

戲劇教育與劇場研究

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主編語

轉眼間《戲劇教育與劇場研究》邁入第四個年頭，這段期間我們收錄了 30 餘篇有關「戲劇教育」、「應用劇場」、「劇場研究」精彩佳作，期以透過此一平台使大家寶貴的研究成果得以分享交流，同時希望讀者在閱讀本刊物時能有獲得新知的喜悅，繼而回身投入與耕耘，使戲劇教育、劇場應用的種子散落於各地，共同為台灣戲劇教育與劇場研究努力。

本期特別邀請澳洲英國格里菲斯大學戲劇教育學者 Dr. Madonna Stinson，於 2012 年戲劇教育與應用國際研討會在臺灣發表之專題演講——《*Going Beyond The Script—Drama Education and The 21st Century*》一文，做為本期專論，希望藉此引發中西方戲劇教育研究的交流討論。在投稿部分，經過初審及三位學術外審複審結果，本期共有三篇戲劇教育及劇場研究之論述脫穎而出。前兩篇偏向於戲劇與兒童教育類。第一篇論文《戲劇融入幼兒園美感領域教學歷程之研究》，研究者將戲劇教育之策略融入幼兒美感課程中，企圖啟迪幼兒的美感表達和覺察能力，這份研究成果正可以回應近年創造力及美感研究的新趨勢，並對新課綱美感領域的研究提供參考。第二篇研究也相當有趣，主題為《從台北兒童藝術節中（2000-2011）探討台灣兒童觀》，研究者試圖從臺灣十年間發展的兒童藝術節中，以嶄新且陌生的角度來分析原本平凡且熟悉的資料，以期增加大家對現代台灣兒童觀點的瞭解。最後一篇論文是針對亞洲劇場的研究，以《泰國古典面具劇》為主題，從「傀儡」的根源與發展歷史，說明「傀儡」的藝術形式特徵，最後從時代的轉變來探討「傀儡」在現代社會當中的處境，其論文相當程度補足了我們對東南亞傳統劇場的認識。

第七期出版在即，仍要感謝系上同仁、編輯助理琍吟（TACO）及行政助理季樺的協助。也希望大家支持本期刊，持續投稿，讓稿源能夠“源源不絕”，以維持我們出版的品質。

戲劇教育與劇場研究
第七期總編

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在戲劇腳本之外—— 戲劇教育和二十一世紀的發展

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摘要

本文嘗試從戲劇教育在全球化的當下所面對的聯動效應與挑戰，並藉此探究其與當今其未來教育發展的關連。Madonna 將討論戲劇教育的意涵及其在教育脈絡中的定位。最後，將提出二十一世紀戲劇教育的發展及其可能的影響。

Going Beyond The Script— Drama Education and The 21st Century

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Abstract

This keynote explores the synergies and tensions surrounding drama education and what may be understood in relation to education in the present and future. Madonna will consider implications relating to the positioning of drama in educational contexts, or when drama is used for an educative purpose. She will consider what impacts on what might be a drama education in the 21st century.

Introduction

In this talk today I am hoping we will take a moment to think about what we mean by drama education and, in particular, influences and pressures on aspects of our work as we develop materials for an education in drama. I want us to really think about what a curriculum in drama might look like, and why we should have one. I will highlight some of the issues and pressures we face as we pass through the early years of the twenty-first century.

To start with, I want to share a story of a true event: the first production of a drama performance in Australia.

On 4 June 1789, less than eighteen months after the British First Fleet landed on Australian shores to establish the penal colony which marked the point of white settlement in Australia, a motley crew of soldiers and convicts (those transported prisoners from England whose misdeeds ranged from petty theft to political crime) staged a production of George Farquhar's 'The Recruiting Officer'. Many things might intrigue us about this performance, not least of which is the choice of play itself and the difficulty of staging a performance in the harsh and uninviting landscape of Sydney cove, with people living in tents, and bark huts with dirt floors, but, of note in the historical record is information which indicates that a significant motivation for the mounting of this first formal, western drama performance as suggested by the Governor of the time, Sir Arthur Philip, was to build unity in the newly established colony. This attempt at building unity from the diversity of the group, saw the benefits of the production going beyond the script itself. And in a very practical demonstration of unity the cast of the play was made up of soldiers **and** convicts (both men and women): gaolers and their prisoners, an interesting example of unity indeed.

Jump forward 200 years in time to 1988 when Timberlake Wertenbaker wrote 'Our Country's Good', a play based on Australian novelist, Thomas Kenneally's (1987) novel, 'The Playmaker', which told the story of the rehearsal and performance of that first dramatic production as an historical event. Wertenbaker's (1988) playtext offers a version of the event which focuses on the tensions of politics

and power underpinning the everyday life of the characters. She deals with personal ambitions and frustrations, love and loss, cultural clashes and misunderstandings – the stuff of drama and very familiar to us all.

At the time of the initial production in 1789, the rehearsal and performance of a play was seen as an opportunity to unify the various, disharmonious groups within the settlement. The creation of a theatre event was intended to provide a process of healing within a traumatized and damaged cluster of humanity. It was seen to be worthwhile to use theatre for a healing purpose, and the ‘play’ and the playfulness, the fun and entertainment was to put a stamp, a hallmark of culture on the newly established community.

Jump forward another 25 years from the 1988 first staging of ‘Our Country’s Good’ and we will see the first publication of a National Curriculum for the Arts in Australia with drama as a key component. Nearly a quarter of a millennium after the first (western) performance of a theatrical work, drama will finally be embedded in a curriculum framework that will be made accessible to all students in Australia regardless of location or schooling context (for details see: <http://www.acara.edu.au>).

So, in this presentation today, I want to consider some of the influences and ideas that shape what might constitute an education in drama for the new millennium. 225 years ago, the Governor of saw drama as providing an opportunity for unity, for harmony, for culture and, undoubtedly too, to stamp a very British cultural tradition on the newly minted coin of the Australian penal colony. As Governor Phillip considered the theatre to be a necessary component of the human condition, we might ask what does it mean to be human in the 21st Century? and how can an education in drama contribute? And if you will excuse me for being parochial, I will use the National curriculum initiatives currently in place in Australia as the basis for discussion.

When we talk about creating a curriculum – what do we mean? Generally the first thing we think of is what content we will use. If we look across the countries in the world which have a drama curriculum we can see some interesting commonalities: for we share the understanding that drama is about working in and

out of role, sometimes to develop a performance to share with others, and at other times to (as a group) explore ideas, concepts and problems, in order to make meaning for ourselves personally and collectively. We recognise that drama is an art form with a powerful aesthetic dimension that is manifested in specific forms and styles. But beyond this the various curriculum documents from around the world focus on very different specific content – authors, plays, theatre forms and styles, the technical aspects of theatre, the roles of actor, director, design artist, and so on.

I argue that the ‘particularity’ of an education is drama needs to be a valued aspect of the context in which any curriculum will be implemented. And that, apart from the fundamentals I just mentioned: working in role for the purpose of making meaning for ourselves and / or others in particular aesthetic forms; the strength of any curriculum (whether it be prepared by a Ministry of Education or by a classroom teacher for one single lesson) is its capacity to be embedded within the particular context in which it is implemented.

One of the challenges then is to move beyond the ‘universal statements’ we see in almost every document – those ‘weasel words’ that slip into much of the discourse and are accepted without due consideration of what might be the real implications in schools and classrooms. Words like innovative, creative individuals, lifelong learners.

As an example I will talk about the new (and developing) National Curriculum in Australia.

Australian Curriculum Framework/s

Australia has never had a national curriculum. The nation is made up of a federation of states and territories, each of which historically and in legislation has the responsibility for education. Consequently each state and territory in Australia has had a different curriculum framework, and education system. While there are similarities in content and structures, there are also many differences. In 2008 the ministers for education from each state and territory met, in Melbourne, to establish common goals for education right across Australia. The resulting agreement, not very

imaginatively entitled, ‘the Melbourne declaration’ set up an agreement to have a common and core curriculum which would be available to all students, Australia-wide, regardless of socio-economic circumstances or location. A laudable objective, for sure. This agreement claims that the national curriculum will be ‘designed to develop successful learners, confident and creative individuals and active and informed citizens’; aims to have students ‘develop knowledge in the disciplines of English, mathematics, science, languages, humanities and the arts; understand the spiritual, moral and aesthetic dimensions of life; and open up new ways of thinking’; and adds that students will need the ‘skills of planning and organising, the ability to think flexibly, to communicate well and to work in teams. Young people also need to develop the capacity to think creatively, innovate, solve problems and engage with new disciplines’(2008, p. 13). I am sure you can see the resonances with discourse about drama education in that list of goals and attributes.

It is interesting that The Arts, has been given an unquestioned place within the national curriculum in Australia – and that the arts curriculum will contain dance, drama, media arts, music and visual arts. Certainly there is no need for us to discuss today the importance of the arts in educational settings and what they contribute to academic achievement more broadly. The evidence is substantial, from the Critical Links research, in the USA (Deasy, 2002), to Robyn Ewing’s recent analysis of the Australian arts education landscape (Ewing, 2010), to the European publication of the DICE consortium (DICE Consortium, 2010). Each of these research reports (and many others) authenticate the importance of learning in the arts because learning in the arts contributes substantially to learning outcomes that demonstrate achievement in each of the areas mentioned in the Melbourne declaration. But what does it mean to be an educator of drama, someone using drama as pedagogy, in these times?

21st century considerations and contradictions

Change, technology and globalisation are three of the dominant ‘drivers’ of thought in 21st century. In his keynote at the recent IDIERI conference in Limerick, Ireland, Michael Anderson drew on the work of Ziauddin Sadar and talked of us living in post-normal times. By this he means that we have moved beyond any

certainties of ‘normality’ – old orthodoxies are vanishing, and we cannot expect the future, or in fact the present, to adhere to our expectations. A post-normal society is one where the familiar certainties have vanished – the world of the present and the future is one of environmental upheaval, of economic uncertainty and of multi-layered, diverse and hybrid societies. Sadar says: ‘much of what we have taken as normal, conventional, and orthodox just does not work any more’ (Sadar, 2010). The previously ‘scripts’ by which we think we can live our lives are disrupted and changed in new times and we must move beyond those familiar scripts to create new ones. These times are characterised by complexity, chaos, contradictions and uncertainty.

That we live in a world of complexity, chaos and change is certain – and, we see daily evidence of the contradictions in the world today: the environment is out of kilter with reports of floods and droughts more frequent; in an age of great prosperity there are millions living (and dying) in dire poverty; in a knowledge society we seem to display a good deal of knowledge but often little understanding. Our daily lives contain clusters of contradictions.

Contradictions

Among these are that the internet and social media both connects and disconnects us all. In spite of the fact that we are the most technologically connected individuals in the history of humankind, we can be the most disconnected and isolated. The results of a recent survey commissioned by Relationships Australia and published in the Sydney Morning Herald (Griffin, 2011), noted 30% of Australians aged 25 to 34 told the survey they were frequently lonely. In the same article, social commentator Hugh Mackay ‘warned against a “new form of RSI – Reduced Social Interaction syndrome” if people didn’t get the “emotional nutrition” of spending time face to face with others’.

As a result of globalisation ‘brands’ have become ubiquitous. We find McDonalds, and 7-Eleven in almost every city worldwide and travellers are comforted by that familiarity. We can almost believe the rhetoric that we are global citizens with shared interests and concerns. We can go on-line and purchase products

from India, China, America and they will arrive at our door in a matter of days or weeks. Is this what it means to be ‘going global’? In contrast, however, the particularity and uniqueness of cultures are in danger of being lost in our quest for universal conformity? For example what is changed and lost in the stories, we share as a community when those stories are taken out of a particular cultural heritage and adapted for another audience – the Disneyfication of cultural artefacts? When does this become appropriation or even misappropriation and how can we hold on to the essence of what makes our cultural heritage unique and valuable, without resorting to the ‘quaint and exotic’ (Said, 1978)?

In recent years we have seen a surge of interest in creativity and its importance both economically (Florida, 2002) and for the value to society as a whole (McWilliam, 2008) but a new longitudinal study has revealed that creativity is diminishing. The research by American academic Kyung Hee Kim (2011), talks about a ‘crisis in creativity’. Kim analysed results from over 272,000 Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking, from 1966 to the present. The results of this study are worrying to say the least: ‘According to Kim’s research, all aspects of creativity have declined, but the biggest decline is in the measure called Creative Elaboration, which assesses the ability to take a particular idea and expand on it in an interesting and novel way. Between 1984 and 2008, the average Elaboration score on the TTCT, for every age group from kindergarten through 12th grade, fell by more than 1 standard deviation. Stated differently, this means that more than 85% of children in 2008 scored lower on this measure than did the average child in 1984’ (Gray, 2012). Other aspects of creativity have also declined with the data indicating that “we are becoming less verbally or emotionally expressive or sensitive and less empathetic, less responsive in kinaesthetic and auditory ways, less humorous, less imaginative, less able to visualise ideas, less able to see things from different angles, less unconventional, less able to connect seemingly irrelevant things together, less able to synthesize information and less able to fantasize or be future oriented (Kyung Hee Kim, 2012) . That is quite a list!

These are the times we live and work in. But what does it mean for drama education?

The big question is really an ontological one i.e. How do we, can we, might we exist in the world? What might it mean to be in the 21st century? How might an education in drama contribute?

For drama this means what constitutes the knowledge of our field. What is the episteme, the content **knowledge and the knowing** of drama? Which aspects, elements of the episteme of drama do we **value** more highly? Which knowledge do we consider will give our students more cultural and social capital? And how can we learn in and through drama about the nature of our place in the world? Or how may we imagine and believe that the world we currently inhabit can be different?

One certainty is that drama will always be about the human condition and the way we inhabit the world. We can find universals in the particularity of all good drama: passionate and tragic thwarted young love; overweening ambition that strives to achieve personal goals at any cost; individuals and groups that stand up against oppression; people trying to be the best they can be under extraordinarily challenging circumstances; and people simply trying to live their lives. This is the content of dramas throughout human history and will be the content of drama to come.

An education in drama deals with just the areas that are regarded as deficit in Kim's study, above. Drama permits us (and teaches us) to express emotions, in fact the engagement with emotions is fundamental to learning and to drama work as Julie Dunn and I have argued in a recent article (Dunn & Stinson, 2012). Jonathan Neelands has written about how drama can develop empathy (Neelands, 2003) and notes that we are much less likely to commit acts of insensitivity or injustice if we are able to truly 'step into the shoes' of others and see the world through their eyes. Drama is an embodied and multi-modal form, reliant on movement, gesture, sound, action and interaction, much more than the words alone. The nature of the work we do is playful, and fun, often to the extent that we do not recognise we are learning unless the time for reflection is built in. Working in role requires us to imagine ourselves and others as 'other', different in place, time, character and motivation. We visualise ideas and manifest them through acts of imagination that allow us to play with time, space, relationships, and circumstances. So doing, allows us to see things

from different perspectives and angles, to move beyond the expected, the routine and the conventional – to behave in unconventional ways. The creation of any dramatic work, whether it be through playbuilding, process drama, devising, scriptwriting requires the skill of making connections between unconnected ideas – to connect them in new ways, to see things anew and to communicate this with others. The nature of drama is to work in a fantasy world, even a seemingly real one. To imagine alternatives – alternative pasts, presents and futures.

As a social art form, drama requires us to work collaboratively (Neelands, 2009), to manage relationships with flexibility, to cooperate and compromise as we work toward shared and public goals.

John O’Toole and I wrote about what we called four ‘paradigms of purpose’ for drama curriculum (O’Toole, Stinson, & Moore, 2009). These are

1. the linguistic / communicative paradigm (and we see evidence of this paradigm in the extensive research and list of publications that focus on drama and its contributory role to language development – first, second and additional language). We know, from substantial and growing research this century that drama, particularly when taught by teachers who are skilled and competent in both drama and language education has significant impact on students learning language.
2. the expressive / developmental paradigm (focusing on emotional development, self-expression and self-esteem, imagination, and understanding of self and others)
3. the social / pedagogical paradigm (developing intercultural and intracultural understanding, learning content and concepts from other curriculum areas using drama); and
4. the aesthetic / cognitive paradigm (with a focus on the art form of drama, historical and contemporary practices and works, and the tasks of creative artists within the field of theatre). This last tends to be the paradigm of most contemporary curriculum documents.

My understanding of curriculum goes beyond the words that are printed on the page. A curriculum is a lived and experienced thing. It is multiply experienced – experienced differently for each of the students we teach and even differently by ourselves as we grow and change as an educator. A curriculum must allow for multiple interpretations, and not be written as a fixed set of instructions to be implemented in a particular order. Drama materials, drama lessons, and drama curricula must be alterable and responsive to diverse times and locations, to diverse contexts and to participants needs and desires. A living curriculum, a curriculum of the present and the future is divergent (Stinson, 2008) and open to multiple interpretations.

