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Space and Time in the Creative Curriculum: Drama and education in two island nations in the early twentieth century

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Abstract: This article aims to reflect on space, time and education in two distinct but related ways: space and time as components of pedagogy, focusing on drama in the curriculum, where space and time frame language and gesture in a complex mode of communication; and as dimensions of historiographical analysis of the evolution of educational policies and practices. Considering progressive innovations of teaching through drama in Britain and Japan, we explore relationships across space and time, drawing on documentary and mainly published evidence. For primary sources we draw on the writing of individuals such as Shoyo Tsubouchi and Kuniyoshi Obara in Japan, Harriet Finlay-Johnson and Henry Caldwell Cook in Britain. We identify a number of progressive schools, their enterprise and experiments, and consider the role of national and international forums. Sources include professional journals in English and Japanese languages, the New Education Fellowship, its conferences and its journal *New Era* as vehicles for exchange. Taking a critical approach to historiography, the article refers to more recent pedagogical discourse and historical scholarship by Takeo Fujikura, Manami Yoda, Gavin Bolton, Mary Bowmaker and Helen Nicholson. It concludes by considering lessons for education history, and legacies for drama in education, reflecting on current challenges for school drama in light of its past.

Keywords: progressivism; drama; pedagogy; creativity; national cultures; transnational exchange.

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1. Classroom drama and its significance for progressive education

Drama has occupied the fringe more than the forefront of school curriculum in history, certainly within formal traditions but also in progressive education. Cultural and professional factors can be identified to explain this, for example an uncertain status that has attached historically to theatre as art or as entertainment, together with a lack of confidence amongst teachers whose careers have mostly been founded on their personal success in more rule-bound academic disciplines. Curriculum politics, both at national government level and within the school as an institution, have been fertile areas for historical analysis, for example by Herbert Kliebard in the USA and Ivor Goodson in the UK, leading curriculum historians amongst many who provide background and guidance to exploring the questions raised here (Kliebard, 1995; Goodson, 1987).

We begin however with some key pedagogical questions before proceeding to the historical, questions raised by two Japanese and two English authorities on drama education in recent times: Takeo Fujikura (2006, 2010), Manami Yoda (2010, 2012), Gavin Bolton (1998) and Helen Nicholson (2011). Fujikura raises the issue, in an historical context to be expanded below, about the value of children being encouraged to apply their own initiative in the classroom setting. Another question is the extent to which the pupils' integral growth as human beings is the object of their curriculum. Fujikura notes the problem of teachers choosing to adopt drama for their own various ends. Perceived dangers include children projected too early into adult behavior, and another pedagogical consideration is the extent to which parents' preferences and goals should be accommodated. A further concern might be the questionable motives, promotional or even commercial, occasionally influencing schools' curriculum strategies. Manami Yoda introduces multiple teaching and learning purposes that drama can fulfil. Theatre might serve as a tool for teaching all subjects improving knowledge and eliciting self-expression. It might have very specific uses in language education, or alternatively it might be an end-in-itself, learning through drama *about* theatre as an art form, its techniques, its great exponents and examples in the classic canon. Another view, premised on «the theatricality of human existence», might be its contribution to education for citizenship.

Scholars pursue their research against different backgrounds. Fujikura writes as a professional pantomime artist who has choreographed and hosted mime-based lesson on NHK TV in addition to his award-winning doctoral research in theatre and education at Madison-Wisconsin (Fujikura n.d. Kanjiyama website); Yoda's doctoral research at Kyoto University arose from her dissatisfaction with English language education at the tertiary level in Japan, after more than fifteen years of teaching, with a Master's degree in Education from Ohio State. In her professional concern she was inspired by the work of Masayuki Sano, a pioneer in teaching English as a foreign language through drama (2012, pp.iv,1).

In the UK, our first point of reference is Gavin Bolton, professor of drama in education at universities in Britain and America, a student and interpreter of the inventive and influential drama educationist Dorothy Heathcote; our second, Helen Nicholson, as a professor of drama and theatre experienced in school-teaching and teacher education nationally and internationally, engages with the broad contribution

that professional theatre practitioners make to the education of young people. Bolton presents the book of his doctoral thesis as a critical analysis of *Acting in Classroom Drama*. Questions of pedagogy arise from psychoanalysts' observation of differences between children's make-believe play and acting or performing, yet a generic link is sought by Bolton between play and theatre; another pedagogical perspective arises from rhythm and movement promoted by followers of Jacques-Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban, both of whose work has significance in Japan as noted in examples below (Bolton, 2007, p. 50). Nicholson comes closest to our historical concerns, presenting her pedagogical questions as firmly located in time and place. As well as arguing the educational importance of theatre, and how theatre has meaning for different generations, she also considers the «cultural environments in which theatre and learning meet» and how «educational concerns and artistic inventiveness of people living in different times and places have inflected theatre and changed education» (2011, p. 4).

As historians we are alert to changed understandings of time-space in the large scale that have inflected our discipline through recent decades. Looking back to Reinhart Koselleck we are reminded to see, in the fertile period of educational reform that preoccupies us here, not simple facticity but a period of possibilities and prospects, a history of «futures past» (Tribe, 2004, p. xi). In the historiographical and comparative context, despite Anthony Giddens' more recent theories of distanciation and the challenges they've provoked, the cases studied here nevertheless demand attention to historical and geographical specificity of Japan and Britain in the early twentieth century (Johnston & Gregory *et al.*, 2009, pp. 837-838). As teachers we relish the manifold ways time and space on a smaller scale impinge on learning, as conceptual tools to be acquired, and experiences to be had in the learning environment. In the intimate setting of the classroom, drama invites a critical and creative approach to the representation and manipulation of time and space, encountering and appreciating theatrical traditions but also discovering ways that knowledge and feelings can be conveyed through speech and action.

Space and *time* are core components of children's learning; an understanding of place grows, from exploring the home environment to encounters with world geography through travel and communications technology, while notions of time develop from daily routines of personal life, through the regulation of clock and calendar, to sophisticated concepts of historical time. They are both *content* to be learned and *contexts* in which learning takes place. Space and time are also fundamental dimensions of drama, on the one hand the physical environment that accommodates but simultaneously differentiates actors and audience during a given length of time, and on the other hand the variety of places and periods that may be imagined and represented theatrically. In the classroom context drama embraces activity and experience, exploration and discovery, creativity, individual and collaborative expression. These were key features and strategies, underpinned by holistic and «child-centred» theories of learning, advocated by proponents of progressive pedagogy at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The essential questions about teaching and learning suggested by Fujikura, Yoda, Bolton and Nicholson, need to be borne in mind while as cultural historians

narrating and interpreting past events, our principal questions will be anthropological, historical and historiographical.

