud of their achievement. It is worthwhile doing it occasionally and perhaps before they get the chance to look at a 'literary' text in this way.

See, as well, para.55 in this chapter, and Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play', note 50.

'By contact with nature, art and literature we can learn how to respond more critically and sensitively to our own experience and how to enter imaginatively into the experience of others. Thus understanding a poem involves not only becoming acquainted with a tradition and style within which emotions can be expressed but also being able to react appropriately. Acquaintance with the tradition and the style involves recognising the technical means of achieving certain poetic ends. Understanding the poem requires in addition knowing how these technical means are used to express characteristically human emotions. The artist shows us how, and here saying and showing combine'. Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.77.

'The novelist or other artist can educate our capacity for sympathy so that we extend it to include within its ambit others different both in character and situation from ourselves. We all naturally see ourselves from the inside. The difficult thing is to see ourselves objectively, to see ourselves as others see us, to acquire self-knowledge, as it has sometimes been called. Self-knowledge involves the capacity to stand outside the contingencies of one's own personality and situation and can often be learned from literature and in particular from the novel and drama. The author of a novel aims to take up an objective stance outside or above the character's view of his or her situation. The reader can learn from the novelist both that this is possible and how it is possible. The same capacity can be applied to other individuals. As social creatures we are connected with one another; therefore knowing oneself involves knowing others, and to know oneself in connection with others is to understand both oneself and others. Since men have no alternative but to try and understand each other, such knowledge is vital. Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.78.

Consider the opportunity these children have for looking at their creation objectively. Think how they

might take up 'an objective stance' in order to see what they did and how they did what they did. Think how they might see the manner in which they are 'connected with one another'.

122. See, as well, Chapter Nine, 'Drama as a Well-made Play'.

123. John Norman, Evaluating the Drama Process, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.48.

124. It is this ability to distance ourselves from the work done in making experience visible that puts us on the way to formal reasoning. 'Young children can reason when the logical relations of the task are 'embedded' in a meaningful context. The children are reflecting upon the rules and relations of social practices which are represented as discursive rules in language'. In this sense, 'formal reasoning is an act performed upon language; it is a peculiar one which is not "natural"', in that it is not required in the presentation of everyday life.

Valerie Walkerdine, From Context to Text: a psychosemiotic approach to abstract thought, in M. Beveridge (Ed.), Children Thinking through Language (London: Arnold, 1982), pp.129-155.

Grieve et al., define language awareness as 'The ability to reflect upon the structure and functions of language as opposed to simply using it to comprehend and produce sentences'.

R.Grieve, W.E.Tunmer and C.Pratt, Language Awareness in Children, in M.Donaldson, R.Grieve and C.Pratt (Eds.), Early Childhood and Development, p.290.

125. See, as well, note 121 in this chapter.

126. As Gavin Bolton makes clear, 'Many recent educational publications claim an important relationship between drama and the acquisition of language skills, including communication skills, but I would like to go further than this by suggesting that in many ways drama is language....you cannot conceive of one without the other'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.119.

Nor may we conceive of everyday life without language for it is through the use of language that everyday and dramatic experience is made visible. Language is much more than a 'currency for handling meaning' for its use is the very meaningfulness of situations. I believe that studies of this kind will bring a new dimension to rather vague statements of the form, 'Drama helps language development'. At the same time the relationship between drama and 'social learning' which, as Bolton suggests, is so often used as a justification for doing drama, can be seen in a

new light.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.124.

All of this gives an extra dimension to Bolton's suggestion that '..play is not only being. It uses the form of being in order to explore being'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.22.

127. See, for instance, the work of Donald Cegala who sees interaction involvement as being based on 'two fundamental communicative behaviours' which he refers to as "attentiveness" and "perceptiveness". He suggests that when an individual 'is highly involved in an interaction, his or her active participation' is focused on an accounting of other's behaviour and how others perceive self. Such an 'involved individual' is taking others into account, and 'this ongoing account of self and other is a function of how inner feelings, thoughts, and experiences are directed to and integrated with the various phenomena of the social environment (which, of course, includes other's behaviour).

So these individuals are attentive to 'objects and people in the environment', and "attentiveness" 'allows for the acquisition of information that is necessary to adapt one's own behaviour to the demands of the situation'. "Perceptiveness" refers to 'an understanding of the social context of which one is a part [and] also allows for appropriate (meaningful), adaptive behaviour'. It is not enough simply to attend to cues in the social environment, for 'making sense' requires 'the attribution and integration of meanings associated with these cues and an appropriate response to them. "Perceptiveness" is the extent to which an individual understands and responds to the symbolic relationship between self and other, that relationship constituting the social reality of the immediate situation'.