I think it is time we moved along from only discussing the ‘content’ of the curriculum as the most important component, or even as the entire curriculum itself. It doesn’t matter what plays or playwrights or directors or styles our students will study. Sure, it may be important to know how to annotate a script – but not for every student and not for every context. It may be important to have access to Shakespeare’s plays – but not for every student and not for every context. The list goes on. Peter O’Connor, after watching a drama lesson on death in war which was full of inauthentic emotion, exaggerated acting and tasks which had no relevance to the students’ lives or the world and the wars just beyond the classroom, wrote despairingly:

As each child died we demonstrated our acting deaths to each other in heights of melodramatic activity. (Many were done at level two, ‘great consistency and flair demonstrated’). As I watched the young people leave with their tidy, written hand-out sheets of melodrama techniques taught (although doubtfully learnt) I wondered what we had achieved by moving drama into the middle. What had we sacrificed when drama becomes a subject just like every other subject? And as we work through the curriculum with our measured outcomes the opportunity for empathy is lost as we measure other things.

I am sure that we have all seen, or experienced similar lessons. Drama students tend to be committed and dedicated and will go on with the work that is asked of

them, regardless of whether it is authentic or superficial, meaningful or superfluous. We owe it to our students, and to ourselves, to avoid trivial work – work that is unconnected to issues of relevance to their lives.

Instead of focusing on the ‘what’ of drama work, it is time to focus on the why and the how.

Drama is an art form that investigates, interrogates, expresses and communicates what it is to be human in the world. So should an education in drama – so should drama in education.

Perhaps idealistically, I think I can understand why those first white settlers thought drama was so important in the Australian early colonial days – it was a collaborative, creative act that went some way towards helping them envision what the country might become in years to come. I cannot think that any of their imaginations would have been able to predict the world we live in today. And neither can we predict what the world will be like in two hundred years time. But we can believe that humanity will still be dealing with the stuff of drama, with tensions and relationships, and passions and crises, and with play and imagination. All we can do, as drama educators today and tomorrow, is to prepare our students to imagine, to hope, to work together, to empathise and attempt to understand ourselves and others.

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戲劇融入幼兒園美感領域教學歷程之研究

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摘要

本研究採質性研究，旨在探討以戲劇融入幼兒園美感領域教學歷程之研究。主要目的探究運用戲劇活動進行幼兒園新課綱美感領域課程的設計規劃、策略的運用、歷程的實施及師生的成長。

本研究結果發現：

1. 運用戲劇讓美感教學課程有多元的想像及發展。
2. 美感課程與在地文化情境作結合，能擴展幼兒在地藝術體驗及美感經驗。
3. 運用戲劇，讓老師主導與幼兒自主學習間取得平衡，推展教學進行解決教學困境。
4. 老師在課程的設計能力、戲劇活動帶領及策略運用，均有改變與提升。幼兒在探索與覺察、表現與創作、回應與賞析三項美感能力，均有明顯的表現。

關鍵字：幼兒園新課綱、創造性戲劇、教育戲劇、美感領域

The Process of Integrating Drama into Preschool Aesthetic Teaching

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Abstract

This study integrated drama into preschool children's aesthetic curriculum in order to explore how drama can be applied in planning a thematic curriculum, how drama can be used as a teaching activity, and how teachers and students can develop in the implementation of drama in education.

The findings are as follows.

1. The use of drama in an aesthetic curriculum improves the links among activities and integration of educational domains.
2. Aesthetic curriculum combined with local context expands children's artistic and aesthetic experiences.
3. The use of drama activities makes it possible to find a balance between teacher-centeredness and children's autonomous learning, while resolving a number of teaching difficulties.
4. Teachers' abilities in designing, leading activities and applying strategies have also improved. Also, the children's abilities in the aesthetic domain, including exploration and awareness, performance and creation, responses and appreciation, have improved.

Keywords: preschool temporary curriculum guidelines, creative drama, drama in education, aesthetic domain

壹、前言

教育部將2014年定為美感教育年，要讓「美感」普及各國中小幼兒園，透過系列課程活動提升學生對美的敏感度。幼兒教育是美感啟蒙之關鍵，推動幼兒園美感及藝術教育紮根計畫，啟發每一個幼兒的美感覺知與經驗，奠定美力終身之基礎（教育部，2013）。在2012年8月，頒佈「幼兒園教保活動課程暫行大綱」（簡稱「幼兒園新課綱」），美感領域也納入六大領域中，可見其美感教學對幼兒的重要性。Steiner認為從出生到7歲的幼兒正是處於最佳美感經驗吸收與最富於美感發展的關鍵時期（引自林玫君，2012）。孩子的生活經驗中會很自然地運用視覺藝術、表演藝術及音樂來做為創造性表達的媒介，表達個人的情感和想法。幼兒期的孩子也是充滿著好奇心，隨時探索週遭環境、運用豐沛的想像力和創造力去展現他們所知、所見、所聞。在年幼期越早給予藝術教育的薰陶和養成，往往對於他們未來人格、心理、情緒、和價值觀有莫大的影響，同時也間接地影響著他們學習的態度和視野。幼兒教育是生活教育，藝術是幼兒身心生活健康、快樂的方法，透過藝術學習各領域是全方位人文素養最為重要紮根基的階段（范瓊方，2003）。

基於此，本研究的目的希望透過戲劇進行美感領域教學課程，提升幼兒美感能力表現及提供現場老師用來作為設計課程與發展活動的參考。其主要研究目的如下：

- 一、探究教師運用戲劇規劃美感領域課程活動之歷程。
- 二、探究以戲劇進行美感領域課程對教師和幼兒的改變與成長。

貳、文獻探討

本研究依據幼兒園戲劇課程模式、戲劇教學策略、幼兒園新課綱美感領域內涵相關文獻進行探討：

一、幼兒園戲劇課程模式

戲劇遊戲（dramatic play）是幼兒生活中最重要且最原始的一種活動，也是幼兒探索世界、認識自我的主要方法之一。兒童從戲劇活動和角色扮演中，被鼓勵去練習對這個世界的回應，去探索各種情境，幫助幼兒整合各種生活經驗。透過角色想法、言語和行動扮演呈現經歷不同事件之開始、過程與結束，可讓

幼兒整合、歸納、連結個人經驗。戲劇可以提升幼兒心理與身體的發展，因為在戲劇情境中兒童被鼓勵、去思考、溝通、決定、解決問題、拓展知識和了解他們的生活世界（Lin，2014；O'Toole & Dunn，2002；林玫君、朱秋玲、甘季碧，2004）。

在幼兒園教學活動中如何進行戲劇課程，教師、幼兒、課程、三方關係為何？黃政傑（1991）就課程發展的特色分為「目標取向」及「過程取向」模式。「目標取向」的課程結構性較強，可由老師事先規劃，提早做有效的計劃與執行。強調目標的訂定與達成，是一種「產出」的課程設計模式。「過程取向」的課程較以幼兒為中心，配合遊戲依幼兒萌發的扮演興趣發展課程，強調幼兒在學習中的過程。課程設計是由內容和活動的設計開始，著重師生在教學過程中的經驗。因重認知的過程，是種「輸入」的模式。林玫君、朱秋玲、甘季碧（2004）以這兩個模式說明幼兒園戲劇發展模式，幼兒戲劇課程可以從下列兩個向度來發展：第一、活動的題材是來自幼兒自發的想法與興趣，或來自教師及課程的安排與計畫；第二、戲劇課程的發展組織，是以過程取向或目標導向，如圖 1。在此研究中發現「目標導向」的課程（第三及第四類型），未必能完全符合實際需要，必須考慮幼兒園課程及幼兒遊戲的觀點來發展不同的戲劇課程模式。研究中也發現教學主題是由老師所計畫訂定，並在大組活動進行討論，且在學習區中搭配佈置與主題相關情境，讓幼兒可以在學習區裡進行小組戲劇活動。因此重新定義戲劇課程，修改第三、四類戲劇模式並加入新的課程模式，如圖 2。

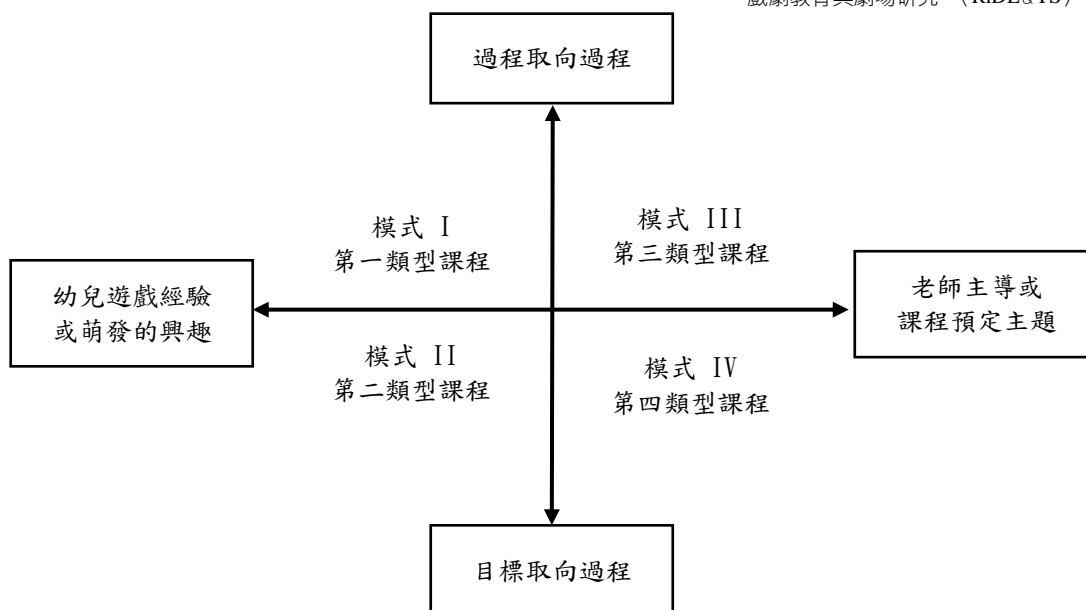


圖 1 幼稚園戲劇課程四種模式

資料來源：引自林玫君、朱秋玲、甘季碧（2004）。戲劇融入幼稚園課程之發展歷程行動探究。《課程與教學季刊》，7（3），89-106。

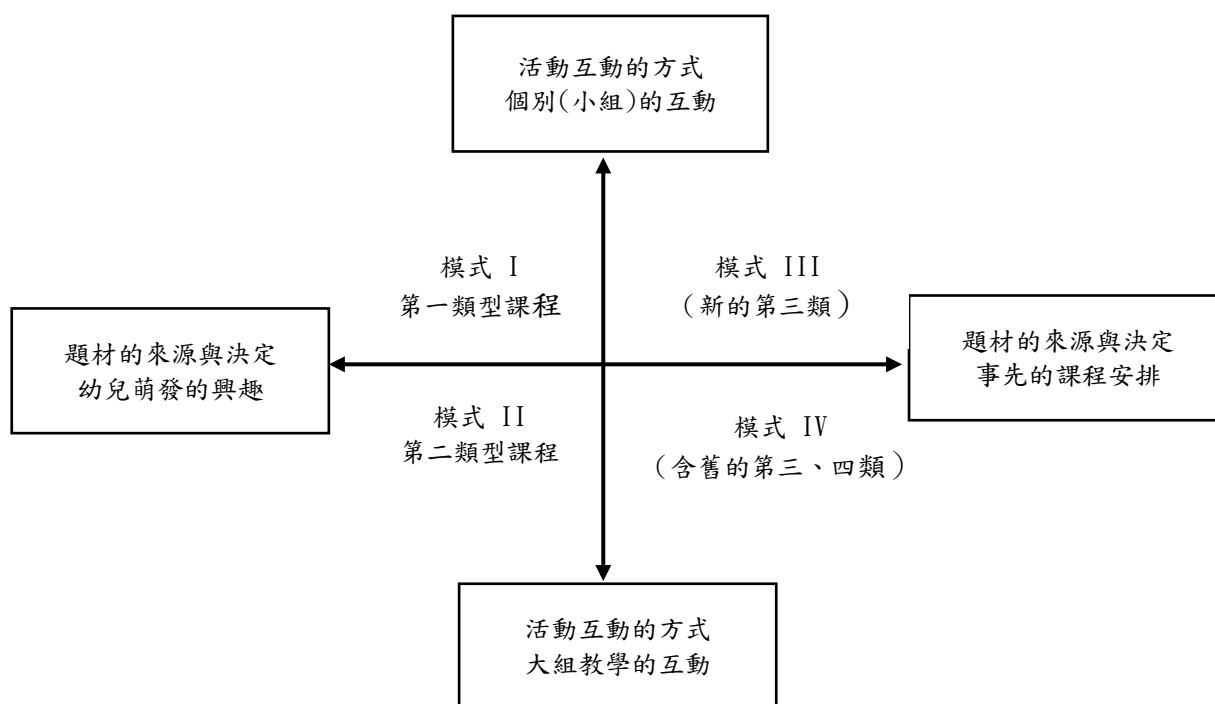


圖 2 幼稚園戲劇課程修正模式

資料來源：引自林玫君、朱秋玲、甘季碧（2004）。戲劇融入幼稚園課程之發展歷程行動探究。《課程與教學季刊》，7（3），89-106。

根據上圖，研究者所進行的研究是以戲劇活動結合主題來進行，以新課綱統整課程設計模式發展課程，融合在地文化情境。課程是預先計畫訂定的，不是上述的第一、第二類型課程模式。林玫君等（2004）研究也發現，從幼兒的觀點以「過程」為主的課程較符合幼兒發展需要，是一種學習者的經驗重組、以幼兒的興趣及萌發為主，一種開放的模式。研究者進行的戲劇課程模式是上圖中所重新修正的第三及第四種戲劇課程模式，但亦希望在過程與目標、自發與主導，興趣及計畫間取得平衡，課程進行是隨著主題開展及幼兒興趣去做調整，過程中以師生共同決定課程發展，再以戲劇來貫穿整個教學脈絡進行活動。

二、戲劇教學策略

戲劇教學策略是老師在進行戲劇活動時重要的方法，運用得宜會讓整個活動流暢達到教學目標，本研究運用了創造性戲劇（Creative Drama）與教育戲劇（Drama in Education 簡稱 D-I-E）來進行主題下的美感領域課程活動。

創造性戲劇是由兒童自發性遊戲中發展出來的，呈現出參與者的自發性創造，著重過程多於結果，創造性戲劇提供了每個人全方位學習與成長的機會，也是重視過程的教學方式（林玫君，2000；張曉華，1999）。過程中是由教師靈活運用戲劇的各種方法，藉由肢體與聲音的觀察、模仿、想像來進行戲劇的學習。教育戲劇是以戲劇作為媒介來教導其他的學習領域，藉由戲劇中的想像角色、戲劇狀況的行動認同，引導學生探索事件情況和關係來體驗真實世界，是提供自我、他人想像經歷角色扮演過程的機會，其重點不是在戲劇扮演，而是引導學習者進入學習的主題中，讓他們透過戲劇的情境去學習更多有關的內容，目的不是表演本身而是認知發展。（張曉華，2010；陳仁富，2005）。本研究主要用 Dunn 與 O'Tolle 的戲劇課程架構來開展。因為研究者以戲劇活動融入主題展開教學，而且有明顯的議題。Dunn 與 O'Tolle 認為戲劇必須從「關鍵問題」開始著手。關鍵問題會凸顯戲劇的焦點，而這些焦點都會成為戲劇開展的基礎。而在整個過程中，由問題的產生與解決，去激發孩子們的學習。

創造性戲劇可為幼兒提供了多樣的活動方式，適合不同年齡層的幼兒。開發肢體、想像、角色、扮演機會。教育戲劇可以建構孩子整體的主題概念，提升幼兒內在動機，也可以幫助孩子做經驗的統整，另外也能讓其想像得以實現、情感得以抒發。不管是創造性戲劇或是教育戲劇，老師要針對不同目的去選擇不同策略的使用方式，發展出解決問題與知識的探索力，這樣戲劇教學活動才

能讓孩子樂於其中並達到教學的目的。本研究會先從創造性戲劇活動中，開發孩子肢體想像、表達溝通外，再以教育戲劇融入主題中深入探討相關議題。

三、幼兒園新課綱美感領域內涵

「美感」指的是由個體內心深處主動建構的一種感知美好事物的體驗。這種「感知美」的能力，一般是透過個人的想像或經驗與敏銳的感官對外在訊息解讀的連結，所引發出內在心靈的感動和歡欣愉悅的感受（林玫君，2012）。在幼兒園新課綱中的美感領域部分包含「探索與覺察」、「表現與創作」、「回應與賞析」三項能力及「情意」和「藝術媒介」兩個學習面向（教育部，2012）。本研究會以這三項能力來看幼兒的表現，以下說明；