2. Two island nations and their cultural traditions

We begin by considering very briefly the «long history» of theatre as cultural practice, as religious ritual, as entertainment and as art, in Japan and Britain. In its varied styles of communication and symbolic interaction, drama merits examination as an early pedagogical form long before teachers experimented with its potential in the school curriculum. We concern ourselves with comparative dimensions of space and time, focusing on two societies sharing the topographical character of island nations on the fringe of large continents at opposite sides of the globe.

2.1. *Drama and pedagogy in Japan*

Japanese theatre has been described as «one of the world's oldest, most vibrant, and influential performance traditions» (Salz, 2016, n.p.). At the period of reform studied here, the most sustained traditional forms were identifiable as *noh*, *kyogen*, *kabuki* and *bunraku*. Like other arts, theatre in early centuries reflected Buddhist teachings for example in rejecting illusion and embracing simplicity in *noh* drama, while Confucian concerns for achieving social harmony through secular means informed action and characterization as *kabuki* and serious puppet theatre emerged in the 18th century (Harris, 2006, pp. 41-5). Thus theatre served an «educational» function in transmitting beliefs and values to a wider population through entertainment, and constituted a form of pedagogy. And drama was included in the informal curriculum notably by the neo-Confucianist philosopher Ekken (1630-1714) in his influential *Japanese Precepts For Children* (1710) who specified academic study and the performing arts (Tsujimoto, 2017, pp. 15-16). Tsujimoto also describes cultural pursuits of «upper-level common people», which included the practice of *noh* theatre as communal activities contributing to «a shared and standardized intellectual heritage amongst the population at large» (2017, pp. 18, 22, 30).

Traditional forms of drama in Japan are highly symbolic, where simplicity and restrictions of the form highlight precision of words and movement, display of performers' skills, a «unique complex of traditional dramatic forms, with [associated] skills, traditions and aesthetic codes». They were not naturalistic, but included a strong sense of parable or «teaching-story» in which actions witnessed on stage symbolize experiences familiar to the audience; truth of psychological response was not dependent on naturalism in presentation (Harris, 2006, pp. 245-7).

Noh is masked, lyric dance-drama presented according to strict convention, in archaic language chanted and accompanied by music. Alongside *noh* developed *kyogen* in the mid-fourteenth century, in the form of short comic plays incorporating Buddhist and secular folktales and popular songs, performed with stylized vocalization and gestures. *Noh*'s solemnity was in keeping with the soberness of the samurai class, imbued with Buddhist teachings of life's impermanence, compared with *kyogen*, whose chief purpose was to elicit laughter. (Leiter, 2014, p. 9; Salz, 2016, p. 68)

In the 15th–16th centuries Zen Buddhism became the religion of the samurai class, leaving a strong impression on Japanese arts, including theatre. The minimalistic aesthetics of Zen were reflected in *noh*, originally favoured by monks and samurai, retaining its acting technique, and music up to the present, one of the great traditions of world drama. The Edo period (1600-1868), however, saw the rise of a new merchant middle class, no longer restricted by Zen philosophy or the strict samurai code of ethics. A new audience of townspeople wanted a new kind of entertainment, met in the forms of *bunraku* puppet theatre and sensational, erotic *kabuki*, performed in teahouse theatres of the notorious red light districts of growing cities, and blossoming despite strict government regulation. *Bunraku* was performed to the accompaniment of recited narrative music and involved manipulation of delicate-featured puppets. Texts of high literary quality and psychological nuance provided urban audiences with a serious, ethically and emotionally complex theatre form, «raising the art to new heights» (Salz, 2016, p. 155; Leiter, 2014, pp. 52-3). *Kabuki* was a vibrant traditional form, with complex plots, beautiful dance, all-male performers in colourful makeup, bravura acting and intimate connection with the audience, accompanied by music (Salz, 2016, p. 102). These latter forms were entertainment of a kind that would prove less amenable to uptake in the school curriculum, but when Japan was forcibly opened to the West in the Meiji era after 1868, *kabuki* responded to vast and rapid changes as leaders sought to remake this popular theatre form into one capable of representing a modern nation.

2.2. *Drama and pedagogy in Britain*

Features of pedagogy and of drama in Europe are seen evolving in medieval Christianity. Preachers in the pulpit conveyed knowledge by word of mouth to a mostly illiterate congregation, a style adopted in later forms of teaching. Then the sacred message was reinforced through liturgy, ritual performance in words and gestures, often accompanied by music, in the «theatrical» space of the church enlivened by light and colour. «Mystery» and «miracle» plays took these performances beyond the confines of the church (Law, 2011, pp. 561-562, 638, 660).

The association of theatre and religion goes back even further in Coggin's 1956 study of drama and education, to the 5th century BCE in Greece, where «theatre was as sacred as a divine temple, and author and actors were revered as ministers of religion» (Coggin, 1956, p.4). But in supporting theatre, the Athenian State was not merely maintaining effete rituals to outmoded gods, but also recognized its social and educational values of the first importance. «As for education, the theatre was the great public institution for the dissemination of knowledge. It was, for the majority, the only form of literary pleasure» (*Ibid.*).

Specific practice of «school drama» can be traced back in Britain as far as the 12th century, extensively documented by Vail Motter's scholarly work in 1929. Plays acted by schoolboys flourished in some leading «public schools» (elite schools, independent of state support or control), such as Eton and Westminster, while in Europe from the 16th century around 300 Jesuit schools staged elaborate productions on biblical and classical subjects, in Latin and vernacular languages, increasingly influenced by opera and ballet in the 18th century (Vail Motter, 1929;

Law, 2011, p. 500). Respect in Britain for ancient Greek culture was an important toe-hold for drama in the school curriculum during the late 18th and 19th centuries, but only in those elite schools where «Classics», Greek and Latin literature, were essential cultural capital.

Any account of theatrical culture in Britain must also acknowledge the secular «street theatre» in medieval times, mummers' plays with dance, or stories like Robin Hood. «Morality plays» were a secular form of entertainment emerging in Tudor times, leading to the English Renaissance of the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns, a courtly and popular London-centred culture, epitomized in the work of William Shakespeare (Law, 2011, pp. 828, 646-647, 325-327).