Donald J.Cegala, The Role and Assessment of pre-requisite behaviours in Communication Instruction, in Larry L.Barker (Ed.), Communication in the Class-room: original essays (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1982), pp.24-26.

'....the kind of knowledge which enables us both to manage and to understand ourselves and others. For want of a better name, I shall call it "sensitivity", although one might use the word "imagination".

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.77.

On a more prosaic level;

'Dialogue encourages children to listen closely, to reflect, to consider alternatives and to engage in other kinds of mental activity. Successful dialogue is that which extends a child's thinking and his/her ability to express ideas through questions and

comments'.

Robert Fisher (Ed.), Problem Solving in Primary Schools (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p.36.

128. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.45-46.

129. John L.Norman, The Sticking Place, in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, p.8.

We could also consider the work done by these children in the light of John Norman's description of the kind of learning which comes from dramatic activity.

He identifies five categories of 'potential learning outcomes' from drama. Of these, two (perceptual learning and integral learning) are seen to be unique to drama 'and would thus rank highest in any priority list of potential learning outcomes'. Here is how he describes these two categories:

Perceptual learning -

The enhancement of self image through teacher directed or self initiated status raising. Simply, growth in confidence arising from seeing the effects of personal contributions to the lesson. More complex level - extending the child's experience beyond normal role set barriers into functions and possibilities not previously perceived. This process operates within a view of the social construction of reality, and the real consequences of feeling engagement at the enactive/ symbolic level.

Integral learning -

The core concept of Drama in Education - making personal meaning and sense of universal, abstract, social, moral, and ethical concepts through the concrete experience of the drama. The development of a body of subjective knowledge - in effect, the exploration and creation of personal values which enable us to cope with life experience and understand the actions and feelings of others. Also the development of a propensity towards 'an intelligence of feeling' through the exercise of affective and cognitive responses'.

John L.Norman, 'Evaluating the Drama Process', in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, pp.49-51.

This body of subjective knowledge is subjective in the sense that it represents a point of view, an attitude, but it is the knowledge by which we make sense of what is going on and through which we know how to contribute sensibly. In this, it is only 'meaningful' in that it works. It is the kind of knowledge which comes out of situations within which it is used.

The other categories identified by John Norman are, Skills learning, Social learning and Consequent learning, and it is well worth while looking at them in the light of the work uncovered in Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context'. See, then,

John L. Norman, 'Evaluating the Drama Process', in John Norman (Ed.), Drama in Education, pp.49-51.

130. See note 67 to this chapter on the nature of understanding.

131. Shuman describes drama as a 'composing process demanding independent thinking' and one that is 'composed of the contributions of each individual and every contribution is important'.

R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama and the Creative Process, in R. Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.47.

Surely to be able to take part in such a co-operative activity points to understanding and learning?

It might now be worth looking again at the question put by Tom Stabler and referred to in Chapter One: 'What is accomplished through play?' (para.10). Consider, as well, his answer, 'Through their own choices and decisions [the children] are able to free themselves from present constraints and enter their own worlds, whether these concern giants or castles, picnics and bus trips to the seaside, mothers at home or doctors tending the sick in hospital. Because what is created in these situations reflects children drawing on past experiences and recombining them in a make-believe environment, they not only exercise imagination but use it to explore themselves, others and the known world. Here they discover what they are as well as what they are not. This is what makes a rich background of experience so necessary for extending possibilities and providing the essential raw material for building up play. The capacity to alter an environment, shape it into something new and work actively within it must depend largely upon how perceptively children observe and draw from a wide range of experiences. As they succeed in developing this ability so the complexity of what they can deal with in play increases'.

Tom Stabler, Drama in Primary Schools, p.12.

And so, too, we may wish to add, does the complexity of what they can deal with in everyday and dramatic experience. This does not explain why we should play or do drama, it simply points to the intrinsic value of such activities and demonstrates their 'worthwhileness'.

132. See, as well, para.38 in this chapter.

133. Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, p.40.

134. In discussing a drama lesson in which children were working as misers, Gavin Bolton speaks of 'the slow building.....towards using what they already know, not in the factual sense of "what we know about misers" but in the deeper sense of the feeling of hoarding, of

ownership, of projecting one's identity on to possessions, of not trusting others, of secrets, etc., as a means of creating a new experience..'

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.14-15.