（一）美感領域的能力

1.探索與覺察

以敏銳的五官知覺來探索生活周遭的環境事物，並察覺其間的變化，對各式各樣的自然環境（如花、草、樹木、蟲、魚、雨、彩虹等），人文環境（如日常用品、雕塑建築、裝置擺設）等各類美的事物產生好奇與感動，此部份強調個體敏銳的觀察與探索能力。

2.表現與創作

嘗試以各種藝術媒介來發揮想像，例如自己的身體動作、聲音、表情、假裝的口語、想像及日常生活中的素材，例如：水彩、樹葉、沙子、積木……，進行個人獨特的表現與創作，並享受創作與發表的樂趣。

3.回應與賞析

對於生活環境中的各種藝術創作與展現，表達個人的回應、分享及欣賞的感受及偏好看法，慢慢培養自己對藝術創作的偏好與品味（教育部，2012）。美感領域學習面向分為「情意」和「藝術媒介」兩個部分，「情意」是指希望幼兒在不同的美感經驗中，能連結正面的情意與產生愉悅的感受，及樂於從事美感有關的活動，在這過程中湧現幸福、歡欣、愉悅的感覺享受樂趣。「藝術媒介」是指在探索與覺察的過程中，所運用到的視覺、聽覺、味覺、嗅覺及觸覺等各種感官知覺，以及在進行創作回應及欣賞時的用到的視覺藝術、聽覺藝術、戲劇扮演等藝術媒介（教育部，2012）。

美感經驗需有教師「美」的覺醒和素養，才能將幼兒的經驗轉化或開啓美的「視界」(陳伯璋、盧美貴，2009)。研究者希望透過戲劇融入美感的主題教學讓孩子在美感能力能有所提升。

參、研究方法

本研究採用質性研究法，探究以戲劇融入幼兒園美感領域教學之歷程。以研究者任教之大中小混齡班三十位幼兒為研究對象如表 1，採創造性戲劇及教育戲劇方式配合「啊！檳榔」教學主題進行為期十五週共四個主題的課程設計與實施。本研究的教學課程設計實施計畫如表 2。研究者透過教學過程的實施、孩子的反映、回饋，創作成果以及研究者的觀察記錄、課程省思、與協同教師及專家討論紀錄等，得以獲知課程是否達到研究者的研究目的。資料編碼如表 3：

表 1
幸福班小朋友概況

| | 大班 | 中班 | 小班 | 合計 |
|----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| 男生 | 9位 | 7位 | 1位 | 17位 |
| 女生 | 7位 | 5位 | 1位 | 13位 |
| 合計 | 16位 | 12位 | 2位 | 30位 |

※備註

在這30位小朋友中有14位是位舊生，在研究者的課程活動中曾參與過戲劇活動，其餘16位是新生，未曾有過戲劇活動經驗。

表2

戲劇融入幼兒園美感領域教學課程設計實施計畫表

| 課程主題 | 日期 | 使用戲劇活動 及策略 | 美感領域能力與對應的美感目標 |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| 第一主題 檳榔的異 想世界 | 2014年 9月中旬至 10月中旬 | 創造性戲劇： 說故事、旁述默 劇、模仿遊戲、 身心放鬆、肢體 動作、想像遊 戲、即興舞蹈 | 探索與覺察 美-1-1 體驗生活環境中愉悅的美感 經驗 美-1-2 運用五官感受生活環境中各 種形式的美 表現與創作 美-2-1 發揮想像並進行個人獨特的 創作 美-2-2 運用各種形式的藝術媒介進 行創作 |
| 第二主題 檳榔文物 展示館 | 2014年 11月至12月 | 教育戲劇： 老師入戲、專家 外衣、線索材 料、會議、電話 交談 | 表現與創作 美-2-1 發揮想像並進行個人獨特的 創作 美-2-2 運用各種形式的藝術媒介進 行創作 |
| 第三主題 檳榔劇場 | 2014年 12月初至 12月底 | 創造性戲劇： 肢體想像、說故 事、角色扮演、 戲劇扮演 教育戲劇： 老師入戲、專家 外衣 | 表現與創作 美-2-1 發揮想像並進行個人獨特的 創作 美-2-2 運用各種形式的藝術媒介進 行創作 回應與賞析 美-3-1 樂於接觸多元的藝術創作， 回應個人的感受 美-3-2 欣賞藝術創作或展演活動， 回應個人的看法 |

(續下頁)

| 課程主題 | 日期 | 使用戲劇活動 及策略 | 美感領域能力與對應的美感目標 |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 第四主題 檳榔文物展 示館 2 | 2015 年 1 月 5 日至 1 月 23 日 | 創造性戲劇： 肢體動作、想 像遊戲、角色 扮演 教育戲劇： 老師入戲、牆 上的角色、電 話交談、坐針 氈 | 探索與覺察 美-1-2 運用五官感受生活環境中各種 形式的美 表現與創作 美-2-2 運用各種形式的藝術媒介進行 創作 回應與賞析 美-3-1 樂於接觸多元的藝術創作，回 應個人的感受 美-3-2 欣賞藝術創作或展演活動，回 應個人的看法 |

表 3

資料編碼方式及說明

| 資料類別 | 編碼順序 | 編號 | 說明 |
|--------|-------|-------------|--|
| 教學觀察紀錄 | 日期、類別 | 1031001 教觀 | 表示該資料為 10 月 1 日教學觀察 所得 |
| 討論紀錄 | 日期、類別 | T11031012 討 | 表示該資料為 10 月 12 日與兩位 協同老師對談紀錄 |
| | | S11031015 討 | 表示該資料為 10 月 15 日與 1 號幼 兒進行相關議題的對話紀錄 |
| | | SS1031005 討 | 表示該資料為 10 月 05 日與參與的 全體幼兒對話紀錄 |
| 幼兒作品 | 日期、類別 | S11031024 作 | 表示該資料為 10 月 2 日為 1 號幼 兒製作作品 |
| 教學照片 | 日期、類別 | 1031002 照 | 表示該資料為 10 月 02 日所拍攝 之活動照片 |

肆、研究結果

一、第一主題課程設計實施歷程與幼兒美感能力表現

「檳榔的異想世界」課程設計的概念與方向，主要是透過創造性戲劇讓孩子熟悉身體、運用身體、想像身體，達到美感領域中的探索與覺察、想像與創造兩方面的能力。

在第一主題課程中，安排孩子到檳榔園去探尋及檳榔樹下野餐，從用檳榔鞘做裝盛食物器皿、客家花布當野餐墊，及在檳榔樹下享受風吹、鳥鳴、園中花草樹木、肢體律動一連串的美感活動。

孩子是大自然的探索者，在檳榔園中孩子不僅有視覺的美感，用客家花布當野餐墊，檳榔鞘做成的器皿裝盛食物，綠色檳榔樹、花、草、蔬菜、蝴蝶小鳥...等。還有聽覺的美感，鳥叫、蟲鳴、風聲、孩子快樂的笑聲。此活動也希望孩子透過實地去體驗生活中的美感。

T：大家安靜來聽聽檳榔園有哪些聲音？

S1：檳榔葉子的聲音，檳榔葉子被風吹動的聲音。

S30：啾啾啾的聲音，是小鳥。

S8：草的聲音，地上的草和樹上的草的聲音（1031022 教觀）。

孩子領聽週遭的聲音並說出所聽到聲音，在檳榔園的一連串活動後，孩子也說出其心中感受。

S12：開心，有好吃的餅乾，而且檳榔園像迷宮一樣，有一格一格的格子可以走。

S11：我們坐在這上面（客家花布）好漂亮，好像在餐廳一樣。

S26：大家在一起唱歌跳舞很開心。

S29：有葉子，有蝸牛在樹上，大家快樂在一起玩，分享吃糖果。（1031022 教觀）。



檳榔園中的野餐 1031022 照



與檳榔樹共舞 1031022 照

在表現與創作部分，以戲劇扮演為媒介設計了旁述默劇頑皮的猴子、兩隻猴子的模仿遊戲、神奇檳榔變身術三個活動，開發孩子的身體動作的創意想像、互動及扮演、身體的旋律及節奏。身體也是表現與創作的一部份，孩子運用身體的變化去展現，活動中有一位小朋變成鯊魚，小朋友機智的運用身體來解決遇到的困難。神奇檳榔變身秀是因頑皮的猴子吃了一顆檳榔後，變化出各種不同的東西，孩子將身體變成到處飛的小鳥、一顆堅硬的石頭及會滾動的石頭、一條蛇、木頭人、一朵可愛的花、歪七扭八的花、海裡的魚，對於變身活動，孩子有著非常高度的興趣，孩子除了嘗試變化各種身體造型外，也加入了聲音提高活動的變化及樂趣。



模仿遊戲 1030926照



神奇檳榔變身秀1030928

以視覺為藝術媒介進行了檳榔滾畫及檳榔健康步道兩個活動，孩子為了健康步道的底板嘗試了報紙、紙箱、壁報紙及布，黏貼工具也有膠水、白膠、黏土、保麗龍膠等。在創作過程中孩子透過多元素材來運用與創作，也在嘗試實驗中找出最佳的製作的方法。



檳榔滾畫 1030929 照



檳榔健康步道 1031006 照

以聽覺的藝術媒介以音樂節奏、旋律或歌唱等藝術表現所運用的素材或媒介。在此部分進行的活動有「用身體及樂器展現不同造型的檳榔樹」、「用各種不同音樂節奏展現檳榔樹搖曳風姿」。活動的進行是以各種樂器敲擊出的聲音，讓孩子先說出樂器聲音像什麼。

(手鼓聲)

S4：大象走路的聲音。

S9：炸彈砰的聲音。

S7：大巨人走路的聲音。

(三角鐵)

S11：7-11 開門的聲音。

(木魚)

S22：我阿公死掉時有人敲的聲音。

(手搖鈴)

S7：聖誕老公公來了。(1031015 教觀)

孩子能夠針對樂器所聽到的聲音去做感受與聯想，但用樂器與情境作連結時，用身體去做展現時，孩子的身體變化就沒那麼多，大多孩子也不太移動身體。

研究者：今天這個活動似乎小朋友較無法感受身體變化。

小林老師：有一些小朋友還無法用身體與音樂做連結，上一次的樂器活動，身體的變化較多，小朋友說出很多像樂器的情境、動物或事件，身體就做出很多的動作。

研究者：如果今天先讓小朋友多做一點身體的暖身與想像，孩子身體的變化就會較豐富。

小郭老師：我在後面觀察有好幾個孩子都沒有動，尤其是中小班的，還跟不上你帶的活動。(T31031017 討)

在用各種不同音樂節奏展現檳榔樹搖曳風姿活動上，因孩子肢體創造遊戲經驗的不足及暖身活動的不夠，活動中就無法作出多元的身體想像及展現。在此部份增加活動前的暖身活動，暖身活動可以從主要活動中來設計，像課程進行的旁述默劇頑皮的猴子，就先讓孩子玩簡單的默劇遊戲，如刷牙、洗臉、穿衣...等，孩子熟悉默劇形式及表演方式，再進入有故事情節的默劇。

小結：第一主題課程中，因孩子的戲劇經驗不足，所以使用創造性戲劇豐富孩子的肢體想像與創作，這部份透過活動，運用了美感領域的聽覺藝術、視覺藝術、戲劇扮演活動來進行。孩子在美感的表現，無論是對環境、多元素材探索、或是運用身體去想像創作、及不同素材作品的呈現，還有對人事物環境等能夠表達、表現出自己想法及感受。

二、第二主題課程設計實施歷程與幼兒美感能力表現

第二主題課程「檳榔文物展示館」以教育戲劇方式進行。教育戲劇以戲劇為媒介來探討相關議題，透過戲劇的情境引發參與者為議題提出自己的看法或解決的方法，以達到參與者對議題的深層體認。第二個主題是要成立一座「檳榔文物展示館」，有一個明顯的議題，可能發生的事情。故採取 Dunn& O'Tolle 課程設計架構來做第二主題課程的發展。其美感領域會著重在表現與創作部份。

(一)、戲劇策略的運用

第二主題課程因主題活動要成立一座檳榔文物展示館，為何要成立展館？成立展館的目的？展館的內容是什麼？要如何成立？這些問題運用了線索材料、老師入戲、專家外衣、電話交談、會議等戲劇策略來推展主題的進行。為了引起動機故用了線索材料（門票、導覽地圖、檳榔、票根、寫著電話號碼的一張

紙、一封信)去讓幼兒拼湊意圖與答案。當孩子熱切討論找尋線索時，S4說：「不是有一張電話，我們可以打電話問看看阿」。在策略的運用下孩子會進入虛擬情境中，在老師入戲下扮演「檳榔先生」孩子終於明白所有的指向，檳榔先生的心願是要回饋母校而成立一座檳榔文物展示館，也讓孩子為了完成檳榔先生有共同的目的與使命。

(二)、展館成立與衝突

展館要成立在哪？裡面要展出什麼東西？運用戲劇策略「會議」讓孩子去討論與決議。

S8：檳榔樹。

S29：檳榔藝術作品。

S1：檳榔玩具。

孩子對於展示館內容無法有較具體及豐富的想法，所以透過專家外衣的策略讓孩子變成檳榔文創產品的設計師，提供展館的作品設計及創作。

T：檳榔先生說文物展示館都是靜態展，你們有沒有更好的想法讓檳榔展示館變得更好玩。

S29：檳榔文物館積木角，裡面放很多我們做的東西，有檳榔車。

S23：檳榔溜滑梯。

S29：檳榔變形金剛，隨時就可變身。

S28：檳榔芭比娃娃、檳榔鏡子。

S20：檳榔機械人。

S2：檳榔書圖書角。

S29：看能不能放些檳榔做的柯博文和大黃蜂。

S11：可以有一區玩檳榔大戰。

S22：檳榔滑水道。

S4：檳榔游泳池。

S3：檳榔保齡球、檳榔冰箱（冰飲料用的）。

S15：檳榔磁鐵。

S19：檳榔手套。

S11：娃娃家用，因為端熱湯的時候才不會被燙到。（1031117教觀）

展館內容孩子已有想法並共同製作展出的作品，但展出地點透過會議討論取得共識。孩子經過會議討論決定把教室改裝成文物展示館，但展出需要關閉角落，孩子一直無法接受。

S3：我想要玩角落，不想要展出文物展。

S8：可是那是檳榔先生的願望我們要幫忙他。

S3：那我們就沒角落可以玩了。(1031110 教觀)

此問題我們透過老師入戲去推展及突出問題，運用專家外衣策略讓孩子提出解決的模式，最後達成共識。美勞角改成檳榔藝術創作屋或是文創展品、積木角是玩具區，用檳榔與積木做些造型、益智角放些檳榔益智遊戲在裡面、娃娃角檳榔美食料理餐廳、圖書角是檳榔圖片、資料展示區。在整個過程中我們讓孩子自己去找出解決的可能性及辦法，孩子天馬行空提出各種解決的方式，又一一去探討可行性，最後達成平衡既可成立展館有可維持角落的方式，重要的是能接納孩子的想法及創意。

在第二主題中幼兒美感領域著重在表現與創作部份，在發揮想像並進行個人獨特的創作與運用各種形式的藝術媒介進行創作，孩子運用檳榔及多元素材創作了許多的產品。



老師入戲 1031103 照



會議討論 1031106 照

S20：這是檳榔芭比娃娃，身體是用奶瓶做的，黏上檳榔當頭，皺紋紙當裙子，毛根當手。

S22：這是檳榔戰車，我用熱熔槍一顆一顆把檳榔黏上去，很辛苦呢。

S23：這是檳榔子彈機器人，用檳榔、牛奶瓶及毛根做的，手可以動，把手動一下頭會伸出來。

S4：我的檳榔扇是壓克力顏料畫的，還用毛線頭髮，彩帶當蝴蝶結。

S20：我的檳榔扇是用客家花布剪下來，用白膠黏上去。

S18：我的手套是用乾掉的檳榔鬚黏的。

S23：我的是檳榔挖土機，前面把土挖起來是檳榔黏上去的。
(1031129 教觀)



檳榔芭比 S201031120 作



檳榔戰車 S221031129 作



檳榔扇 S41031126 作



檳榔手套 S181031123 作



檳榔大型作品創作 SS1031129 作



檳榔三太子樹 SS1031119

小結：第二主題孩子因要成立檳榔文物展示館，孩子在美感能力表現與創作方面，運用了多元的素材創作了許多關於展示的檳榔相關創作作品出現，因時間關係無法將展館及相關活動完整進行，但也進行了一個小個展，孩子也相當投入整個活動過程中。第二主題因加入教育戲劇，以Dunn 與 O'Tolle 課程設計架構來進行主題教學活動，發現運用了戲劇策略推動整個主題發展，擴展主題的多面向，增進了孩子參與度及學習興趣。