The turning point for Shakespeare's career as a playwright, and the enduring acknowledgement of his work as great literature, followed «Romeo and Juliet» and «Midsummer Night's Dream», written and first performed at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Increasingly cultivated as a literary giant in the centuries after his death, Shakespearean plays began to acquire the respect and prestige that gradually earned for English dramatic literature a prestigious niche in school. The noticeable contrast with Japanese theatrical tradition was that Japanese styles were predominantly symbolic, so that arguably the naturalism of the Shakespearean (or «Western») mode made for easier accommodation within the school curriculum. However, acceptance of drama in curriculum and pedagogy made halting progress in the Victorian age. Not only did professional theatres proliferate as dedicated spaces far removed from the schoolroom, but the diet of popular entertainment in the form of comic operas, musical burlesques and farces was widely regarded by the «guardians of culture» as frivolous, disreputable and probably too corrupting for young citizens.

3. Educational drama and innovation in Japan

In the Meiji era (1868-1912), the Empire of Japan became an industrialized world power. New regulations and manners were satirized in plays that were later transformed into realistically staged melodramas. Gradually western stage aesthetics and dramas were adopted, and *shingeki* (new drama) evolved alongside the translation and staging of western plays. Japanese intellectuals adopted western dramatic literature, which also began to influence new trends in *kabuki*.

In 1886 «theatre reform» was supported by some of the most powerful politicians, and a government-backed Theatre Reform Society (*Engeki Kairyō-kai*) attempted to refashion *kabuki* into a national theatre. A Freedom and Popular Rights movement (sometimes in conflict with the forces of law and order) converted an informal break-away practice of traditional *kabuki* into *shimpa* (new sect), that became a major genre of Japan's modern theatre (Salz, 2016, pp. 200-201). In the early 20th century, new forms were exploited as a platform for patriotism and political reforms, and Kawakami Otojiro along with his wife, a prominent actress, established the Kawakami Company, presenting a kind of *kabuki* with a western flavour. After studying in Paris, he returned to Japan and wrote plays with political and patriotic undertones, touring successfully also in America and Europe and influencing European theater and dance during a period of western interest in «Japonisme».

Shimpa represented a fusion of Japanese and western theatre challenging the stylized *kabuki*. Plays focused on problems of contemporary Japan, with women acting alongside men. Growing interest in drama led to a Literary Society (*Bungei Kyokai*) founded in 1906 led by a leading dramatist Shoyo Tsubouchi (1859-1935). Amateur actors with links to the Literary Society staged excerpts from western plays. This movement also saw the beginning of Japan's Shakespearean tradition. A group of experienced *kabuki* actors called «The Free Theatre» was founded in 1909, interested in western drama. More such works were translated and staged, including plays by Henrik Ibsen and Oscar Wilde. Thus theatre can been as a liberal or liberating space at this period, though subsequent censorship before and during World War II seriously restricted freedom of expression. *Shingeki* enjoyed a heyday from 1929 by which time modern Japanese theatre had shifted from pioneering artistic expressions to one inspired by Marxist ideals to fight for the working majority instead of entertaining the intellectual few, proletarian theatre artists producing pieces to influence its audience and turn *shingeki* into a critique of capitalism. This provoked government suppressions (Salz, 2016, p. 234).

Over the same period, ideas and implementation of «New Education» evolved in Japan as a critique of traditional pedagogies and aimed at realising individuality, freedom and autonomy in schools. This became known as «Taisho New Education» (*Taisho Jiyu Kyoiku* – literally «Education for liberty and freedom») that strikingly and significantly emerged as a movement by ordinary teachers, reform «from below», from experimental work in the classroom as opposed to «top-down» reform imposed by government policy. This development matched a period of modernization throughout Japanese society during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

3.1. *Masataro Sawayanagi*

A prominent figure in the New Education movement was Masataro Sawayanagi (1865-1927), a civil servant and Vice-Minister of Education, later president of Tohoku and Kyoto universities, who despite his early career came to act outside the establishment as a progressivist and reformer (Yamasaki, 2017a). Even in his early official role, he had initiated some reforms in the Elementary School Ordinance of 1900, consolidating the curriculum, reducing the pressure of examinations, and abolishing tuition fees, moves aimed at offering more equal opportunity for all children and paying more attention to their stages of natural growth and development. In 1905 he supported the translation into Japanese of John Dewey's *The School and Society*, distributed to schools by the Ministry of Education. After resigning his presidency of Kyoto University, in 1916 he became chairman of the Japanese Imperial Education Association (JIEA), the only non-governmental organization on any great scale dedicated to educational reform in Japan. He then also founded *Seijo Gakuen Elementary School*, independent of government support, in 1917 in Tokyo, through which he led progressive educational practice in Japan.

Sawayanagi's initiatives were very influential with teachers seeking educational reform, and a great wave of activity followed. Following the First World War the impact of progressive educators in Japan was widespread, their views coinciding with wide support for the international peace movement. In 1919 Sawayanagi used

his influence in the JIEA to persuade Entaro Noguchi (1868-1941) to retire from his role since 1901 as the first Principal of Himeji Normal School and move to Tokyo as a dedicated director and executive of the Association, and thus to begin his second career as a powerful leader of the Japanese teachers' movement. These influential figures and their following of progressive teachers founded research groups producing many publications that carried their opinions and comments based on practical experiences. Thus emerged the New Education Movement (*Taisho Jiyu Kyoiku*) in Japan.

Around *Seijo Gakuen* and Sawayanagi were four key figures focusing on drama education: Shoyo Tsubouchi, mentioned above, author, critic, playwright, translator, editor, educator, and professor at Waseda University; Kuniyoshi Obara (1887-1977), a friend of Sawayanagi from their student days at Tokyo Imperial University, teacher at *Seijo*, educational reformer who later founded a new school, *Tamagawa Gakuen*, based on the ideal of *Zenjin* (whole person) education; Takashi Saida (1895-1976), teacher at *Seijo*, founder in 1948 of an Association of Playwrights for Child Drama (*Jidogekisakka Kyokai* – now the Japan Association of Theatre for Children and Young People); and Seishi Shimoda (1890-1973), art teacher at *Seijo* and translator of progressive English texts, who introduced to Japan the thought of A.S. Neill. The first two will be considered immediately, returning to Shimoda in relation to international networks later below.