This is the kind of knowing with which the children involved in the volcano drama are concerned and it is the kind of knowing which gives significance to the miser's box. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', note 75, and the reference to the miser's box and how it became a miser's box.

135. Betty J.Wagner, Drama as a Learning Medium, p.76.

136. Betty J.Wagner, Educational Drama and the Brain's Right Hemisphere, in R.Baird Shuman, Educational Drama, p.152.

It is not that this kind of 'factual learning' is not important but rather that drama is not a useful means of bringing it about. Bolton makes the point clearly, 'The kind of important learning that deliberately discourages value judgements (for example, the classification of animals into vertebrates and non-vertebrates) is best acquired, in my opinion, through modes other than drama'. He then suggests that through drama, a concept (say, "protection") can 'connote a whole range of personal meanings that stem from the user's affective life'. Put into its starkest form, 'the geography teacher may teach the fact that the Banaban people were evacuated from their Pacific Island home so that the British government might continue to destroy it for phosphate quarrying, but he does not see it as part of his job to explore the nature of that people's distress'.

Bolton then concludes with the implications of this neglect of the child's affective experience. 'What is intellectually understood is rarely enriched by subjective understanding, and, more importantly, the objective world of the child grows apace so that as he gets older he has more and more sophisticated objective measures to draw upon, but his education has deliberately avoided extending his range and sophistication of feeling so that all he has to draw on in this respect are those emotional experiences he happens to meet'.

Gavin Bolton, Towards a Theory of Drama, pp.38-40.

137. If we do wish to seek for 'worthwhileness' beyond the activity, we might do well to look at this account from Cooper, which does not seek to tell us what to do.

'What capacities are considered to constitute worthwhile knowledge depends on one's conception of functioning well. In any community there are certain characteristic activities in which normal adults take part. They acquire food and shelter, they engage in work or leisure, communicate and debate, calculate and measure, engage in sexual activity, bring up children,

create and administer institutions, take part in social or religious rituals, travel from place to place, and so on. These activities are for the most part common to every society, although in different societies they may take different forms'.

Neil Cooper, The Transmission of Knowledge, in Roger Straughan and John Wilson (Eds.), Philosophers on Education, p.65.

The presentation of a form of life (whether everyday or make-believe) through which these activities are made visible and reflected upon, would seem to be, of itself, worthwhile. They are all a part of the business of living together, of making life meaningful.

138. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', and the section on 'Sustaining Situations in Drama' beginning at para.123.

'Observation of children in their homes....shows that as with the initial learning of language, the motivation to learn through language comes from within, as they actively seek to gain control of their environment, and to make sense of their experience. Once the child can use his linguistic resources to operate on that experience, though, the contribution of other people increases enormously in importance. For it is through the power of language to symbolise "possible worlds" that have not yet been directly experienced, that parents, and later, teachers can enable children to encounter new knowledge and skills and to make them their own'.

Gordon Wells and John Nicholls (Eds.), Language and Learning, p.39.

139. It is important to appreciate that Drama is not justified in that it may be seen as a 'tool' for learning about other things.

'Malcolm Ross is very concerned that people like me have given the impression that drama is solely an educational tool, that learning is very important in it, and indeed, learning has a top priority in it, and because what he has picked up from my writings leads him to believe that, by saying this, I deny the importance of the art form, he is at pains to demonstrate what he thinks is an opposite point of view'.

David Davis, 'Gavin Bolton interviewed', p.14.

Bolton then goes on to suggest that this criticism is partly the result of a misreading of his work and that they are 'are closer to each other philosophically than our two lots of writing would suggest'. But still that people can misread Bolton's work in this way should serve to put us in mind of the dangers of looking for its 'worthwhileness' elsewhere. Rather, any such search should be centred upon the activity itself,

'This evaluation of the worth of an activity must

be based on the quality of the experience for the participants, viewed in the light of a set of educational values which concern the role of the teacher/worker, the accessibility of the medium to all and the value of each contribution, and the learner's right to negotiate some part of what he will learn and the concomitant need to accept some responsibility for his own learning. And, further, the nature of the knowledge to be learnt shall not be given or static but rather shall allow individual choice, interaction and the creation of personal meaning within a communal learning framework'.

John L. Norman, 'Divided we stand....Some personal reflections arising from the fourth IATA Drama in Education Conference'. Printed in the Times Educational Supplement, 30th. May, 1980.

This is a succinct statement of the drama activity and one by which we should look at all that we do. It has implications for the way in which we teach, the relationship between teachers and pupils, the learning process and what is learned.