文物館招牌 SS1031119 作

三、第三主題課程設計實施歷程與幼兒美感能力表現

第三主題課程「檳榔劇場」因配合學校校慶暨聖誕晚會來做課程設計，運用教育性戲劇搭配創造性戲劇來進行，此主題美感領域著重在表現與創作、回應與賞析兩部份。

(一) 戲劇策略使用

因晚會需有一個表演，故運用老師入戲扮演檳榔先生向孩子請託，讓孩子主導演出的內容。

T : 檳榔先生他告訴我，你們要受他請託，在幸福國小校慶晚會表演一個節目。

SS : 對呀！

T : 那你們準備表演什麼節目呢？

S6 : 好看或是好笑的。

S2 : 與檳榔有關的。

S7 : 檳榔夏威夷舞。

S24 : 公主舞。

S9 : 檳榔彩帶舞。

S28：跳很多不一樣的舞。

S6：跳完舞來演戲，邊演戲邊跳舞。(1031202 教觀)

透過戲劇策略孩子們決定要演戲加跳舞，他們也知道是要跟檳榔有關係，因為這是檳榔先生的拜託。於是開始發想劇本，孩子們天馬行空想出四個跟檳榔有關的劇本，最後討論及統整後完成了一個要演出的劇本大綱。

有一群小動物在檳榔樹下玩耍，但有小動物吃了檳榔而變成石頭，其他的小動物看到後決定划船到惡魔島中找解藥，途中遇到大風大浪牠們都不怕努力克服困境，可是惡魔島中的海盜們請小洞幫忙解決一件事才能得到解除的魔咒，小動物們立刻幫忙解決事情，小動物於是帶著海盜們一起回到檳榔園中解救變成石頭的小動物，海盜們念起魔咒救了小動物(1031203 教觀)。

(二) 戲劇排練

戲劇成果不在表演的好壞，是在歷程中的表現，孩子們在創造戲劇活動時，就等於有了戲劇活動的成果(岡田正章，1989)。從故事的發想、角色的決定及服裝、舞台製作，孩子們都自己決定與參與。林玫君(2006)提及對於戲劇的展演和排練，如何在活動的節奏性、趣味性、深入性和意義性中間取得平衡點，對老師而言一大挑戰與考驗，簡化排練與製作的過程、運用多元的戲劇策略來深化學生的經驗與並拓展多元創意的想法，在活動形式的安排上，不需要依循傳統上從「動作」到「語言」順序，利用教育戲劇策略，來提升學生在戲劇中口語表達的潛能。而這次的展演，故事是孩子合力自編出來，許多情節與對話透過戲劇遊戲方式讓孩子去想像與呈現，劇中因有歌唱、律動、遊戲、肢體動作、角色扮演，加上為自己的角色設計服裝圖案，檳榔先生不時出現或來電關心孩子們演出進行的狀況，所以孩子們是非常投入在這個戲劇情境中。

T：小動物來要解除魔咒的咒語，你們怎樣才肯給？

S15：要給海盜很多寶藏。

T：只要給寶藏就夠了嗎？惡魔島就有寶藏了啊！

S22：幫他們的忙。

T：幫海盜什麼忙。

S22：做家事，把惡魔島打掃乾淨。

S6：還要請海盜吃東西。

T：幫忙海盜打掃惡魔島及請吃東西，海盜就願意給解除咒語。
(1031215 教觀)

第三主題美感領域表現與創作中發揮想像並進行個人獨特的創作，因展演需要，海盜組的小朋友自己動手 DIY 海盜服裝，從構圖、上色剪圖、黏貼等，完成屬於自己獨特的海盜服裝。舞台的佈置也使用了第二主題製作的檳榔樹。



設計海盜服 1031212 照



完成海盜服設計 1031212

(三) 賞析活動

爲了讓孩子對於戲劇、音樂、舞台有更進一步的認識，安排了音樂、舞蹈及故事欣賞，讓孩子對於戲劇元素與演出更熟悉。在音樂欣賞部分找出五種不同類型的音樂（優美輕柔卡農、哀傷吟唱印地安樂、軍隊進行曲式、農場樂、熱門樂）讓孩子聆聽、說出感受及隨音樂舞出身體感覺。舞蹈部分欣賞四種不同舞蹈形式（孔雀舞、機械舞、非洲舞、太極舞）讓孩子說出舞蹈帶給人的感受及表達的情緒。故事方面選擇了一部動畫短片光之塔，讓孩子去觀賞，並說出故事內容、情節、背景、角色人物等。

- T：請小朋友說說對這音樂的感覺。
S1：感動、很享受。
S6：像花朵很漂亮，感動到想哭。
S7：想找媽媽哭。
S28：像是許願得到柯博文的感覺。

孩子去感受音樂對自己的的共鳴與感受，孩子在柔和的氛圍中聆聽樂曲，表

達心中感受，而這感受也與孩子自己生活中的情境連結。

(四) 能樂於參戲劇展演

孩子對於展演很期待，每個孩子都很樂意參與此活動，在角落時他們也會自己扮演劇中角色及對話，回家會演出劇情給爸爸媽媽欣賞，還要求全家人當天一定要到學校來欣賞表演。



檳榔奇遇記演出 1031219



檳榔奇遇記演出 1031219

小結：第三主題「檳榔劇場」因為學校的活動，從主題中發展了一齣戲劇的展演，從故事的發想到劇本完成，角色選擇、排練、服裝、舞台布景製作到演出，孩子們非常熱衷參與，因活動是他們一起發想的，運用教育戲劇與創造性教育來推展一齣戲的形成，過程中教育戲劇扮演議題的起始與討論，創造性戲劇扮演活動展演排練的暖身、遊戲、想像、肢體動作等而完成表演。孩子在美感領域的回應與賞析部份，經過影片欣賞、舞蹈欣賞、戲劇欣賞等，能夠用身體及口語表現出心中想法、感受與感動，也能說出劇情、人物、角色等。

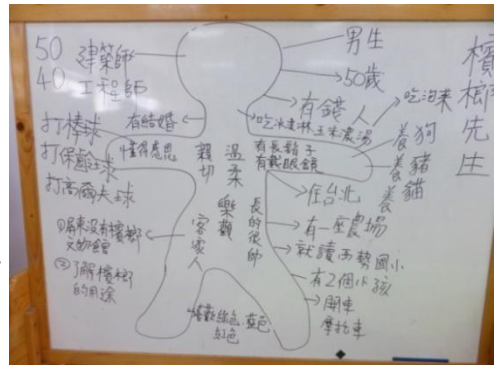
四、第四主題課程設計實施歷程與幼兒美感能力表現

在第二主題「檳榔文物展示館」因時間及學校活動，而使活動無法完整呈現，故在第四主題會接續第二主題，把未完成的活動做一個統整，並加入檳榔文物展示館策展相關準備工作及居民抗爭的議題。在此主題美感領域能力包含探索與覺察、表現與創作、回應與賞析三部份。

(一) 戲劇策略使用

1. 牆上的角色～檳榔先生

第二主題老師入戲扮演的檳榔先生，是推動主題走向的角色，孩子對於檳榔先生非常熟悉、喜愛又好奇，所以使用了「牆上的角色」戲劇策略讓孩子來描繪檳榔先生這位人物。在檳榔先生的年紀方面小朋友說了40、50、70、90歲這幾個年紀，最後他們決定50歲，他們的理由是比老師年紀大，在職業方面孩子說做工程蓋房子，而也很有錢，興趣方面喜歡打棒球、保齡球及高爾夫球，全班一致認為運動是很強的，養了寵物而且是一條豬，檳榔先生有一座農場可以養豬，說到檳榔先生的為人及個性時，孩子對於角色的描述也很貼切。



牆上的角色 1040107 照

2. 老師入戲～社區理事長

這部分運用老師入戲扮演社區理事長，因學校成立檳榔文物展示館，來質問小朋友，引出防檳、拒檳、口腔癌、健康議題，進而調查家中種檳榔及吃檳榔人口，再入社區踏查社區檳榔攤。

社區理事長：我是快樂社區協會理事長，告訴你們，我很不高興，你們為什麼要用檳榔文物展示館？

S11：要給人參觀。

社區理事長：你們知道嗎？檳榔不是好東西。

S4：我們只是創作做東西。

社區理事長：你們有告訴別人不要吃檳榔，你們是叫人家吃檳榔的嗎？

S4：我們只是用檳榔做東西給人看，檳榔的創意作品。

社區理事長：假使有人來參觀你們會介紹嗎？

SS：會。

社區理事長：你們要保證好勸人家不要吃。

S8：會跟他們說吃檳榔口腔臭。

S11：舌頭紅紅的，牙齒黑黑的、蛀牙。

S4：肺會黑黑的會死掉。(1040112 教觀)

孩子爲了要說明不是要推廣檳榔，而認真的入戲和社區理事長展開了一翻澄清，因爲理事長的到來，帶來檳榔與健康議題，孩子們展開了家中種檳榔及吃檳的調查，也到社區檳榔攤訪問，了解從事什麼樣的職業會來買檳榔，檳榔攤開業原因及做防檳宣導，學校校護與孩子們介紹口腔癌及預防，也邀請到社區人士現身說法，吃檳榔對健康的影響，同時也做了拒檳海報，讓社區理事長來訪時展現成果。

運用老師入戲策略，變成不同角色身分，和孩子討論檳榔議題，孩子們也很入戲紛紛提出意見加入討論，在虛擬情境中作一場真實扮演，而不是用講解方式或討論方式來處理這個議題，讓今天的活動很成功的進行，孩子們也開始注意及思考檳榔對健康的影響。(1040112 教省)

3.坐針氈～檳榔的是與不是

在社區檳榔攤踏查中，孩子向檳榔攤客人宣導不要吃檳榔，而讓另一家檳榔攤拒絕我們的訪問，於是我們與孩子談到此問題。

T：昨天有一組小朋友到西北橋去訪問，遇到一個叔叔，小朋友有請叔叔不要吃檳榔，這我們斜對面檳榔攤的老闆娘有聽到，引起她心裡的不舒服不高興。

S4：因為會沒賺到錢。

T：對，沒賺到錢就沒辦法生活。

T：我們可以怎麼說才不會引起人家心理的不舒服。

S3：可以少吃一點不要太常吃，這樣也可以賺錢。(1040106 教觀)

和孩子經過討論後他們也能也理解，雖然檳榔是不好的東西，但有些人必須靠它賺錢，有些開車司機或工人必須吃它來提神，但到底如何讓孩子更能了解檳榔的價值與它的危害，於是就用了坐針氈策略來與孩子還原此問題。

研究者：在進行檳榔與健康環境議題時碰到了兩難，有什麼方法可以讓孩子能更理解的知道。

專家：你可以讓兩位老師來坐針氈，一個是檳榔攤的，一個是防治的人，在過程中可以讓孩子去提問或者是聽兩位的陳述，說自己的立場，讓兩難浮現出來知道所有的事情都有兩面，事情沒有絕對的對與錯，讓孩子有兩面的考量。再去開放團討論

孩子說出自己的意見及表達。(1040113 教觀)

在此議題中使用專家建議的坐針氈來與孩子做討論，請兩位協同教師飾演一位贊成種檳榔、一位反對種檳榔的人來現場說出自己的想法及理由，當孩子聽完兩人陳述後，就自己的想法說出意見，並讓孩子選擇贊成、反對或中立意見，並說出。如表 4：

表4

| 贊成的意見 | 反對的意見 | 中立的意見 |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| S11：檳榔可以做很多東西、玩具、車子。 | S3：會造成土石流，大樹砍掉後種檳榔，檳榔抓不住泥土，土就會流下來。 | S1：可以少吃一點，阿公阿婆種檳榔，如果沒有人買就無法賺錢。 |
| S15：可以做藝術品。 | S6：割檳榔會一直抬頭脖子會受傷。 | S2：可以種但不要種太多。 |
| S27：舅舅有種檳榔。 | S9：口氣不好，牙齒黑黑的。 | S28：少吃一點就好了。 |
| S4：不加石灰，檳榔也是可以吃啊。 | S18：檳榔有毒對身體不好。 | S8：不要賣太多。 |
| S26：種檳榔能賺錢。 | S16：吃檳榔對口腔不好。 | |
| | S5：牙齒會掉光。 | |
| | S20：會有口腔癌。 | |
| | S17：吃檳榔牙齒變黑變紅。 | |



坐針氈 1040114 照



立場選擇 1040114 照

(二) 檳榔文物展示館策展

在這部份研究者將第二主題無法顧及的議題、作品和展示再做一次較完整的呈現。孩子製作了策展所需要的海報、票卷、宣傳單，討論決定將展覽館分成藝術作品創作區、檳榔 DIY 區、檳榔遊戲區、檳榔律動區、檳榔教學活動展示區等五個展區，孩子們也就自己的興趣擔任個展區的負責人員，最後決定了展示日期、時間及地點，並製作個展區海報及票券開始做宣傳。

孩子想了許多的宣傳手法，帶著海報到低年級班上去做宣傳，在升旗時向全校宣傳，透過學校廣播系統說給全校聽，小朋友拿著自己做的傳單一張一張去發，在過程中孩子分享自己創作，展館有趣好玩的事情，吸引大家來參觀。讓在美感領域中的樂於參與在地藝術創作或展演活動，不只是欣賞別人的作品及表演，而由自己的作品及展出，透過介紹分享及參與其中。(1040118 教觀)



到小學部發傳單 1040118 照



升旗時宣導 1040119 照

第三主題孩子在美領領域覺察並回應日常生活中各種感官經驗與情緒經驗表現，就自己對檳榔感覺完成了四首的童詩及兒歌創作，並分享。如表 5：

表5

| | |
|---|--|
| 檳榔童詩創作～檳榔樹與小女孩 (S2、S4、S6、S8、S11、S12) | 檳榔 兒歌 創作～好吃的檳榔樹 (S1、S5、S15、S22、S10、S14、 S15、S16、S29) |
| 小女孩靠著檳榔樹 哭哭哭 | 檳榔 檳榔 很神奇 可以拿來遊戲 |
| 找不到爸爸媽媽 | 檳榔保齡球 檳榔拼圖 |
| 樹很冷 被小女孩眼淚滴到 | 走檳榔建康步道 打檳榔彈珠 |
| 樹對小女孩說 "不要再哭了" | 作檳榔戰車 機器人 娃娃 |
| 樹用力搖 讓人發現小女孩 | 小動物 畫檳榔扇 |
| 最後倒下來死掉了 | 檳榔謝謝你 讓我們開心 |
| 小女孩爸爸媽媽來了 帶走了小女孩 | 我們要在你旁邊種一朵花 |
| 小女孩感謝檳榔樹 拿了一顆種子 | 送你一顆愛心 |
| 重新種了一顆檳榔樹 | |
| <hr/> | |
| 檳榔兒歌創作～女生檳榔 (S7、S13 S18、S19、S21、S25、S27、S28) | 檳榔兒歌創作～檳榔(S7、S13 S18、S19、S21、S25、S27、 S28) |
| 女生檳榔 女生檳榔 | 檳榔 檳榔 生的真好好 |
| 不快樂 不快樂 | 頭長著葉子 身穿著綠衣 |
| 椰子大象鼻蟲 | 檳榔愛你 你不愛檳榔 |
| 台灣黃毒蛾蟲 | 檳榔有毒 |
| 很難過 很難過 | 請你不要吃 |

當文物館要佈展時，與孩子討論到如何擺設陳列：

T：我們要如何擺設這些藝術創作品。

S4：把動物與動物的一起，玩具要和玩具一起。

S8：把作品擺得美美的。

T：怎麼樣擺才有美感。

S3：平穩不會掉下來。

S4：把東西擺得很漂亮。

T：作品直接擺放在桌子上或者要鋪東西。

S3：要鋪布，各種不同顏色的布。

(1040118 教觀)

孩子在擺設過程中發現空間不夠會去做調整，如斜放或是站立，桌子不足，搬出娃娃角桌子，擺設完成還訂定規則，入館參觀只能用眼看不要觸摸。



展場佈置 1040118 照



完成佈置 1040118 照

第一主題小朋友用檳榔做了健康步道，檳榔文物館中孩子想要展出健康步道，但是當時因久放關係，檳榔乾掉有些也爛掉，這時期南部的檳榔期也結束，無法再找到那麼多的檳榔，孩子就討論出運用彈珠、紙球、瓶蓋及欖仁樹果實等不同材質來做健康步道。因檳榔劇場展演後，孩子合力一起創作了檳榔奇遇記繪本，大家畫出了自己演出的角色，也在展示館當中作展出與介紹。