3.2. *Shoyo Tsubouchi*

Tsubouchi, as we have seen, was a leader in the New Theatre movement and a prominent figure known for his wide range of pioneering activities both in literature and the theatre world in Japan. In the Meiji period, various traditional attitudes to drama persisted including discrimination and prejudice towards actors or actresses, that has been described a sort of allergy towards drama in education (Tomita, 1998, p. 198). At that time Tsubouchi was contributing to the translation of Shakespeare's plays: the trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice* (1906), then *Hamlet* in its entirety (1909) followed by *Romeo and Juliet* (1910), *Othello* (1911), *King Lear* (1912) and *Julius Caesar* (1913). His role in reforming traditional *kabuki* theatre included the introduction of Shakespearean psychological characterization. His translations were often regarded as too academic for performance, though his late Meiji translations were made for the Literary Society, Japan's first modern theatrical company which staged Ibsen's «A Doll's House» and Sudermann's *Heimat* as well as a number of Tsubuochi's own original works, before its dissolution in 1913 (Gallimore, 2016, p. 69).

The New Education movement, through theory and practice, included reform in the teaching of art and literature, aimed at answering the needs of a new era (see for example Haga, 2017). In 1921 Tsubouchi, now in his early sixties, began to write plays for children, in the same year as New Education's ground-breaking Tokyo conference on «Eight Educational Propositions». At the same time he wrote articles on child drama for national newspapers and major weekly magazines as well as academic journals, published collectively as a book *Child Education and Drama* (*Jido Kyoiku to Engeki*) in 1923 (Fujikura, 2004, pp. 107-121).

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Tsubouchi developed a unique configuration of Children's Drama (*Jidogeki*), beginning with the home environment, called *Kateiyo Jidogeki* (Children's Drama at home), a concept of child-centred process drama that encouraged children to take the initiative and act in age-appropriate dramatic stories; they were to use their own creativity, supported by parents or elder siblings within a closed environment, thus protected from a common adult anxiety about drama as over-exposing the child. The home might be considered a «safe space» for children's drama, whilst lacking the challenge of an audience of strangers. He insisted that mothers should know how significant was children's dramatic play in modern understanding (Tsubouchi, 1923, pp. 28-38). Tsubouchi held that women could apply literature and arts to home education, a role for the mother and a means to «ratification of home» as he described it (Tsubuochi, 1923, p. 39). Subsequent critics have observed that despite his liberal ambition, as a professor engaged in art practice at home, he shared a conservative view that women's role should remain in the home and family rather than the workplace.

Fujikura in his doctoral research has identified inherent contradictions in Tsubouchi's Child Drama project, between his acceptance of contemporary psychological theories of child development on the one hand, and his attachment to traditional qualities of theatrical performance on the other, so that his stage perfomances failed to achieve their intended direct interaction with children. It was also the case that the practice of domestic drama was accessible and attractive only to a relative minority of elite middle class families (Fujikura, 2006). The conditions of the historical period thus distorted his activity with misleading results: his established authority meant that his concept of child drama was regarded by educators and officials as a foundation from which to review the legitimacy of child drama, and although the results varied, his endorsement of child participation in drama gave great impetus to the movement, offering courage for experimentation to many teachers. The educational significance of school drama was discussed with enthusiasm in public, and although he did not achieve in actuality what he had envisioned, he deserves credit for endowing a neglected area of the curriculum with legitimate educational value and credibility as a sound means to nurture children's growth (Fujikura, 2010). Fujikura concluded regarding Tsubouchi's Children's Drama that:

> It is true that Tsubouchi's theory was eclectically and often arbitrarily embraced by some school teachers during the trend for school drama. However, throughout the progression of the child drama debate, almost all significant opinions, regardless of legitimacy, originated from Tsubouchi's child drama principle using his vocabulary and rhetoric. Thus, his influence was a decisive factor in the development of the contemporary child drama field (Fujikura, 2010, p. 89).

Although school productions were banned by the Ministry of Education in 1924, these few short years of Tsubouchi's activity allowed his ideas to be disseminated throughout Japan.

3.3. *Kuniyoshi Obara*

Despite any weakness in Tsubouchi's arguments identified by later scholars, there is no doubt that his concept of child drama inspired and encouraged Kuniyoshi Obara, a leading teacher of drama education, who introduced children's drama in a premier performance day at the Elementary School attached to Hiroshima Higher Normal School. He also produced a demonstration performance at a Conference of National Elementary Teachers' Association in 1918, calling for play activity through school drama on Japan's Empire Day in 1919 when he organized a children's performance at the Hiroshima City entertainments. In the same year he was invited by Sawayanagi to become deputy head teacher of *Seijo Gakuen*. In 1921, the first public performance of drama at *Seijo* was observed by about two thousand elementary teachers who, impressed by the elevated level of its script, masterful direction and natural acting by children, publicly declared their sympathy with School Drama (Sasaki, 2012, p. 19).

Drama soon became very popular among elementary schools all over Japan. Obara's work in drama education resulted in the publication of his *Theory of School Drama* (*Gakkogeki Ron*) in 1923. The main contents described his experiences for ten years as a teacher in two elementary schools attached to Kagawa Normal School and to Hiroshima Normal School as well as *Seijo* elementary school. He called for a consistent title of «school drama» (*Gakkogeki*), while at that time various Japanese terms were applied such as «drama with children's songs» (*Doyogeki*), «drama with children's stories» (*Dowageki*), «children's drama» (*Jidogeki*), and «domestic drama» in the home (*Kateigeki*) (Obara, 1923, pp. 1-5). He encouraged drama in the curriculum from 1919, the earliest introduction of the subject in Japan, while Tsubouchi had advocated children acting out at home. Obara on the other hand recommended school drama for human education. He considered school plays were an integrative art form and the highest form of art (Sakuma, 2017, p. 96). The philosophies of Sawayanagi and Obara underpinned the work of two innovative teachers, Takashi Saida and Seishi Shimoda. Saida was invited by Obara to join *Seijo* elementary school in 1920, moving from the attached school at Kagawa Normal School, while Shimoda began his career as an art teacher in *Seijo* secondary and elementary schools in 1921. Saida created stories for children's drama in *Seijo,* used in school performance, and Shimoda's role will be discussed later below.