140. See the Transcript, pp.67-78.

Notes and references to Chapter Nine.  
DRAMA AS A WELL-MADE PLAY.

1. This is interesting, for a good part of this study has been concerned to show how the drama represented in the transcript will bear the same kind of sociological examination as may be used to describe everyday affairs. It is like a novel and it is like everyday life. May this not encourage us to feel that both areas of experience are produced by the same methods and practices?

2. I hope to have shown in this study that structure and sense are inseparable (see, particularly, Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama').

It is also part of my concern that the 'academic task structure' and the 'social participation structure' of learning situations should be aspects of each other. I believe this to be a quality of 'meaning making' in our everyday, as well as make-believe experience. I am not sure, therefore, about the usefulness of Michael Fleming's concept of 'aesthetic meaning', but it is worth looking at his account of Reid's analysis of Macbeth's 'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow' speech, and then comparing it with the kind of analysis we shall be doing in this chapter.

L.Reid, Meaning in the Arts (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969). Referred to by, Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', pp.197-198.

Ian McKellen also gave a fascinating analysis of this speech in The South Bank Show's programme 'Word of Mouth' (October, 1985), parts of which are reprinted in a recent biography of the actor.

Joy Leslie Gibson, Ian McKellen, pp.102-103.

These two examples show well what it means to relate the form of the speech to its meaning. We might say they deal with 'aesthetic meaning' but I think it is just the business of making life meaningful. It is certain that we can attend to everyday speech in the same way.

Needless to say, whilst keeping in mind my uncertainty concerning the concept of 'aesthetic meaning', I agree entirely with Michael Fleming's claim that, 'The form of the drama must be seen to be inextricably related to the aesthetic meaning of the drama and hence to any change of insight which may accrue as a result of the drama'.

Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.226.

I intend, in this chapter, to demonstrate how the the 'form [can] be seen to be inextricably related' to the meaning in drama (as it is in everyday life, which we saw in Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life').

See, also, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.86-87.

3. See particularly, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.1-27.

4. See Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.6-17 and 26-34.

5. The children and the stranger were then discussing what would become of them on the mountain and they were offering him some advice to help him on his way. Having warned him of the nasty guardians, they went on to cheer him up a bit,

22 Julia. There's some nice people further up  
23 though.  
24 Shirley. Yes, very (nice people.  
25 Teacher. (Are there?

(Extract from the transcript, page 51)

Clearly, the teacher thought he wanted more than just 'nice people' on the mountain; there had to be an element of tension in the encounter.

See, as well, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.94-95.

6. As we noticed in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama'. See, for instance, paras. 123-126.

7. We might be reminded, here, of the teacher 'challenging' the children to work in the dramatic experience and then 'checking' to see where they were. This is described in Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', paras.42-47, and note 55 to that chapter.

8. See the piece on 'reflexivity' in Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', paras.42-43. See, as well, 'The Dazzling Performance', to which we shall shortly come (paras.12-15 in this chapter).

9. See Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', paras.15-16, where we were able to conclude that conversations are not about something beyond the conversation itself; rather, they are what they are about. See, also, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.72-74.

10. This is 'a good example of the centre of gravity resting not with the child (in spite of appearances to the contrary) but with the child's engagement with his culture - or rather the adult's culture'.  
Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.12.

This shift away from some kind of subjective knowledge of the world towards words and actions which have meaning only within a public language is demonstrated in everything which these people do in the

'volcano drama'.

11. See, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding In Drama', paras.123-128, and Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.39-42.

12. It is at times like this that the drama 'takes off and takes over'; the children 'tread the air' and 'walk the waist high wet'. They are supremely confident and work intuitively and upon impulse, but they can work this way because they are in touch with the dramatic context; in touch with each other. It is a fascinating paradox.

13. Simon Callow, Being An Actor, p.170.

This account of a good performance is well worth reading in its entirety; it is only a page. His description of a bad performance is equally perceptive: 'The opposite. Disjointed, stale; behind the beat all the time; sluggish. Excess external emotion, mental fog. Self-consciousness. Awareness of the audience out there, and the lack of communication with them. A sense of being out of focus...unco-ordinated'.

Consider this account in terms of so many school performances.

14. See Chapter Six, 'Putting People in the Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.43-54. Also consider, again, the piece on 'reflection' in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.43-47.

15. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.23-34.