多素材的健康步道 1040113 照



檳榔奇遇記繪本 1040120 照

當文物館開展時，孩子樂於參與其中擔任各個展區的導覽人員，負責每個展區的介紹及活動。

參觀者（家長）：這一關我要如何闖關。

SS：要拿著檳榔樹（道具），跟著我們一起唱和跳檳榔樹這首歌。

參觀者（校長）：檳榔生長流程及檳榔樹的製作，你怎麼那麼厲害，講的那麼清楚。

S2：這是我們自己做的，每個部份我當然都知道。

參觀者（小朋友）：這個作品要怎麼做。

SS：要將瓶子貼上漂亮色紙當衣服，再把檳榔畫上眼睛、鼻子、嘴巴、插在瓶子上就完成作品了。

參觀者（小學部老師）：請問這是什麼？

S23：這是我們創作的檳榔童詩，我唸一遍你跟著我唸。

參觀者（小朋友）：要怎麼玩這一關。

S11：這一關是檳榔保齡球，拿起一顆檳榔往前滾，把牛奶瓶打翻就過關。（1040120 教觀）

每一關的孩子當有人參觀時，都擔任起解說員，向參觀者說明創作過程或者遊戲流程。



檳榔教學活動展示區 1040120 照



檳榔藝術作品創作區 1040120 照



檳榔 DIY 區 1040120 照



檳榔律動區 1040120 照



檳榔遊戲區 1040120 照

第四主題完成了一個完整的文物館策展活動，運用教育戲劇創造出來的虛擬人物檳榔先生，從第二主題一直延續到第四主題課程活動中，孩子在創造出來的情境中非常投入，也想幫檳榔先生完成心願，所以整個是在戲劇氛圍中，孩子覺得有趣、想要玩，還有使命感。整個檳榔文物展示館的策展，孩子從展出時間、日期、地點、內容、佈置、個人工作項目、展館宣傳、到負責各區的導覽，孩子經過不斷的協商與討論取得共識，這樣的一個過程對孩子來說對研究者來說都是一個非常難得與寶貴的經驗。本研究是將戲劇活動融入主題中再發展美感相關活動，孩子的美感能力表現是扣著活動，不是片段片段，使主題更具統整性與完整性。在美感領域這方面，因戲劇活動而有更多元、更豐富的呈現。

伍、研究結論

研究者依課程設計、課程實施及師生成長三個部份來說明：

一、課程設計

運用戲劇活動與策略，讓美感教學課程脈絡性與統整性更強，用戲劇去鷹架課程，課程會有更多的想像、發展的空間及豐富多元性的發展。社區的環境與幼兒生活息息相關，老師必須去認識了解社區可以提供的資源，包括在地文化及藝術活動。課程可從人、事、物、環境、飲食、服裝、產物等去連結設計，美感課程設計和在地文化情境作結合，能夠提升及擴展幼兒的藝術體驗及在地生活的美感經驗。運用戲劇活動及策略進行課程設計時要注意隨時檢視課程，是否課程活動設計有顧及到課程目標下的指標各個活動，發現遺漏或不足，就從指標來發展活動，讓戲劇活動設計與美感領域能力更切合。活動要聚焦，一個活動不要涵蓋太多課程目標，讓活動更深入提升孩子的能力。教育戲劇搭配創造性戲劇進行課程，可以提高孩子們的學習樂趣及參與度，豐富及變化課程，提升孩子的想像力和創造力。運用戲劇進行教學須扣緊每個活動，營造一個共同的目的與使命，加強活動之間的連結及各領域的統整。

二、課程實施

創造性戲劇與教育戲劇都是以老師為主導的活動，但巧妙地用運戲劇活動來設計、統整、串聯課程活動，在老師主導與幼兒自主學習間取得平衡，有更多的發想。課程須事先規劃和設計，讓老師在教學前有所準備，過程中須視孩

子的反應及能力來調整課程。暖身活動的運用可以引發孩子的興趣，暖身活動最好能從活動去中設計，孩子會更容易進入戲劇情境。善用戲劇活動及策略可以推展教學進行解決教學困境。本研究運到老師入戲，讓孩子有一個使命與目的，要成立檳榔文物展示館及探討檳榔防治的議題，用專家外衣讓孩子成為檳榔文物展示館設計師，用坐針氈還原事件的原因與真實狀況。戲劇是一個很好的教學方式與媒介，可以提供現場老師在教學過程中遇到的難題，和開展延伸活動的變化性與創意性。

三、師生成長

(一) 老師的成長

老師對於戲劇活動及策略運用在主題教學與美感領域活動，不管在課程的設計能力、教學技巧的精進、戲劇策略的運用、教學過程中的心態調整、問題解決與反思，都著有不同的思維、改變與提升。在這次過程中加入了戲劇活動，讓孩子藉由議題去發展、討論，提出問題、經歷過程、解決問題。因為這樣的互動方式，發現孩子有著許多和研究者不一樣的想法，我們必須一起去經歷及解決。研究者也能用更開放的角度與孩子一起探索問題。因這樣的一個師生共構學習歷程，激發出老師更多的發想與不同的思維。

(二) 幼兒的成長

美感領域中三項能力是探索與覺察、表現與創作、回應與賞析，在研究過程中研究者現孩子在這三方面的表現與能力均有提升。

1、探索與覺察部份

(1) 對於環境中的探索

孩子能夠以視、聽、嗅、觸覺探索環境，說出心的感受、感覺與感動，連結感官經驗與情緒經驗做出表達。

(2) 對材料的探索

透過活動，利用多元的素材與媒介，不斷的嘗試與改變，並能說出使用材料過程、遇到問題及如何解決。

(3) 對環境、活動及素材的體察及敏銳度提升

孩子透過美感教學活動，對於各類素材探索的敏銳度提高，會與同儕討論使用的可能性與變化性，活動中也會提出各種不同對身體展現的想法。

2、表現與創作部分

(1) 能展現肢體獨特創意

在身體遊戲與創作中，孩子透過肢體動作去想像、模擬、創造、組合，將各種人、事、物情境的感受表達出來，把不存在的事物或人創造出來，讓身體有更多的想像、獨特與創意。

(2) 運用多元素材創作出獨特、不同、豐富的作品

像檳榔滾畫、健康步道、檳榔樹、檳榔繪本、檳榔藝術作品、檳榔文物館佈置、展演服裝設計等。每個孩子或每組都有自己的獨特想法，會嘗試使用多元素材創作。

(3) 能夠自編劇本演出

能有自己的想法與他人合作自編劇本，將其想法透過戲劇方式作呈現演出，且熱中參與，並將活動延伸至角落中演出劇中情節，並更換不同角色演出。

(4) 能夠策展及擔任展場解說員

透過老師入戲扮演的角色，賦予孩子任務及使命感，孩子隨著戲劇情境的推展，能把想法做更周密的計畫，讓檳榔文物館的策展由室內移展到室外，變成學校與社區居民參與的展出，並能負責分工擔任個展區解說員，負責起解說工作。

3、回應與賞析部分

透過多元的管道如肢體、口語、圖畫、故事、作品來表達。孩子藉由音樂、舞蹈、影片的欣賞，表達自己的想法、喜好、感受及評論，用身體做出對音樂舞蹈的回應，創作繪本、童詩、故事來記錄對主題的想法與感受，也擴展孩子生活中多元的美感經驗。

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從台北兒童藝術節中（2000-2011）探討台灣兒童觀

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摘要

本研究探討台北兒童藝術節（2000-2011）的文獻中，所呈現的台灣的兒童與童年觀。藉由建構式紮根理論與文本分析等研究方法，將原本平凡並熟悉的資料，用嶄新且陌生的角度來分析，以期增加對現代台灣兒童觀點的瞭解。

研究發現台北兒童藝術節中的兒童觀結構是相當複雜的。其中“兒童為成人的未來”為本研究所提出的中央範疇，此範疇反映文獻中對兒童教育與學習的重視、成人對保存兒童正向特質的渴望、與對控制或給予兒童的自主性的矛盾。除此中央範疇，研究資料中亦顯示對“無意識的兒童”、性別問題以及中西文化融合的觀點。

關鍵字：兒童觀、兒童劇場、文本分析、質性研究

Exploring Taiwanese Childhood through the Taipei Children's Arts Festival 2000-2011

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Abstract

Drawing on constructivist grounded theory and dramatic analysis, this research explores the representation of the Taiwanese child and childhood through the materials from Taipei Children's Arts Festival 2000-2011. The hope is to contribute to the overall understanding of the contemporary Taiwanese perspective, by turning mundane, familiar material into something fresh and unfamiliar.

The main findings of this research indicate a complex construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood. The central category states that Taiwanese children are constructed as future adults. This reflects the emphasis on learning and teaching, explains adults' desire to preserve children's positive qualities, and their contradictory concepts of "control vs. agency". Beyond the central category, the data also reveal the concepts of the unconscious child, gender issues, and a mixture of western and eastern cultures.

Keywords: Childhood studies, Theatre for young audiences, dramatic analysis, qualitative research

INTRODUCTION

“To be accurate in our studies of children, and fair in our treatment of them, we must abandon our stereotype of them, and try to recognize them for what they are – persons in their own right” (Lee, 2001, p.43).

My practice and research has been informed by my Taiwanese culture, heritage, and education as well as my American education and practice. Having a bi-cultural background, I was often struck by the common dichotomy between “East” and “West,” two loosely defined words. In 2011, a book called *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* by Amy Chua stirred a parenting controversy in the US. Regardless of the author’s intention, the book was framed by the media as placing greater value on a strict and rigid “Chinese” (Eastern) approach to parenting, compared to more relaxed American (Western) parenting methods. An article by Chua, published in *The Wall Street Journal*, is titled “Why Chinese Mothers are Superior: Can a regimen of no playdates, no TV, no computer games and hours of music practice create happy kids? And what happens when they fight back?” In the article, Chua indicates that she uses the term “Chinese” and “Western” mother loosely and recognizes that some Asian and non-Asian mothers alike fit her idea of the “Chinese mother,” and that there are a variety of Western mothers as well. Nonetheless, this short-lived media frenzy and the popularity of the book demonstrates the fascination of this “East vs. West” dichotomy. Ironically, this book was based on an American (second generation Asian-American) mother’s reconstruction of “Chinese” mothers' parenting methods.

In general, Theatre for Young Audiences in the US includes only limited representations of Asians and Asian-Americans. The majority of Asian-related plays are about ancient stories, folktales, imaginary Asian worlds, adaptations, or immigration. These include *Dragonwings* by Laurence Yep (1993), *Kimchi Kid* by Joanna Halpert Kraus (1985), *Monkey Magic: Chinese Story Theatre* by Aurand Harris (1990), and *The Honorable Urashima Taro* by Coleman A. Jennings (1972). As for Asian performances from Asia, Chinese acrobats remain one of the better known shows for family audiences in the US. In a market-driven world, it seems

that the concept of the East as “exotic,” an East very different from the West (US), is more appealing to the public. Besides theatrical performances, movies such as Disney’s *Mulan* (1998) and Dream Works’ *Kung Fu Panda* (2008) are also examples of films that help perpetuate the “mysterious Asian” concept. These Asian/Asian-American stories and performances from Asia are not necessarily an accurate reflection of the contemporary Asian world. While many TYA practitioners might agree with my assessment, it is hard for any of us to pinpoint what parts of the construction of the Asian child and childhood are exactly the same and what are different from the Western counterpart.

Cultural differences exist between the East and the West, but these differences are no longer as distinct or “exotic” as they are portrayed. Our world is much more fluid today. Modern technology and transportation make cultural exchanges easier than ever before. Viewing the same entertainment and playing with similar toys does not make our Taiwanese childhood experiences the same as children in the US or other parts of the world. There are, however, certain ideologies and memories that people share.

In this project, I interpret the construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood as a way of contributing to the overall understanding of the contemporary Taiwanese perspective. To make this project more feasible within my timeframe of study, I chose to study the theatre for young audiences of the Taipei Children’s Arts Festival (TCAF) from 2000 to 2011 as my main subject. TCAF, founded in 2000, is the largest government-funded international children’s arts festival in Taiwan. (The arts activities involved in the 2010 festival numbered more than three hundred.) Although the festival includes visual arts, dance, music, and theatre performances and workshops, TYA performances constitute the majority of the activities. The performances, selected by the local government, are not limited to those from Taipei city, but also include companies from around the nation and the world. The TCAF performances offer a well-rounded representation of Taiwanese TYA. This month-long festival contains both contemporary and traditional theatre performances for young people at various performing locations around Taipei city. (The traditional theatres mentioned here include Taiwanese and Beijing opera, shadow

puppets, and glove puppets.) The formation and location of all TCAF productions represent an assortment of materials to showcase current developments in Taiwanese TYA and therefore provide a solid foundation from which to reflect on Taiwanese childhood. TCAF also includes a TYA playwriting competition each year. Juried by theatre professors and government officials, the winning scripts are reliable indicators of the developmental trends of Taiwanese TYA over the past decade. Because of this, TCAF anthologies of winning plays are invaluable and easily accessed materials.

Ian Neary, a scholar of oriental politics and international relations, pointed out in his 2002 publication, *Human Rights in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan*, that “[t]he idea that the notion of ‘childhood’ was problematic is scarcely recognized in Taiwan” (p. 247). There is minimal research related to childhood studies in Taiwan before 2000. The historian Ping-chen Hsiung (熊秉真) is the only person, as far as I know, who has written publications related to the Chinese child and childhood during imperial China in Taiwan. After 2000, however, there have been considerably more conferences, publications, and research regarding both Western and Taiwanese childhood studies, which were led by an early childhood professor, Yin-Kun Chang (張盈堃). Although the field of childhood studies in Taiwan is steadily growing, the need for studies that examine and problematize the notion of childhood in Taiwan remains great, especially in the field of the arts. Researching the Taiwanese child and childhood through grounded theory in the TYA of TCAF can potentially open a new path for childhood studies in Taiwan.

In this study, I adopt grounded theory and dramatic analysis as my research method to analyze TCAF’s artifacts, which consist of plays, videos, and festival programs/reports as viewed through the lens of childhood studies. Thus, the main question of this project is: *What are the representations of the Taiwanese child and childhood as reflected by the cultural artifacts (plays and other materials) of TCAF between 2000 and 2011?* Sub-questions are:

1. What representations of childhood are reflected in the characters (their genders, families, and relationships), and stories (their themes and educational messages)?

2. Which messages for and ideologies about children are reinforced in these plays and the overall festival?
3. What kind of agency do young people have, if any, within the plays and structure of TCAF?

LITERARY REVIEW OF WESTERN AND TAIWANESE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE CHILD AND CHILDHOOD

All of us, so called “adults,” were once children. It is very easy to assume that we understand what the child and childhood are because we have been there and done that. However, individual personal experiences and memories, although they can serve as legitimate research data especially from an auto-ethnography standpoint, have their limitations in explaining the scope of a culture’s construction of the child and childhood. With a complex political and colonial background, Taiwanese culture is strongly influenced by a mixture of Chinese, Japanese, and contemporary Western cultures. The intricacy of the construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood is exponentially beyond any individual’s personal experience. This research, based on data collected from the Taipei Children’s Arts Festival (TCAF), is to explore the representation of Taiwanese child and childhood in arts activities for children.

The advancement in human technologies gradually helps blur the dividing lines among different cultures, such as Taiwan. Pop music, cartoons, internet, social media, academia and many other inventions make cultural exchanges easier than ever. Like many countries, Taiwan is also immersed in such culture exchanges and has developed its own complex cultural identity. The uniqueness of Taiwanese culture lies in its mixture between the “East” and the “West.” Because of its past immigration and colonial history, Taiwanese culture is a lineage of Chinese culture (after the 17th century), and heavily influenced by Japanese colonization (1895-1945). After WWII, the United States of America (US) began to give the Taiwanese government both financial and military aid. The influence of US culture in Taiwan did not stop after both countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1978. Taiwan

remains extremely susceptible to US culture today. Over the past few decades, Europe, North and Southeast Asia, also began to have more influence in Taiwan because of media, internet, and new immigrants. Therefore, it is inadequate to decipher Taiwanese cultural codes and the constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood as a contrast to Western cultures or a binary between Western and Eastern. This part of my dissertation introduces the background of Taiwan's intricate blend of cultures, and related childhood studies theories from both Taiwanese and Western perspectives.

● **Literary Review of Childhood Studies**

Just as in Taiwanese culture, Taiwanese academia embodies this mixture of East and West in its research. In the newly developed field of Taiwanese childhood studies initiated by historian Ping-chen Hsiung (熊秉真) in the mid 1990s, most of the research was influenced if not based directly on US and British theories, primarily because the field of contemporary childhood studies was generated in the West. Therefore, in my literary review for this project, both western and Taiwanese theorists are referenced and discussed.