Yet school drama, like other aspects of progressive practice, was not without controversy, especially as opinions were polarized concerning «children acting in public». For instance a psychologist and a deputy head of kindergarten Sozo Kurahashi stated his opposition to public display by children (Sasaki, 2012, p. 20), though he later became «a major driving force in school drama and insisted upon the importance of a domesticated setting for the sake of children's sound mental development» (Fujikura, 2010, p. 91). Drama purely as entertainment or show for parents met opposition, yet was recognized as a potentially valuable educational activity. Around the beginning of 1924 school drama was openly approved for its educational value by teachers involved in the New Education and arts education movements.

On 7th August 1924 in a meeting with local school directors, the Minister of Education Ryohei Okada, and incidentally a former classmate of Sawayanagi at Tokyo Imperial University, issued a strong warning that school dramas were not to be too ostentatious or lavish if their educational integrity was to be maintained: «Particularly there is no scope for pedagogical value in school children performing drama with make-up or dressing up for public entertainment, which is not a way to promote a life of simplicity and fortitude [for Japanese pupils or students]» (Kyoiku Yogo Domei, 1924, p. 92).

Against the background of this critique, schools in which teachers lacked the sensitivity or insight to reflect on the meanings of drama in education, wasting time in rehearsing performances and decorating space in schools to imitate the environment of adult theatre, could produce harmful effects. Okada's statement however was interpreted as a warning against all school drama, leading teachers to refrain from drama altogether. But Sawayanagi and Obara never relented in their advocacy of its potential importance, though as far as we know only one school *Seiryu Jogakko* (*Seiryu* women's middle school) in Tokyo continued drama lessons as embedded within a comprehensive art curriculum.

Soon, school drama came to be reinstated with a very specific purpose, most plays having patriotic themes with the aim of raising morale, performances peaking in the years 1935 to 1938, and continuing even during wartime. However, drama with folklore and literary themes was also performed as they provided momentary entertainment and distraction for both children and grownups during wartime (Sasaki, 2012, p. 17).

Against these vicissitudes of drama in the Japanese curriculum, and their relation to distinctive cultural and political features, we now proceed to compare the emergence of school drama in Britain. We will then continue by examining emergent networks that facilitated transnational dissemination of experiments and sharing of approaches to drama as an aspect of progressive reform in education.

4. Educational drama and innovation in Britain

Progressive education in Britain, as in other nations, has a complex history woven from many strands, the interaction of individuals and institutions, and outstanding individual innovators creating distinctive patterns. Enriching the weave were threads from international as well as national sources. From European neighbours, from across the Atlantic, and from Asia, through four centuries of Enlightenment and Romanticism, technology and travel enhanced communication. The «New Education» and «progressive» reform, resulted in energetic cultural exchange, continued as a trans-national phenomenon, however contested its character and definition by later historians (see for example Cohen, 1999 & Reese, 2001). This productive trade in ideas and educational practices brought strands such as spiritualism and theosophy, psychoanalysis and democracy into play. Psychology, social science, politics and philosophy informed educational ideals and pedagogical practice in a variety of cultural contexts (Stewart & McCann, 1967, 1968; Stewart, 1972; Selleck, 1968, 1972). Historical research on these topics accelerated in the 1960s and has diversified extensively since then.

The «second industrial revolution» of the late Victorian era saw a state system of universal schooling emerge, to supplement a largely Christian denominational enterprize of elementary school provision that had followed the first industrial revolution. But progressive experiments were to be found initially in schools outside state control. Abbotsholme was an elite fee-paying school founded in 1889 by Cecil Reddie, an experiment for his progressive approaches which included teaching modern languages in place of Latin and Greek, the fine arts as well as practical skills such as animal husbandry. J.H. Badley having taught at Abbotsholme, went on to found Bedales in 1893, as a school to be organized on family lines and egalitarian principles that attracted especially artists, craftsmen and writers. Oundle in 1892 found itself under the leadership of F.W. Sanderson who believed in teaching students what they wanted to learn, introducing modern languages, science and engineering. King Alfred School founded in Hampstead, London, in 1898 was radical in its secular curriculum and in its co-education of boys and girls. Summerhill emerged from an experimental school founded initially in Germany in 1921 then moved to England by A.S. Neill, who believed that school should be made to fit the child rather than vice-versa, run as a democratic community with students free to choose which lessons they attend. Appreciated by only a radical few at the time, innovative schools generated considerable controversy, though admired by many in later generations.

These were well-documented examples of progressive institutions and practices in Britain. Innovations of this sort are less commonly known in the state schools, generally characterized as mechanical and regimented in their pedagogy, limited and utilitarian in their curriculum. That view of the public elementary system is founded on much documentary evidence, reinforced by material and oral evidence of inadequate buildings, large classes and poorly trained teachers; and it is supported in popular imagination by literary representations in the novels Charles Dickens and others. Yet we can imagine there were more individual exceptions, teachers with humanity, empathy and inspiration, working on their own initiative with more progressive methods, than appear in the historical record. One such exception was recorded for posterity by Chief Inspector of state schools, Edmond Holmes, who publicly converted late in life to advocating «child-centred» education, and to castigating the «path of mechanical obedience» followed by the elementary school system he had served throughout his career (Holmes, 1911). His books, written from 1911 onwards and highly controversial in the eyes of the Establishment, were influential with many younger teachers who subsequently adopted progressive practice. Holmes' writing, founded on Buddhist beliefs as well as on first-hand experience of state elementary schools, was translated into Japanese in 1913.

This section will continue by considering just two of the pioneers of teaching through drama, arguing for the way their work contributed to the movement for a more widespread acceptance of educational progressivism. It will also draw attention to the varied historiography of these key figures as drama educationists have continued to take account of and interpret the pedagogical significance of their work.

4.1. *Harriet Finlay-Johnson*

Chief Inspector Holmes drew national and international attention to the work of a rural elementary school head-teacher, a young woman who had qualified as a teacher through private study rather than through college training. At the age of 26, Harriet Finlay-Johnson (1871-1956) took charge of a small village school in Sompting, Sussex, with her sister as the sole assistant teacher of infants. Here Harriet reflected a growing Froebelian trend, but applied kindergarten methods equally to her 50 junior pupils across the age range 8 to 14. Much of their curriculum focused on nature study pursued in an alternative space beyond the bounds of the classroom, cultivating school gardens and exploring the local environment. Out-of-classroom activities became an established feature of the curriculum: rambles in the surrounding country and on the local seashore, bee-keeping, gardening, and cooking.