16. These, of course, are only the more 'glaring' mistakes, those contributions which require some ingenuity if they are to be seen as elaborating the context. Every contribution has to be 'made appropriate' and until it is, that contribution is a threat, a potential 'mistake'. They do not simply fit into a context, for they help make the context. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

17. Though not, of course, as pupils interested in doing some drama (see, paras.7-9 in this chapter). Consider, too, the discussion on children serving their interests through the drama, in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.86-91.

18. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.39.

19. See Chapter Five, 'Language Management and Conversation Analysis', paras.30-33.

20. See, for instance, Beverley's contributions (p.71: 15 and p.72: 15), which go unregarded.

21. Of course, he cannot go too far with this, or else the 'rights' upon which he is drawing will work to bring the teacher role into the drama. First, perhaps, as a kind of shadowy figure hovering in the background but then, maybe, so strongly that his very presence destroys the situation he wishes to create. See the discussion in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.1-8.

22. This is a 'challenge'; it is part of the fun, and Julia is doing to Mark what she did to the teacher when she questioned him about his tape recorder (see Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras. 98-101). She is getting them to 'live dangerously', and she is enjoying it for they cannot touch her.

23. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.23-34.

24. Of course these errors seem different because we are treating the context as being drama. In other words we are making errors about the background which is being created through the drama. Surely this kind of error would not occur in everyday life in which we simply experience a shared background? Well they do, only our response is different. If we treat the situation as being 'real' then we look for ways of accounting for our different appreciations of what went on (think of the Katie example, for instance, in Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.18). We assume that there is not a contradiction, only a misunderstanding or an inadequate appreciation of what has happened, and so we attempt to clear it up. Here, though, because we are treating it as drama, we look to build a shared in common background by repairing a contradiction and so we stress the 'managed' quality of the experience. It seems to come down to how we decide to treat the two areas of experience, and one of the ways in which we indicate that we are presenting experience dramatically is to cope with errors as if they were threats to that presentation. We cannot do this within the presentation of everyday life.

In the end, we might want to say something of the form 'every contribution is an "error" until it is made appropriate, until we are able to make it meaningful and find it sensible'.

See, as well, Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life', para.65; Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', para.42 and note 33, and Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.3-34.

25. See para.23 to this chapter. The teacher in role as

the stranger follows this incident by changing the emphasis in the drama and moving it away from the old man and his meeting with the 'nasty guardians'. He starts talking about himself and his guides (p.69: 06). Here Julia, in a similar way, turns everyone's attention in another direction. This seems to be a useful tactic and we may be fairly confident that it is not one which they save just for the dramatic presentation of experience.

See, also, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.23-34.

26. See para.37 in this chapter.

27. Except, of course, in so far as we are concerned to see them as real or make-believe and in this regard there is much work to be done. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.77-82. See, as well, Chapter Four, 'Getting Drama Going', note 36, and Chapter Five, 'Conversation Analysis and Language Management', note 16, for some thoughts on the way in which we indicate people are involved in playing.

28. It is interesting to see how they demonstrate the family relationships and manage to keep them consistent. Both guardians talk of 'our father'(p.68: 11 & 22), though Julia also says, 'I'll go and see if father can come along'(p.70: 29). Shirley speaks of 'his father' (p.71: 03), though this may only indicate that Mark has stayed whilst Julia has gone to get the old man. Clearly Julia sees Mark as 'my husband'(p.72: 25 & 29). On balance, it would seem that the old man is Mark's father and Julia's father-in-law. Every contribution is consistent with such an interpretation. It is rather like working out how many children Lady Macbeth had.

29. When I first heard these words, as the stranger in the dramatic context, I was unaware that the father was to be presented as blind and deaf. I cannot say how I took these words but I did feel that this figure who had to be brought down was going to be very significant. I do not know whether this was because of the way he was being introduced and the way in which we were being prepared for his coming, or rather through my concern that when he did come I was going to make sure he was significant. Once again, all I can say is that we were all caught up in the presentation of a form of life and our different concerns and interests worked to produce the drama we see here.

30. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', paras.19-22.

31. It is important to appreciate that Shirley is not here recording what is happening through her language, as if the others were up to something and she was

telling us what they were doing. Her description gives significance to what would otherwise simply be 'figures in a landscape'. Someone has to do this or no one will be doing anything.

32. At least it is at this stage, where they are still building a context, within which they may later struggle. In the end, out of desperation, the guides are forced to strip away the guardians' false fronts and show them for what they are. See, for instance, Shirley's cry of, 'We're all honest'(p.76: 17), which is taken up by the other guide a moment later, 'We're all honest.....We're honest'(p.76: 24 & 26). It will be looked at later (see para.70 in this chapter).