The dichotomy between adult and child “became ‘almost’ unquestionable in the mid-twentieth century,” and this distinction has dominated many studies of children and childhood before the 1990s (Lee, 2001, p. 37). Allison James and Alan Prout refer to this position as a “dominant framework,” which generally considers children lesser than adults in both mental content and mental processes (Lee, 2001. p. 38). The theories based on this “dominant framework” tend to work from the assumption that children are in some sense incomplete, that they are not *fully* human” (Lee, 2001. p. 38). Adults are equal to “human beings,” and children are “human becomings.” Developmental theories of child study in education and psychology, which are rooted in Darwinian evolutionism and focus on children’s cognitive and biological progress, embrace and even help construct this adult/child dichotomy. G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget, although having different approaches, were some of the major contributors. Other theorists in sociology, such as John B. Watson and Talcott Parsons, based their theories on John Locke’s belief, and see children as blank slates and passive recipients of adult culture. While these theories advance

the understanding of child growth, they also emphasize the idea that “children are not worthy of study in their own right because they are not fully formed individuals, and their lack of maturity and rationality makes them unreliable as informants” (Freeman, 2009, p. 5).

Under this dominant framework, theorists Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout (1998), in *Theorizing Childhood* identify several models of child that “they begin from a view of childhood outside of or uninformed by the social context within which the child resides” (p. 10). The following “presociological” models taken from Western and Eastern histories, philosophies, common sense, psychology, and psychoanalysis are these: the evil child, the innocent child, the immanent child, the naturally developing child and the unconscious child. James *et al* considered these models “unimpressed by any concept of social structure” (p. 10). The following are models described by James and others in conjunction with some classic Chinese philosophies:

- **The evil child**

This premise is based on the belief that children are inherently, but not necessarily intentionally, evil. From Adam’s original sin in Christianity, to Michel Foucault’s theory, to contemporary literature, children are portrayed as potential dark forces or susceptible to evil. They could potentially be harmful for the adult world if not carefully controlled and guided. Therefore, punishments and discipline are deemed as rightful ways to mold children into docile adult bodies, who are good and pliant citizens. This image of children often leads to oppressive and often physical methods of childrearing, which sometimes can be harsh and brutal, as seen in the Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (James, 1998, p. 10-13). This concept of an evil child is similar to the classic philosopher’s idea, Xunzi (荀子) (fl. 298-238 BCE). He basically believed “the doctrine that human nature is essentially evil” (Kinney, 1995, p. 22).

- **The innocent child**

Opposite to the concept of the evil child, this model views children as naturally good, pure, and in need of protection. We can learn from the natural qualities of the

innocent child. These qualities are subject to being lost or forgotten and deserve to be safeguarded. Rousseau contributes to this train of thought by bringing attention to the needs of children and their particularities. Children are no longer signified as “bundles of negative attributes” or incomplete adults. “[T]hey are who they are. As parents and educators we are contracted to bring up our children in such a manner that their state of pristine innocence remains un-spoilt by the violence and ugliness that surrounds them” (James, 1998, p. 14). Rousseau and his concept of child heavily influenced modern child-centered education (James, 1998, p. 13-15).

The innocent child is also a common concept in Chinese culture. Mencius (孟子) (ca. 371-289 BCE), a Confucian philosopher, had a view of human nature opposite Xunzi’s and “regarded human nature as essentially good” (Kinney, 1995, p. 22). This trend of thought dominated Chinese culture over thousands of years and was reflected in a Neo-Confucian thinker Yang-ming Wang’s (王陽明) (1472-1529) emphasis in the innately good nature of children (Hsiung, 2005, p. 225). In the late sixteenth century, Zi Li (李贄) proposed a radical view with “a child’s heart (*t’ung-hsin*) as the only true heart (*chên-hsin*) a person could probably have” (Hsiung, 2005, p. 225). “To Li’s mind a child was endowed with a good heart, upon which external teaching and acculturation could only produce a superfluous and harmful effect” (Hsiung, 2005, p. 225-226). This seems to indicate that with learning and experiences, “a child’s heart” will only deteriorate and be lost. As Ping-chen Hsiung (熊秉真) (2005), pointed out in *A Tender Voyage*, under Zi Li’s concept, children are viewed as having “a superior purity and precious innocence” when compared to adults.

Confucius (孔子), one of the most influential philosophers in Chinese history, taught that children could be born with inherently good or evil natures. However, the evil natures could be transformed through different forms of instruction (Kinney, 1995, p. 23-24).

• **The immanent child**

The idea of immanent child is based on John Locke’s epistemological concept that children’s minds are born without any character or ideas, blank as white paper.

Children are “innately charged with reason, reason which will develop given the appropriate environment” (James, 1998, p. 16). Adults, who have more experience and knowledge, “are in a position to exercise responsible control over them [children]” (James, 1998, p. 16). Based on this concept of the immanent child, Locke and Rousseau shared a similar ideology that children are not inadequate or incomplete adults. Again, they are who they are. Locke is another major influence in the development of modern child-centered education.

Although not completely the same, classic Chinese philosophers also brought a similar idea of “*ran*” (dyeing [染]). Mozi (墨子) (late fifth to early fourth century BCE), Zunzi and Wang Chong (王充) (around first century CE) all adopted this idea of dyeing silk (Kinney 30-31). They said that children were like white silk. Once dyed, they would forever change their color. This view does not necessarily indicate that children are blank white paper, but emphasizes more the effects of education.

- **The naturally developing child**

Based on developmental psychology, the model has two basic premises: “first, that children are natural rather than social phenomena; and secondly, that part of this naturalness extends to the inevitable process of their maturation” (James, 1998, p. 17). Jean Piaget’s genetic epistemology has significant influence in the construction of this model. It maps the development of humans into defined hierarchical stages. Infants in this model appear on the bottom with their lower intelligence and bodily skills, and adults on the top. These stages provide justification for viewing adults as superior beings to children, and, at the same time, indicate the distinct dichotomy between adult and child. The fundamental criticism for this model resides on the view of this “universal, standardized and inevitable programme of developmental stages” (James, 1998, p. 18).

Even though Piaget’s and the developmental psychology model are prominent in Taiwanese education and psychology, children are physically viewed quite differently in late imperial China, according to Hsiung’s (2005) research in *A Tender Voyage*. According to instructive literature throughout Chinese history, children

“were not necessarily understood in any mechanical or biophysical sense as relating to age” (p. 221). Different from Piaget’s hierarchical stages, the characteristics of a child “came from inferences anchored in cultural and ritualistic schemes that emphasized ethical order and social performance over biological reproduction” (p. 222).

- **The unconscious child**

Based on a Freudian idea, the model considers childhood as an adult’s past. Within the three elements of Freudian development, id, ego and super-ego, childhood is viewed as id, an instinctive and unconscious existence. Freudian psychoanalysis blames childhood as the source of causality for adult deviant behaviors. “Within this model, childhood is once again dispossessed of intentionality and agency” (James, 1998, p. 21). This concept broadens the understanding of adulthood and the relationship between adult and child. However, this model does little to contribute to an understanding of children (James, 1998, p. 20).

James *et al* describe these models as universal. At the meta level, I agree that modern Taiwan is heavily influenced by all of the Western philosophers and their thoughts in modernity, especially in educational and psychological theories. This is where I believe the US and Taiwanese child and childhood have many similarities in our contemporary societies. However, ideologies covered by these models are, as demonstrated, not unique to the Western world. Besides the aforementioned Chinese philosophies, many similar concepts were also developed and became embedded within the thousands of years of Chinese history.

Hsiung, regarding distinctions between classical Chinese views of children when compared to some of these “presociological” models, also provided different interpretations between children and adults in contrast to the dominant framework about “human beings,” and children are “human becomings.” In Hsiung’s (2000) book *Childhood in the Past: A History of Chinese Children* (童年憶往—中國孩子的歷史), he notes that Mencius, the second most important scholar in developing Confucian philosophy, discussed children in terms of human nature, stating that when children are born, they already possess “complete” human beings inside them.

The purpose of child rearing, according to Hsiung, was to cultivate and bring out the “adult” within (p. 37). Under this school of thinking, Hsiung suggests that the child/childhood vs. adult is not a dichotomy divided by age or developmental process. The terms child and childhood refer to certain qualities or characteristics commonly owned by children. Therefore, children are considered complete human beings; moreover, adults can preserve certain child-like qualities. This concept of children and adults represents a continuing process rather than an absolute segregated dichotomy (p. 38-39).

This being said, scholars in contemporary Taiwanese history, education, and sociology seem to gravitate toward the dominant framework of the child and childhood rather than this classical Chinese philosophy. Although Mencius’ philosophy is commonly known as a philosophical, literary, and educational concept, the ways in which his and other classic Chinese perspectives intersect with Western theories is unclear in Hsiung’s writing. Hsiung discusses the various qualities and characteristics that children have, and also questions how human beings maintain or lose these qualities, but does not provide an hypothesis to answer the question. Other evidence provided in Hsiung’s book about the child-parent relationship, family/ancestral concept, and education system shows that Mencius’ philosophy is not always obvious, and sometimes is not relatable to Western perspectives. Whether Mencius’ ideas of human nature are completely opposite to the Western dominant framework of the child and childhood is debatable without further comparison in literature.

Examining these issues at the global level, the concept of child and childhood as a social construction emerged, in opposition to the dominant framework, as early as the 1960s in European and American literature. In this perspective, the ideas of child and childhood are not defined or confined by a universalized age range, social conditions, personalities, class, economic value, sentimental value, or developmental process. Instead, it is an ever-changing concept which depends mostly upon adult/child relationships in different cultures throughout human history. Philippe Ariés’ book, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, published in 1962, famously claimed that the modern concept of childhood did not exist before

the 17th century. This extreme assumption has been rebuked by other scholars. However, Ariés' perspective that "[t]he idea of childhood . . . corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult" (p. 128), was not only thought-provoking at the time, but also bears similarities to Mencius' philosophy. For Ariés, it is false to assume a universalized concept of the child or childhood. Other historians, such as Paula S. Fass, Mary Ann Mason, and Steven Mintz, support Ariés' idea, and they argue that the construction of the child and childhood changes throughout history due to industrialization, decrease in the infant mortality rate, alteration in family structure, varying religious practices, slavery, and other changes in the society.

It is now common among scholars of history, sociology, and sometimes psychology to view the idea of the child and childhood as a social construction. In *After the Death of Childhood: Growing Up in the Age of Electronic Media*, David Buckingham (2000) describes this idea of the social construction of childhood:

The central premise here is that 'the child' is not a natural or universal category, which is simply determined by biology. Nor it is something which has a fixed meaning, in whose name appeals can unproblematically be made. On the contrary, childhood is historically, culturally, and socially variable. . . . The meaning of 'childhood' is subject to a constant process of struggle and negotiation, both in public discourse and in interpersonal relationships, among peers and in the family. (p. 6)

Based on this ideology, sociologist Nick Lee (2001) proposes a radical view of the child and childhood: "that there are no 'human beings' but that there are instead potentially unlimited numbers of ways of 'becoming human'" (p. 2). All people, adults and children alike, are "human becomings" rather than "human beings," which could potentially eliminate the prejudice against children which views them as a lower or lesser class.

The aforementioned socially constructed ideas of the child and childhood do not negate the obvious physical differences between children and adults. The biological

attributes are factors that distinguish children from adults, and include such characteristics as body size, language ability, motor skills, etc. Therefore, within a culture or society, we have a collective sense of what defines children and how to describe them biologically. At the same time, Buckingham (2000) suggests that “these collective definitions are the outcome of social and discursive processes” (p. 6). This is similar to Judith Butler’s (2004) view of sex and gender as a sedimentation “that over time has produced a set of corporeal styles which, in reified form, appear as the natural configuration of bodies into sexes which exist in a binary relation to one another” (p. 904). The apparent physical “binary” between child and adult is also a construction and sedimentation throughout time and in different cultures.

Research based on these social construction theories is relatively new to Taiwan’s academia. Previous child-related research is mostly found in educational and psychological studies in which the “dominant framework” is prevalent. Just as Ariés began his childhood studies’ journey through the historical aspects of children, Taiwanese contemporary childhood studies were also initiated from a similar direction. Ping-chen Hsiung focuses his studies on children’s history, primarily in the medical field, in imperial China. Taiwanese scholars in childhood studies generally view Hsiung’s research of classical Chinese society as a crucial part of understanding the past constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood.

Hsiung’s early publications, *To Nurse the Young: Infant Care in Traditional China* (幼幼: 傳統中國的襁褓之道), and *Ill or Well: Diseases and Health of Young Children in Late Imperial China* (安恙: 中國近世兒童的疾病與健康), published in 1995 and 1999 respectively, are the first two books which attempt to unveil the constructions of the Chinese child and childhood from historical perspectives. Emphasizing two different “age” groups, infants and children, both books use medical classics from the past thousand years and auto-biographies after the eighteenth century as data to analyze children’s health. Hsiung’s goals were to systematically document children’s history within the medical field by providing rich information about methods of infant-caring, common diseases, and diagnoses for children in imperial China. Therefore, the elaborate data tends to be more factual

than analysis about how these diseases or medical care systems affected the relationships between adults and children and the overall construction of Chinese childhood. They are thus more beneficial as medical history than childhood studies. However, Hsiung signified the importance of children in the family and in Chinese society by pointing out the significant points of this early development and specialization of the pediatric field, both in the government and in the private sector at the end of Tang Dynasty (618-907AD).

In 1997, a Cantonese author, Sin Yee Cheung (張倩儀), published a book about Chinese childhood, titled *Goodbye to Another Childhood* (另一種童年的告別). The content contains information about Chinese childhood based on over one hundred autobiographies and memoirs written between 1828 and 1938. Many of them are from well known scholars, authors, and even politicians, including Mao Zedong (毛澤東). The title is too vague in Chinese to be translated precisely; for instance, Cheung used “goodbye” to signify the “passing” of these Chinese childhoods. In this case, childhood is definitely seen and displayed primarily as adults’ pasts. In the preface, the author stresses that the book's purpose is not academic. The included short essays are informative, and they are also helpful as a resource for understanding Chinese childhood on personal levels. At the same time, the bibliographies and quotes from other literature help situate these narratives into the larger social context. Subjects of the books include education, family, environment, play vs. work, value, religion, and gender. Because the book is based on autobiographies and memoirs, it provides rich details and culture references about Chinese childhood in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. These stories, however, are sometimes not specifically about children, and the analyses are sometimes not comprehensive enough.

Hsiung published subsequent books: *Childhood in the Past: A History of Chinese Children* (童年憶往—中國孩子的歷史) and *A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China* (published in English), in 2000 and 2005. These books are different from his previous works, and Hsiung widened his data beyond the Chinese medical field. Using classic paintings, literature, autobiographies, poems, and photographs, he explored family relationships,

educational systems, teaching materials, childcare systems, girlhood, and the emotional states of Chinese children. Again, these primarily emphasized imperial China rather than contemporary Taiwan, but they are still useful in understanding some root-ideologies of the constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood. Hsiung employed his materials to demonstrate the different schools of classic Chinese theologies and philosophies, but how these different schools of thought are applied in reality is not specified. For example, some curricula were written in the early Qing Dynasty promoted ways of motivating learning without being overly harsh or using corporal punishment (such as Piao Tang's (唐彪) *Guiding with Patience for Father and Teacher* (父師善誘法) (Hsiung, 2000, p. 137)). Although Hsiung's example showcases the changes in teaching methods and philosophies, his and others' evidence does not, in reality, support the idea that elimination of corporal punishment actually took place.

Sin Yee Cheung and Hsiung's later books are similar in their subjects and how they categorized the contents, but different in their methods of data analysis. Hsiung focuses mostly on materials written before the late nineteenth century, while Cheung researched newer materials. These two books complement each other by providing a solid cultural reference, and became popular reference books in studies about Chinese children. However, Hsiung remains the only Taiwanese author to publish books about imperial Chinese children and childhood.

Besides Hsiung, Yin-Kun Chang (張盈堃), an early childhood education professor, represents the other major force to advance childhood studies in Taiwanese academia. He organized childhood studies study groups, translated childhood studies books into Chinese, edited and published two Taiwanese childhood studies anthologies, and carried out national research projects in the field. By translating Robyn M. Holmes' (1998) *Fieldwork with Children*, co-translating Michael Wyness' (2006) *Childhood and Society: An Introduction to the Sociology of Childhood*, and editing/co-translating Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout's (1998) *Theorizing Childhood*, (all of which were published in 2008 and 2009), Chang helped make Western childhood studies more accessible to Taiwanese scholars. The last translated work is the result of his previous study groups in 2008.