But it was above all her innovation in the educational use of drama that attracted widespread attention. She placed emphasis on drama as a pretext and channel for the acquisition of knowledge: motivation, research, problem-solving. She also believed in dramatic creations as the children's own invention, anticipating Franz Ciżek, who later revolutionized educational approaches to the visual arts: «… instead of letting the teacher originate or conduct the play, I demanded that, just as the individual himself must study Nature and not have it studied for him, the play must be the child's own» (Finlay-Johnson, 1911, p. 19). It has been claimed that Finlay-Johnson was the first teacher to apply the term «dramatization» to education (Bolton, 1998, p. 24). Drama was conducted as much outside as inside the classroom. Moreover by involving parents and others in theatrical work centred on the school, for example forming a mothers' musical band, she realized another progressive ideal, modelling a new relationship between school and community. Parents became deeply interested in the school life of their children (Bowmaker, 2002; Cunningham, 2004a).

Edmond Holmes visited Sompting School in 1906 as the most senior official responsible for the quality of the nation's schools, and subsequently credited Finlay-Johnson with transforming his view of education. This was an extraordinary, probably unique, event in the history of progressive education. His own account *What Is and What Might Be*, «the manifesto of the English progressives» (Armytage, 1964, p. 227), appeared in 1911 and in the same year, at his persuasion, Finlay-Johnson published her *Dramatic Method of Teaching* (Finlay-Johnson, 1911). Both books provide accounts of education at Sompting, his writing more philosophical, hers more pragmatic, offering between them not only a graphic account of progressive practice in many aspects, but also a most original and influential case study of drama as pedagogy. As Bolton has observed, all three educational ideals of progressivism – active experiential learning, democratic responsibility, and the partnership of pupil and teacher in teaching and learning – suffuse *The Dramatic Method of Teaching* (Bolton, 1998, p. 32). Her explanations of activity and experience, exploration and discovery, creativity, individual and collaborative expression in the children's work, and a new role for teachers, reflect the broad scope of new vehicles of learning that were being discovered and developed in the early twentieth century.

Curriculum and pedagogy at Sompting were highly original, developing through 13 years under Finlay-Johnson (1897-1910), from its initial focus on nature study, to drama as a means of teaching across the curriculum. Drama began as a way of arousing the desire for knowledge of a particular subject, and later became the core activity. Characteristic features aligned with progressive principles included integrated or cross-disciplinary learning, learning through activity, and pupil-autonomy. But « "dramatization" gradually and uniquely became [her] means of achieving such goals» (Bolton, 1998, p. 10). She described how preparing a play involved mutual learning, children teaching each other, pupils self-reliant, mainly self-taught and self-developing. Researching the play involved thorough acquisition of knowledge or skill, and deep understanding. It entailed changing the traditional teacher-pupil relationship to one of «fellow-worker» and companion. In modern terms we might identify such factors as motivation, learning with a purpose, learning independently, collaboratively, and in depth.

There were nevertheless, and continue to be, different priorities or emphases between drama educators, and between progressive teachers in general. Thus Edmond Holmes expressed his justification of Finlay-Johnson's method in terms of «self-realization», related to his own long-standing attachment to Buddhism, identifying the process of natural growth in fulfilling six instinctive desires of the child: to talk and listen; to express ideas in physical action; to draw, paint and model; to dance and sing; to investigate and enquire; and to make or construct. In recent commentaries on Finlay-Johnson we can identify a common enthusiasm for the pedagogical benefits discussed by Gavin Bolton and Helen Nicholson. Yet Bolton's preference is to examine the technical details of the classroom acting she describes (1998, pp. 10-15), their relevance to interpersonal communication in everyday life and in theatre, while Nicholson (2011, pp. 44-47) highlights aspects of democratic pedagogy, the political and cultural heritage of socialist reformer William Morris reflected in her model of the classroom as reminiscent of a busy community of craft workers.

Finlay-Johnson's account of her practice is understandably positive and optimistic, but Manami Yoda's doctoral thesis recalls also the criticism and «vicious rumours» that followed Harriet's retirement from the school (Yoda, 2012, pp. 39-40). Yoda concedes that Finlay-Johnson's consistent description of pupils' enthusiasm and success, their alertness in producing plays as recorded in the book, «come across as very unnatural», but concludes nevertheless the question of accuracy in her account is inconsequential, since Finlay-Johnson's purpose in writing was to present the *ideal* of her students' production of plays and its final goal.

4.2. *Henry Caldwell Cook*

Henry Caldwell Cook's foundational role in drama education is as prominent, if quite distinct from Harriet Finlay-Johnson's. The key text is his book on *The Play Way* (1917), a title that generated misunderstanding by advocates of progressive education and critics alike. Separated by only six years, Finlay-Johnson's book preceded the First World War by three years, while *The Play Way* was written by Caldwell Cook (1886-1939) during his army service on the battlefront. Fifteen years

her junior, Cook's education and teaching experience differ markedly from hers. After an English degree and diploma in education at Oxford, he applied to teach at the Perse School in Cambridge. The Perse was a centuries-old grammar school for boys but he was attracted by its innovative «direct method» of teaching Latin and Greek languages through oral conversation. Fired by his interest in this, and coming from a wealthy merchant family, he requested a teaching post without pay (Beacock, 1943; Bolton, 1998, pp. 27-28; Cunningham (2004b).

He started teaching in 1911, and there is no evidence that he would have read Finlay-Johnson's book published in that year, but from his own interests he encouraged boys in acting, public speaking, and writing their own plays. He established the «Mummery», a permanent theatrical space in the school, and his curriculum centred on creative performance of Shakespeare.

The full title of his book, widely read and reprinted many times, is *The Play Way, an Essay in Educational Method*. «"Play Way" covers a complexity of meanings, which together make his contribution to education unique. It is not possible to understand the status of his dramatic work … without a grasp of his broader conception of what education is about and how he played a part in the progressive movement of his day» (Bolton, 1998, p. 28). Play was observed to be the natural means of study for children: «By Play I mean the doing of anything one knows with one's heart in it» (Cook, 1917, p. 17). Cook's emphasis on play and creativity relates to earlier studies by psychologists Karl Groos and G. Stanley Hall, and to artist educators such as Franz Cižěk and Émile Jaques-Dalcroze who recognized the seriousness of children's creative activity and the quality of their art. He told his pupils that education was a journey of their choice, to be travelled at their own pace, and also renounced the teacher's traditional authoritarianism. His book includes drawings and photographs of pupils indulging their imaginations, making plays, writing ballads, and lecturing on their interests and hobbies. He actively encouraged and joined in folk-dancing, swimming, camping and scouting.