33. It is not at all clear what Beverley is up to here. It is reasonable to suppose that she is simply asking as a guide, why the old man is blind. She does not get an answer because, as the others appear to realise on a kind of intuitive level, the significance of this blindness (which is, in part, the explanation of the blindness) has to be learned by the stranger through the dramatic context. That is why they are there doing this drama. Further, to be told why he was blind could destroy the symbolic value of the father by putting constraints upon the way in which it could operate in the dramatic context. The significance has to be worked for. Symbols cannot simply be labelled in advance. Because her questions do not work properly in the dramatic context it might seem to the others that she is working in the everyday world where decisions are made about the drama. She might be trying to 'catch up' on some of the preparation which, like the teacher, she missed at the beginning. Whatever she is up to, though, the others did well to let her words slip by.

34. See Chapter Three, 'Making Sense in Everyday Life'. See, as well, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', and the piece on 'Dealing in Symbols' beginning at para.52. Note 34 to that chapter is particularly relevant.

'The starting point is not the possible interpretation: but the concrete image. The more concretely, individually and realistically this situation is enacted and thereby explored in depth, the greater its complexity and richness of human associations will become, the wider the general implications which radiate outward from this central image like waves spreading from a stone thrown into a pond'.

Martin Esslin, Pinter - A Study of His Plays (London: Methuen, 1973; original edition, 1970), p.110.

This is Martin Esslin talking of 'The Caretaker', and his concrete image is 'two young men, an old one, [and] a room'. But apply it to the blind man in the

drama and see if it does not make sense. See how their meticulous presentation of the old man and his blindness does come to 'resonate' through the drama, and be aware that this kind of presentation is an aspect of the significance the image holds for them. Do not ask if this is 'intended' but see what you can make of it. Beverley's questions, if attended to, would have spoiled this process. It is as if she were trying to 'short cut' the dramatic process, as if symbols could simply be handed out. They are not 'given', they are created as their significance is realised.

I do not mean to suggest that the other children know this whilst Beverley does not, but there is a sense in which they are attentive to the developing context and to the old man's symbolic significance in that context whereas she seems to see him just as an old man. Perhaps she is not attending to the aesthetic quality of the situation but is simply 'living it through'. We may feel, therefore, that she is out of touch but we cannot tell whether she is bound by the everyday reality or lost in a make-believe world. In either case, of course, she is not presenting experience dramatically.

35. Consider only the title of the BBC radio programme, 'Does He Take Sugar?'. Then think of what these children do to bring the disabled man to life.

36. So it is, of course, that Ian does not here stumble about with his eyes shut and his hands stretched out in front of him as one pretending to be blind. He can have his eyes wide open and see as well as you or I, and yet feel something of what it means to be blind in this socially constructed world of ours. He just lets them take him by the hand and show him what he is.

Consider the way in which the ethnomethodological perspective enables us to focus on aspects of the drama which are not brought out at all in this opening paragraph of Brian Way's book. He is considering the function of drama;

'The answer to many simple questions might take one of two forms - either that of information or else that of direct experience; the former answer belongs to the category of academic education, the latter to drama. For example, the question might be "What is a blind person?" The reply could be "A blind person is a person who cannot see". Alternatively, the reply could be "Close your eyes and, keeping them closed all the time, try to find your way out of this room". The first answer contains concise and accurate information; the mind is possibly satisfied. But the second answer leads the inquirer to moments of direct experience, transcending mere knowledge, enriching the imagination, possibly touching the heart and soul as well as the mind. This, in over-simplified terms, is the precise function of drama'.

Brian Way, Development through Drama, p.1.

Leaving aside the question of whether this 'direct experience' is in fact drama at all, and whether wandering around the school hall with your eyes shut tells anyone anything about being blind, and allowing for the fact that this description is a kind of 'opening shot' and 'over-simplified', it is yet interesting that there is no evidence here of the kind of work done by the children in the 'volcano drama' as they present the old man's condition. There is a strong sense of blindness as being something which simply happens to us, and which we can experience just by closing our eyes. There is no hint of the social implications of such a condition, or of the manner in which it is made significant and visible through our treatment of one another. A whole dimension seems to have been missed out, and it is the dimension with which this study is most concerned.