Chang's other anthologies, *Research Children/Children Research: From Theories to Practical Fieldwork* (研究兒童/兒童研究：從理論到實務的田野工作) (2010) and *Theories and Practices of Child/Childhood Research* (兒童/童年研究的理論與實務) (2009), include articles from Taiwanese scholars' work in childhood studies. Some of these articles are introductions to Western theories of childhood studies, some are discussions about research or fieldwork methods with child participants, and some are studies about Taiwanese children. The subjects for Taiwanese childhood studies include toys, childhood environments, corporal punishment, and media. Most of the articles reveal ideas about the Taiwanese child and childhood from adults' perspectives and view childhood primarily in a nostalgic sense, as adults' pasts. Nevertheless, Chang's anthologies begin to emphasize the sociological perspective that views the concept of a child and childhood as a construction rather than natural development in other parts of Taiwanese academia. This research, regardless of subject, became invaluable in understanding the lives of Taiwanese children, especially in education related subjects.

Other related Taiwanese publications are translations of US and UK works. Some examples include *The Disappearance of Childhood* by Neil Postman (1984) (Chinese translation in 2007), and *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* by Colin Heywood (2001) (Chinese translation in 2004). While Postman's work is still prevalent and quoted in many child-related master theses, Heywood's book and several others, which offer a more updated historical perspective in studying the construction of childhood, are already out of print.

Studies about Taiwanese children are rare in English publications. Most related materials are about Chinese children in imperial or contemporary China, such as books or anthologies about Chinese childhood edited or written by Anne Behnke Kinney, Jon L. Saari, or Hsiung. Kinney's book, *Representation of Childhood and Youth in Early China* (2004), and her editorial of *Chinese Views of Childhood* (1995) focus primarily on the construction of the child and childhood in early imperial China, especially during the Han dynasty (206 BCE –220 CE). These books introduce many classic concepts and philosophies regarding children and

childhood in early China. Saari's book, *Legacies of Childhood*, is based on personal documents from 1890 to 1920 and interviews with scholars from both Hong Kong and Taiwan (all of whom were born in China) in 1969. Saari's research introduced specific perspectives of childhood, from male elites' memories and upbringings in the pivotal transitional time after the end of Qing dynasty.

The only book I found relating to Taiwanese childhood is Charles Stafford's (1995) *The Roads of Chinese Childhood: Learning and Identification in Angang*, written from an anthropological viewpoint. This research is based on a rural fishing community, Angang, located in Southeastern Taiwan, between 1987 and 1989. The author analyzes Angang's performance of childhood through food, money, families, spiritual mediums and rituals, etc., but primarily focus on the educational aspects of childhood analysis. While I do not always agree with Stafford's observations of Taiwanese social interactions, he successfully brought attention to seemingly mundane interactions between adults and children, the likes of which local researchers might overlook. Even though this case study is only one representation of Taiwan, it provides a useful interpretation of the contemporary rural and small-town Taiwanese childhood from a non-Taiwanese perspective. The Taiwanese childhood, in Stafford's view, is full of religion, superstition, love, protection, punishment, and education (both in and outside of schools).

Hsiung, Kinney, and Saari's research is beneficial providing an overview of the traditional and past constructions of the Chinese childhood. Comparing their data with the current Taiwanese situation helps me, as a researcher, understand the contemporary Taiwanese child and childhood on a deeper level. As for the recent Taiwanese childhood research in Yin-Kun Chang's books, scholars often adapt Western theories and concepts of the child and childhood by referencing Philippe Ariés, Shulamith Shahar, Linda A. Pollock, Neil Postman, Colin Haywood, and other scholars' works. These adaptations are beneficial in putting the current Taiwanese situation into Western perspectives. Unfortunately, some of the research seems more focused on introducing Western theories, rather than presenting the actual representation and construction of the Taiwanese child. These efforts are a helpful step toward understanding the Taiwanese child and childhood on a global level.

However, there is an important need to perform further specific research about children in Taiwan.

RESEARCH METHODS

● Analytic Framework

My analytic framework drew from both grounded theory and dramatic analysis. My aim was to turn mundane, familiar material into something fresh and unfamiliar, as Kathy Charmaz (2006) suggested for the initial coding process in *Constructing Grounded Theory* (p. 55). Using different qualitative coding methods helped me view play scripts in new ways when compared to using only dramatic analysis methods. However, play scripts are different from interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and other typical qualitative research documents. The plays required different analytic units to better organize the data. As a result, I still needed to adopt elements of dramatic analysis while using qualitative research methods to better interpret my data.

My original analytical plan was as follows: I selected one of the three top-ranking TCAF winning plays from each year as data for my initial collection, using In Vivo Coding, Value Coding, and Themeing the Data coding methods. Next, instead of using line-by-line coding as suggested by Charmaz, I separated scripts into French scenes as units for my following coding process. I treated the rest of my TCAF materials, like festival reports, programs, production videos, and festival websites, as my resource for additional information. Writing memos, adapting categories, and sorting memos happened between data collections and codings.

My initial primary data are eight different award-winning plays. I intended to include more data based on my codes and the emerging questions in my memo. After my pilot coding and memo writing concerning the play *Ghost Lady* (鬼姑娘) by Hsing-Chih Yang (2003) (楊杏枝), I quickly discovered that the differences between a play and its production, which are crucial in the representation of the Taiwanese child and childhood, were missing. Even though these eight plays were the materials approved by the judges and the festival, the majority of the audiences

would watch the performance rather than read its script. The transformation of a play from words on paper to a three dimensional live performance typically has a strong impact on the outcome of a play. In order to better represent each side of the spectrum, both what the judges approved and what audiences actually saw, I decided to change my data to include four plays and four production videos instead of eight different plays. I believe this represents TCAF more accurately than only interpreting eight scripts as my main data.

Through trial and error, I narrowed my initial choice of coding process to the Themeing the Data coding method, with dramatic beats as my coding units. For clarification, a beat will be defined as a single and complete topic that helps advance the plot (Thomas, 2009, p. 130). A French Scene is divided whenever there is a new arrangement of characters (Thomas, 2009, p. 136). Initially, I started to code using In Vivo coding based on French Scenes. I immediately found the French Scene to be too large of a unit to be effective and began to use beats instead. In Vivo Coding also presented a difficulty in interpreting the data. Although the division of beats is driven by progression of the entire story, the In Vivo codes tend to capture the essences of the narrative, which are not the center of my inquiry. The results of Value codes are extremely similar to the Themeing the Data results, yet were not as poignant. Therefore, my coding for scripts was based on Themeing the Data coding and dramatic beats.

When using Themeing the Data coding, I began each coding with: “Childhood is or means . . .” and “Children are or mean” The phrases “Childhood is” and “children are” were generally tied to children characters’ actions on stage or in the script. “Childhood means” and “children mean” were codes tied to actions or discussions about childhood or children. I am aware that this coding method is unorthodox to grounded theory. Because grounded theory emphasizes open coding, it allows the data to speak for itself without preconceived notions or theories. However, plays are not traditional qualitative research data. They are not organic like interviews. On the contrary, plays are crafted works of art that contain specific language and messages. Because I am only interested in how the child and childhood are represented in these plays, I needed to use Themeing the Data coding

to extract essences of child and childhood from these plays. During the coding process, I therefore coded openly and allowed my data to speak for itself within these parameters.

To interpret video recordings in qualitative research, I transcribe the recording into fieldnotes before coding. Since these productions were based on the scripts, it was not as crucial to transcribe the entire play production to fieldnotes. It was more important to capture production elements such as acting, costumes, and scenic designs, as well as noticeable differences between the production and the original script. These fieldnotes were based on my own words and interpretation of the production. I used theatrical elements as my units, and I separated the fieldnotes according to which of these elements were discussed. These included costume, lighting design, music, acting, and characters. One portion of my fieldnotes was dedicated to capturing differences between the production and the original script. These differences were only noted when they made an impact on the portrayal of young people or how they addressed the young audiences.

From my memo writings after the data analysis, I discovered that the plays and production videos raised many other questions. For example, what distinguishes adults from children? Children are often represented as people who possess contradictory qualities, like capable vs. incapable and agency vs. no agency. Which adult perspectives contribute to these contradictory constructions? To answer these questions, I extended my data to include the forewords from mayors of Taipei City, commissioners of the City Department of Cultural Affairs and leaders from festival hosting organizations. Because these forewords are closer to interviews, I used line-by-line and open coding to interpret the data. This additional data broadens the scope of my research and provides a clear view of the Taiwanese child and childhood through adults' perspectives. After this expansion, I was able to combine my codes and categories into one central category/hypothesis.

To clarify, my final analytical data includes four TCAF award-winning scripts and their production videos, and thirty-six forewords/afterwords from festival programs or reports. Depending on the type of data, my initial coding included Themeing the Code with beats, open coding with different dramatic elements, and

open coding with line-by-line codings. I used Focus coding to refine categories. After coding with memo writing and diagramming concepts in a non-linear fashion, I came to a conclusion for my research.

● **Grounded Theory**

Grounded theory, as advocated by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in the early 1960s, is a methodology which uses systematic strategies to conduct qualitative research to build theory from data rather than verifying/testing hypotheses from existing theories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 4; Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 1; Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 1-2; Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 12-13). Glaser and Strauss' systematic research procedure helped legitimize qualitative research as a valid research method that could generate theory. This was opposing the positivist scientific research method and negative perceptions about qualitative research at the time (Charmaz, 2006, p. 4-6). Since then, grounded theory has thrived as one of the major qualitative methodologies in the field of sociology, nursing, psychology, and many others.

Kathy Charmaz (2006), a sociologist and methodologist, concludes that the key components of Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory practices in *Constructing Grounded Theory* are as follows:

- Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis
- Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from a preconceived logically deduced hypothesis
- Using the constant comparative method, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis
- Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis
- Memo-writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps
- Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population

representativeness

- Conducting the literature review *after* developing an independent analysis (p. 5-6)

Among Glaser and Strauss' practices, "codes" are not unique to grounded theory, but are commonly used in qualitative research methods. "A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). Qualitative researchers "codify" data by grouping, arranging and linking data and ideas in an order to generate patterns or categories for the purpose of consolidating meanings (Saldaña, 2009, p. 8). Different researchers may analyze and interpret the same data using completely different codes because of their own paradigms (ontology, epistemology, methodology, positivism, postpositivism, critical theory et al., constructivism, etc.) (Guba & Lincoln, 2000; Saldaña, 2009, p. 7). Grounded theorists use emerging codes as an important part of their research procedure in data collection, memo-writing, comparing, and sampling from their data as the foundation of their theories. As Strauss and Juliet Corbin (2008) say, the analysis of grounded theory is "the interplay between researchers and data" (p. 13).

Grounded theory best fits my research because of its ability to allow the data to "speak" for itself. It forces me to abandon my preconceived notions of the Taiwanese and Western child and childhood, and instead to use a "clean slate" perspective to interpret the constructions and representations grounded in the Taipei Children' Arts Festival data. Admittedly, it is virtually impossible to conduct research without any preconceived notions whatsoever, but this is not what grounded theory proposes. This concept's importance is tied to the researcher analyzing data from multiple perspectives and not being influenced by previous theories or losing sight of the data. Through data collection, coding, memo writing, and interpretation (not in a linear form), I am able to interpret different categories of the Taiwanese child and childhood.

I would like to make it clear that my use of grounded theory is different from

the classic version of grounded theory, established by Glaser, Strauss, and even Corbin, but is closer to Charmaz' idea of constructing grounded theory. The classic grounded theory, as first introduced in Glaser and Strauss' (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, is based on positivistic assumptions that the theory was "discovered" and is "emergent" from the data. The data and the researcher or scientific observer are isolated from each other (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). Although he was under the influence of recent methodologists, Corbin began to recognize the constructivists' criticism (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 12), and her and Strauss' approach still emphasizes the verification of, rather than discovery from, the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 8). However, the constructivist's idea of grounded theory, as Charmaz suggested, assumes that we cannot separate the researchers from the data they collect and that we cannot "discover" theory from the data. Since we are bound to our past experiences, research, relationships, and interaction with people and the world, Charmaz's (2006) approach suggests that "any theoretical rendering offers an *interpretive* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture" (p. 10). Grounded theory methods construct reality from data that could be changed if new data is introduced during the analytic process. My research is limited to the available data of TCAF, and, therefore, is open to further examination.

Although my intention is to follow the research process laid out by Charmaz (2006) in her book, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, I am fully aware that my research has some fundamental differences from Charmaz's, and even classic, grounded theory. This is not because of the procedure or structure of my research, but because of my data. Most data used in previous grounded theory research consists of interviews. My research, however, primarily deals with play scripts, festival documents, and production videos. I am applying the theory by using the steps and processes of grounded theory from Charmaz and other grounded theorists as guidelines, and adapting them to better fit my research (Charmaz, 2006, p. 9).

Since my goal is to understand the constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood in TCAF, I interpreted TCAF's materials as one unified cultural entity. Following Charmaz's grounded theory process (Charmaz, 2006, p. 11) helps me explain my vision and way of modifying data for grounded theory.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

After analyzing TCAF data and refining the codes into conceptual categories, I reduced the multiple perspectives into one central category: “Taiwanese Children as Adults’ Futures.” Admittedly, it was challenging to narrow the TCAF data down to one category, because the festival presents complex images of children. Nevertheless, this condensation helps me identify key elements in the representation of the Taiwanese child and childhood in the context of TCAF and the meta-narrative of Taiwanese society. This single category explains the adults’ desires to preserve children’s positive innate qualities, to enhance their agency, teach virtue, ensure their happiness, and to provide children access to the arts through lessons and new experiences that cultivate them as ideal future citizens. TCAF’s identity as a government-hosted children’s festival combined with my theoretical research reveals a multi-layered construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood from historical, cultural and political standpoints.

● Taiwanese Children as Adults’ Futures

Considering children as adults’ futures implies a sense of ownership and responsibility from adults. Children are constructed to be both their parents’ futures, and society’s collective future. Messages from the Taipei City majors and commissioners from the city’s Department of Cultural Affairs often refer to children as the future of Taipei (台北的未來) (Ma, 2004, P. 1-2), and as the masters of the future (未來的主人翁) (Department 2002, 2005 & 2007). In order to ensure a better future for children, adults involved in TCAF (including playwrights, directors, mayors, and organizers) demonstrated a strong sense of duty in their desire to nurture children through various modalities.

From a classic Chinese literature perspective, “children as adults’ future” is not a new concept. In the first chapter of *Classic of Filial Piety* (1972), Confucius names filial piety as the root of all virtues.¹ It begins with serving parents, then expands to serving rulers, and ends with cultivating one’s own morals.² One of the ultimate achievements of filial piety is for an individual to honor his or her parents by making his or her name, and thus the family’s name, famous for generations to

come.³ Under the strong influence of Confucius' teaching, children were traditionally regarded as future civil servants and a means of ensuring prosperity for their parents and family. In *Childhood in the Past: A History of Chinese Children*, Ping-chen Hsiung (2000) also pointed out that adults often view children as possessions in some sense (p. 159-160). This possession is not necessarily good or bad, but simply a state of being. Echoing the concept of filial piety, parents' ownership of their children is manifested in the practice of cherishing the body.⁴ This is primarily because our bodies are viewed as being given to us by our parents and should therefore be treated respectfully, as they are what our parents have left to the world (Shih, 1972, p. 7). Based on this view, children are not merely symbolically, but also literally their parents' possessions and future.

The forms of possession, however, have often changed throughout time, place, and culture, evolving from the private familial sphere to the public sphere. For example, public education was historically one of the factors that brought children out into the public sector (Hsiung, 2000, p. 160). TCAF demonstrates the public's and government's desire to educate children as future citizens, with the goal of ensuring a better combined future. As previously mentioned, in its 2009 program (the English section), the mission of TCAF is "to cultivate our junior citizens' compassion and values through the enjoyment of arts and culture" (p. 48). My findings clearly resonate with this mission. The forewords of both the award-winning plays and the programs emphasize the importance of providing positive educational opportunities and entertaining arts to "the masters of our future."

The qualities an ideal future Taiwanese citizen needs are not clearly identified, but are often hinted at throughout TCAF materials. Within classical Chinese philosophy, especially from the standpoint of filial piety, possessing the highest morals and virtues is the ideal for adults and adulthood. The contemporary view of this ideal citizen is the cultural capital of Taiwanese society with many positive qualities from childhood. According to the conference forewords, the ideal citizen must possess a wide variety of qualities. If the future of Taipei, as President Ma wrote in 2003, is to be a "cultural [capitol] with a comprehensive knowledge of art education and civic cultural attainments,⁵" our future masters will require education

and in order to have the ability to possess these qualities. The list of these ideal citizen characteristics is a long one, and includes such traits as being “active cultural innovators,⁶” with problem solving life skills,⁷ with fruitful and happy lives,⁸ with “respect for cultural diversity” and having “vision of international culture.⁹” Most importantly, our future citizens will also have the ability to make Taiwan a better society.