Cook enjoyed three years of teaching before joining the army, but his book's challenge to conventional formality was sharpened by disillusionment with war from his service on the front line, a mood shared by many of his readers. His belief in the value of artistic practice for civilization was influential and corresponded with the ideas of other contemporary innovators. In Selleck's view the progressive movement sought something even deeper than its appeal to «freedom» and «individuality», rather the search for an alternative to ugliness, moral corruption and industrialism, a search to escape the reality of war (Selleck, 1972 cited by Bolton, 1998, p. 5).

The two outstanding initiators of drama education in Britain have continued to provide fixed points of reference for debate. Educationists and historians inevitably interpret the work of these two pioneers from particular current professional and academic viewpoints. To take just one example, Manami Yoda's concern is language teaching. Yoda observes that Finlay-Johnson in her elementary school had responsibility for the whole curriculum, so that theatre became the means to an end of teaching most subjects, an approach that led later in the century to «Drama in Education» (DIE) (Yoda, 2012, pp. 34-35). Cook's task, by contrast, was to teach English, language and literature, so that theatrical play could become an end in itself. At Sompting, nature study was an overwhelming curriculum focus, not only for

its scientific but also for its aesthetic value, nature as inspiration for art. For Cook in Cambridge, Shakespeare provided both curriculum and pedagogy, laying the ground for later practice of «Theatre in Education» (TIE). Differences can also be identified in their approach to reciprocal teaching: for Finlay-Johnson the primary motive was for students to teach each other in order to share knowledge; for Cook its major purpose was to promote collaborative habits and group responsibility (Yoda, 2012, p. 39). Finlay-Johnson's attitude to mutual teaching also proves that she saw dramatization as an educational tool. What mattered for her was not the performance of a play itself as a final goal but the preparation process and the educational benefits acquired through it.

5. International networks for progressive education and drama

Space and time are dimensions integral to the quality of drama pedagogy in schools. On a different scale they are also perspectives through which we view the development and transmission of reform in educational thinking and practice over a period of transition from the 19th to the 20th century, and across different continents as the pace of communication accelerated. Much historical attention has been paid to the Iwakura mission of 1871-73 and exchanges that followed between Japan and the USA, with their influence on education, but the subsequent transnational networks for progressive education are worth examining as a vehicle for drama education. Our focus now is on the ways in which innovation in school drama travelled the globe.

The USA continued to be an important source of western ideas as it had been throughout the Meiji era. Fujikura explains that «In the US, people could observe rather diverse [dramatic] productions free from a fixed concept, but the Japanese theatre concept was limited to a few stylized theatre forms that resulted from nearly 230 years of the country's isolationist policy» (Fujikura, 2004, p. 109). In Tsubouchi's day, theatre was associated by the government in Japan with corruption and degradation; a skill-oriented education policy that ignored children's emotional lives was aligned with Confucianism, deeply rooted in the subconscious of Japanese people. Art education was traditionally confined to music, drawing and manual arts. An innovative and diverse art education movement was led primarily by educated artists outside the education field, motivated by the social trend of the Taisho education movement, Tsubouchi beginning his research at the request of the journal *Akai Tori* established in 1918. He also pointed to the USA where women were more actively engaged in art and education, and in particular referred to Alice Minnie Herts, social worker and theatre professional who in 1903 founded the Children's Educational Theatre in New York City, «… to make our thousands of immigrant children better citizens; to educate them; to develop their sympathies and their characters; to give them the best possible sort of a good time, and to counteract the evil and sordid influences of tenement and factory» (Herts, 1911, p. 65). Her project was supported by psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who wrote on the dramatic instinct in adolescence.

A further American influence can be noted in Miyamoto's study of developments in school architecture, with respect to the school auditorium, advocated especially by Alice Barrows (Miyamoto, 2010, pp. 40-42). She had studied under John Dewey at Teachers College in New York and been inspired by Dewey's emphasis on educating

«the whole child». The auditorium had an important role in accommodating dramatics and concerts conducted as a regular part of the curriculum rather than as an occasional activity. For children the auditorium was a space for creative expression, dramatic interpretation, visual education, poetry and music appreciation. Moreover, Barrows saw the auditorium as a democratic space where children could participate either from the platform or as part of the audience, facilitating work that was productive or interpretative rather than reproductive or imitative, dictated by children's interests and measured by their own standards.

Progressive networks operating in England and Japan have been detailed by Yamasaki (2008), linking in particular the Japanese progressivists Entaro Noguchi and Seishi Shimoda (whom we met earlier in the circle of Sawayanagi) with English and international organizations, their conferences and journals. The journal *New Era*, which began publication in England in 1920 and became the organ of the New Education Fellowship, announced its mission «to promote International, and to record the growth of Experimental, Education» as a contribution to post-war «Reconstruction» of a peaceful international world, and to «provide a medium through which each country may acquire that which is of value in the principles and practice of others» (Yamasaki, 2008, p. 224).

Entaro Noguchi instigated a new Century of Education Society (*Kyoiku no Seikisha*) in 1923, coincidentally the year that Tsubouchi's book *Child Education and Drama* was published (Yamasaki & Kuno, 2017b, pp. 20-25). The following year he brought «drama in education» to the Society's journal *Century of Education* by translating articles that had recently appeared in a special issue of *The New Era*[1]. He also established a laboratory school for the Society, Ikebukuro Children's Village (elementary) School, at his own home in 1924, on the principles of learners' autonomy and community organization, self-tutoring and cooperative learning. Noguchi was an experienced and well-known educator, who, as described earlier, became involved with the JIEA at Sawayanagi's request; so he networked nationally and internationally, and aged 62 was appointed president of the Japan section of the New Education Fellowship when it was formed in 1930.