37. Think of those 'theatrical conventions' uncovered in Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.13-19.

38. He did so when he pointed out that the father was 'not that old'(p.71: 12), and thus hinted that his condition might touch the stranger more nearly. It is interesting that Beverley later uses his age to distance him from the old man as she says, 'You are young'(p.75: 03). Mark (as the guardian) uses the stranger's age to bind him to the blind man, and Beverley (as the guide) uses it to sever the connection. This is a nice example of the managed quality of the meaning making process.

39. We may also appreciate just what it means for the teacher to be involved in his own learning situation. It really does appear that he is the one who is learning by involvement in this drama, though we must remember that all his learning is grounded in that context which the children have helped to create. They might be teaching him a lesson, but they will be learning too. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.35-37.

40. Gavin Bolton talks of the work of Caldwell Cook as an 'instance of an alternative pull of gravity - this time towards strict artistic form. This is the key to understanding his teaching. He challenged his pupils to appreciate the craftsmanship of Shakespeare and other classicists and to aim at "literary workmanship" in everything they created'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.14.

Are these children demonstrating 'literary workmanship'? Probably not in the sense in which Caldwell Cook wanted, but still it seems to me that this is exactly what they are doing. What is happening, of course, is that by examining this piece of drama as we would examine a well-made play, we find it to be a well

made play. This would seem to tell us as much about the business of 'making sense' (and understanding how we make sense) as it does about the skill of those involved as dramatists. But still, they provided the stuff out of which we could find form and structure. They treated it as, and showed it to be, meaningful; they helped us to see how we might find it meaningful. Surely there is plenty of evidence here of 'literary workmanship'.

Gavin Bolton continues;

'There is an assumption, though not stated by Cook in these terms, that if the pupils' attention is on the techniques required to portray the dramatic event, then by a process of osmosis, they are put in touch with the poetry of the plays'.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.15.

Of course, Caldwell Cook would have been thinking of the pupils studying a text, but if we consider what these children do in order to present experience dramatically, and if we look at the techniques (the methods and practices) which they employ, can we not feel that they are put in touch with the poetry of the situation? Consider their sense of dramatic form and structure (the guardians working with the stranger, those lines which seem to reach extra levels of experience, their use of theatrical convention, the creation of symbolic significance, etc.) and see how they draw out the 'aesthetic meaning' through their presentation of the blind man beside the stranger. As Gavin Bolton suggests (when speaking of the 'power of the art experience' and using as an example one of those deeds which, by growing out of the dramatic context seem to 'plumb depths'), 'Any playwright could give instruction for this kind of symbolism as part of a script'. Consider such a playwright creating the blind, deaf father, or working upon the idea of the volcano, and thinking of the ways in which their significance could flood through the drama.

Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.186.

Throughout this study I have been constantly impressed by the work which these children undertake and the kind of knowledge which lies behind their achievement. Indeed, within even the simplest of exchanges lie 'features of experience that we tacitly assume we share with others - features of personal relationships, of time, of reference, and cause and effect, which a child must presumably acquire as he becomes an accredited human being'. We are beginning to draw out some of these features here. So that when a little girl of two years nine months was asked to tell a story and responded by saying, "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up", Harvey Sacks was able to draw attention to the following assumptions which lie behind her story and which enable us to find it sensible; 'Built into our interpretation or understanding of these sentences is knowledge of the following obvious but

implicit facts. We "know" or surmise that the mommy is the mommy of the baby who cried and that these two individuals belong to or comprise part of a unit we call a family. We know also that the events reported occurred in the same order as the sentences that reported them. Further, we take the first event to be the cause of the second event, and we also feel that the actions described were appropriate and normal. And we can recognise the first sentence as a proper opening for a story, since the initiating event is a problem, a situation which must be resolved or corrected. In the same way, the young storyteller was also guided by this same tacit knowledge that allows us to interpret the sentences. Such knowledge is reflected not only in the stories children tell but also, and often in more detail, in their make-believe play'.

Catherine Garvey, Play: the developing child, p.81.

This helps to explain how so much can be 'read into' these accounts. It also shows how the children have to say enough and in the right way that such assumptions may be made and that the world of their creation can become explicable. Finally it puts us well in touch with the indexical nature of accounts and points to the active nature of meaning making. What it does not do is show how they can create that extra significance as they invest their work with symbolic meaning.

41. We might remember again, here, the way in which Julia enjoyed playing with the tape recorder and 'challenged' those engaged in the drama to 'live dangerously'. A similar kind of thing is happening here as, having won the battle, she now appears to take the guides' part. This is a person who is very confident in her role.

See, Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama' paras.98-101.

We could also think of Rom Harre's suggestion that our own sense of honour lies behind so much of what we say and do. Even the guardians still wish to be thought well of, and the stranger, who has been this way before, wants to depart with dignity.

Rom Harre, An Analysis of Social Activity, in Jonathan Miller (Ed.), States of Mind, p.166.

See, also, Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.56-75.

42. See, for instance, the piece on making excuses in Chapter Six, 'Putting People in their Place and Elaborating the Context', paras.62-64.

This is part of the consequence of treating the everyday world as existing beyond the work we do to make it visible. We are able to deny responsibility for our actions as we see, and present, ourselves as being at the mercy of an unyielding reality with which we have to put up.

'As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;

They kill us for their sport.'

We draw upon this view of our place in the world when we go about the business of making excuses.

43. This mix up over the two faiths (the Bible and the great god) is not something which threatens the drama, for that is concerned with the demands which belief can put upon people. In this sense both contributions elaborate the context. Neither is it a mix up which should worry the teacher unduly. This is not the place to teach 'facts' of this kind, though it could always be mentioned in discussion afterwards. It is certainly not the time to interrupt and say, for instance, 'Hey, just a minute, Julia, you wouldn't have a Bible, would you? Better think of some other book to give him'. A similar example occurs in the 'prisoners of war' piece of drama, filmed for Dorothy Heathcote's 'Three Looms Waiting'. She is taken to task for letting go by an assertion that Coventry is in London.

Dorothy Heathcote, Omnibus Programme, 'Three Looms Waiting' (London: BBC, 1971).

44. See Chapter Seven, 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para.132.

45. And Shirley did not know either. Afterwards in discussion she was unable (or unwilling) to tell me what she had in mind. I am sure that something would have 'come out', but perhaps it would only have been in the 'coming out' (within a dramatic context) that Shirley, like us, could have discovered what she meant to say.

46. See note 2 to this chapter.

47. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.202.

48. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.289.

49. Michael Fleming, 'A Philosophical Investigation into Drama', p.285.

This making explicit is not in the sense of 'explaining the symbol' but rather, in showing how they managed to invest the symbol with significance, how they managed to create a symbol.

50. See Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', paras.52-56, and note 116 for an account of how this may be done.

Also consider asking the children questions such as these,

'How can we tell you were disgruntled/ashamed/alarmed?'; 'If the names of the speakers were removed from the text, could you still tell who is the stranger,

who the guardian and how would you do this?'; 'How did you manage to get his attention?'; 'How do we know he is only joking or making excuses?'; 'What are the "bones" doing here and the "tombstones"?'; 'Why is the old man brought on?'; 'How do we know he is disabled?' (and do not say 'because we were told', but show me how we know); 'What is there beyond the words?'; 'What are the priests beyond what they say and do?'; etc..

51. See Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 18.

52. See as well, Chapter Seven 'Meaning and Understanding in Drama', para,82. and Chapter Eight, 'Teaching and Learning in Drama', para.51.

53. Remember, though, there is nothing special in that world, except in so far as it is treated and shown to be make-believe.

54. Gavin Bolton, Drama as Education, p.38.  
See, as well, Chapter Two, 'The Ethnomethodological Perspective', note 18.

See, as well, Bruno Bettelheim who, according to Robert Fisher, argues that, 'the purpose of literature like the purpose of education, is to provide meaning in our lives'.

Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment: the meaning and importance of fairy tales (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

Referred to by Robert Fisher, Problem Solving in Primary Schools, p.43.

Similarly, Roger Beard speaks of his book on Reading as being 'an enduring reminder that there is far more to reading than just written message reception, for at the heart of developing reading is the generation of meaning'.

Roger Beard, Developing Reading 3-13, p.282.

55. For a long time now, drama teachers have been concerned to point out that plays and the 'doing of plays' are against their purposes in drama. The reasons for this are well known, and are generally similar to the concerns which I talked about earlier when looking at the 'doing of drama'. Teachers have, rightly, tended to mistrust an activity which asks the children to produce a copy of the world for the benefit of an audience. However, this analysis seems to show that the writing of plays, the 'proper' acting of plays, the presentation of dramatic experience and, indeed the living of the social life, are all similar activities. They are produced by the same methods and practices and rely upon the same sensitive attention to the context which has been displayed by these children. This is not a justification for 'putting on plays' but it should encourage us not to be frightened of the 'prepared

script', for so long as it is prepared properly and approached by the children in the right way. This means finding the meaning through their presentation. Educational drama and the theatre are the same kind of activity and it all comes down to the manner in which they are presented.

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