Seishi Shimoda played a pioneering role as a teacher of art at *Seijo Gakuen* under the leadership of Sawayanagi, and while there became inspired by the writings of A.S. Neill. He joined the Century of Education Society and enthused by Neill's ideas, eventually visiting Summerhill in 1928 after attending a conference of the International Federation for Art Education in Prague, and publishing translations of Neill's books from 1930 (Yamasaki, 2017c, pp. 156-158). Meanwhile in respect of school drama, Shimoda in 1923 had translated Harriet Finlay-Johnson's *Dramatic method of teaching* into Japanese, a fact largely unacknowledged amongst historians of drama education to date, so that its impact remains to be properly researched. With regard to this international networking, we should not overlook the implications of space and time on a large scale, the motivation and commitment entailed in

[1] *The New Era: An International Review of New Education*. Published by the New Education Fellowship. (1923) vol. 4, no.13: Harriet Finlay Johnson («Egeria»), Drama in Education, 131-134; W. H. D. Rouse, M. A., The Drama in Education, 135-136; Norman MacMunn, The Drama in Education, 137-138; A. G. Lucas, M. A., Drama and the Composition Lesson, 139-140; E. M. Gilpin, The Place of Drama in Education, 141-143; Eleanor M. Elder, Drama as Education, 143-145.

negotiating routes to visit Europe and America, crossing cultural boundaries, and time invested in transfer of ideas and practice.

An outstanding instance of transnational currents in education for the performing arts is that of Sosaku Kobayashi, who progressed from a poor rural childhood to study music education, taught at Seikei elementary school, then visited Jaques-Dalcroze in Paris to observe the Dalcroze kinaesthetic method in action in French schools. On his return, he established a Japan Eurhythmics Association, and founded a child-centred school, *Tomoe Gakuen*, celebrated in Tetsuko Kuroyanagi's moving memoir (Kuroyanagi 1981). Transnational influence worked in multiple ways, where for example Rudolf Laban's Kinetography (or Labanotation) was adopted as a means of recording and passing on to future generations, the traditional courtly dance *Gagaku*.

6. Lessons from a comparative history of drama education, and its legacies for today

The foregoing account aimed to apply historical enquiry to inform continuing pedagogical reflection in the present day. It was constructed as a comparative study specifically to focus on transnational currents of innovation, increasingly relevant in our globalized present. Constraints of space confined our illustrations to a few case studies, sufficient to indicate the character and variety of initiatives and experiments and the scope for further research on this topic. There were clearly influential texts and ideas circulating, and more pockets of dynamic innovation than have been noted above.

Of the two British case studies, one was a state elementary school, the other an independent secondary, neither typical though both influential. The Japanese examples were not registered government schools but in Japan we found more evidence of national networking than in Britain. Underlying these developments in both countries was a growing forum for international exchange of ideas following the First World War, interrupted by militarization and conflict in the 1930s and 1940s. Within this 'movement' we identified different priorities or emphases between individual drama educators, as between progressive teachers more widely. In conclusion we summarize lessons for history, and pedagogical legacies, highlighted by this research.

Researching these phenomena, historians must adopt a critical eye in reading primary sources that promote curriculum innovation, recognizing the 'missionary' spirit in which international gatherings of progressive teachers presented their work. Secondary sources for educational reform need to be read critically for celebration and hagiography, yet with sensitive interpretation can provide useful evidence. Retrospective views of time and space may distort the representation of transnational relationships, whilst cultural assumptions and inter-ethnic perspectives or tensions require empathy and imagination in analysis. With these cautions in mind, the creative arts in education, and progressive movements of the past, provide rich material for cultural and educational history.

Demands on the school curriculum continue to increase, as do expectations from governments, parents and employers. Drama remains at the fringe rather than

the forefront of curriculum discourse, but the case for it was made historically in terms of personal, social and emotional development, as well as its potential for citizenship and for employment. Stimulation of creativity and imagination brings healthy psychological benefits, while experience of collaboration, communication and public presentation develops skills and personal qualities for civic life and the labour market. In teaching drama, these aims may appear in tension, but a rounded and broad case needs continually to be made for its overall value, drawing on past initiatives while recognizing a radically changed context in the present.

A major attraction of drama for progressive innovators, was its disruption to the traditional arrangement of schooling. It challenged pedagogical norms by demanding more space and more time than could be accommodated by the formal classroom and a rigid timetable. This might have been viewed as a limitation, but it also presented new possibilities. Finlay-Johnson in her rural school used the outside environment, Caldwell Cook had the resourcefulness to create a dedicated theatrical space in his school. Drama has thus usefully demonstrated subversive opportunities in the school curriculum, as in society at large.

Most, though not all of the progressive experiments, in Japan and in the UK, were in private schools. In private or state schools, these past initiatives offer inspiring precedents of innovative teachers' ingenuity for manipulating rules and regulations, of the kind that impinge ever more oppressively in our present age. The models described suggest a role for individual schools and individual teachers to subvert prevailing norms by experimenting with alternatives, offering reform from the «bottom up» rather than the «top down».

School drama is not popular in recent times in Japan, especially in schools focused on academic achievement. But drama continues to have a significant role to play in Japanese progressive schools like *Tamagawa, Seijo* (School Drama in Seijo), the *Kyotanabe* Steiner School and *Kinokuni*. Kinokuni Children's Village school in the mountains of Wakayama, was founded in 1992 by Shinichiro Hori (1948-), inspired by Shimoda's ideas. On a recent visit, we encountered the indoor amphitheatre constructed in 2012 to mark the school's 20th anniversary. It evoked Alice Barrows' perception, cited above, of the auditorium as a democratic space, students participating as actors or as audience, doubling also as a location for the school meeting where issues of school life are debated, a common space for performance both in dramatic expression and in political debate for «self-government».

In 2002 the Ministry of Education introduced «Integrated Studies» (*Sogogakushu*) reflecting pressure since the 1990s for more emphasis on creativity and individuality, apparently demanded by globalization. Under this umbrella Toshiharu Takeuchi launched a drama education course at Miyagi University of Education, and his books were widely read by teachers. Yet with declining PISA scores, Integrated Studies came under criticism from parents and teachers, and drama became even less common in Japanese state schools.

Thus a fundamental paradox persists. We have seen that drama can provide a vehicle for, and an illustration of international dialogue that may be matched in the sharing of ideas and practices for education. But international dialogue is complicated by unequal power relations, colonial and post-colonial, that affect cultural exchange. Time and space continue to shift, and contemporary globalization is a case in point.

Commodification of the arts through TV and cinema, video-sharing websites and social media generally exert wide impact as a mode of expression or vehicle for debate. Arguably this calls even more insistently in the school context for the value of small-scale drama and live performance as an alternative and a counter to the pressures of globalizing trends.

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