• Preserving Children’s Positive Qualities

Children are constructed as possessing both positive and negative characteristics. Of course, the words “positive” and “negative” are subjective and value-laden. I use positive and negative to describe adults’ attitudes toward children within my data, rather than my own personal judgment. For example, the characteristics of being innocent, kindhearted, brave, compassionate, sympathetic, and empathetic are seen as positive traits. Even though there are few negative child characters in these plays, qualities like being mean, cowardly, or unsympathetic are typically considered negative qualities. These scripts demonstrate that some of these attributes could either be considered innate, or that they could be learned by children. For example, from Granduncle’s perspective, A-Cheng’s timid personality seemed to be innate. A-Cheng is the only child character who possesses such a personality in *Ghost Lady* (2003). During the course of his journey, he is able to gain bravery and to conquer his cowardice. This transformation signifies that children could potentially have different innate qualities depending on the individual, but that they can also overcome them. Whether or not this is a boy-specific quality was not clear from my data.

One other positive characteristic, recognized in traditional Chinese culture as universal and innate to children, is: “*tong xin* (a child’s heart) (童心)” (Hsiung, 2005, p. 225). As I discussed in the literary review section, this concept of a child’s heart was first proposed in Chinese literature in the sixteenth century by Chih Li (李贄). For Li, a child heart is the only true and pure essence in the world. This echoes James *et al*’s model of the “innocent” child. This quality is easily tainted and turned inauthentic by language, rhetoric, and politics (Hsiung, 2000, p. 209-212). Even though this quality is easily corrupted by environment and is difficult to

maintain, according to Li's discussion, a "child's heart" is not unique to childhood. Adults, though unlikely to do so, can potentially sustain this quality if it is preserved well (Hsiung, 2000, p. 212). The concept of "superior purity and precious innocence" (Hsiung, 2005, p. 226) was mentioned several times throughout all of the festival forewords. Because preservation of such a superior quality is believed to be both valuable and possible, it is obvious that contemporary Taiwanese adults intend to preserve "a child's heart" for children as long as possible. Adults are also encouraged to seek their long lost "child's heart" through TCAF (Chang, 2007, p. 7).¹⁰ This encouragement indicates the adults' hopes for children to sustain this superior quality throughout adulthood, and aims to help adults find their "child's hearts" through arts to create a better society in the future.

Mischievousness, although not often perceived as a positive characteristic, represents another significant childlike quality in my data. The early TCAF aimed to provide a space in Taipei city in which children could act freely without rules (Ma, 2000, p. 4-5; Lung, 2000, p. 6-7). From adults' perspectives, being mischievous is not only a characteristic of a child, but also a particular way of being a child. However, this aspect of the festival was less emphasized after commissioner Lung's period (2000-2002). Even though it was encouraged by the festival, the quality of mischievousness is often restricted, rather than preserved. The festival aims to create an environment for children to be "wild (野)" and free from regular parental controls during summer vacations, but at the same time, it seems to assume that children should otherwise be obedient and docile, especially when interacting with their parents. Arguably, children are not completely free during the festival. They still fell under the influence of the government-controlled TCAF, which aimed to contribute to the shaping of the children into ideal citizens. These limited freedoms are reflected in the stories of the TCAF plays, such as when King punished Light Princess for being mischievous, or when Granduncle scolded A-Cheng's friends for playing tricks and scaring A-Cheng.

• **Learning and Teaching**

Learning and teaching are some of the most crucial elements to consider when examining the idea of viewing children as adults' futures. From TCAF data, adults

emphasize teaching as a way to mold children into the masters of the future. The concept of using education to establish “high morals and advanced civilization” can be found as early as one hundred BCE in Chinese history (Kinney, 1995, p. 20). At that time, education was focused on creating a Confucian bureaucracy. At best, people could only become servants of the emperor and his ancestral land. Today, even though a similar concept of creating the ideal citizen prevails, the goal and methods are different. Historically, the Taiwanese people were politically oppressed by various colonial governments; however, the future citizens of Taiwan are now not meant to become servants of an external higher power. Children can become the masters of our country, and therefore the masters of our future. The methods of teaching also expand to multi-modals to include arts and festivals such as TCAF. Despite the inclusion of these other methods, schooling is easily the center of most Taiwanese children’s daily lives.

Early TCAF forewords criticized the tendency to place too much emphasis on intellectual education. The competitiveness and testing often prevented children from enjoying their childhoods, especially in a metropolitan city like Taipei. In the forewords of the 2000 festival, commissioner Lung pointed out the overbearing pressure placed on children to exceed in school¹¹ and to take after school lessons. President Ma also mentioned in his 2005 foreword that adults’ high expectations could potentially sabotage a child’s happiness and desire to learn (Ma, 2005, p. 1-2).¹² Therefore, although it emphasizes learning, TCAF also aims to create a positive and fun environment and to provide alternative learning modalities and opportunities outside of schools to cultivate children beyond intellectual education. The arts became both a tool and subject of teaching in the process of nurturing well-rounded citizens. Based on my data, TCAF’s teachings cover various learning subjects, from virtues, feelings, values, and behaviors, to language, life lessons, worldviews, and agency. These are either mentioned directly by Taipei City mayors, commissioners, and festival organizers in the festival programs/reports or explicitly or implicitly delivered within the plays and productions themselves.

As Charles Stafford (1995) observed in his book *The Roads of Chinese Childhood*, Taiwanese moral education can occur both within schools and outside of

schools (p. 5). TCAF is a prime example of learning taking place outside of schools. The festival's various arts programming provides out-of-school learning experiences for children. This is also reflected in the four award-winning plays, all of which take place outside of typical Taiwanese school settings. A-Cheng learns from his community, Light Princess learns from Prince, Prince learns outside of his own kingdom, Child learns in the antique shop, and Le-Le learns in the world and from Master. Mikey is the only character who studies in a "school setting," at an angel school, but even so, his lessons happen outside of the school and around the world.

Interestingly, filial piety, considered one of the most important Chinese morals, is not emphasized overtly in TCAF's materials. As Stafford (1995) pointed out, the community-based moral education "almost seems 'not to be taught'" (p. 5). I believe by "not to be taught," means children are expected to have learned more from adults' modeling or implicit teaching rather than the direct teaching of moral lessons. "Children obviously learn from their parents in many ways, but explicit and public moralizing is usually the business of schools, and is in some cases actually frowned upon in community life" (Stafford, 1995, p. 5). Perhaps this is the reason that direct teaching of filial piety only occurred once in my data. It is covertly modeled in the plays as a way of respecting adults, rather than in the interactions between a child and his/her parents.

When the plays were transformed into productions, all of them adopted sayings or terms that are familiar in children's lives, or used a simplified vocabulary to explain things. In one way, this makes information more comprehensible for children as I believe the use of simple language is another strategy to make learning more accessible. However, one might wonder whether the production teams are also questioning children's ability to learn. If the productions had not simplified the language, would it have been presumed that children would not be able to understand? It may be asked whether this is a good teaching method, or a form of patronizing children. These questions will require further data to be clarified.

- **Children's Agency**

It is easy to suspect that by considering children to be adults' futures, adults

might try to meticulously craft and control all aspects of children's lives. However, in order to cultivate ideal future citizens, children must learn about agency and practice it. These contradictory concepts of "control vs. agency" are reflected in my TCAF data.

On one hand, children are represented as completely lacking agency. For example, in the added scene of the *Music Box* production (2009), the boy was not allowed to pick his own toys or to participate in the decision making process. Rather, he was given a toy that he "should" like and appreciate. The word choice in the festival program forewords reinforces this view of children as passive receivers of adults' teaching, rather than active learners with agency. For TCAF, it is the adult's responsibility to offer children different learning environments, to grant permission for children to be wild, to give them childhood memories, and to stimulate children's creativity.

Corporal punishment is another method that parents use to control their children, hoping to prevent them from deviating from the path of becoming an ideal citizen. It, temporarily physically strips away children's agency to carry out any actions and mostly, if not always, against their wills. Physical punishment is a common occurrence in children's lives, and has occurred at the hands of parents, teachers, and other authorities throughout Taiwanese and Chinese history as a method of disciplining poor behavior or academic performance (Stafford, 1995, p. 52-54; Hsiung, 2000, p. 261-262). There are examples of this physical punishment between King and Light Princess in *The Light Princess* (2002), and in adults' childhood memories in the TCAF forewords. Teachers (until recently) also often asserted this kind of control over their students. All my teachers, from elementary to middle school, frequently performed corporal punishment. Although I considered myself an obedient student with good grades, I was often punished for not reaching the test score my teachers set for me. As mentioned before, it has been illegal to use corporal punishment in school since 2006. However, anecdotally speaking, corporal punishment, both at school and in the home, although less prominent than before, remains common in Taiwan.

On the other hand, child characters in the plays suggest that children possess

strong agency to save, help, and even teach adults in various scenarios. For instance, A-Cheng saves his entire village, Mikey executes his duties as a guardian angel, and Child teaches Owner about children and childhood. In Commissioner Liao's foreword in 2003, he invited children to bring their parents to the festival and to create wonderful memories together (p. 2).¹³ Children are implied in this statement to have the agency to bring their parents along with them, rather than to follow their parents.

Generally speaking, the children in the plays seem to have more agency than the children referred to in the productions and festival forewords. It is possible that these contradictory images in TCAF materials accurately reflected various aspects of Taiwanese children's lives, both with and without agency. However, these TYA plays could also serve as "safe havens" created by adults for children to be what they could not otherwise be in their everyday lives. The actions of child characters could also represent playwrights' methods to encourage children to embody agency.

It is evident that the complexity of children's agency in Taiwanese society is beyond the scope of my research. However, these TCAF award-winning plays suggest some adults' and also the government's belief that children have or should have agency to become our future citizens. From my data, children's agency is innate to all the main child characters in the plays. At the same time, human agency is presumed to be a quality that can be learned or honed by children through arts and education.

● **Beyond the Central Category**

I used "children as adults' future" as my central category. This is because it encompasses most of the significant codes in my data and provides insights on the representation of the Taiwanese child and childhood. However, TCAF materials represent a multifaceted construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood, one that does not entirely fit under this umbrella. Therefore, I provide the following codes beyond the central category.

• **The Unconscious Child**

Although not completely the same as James *et al*'s models of unconscious child based on Freudian ideas, my data also shows a significant amount of perception of childhood as an adult's past. This concept in my data does not "accuse" childhood as being the root cause of adults' deviant behaviors, it merely posits the concept of childhood as an adult's past as a commonly acceptable normal Taiwanese view of childhood. The Taiwanese concept of the unconscious child is demonstrated through Owner's search for his childhood in *Music Box* (2010), and in many examples of adults reminiscing about childhood in the program forewords throughout the years.

• **Gender Issues**

The plays and productions raise questions about gender-related issues. These include having negative or stereotypical female characters, having females play male characters, and having mostly boy characters. Among all of the plays, *The Light Princess* (2002) has the most problematic portrayal of female characters, especially Light Princess, and Babayoujia. Light Princess is a passive receiver who awaits rescue and Babayoujia is a witch; vengeful and evil in the name of love. The relationship between Light Princess and her parents is also worth mentioning from a gendered perspective. It differed from the traditional Chinese view of a strict father and loving mother. In Light Princess' case, the Queen represents an absent mother. In the original script, besides the very beginning of the play, Queen was not mentioned or would appear in any other scenes. On the contrary, King was very involved in Light Princess' life, and he was both caring and strict. King cares deeply about Light Princess and tries to find a cure for her throughout the play. The depiction of the relationship between King and Queen is an unconventional view of gender roles in traditional Taiwanese parenting.

Having female actresses playing boy characters presents another complex gendered image. Is it because females share similar qualities with boys? Or, is it simply because actresses' voices fit better as boys? These gender choices made by directors do not fit my central category of seeing children as adults' future. Mikey

and Child are both boy characters who are either manipulated or played by actresses. To further complicate the gender casting in these productions, one could ask whether these boy roles could be replaced by girl roles? In my opinion, if Mikey's character had been a girl in *Ten Lessons of Angels* (2010), it would not have affected the overall play. If Child's gender had been switched to female in *Music Box* (2010), the Owner's character might also need to be changed into a female, if Child is a representation of Owner's past. This change would have a greater effect on the overall tone of the production. This is because, without specific indication in the script, Owner fits the image of a Taiwanese man in his forties without family obligations, immersing himself among toys and antiques, and searching for his childhood. If Owner was played by a female character, it would further complicate the gender stereotype.

Overall, boy characters dominate the four selected plays when compared to girls. After realizing this gender imbalance, I conducted a quick quantitative survey of characters' genders for the top twenty-four award winning plays from 2002 to 2008. I categorized the main protagonists of these plays into four categories: boy, girl, boy and girl, and animal/plant characters. In my data, half of the plays feature boys as main characters. Seven plays have two main characters, a boy and a girl (or a man and a woman). Two of the plays feature plant or animal characters. Only three plays have girls as the main characters. The lack of female characters in these plays raises a question: are girls the minority of the audience? From my personal experience attending Taiwanese TYA, this does not seem to be the case. So why are there more male images than female? Are boys' experiences more universal than girls' from a Taiwanese perspective? Or is this because Taiwanese society values boys more than girls? Are we still repeating, albeit subtly, the traditional Chinese concept of "*zhong nan qing nv* [male preference] (重男輕女)" (Hsiung, 2005, p. 217)?

TCAF's data implies a complicated gender construction within the Taiwanese child and childhood. Detailed comparisons between boy and girl characters among other materials from TCAF are needed to further examine the different cultural constructions of Taiwanese boyhood and girlhood.

• A Mixture of Western and Eastern Culture

The plays, productions, and forewords all demonstrated a blend of Eastern and Western cultures in various aspects. Because of tourism, schooling, immigration, and foreign workers, Taipei is not as homogenous as it once was (Ma, 2006, p. 2-3). This new diversity definitely affects children's perspectives on life and the world. TCAF is essentially an international children's arts festival that includes various foreign performing groups each year. The child participants in the festival experience arts from both Taiwanese and international arts communities, mostly from Western countries. The four selected TCAF plays and productions also reflect different levels of this mixture between East and West.

Both *Ten Lessons of Angels* (2010) and *The Light Princess* (2002) are adaptations of Western stories. Therefore, some of the angel outfits in *Ten Lessons* and most of the outfits from *The Light Princess*' productions (2003) reflected certain Western fashions. For instance, the angels had halos and white wings, and the royal family had crowns and robes. Several of the actors/actresses in both productions even wore light colored wigs for their characters, so they look like characters from a foreign land. In *Music Box* (2009), the design elements all represent modern Taiwan, and yet Le-Le and her children's puppets are similar to the sea turtles from the Disney movie *Finding Nemo*, which adds an interesting layer to the complex Eastern and Western images on stage. These aesthetic choices echo other aspects of Taiwanese children's lives, such as the viewing of domestic and foreign television programs. Japanese culture, which is prevalent in mass media in Taiwan, was not obvious in the festival.

Another subtle mixture of East and West lies in the distinction between the individualistic and the group aspect of childhood. As mentioned in the previous section, one of the "five disciplines" in Taiwanese educational system, "*qun* (social/cooperative)," emphasizes the group effort rather than the individual. Due to the adaptations from Western stories, *Ten Lessons of Angels* (2010) and *The Light Princess* (2002) definitely have individualistic themes and story lines. They focus more on individual achievement than group mentalities. Even though Le-Le, Prince, and A-Cheng also help bring joy to or save their communities, their stories also

remain more focused on their individual accomplishments. This focus diverges from the social/cooperative mentality rooted in modern theatre as an art form. Originating in the West, Taiwanese modern theatre follows many Western theatre traditions where individualism prevails. Whether or not this is a common thread in other TCAF plays requires the inclusion of other data.

While my research demonstrated an intriguing array of information regarding the constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood, it also shows that more in depth analysis about contemporary views of the Taiwanese child and childhood is needed. It is my hope to continue working on this subject in my future studies.

● **Research Limitations**

Initially, I was hoping to interpret my data based on the “performance of children characters” in these plays and production types to understand the construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood. However, after scrutinizing my data, I found that constructions of the Taiwanese child and childhood are mostly represented through interactions between adult and child characters as well as messages about children delivered by adults. Therefore, instead of discussing the performances of children on stage, my findings gave me more insight on how adults view children in contemporary Taiwanese society.

I am also very aware that my data is not based on human subjects. My focus is to understand and interpret the embedded construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood. Therefore, it is inherently different from an orthodox approach of grounded theory. More accurately stated, my research is based on qualitative research methods, which borrow elements and processes mostly from grounded theory. Second, I am limited by the type and quantity of my data due to the accessibility of archive materials from TCAF. I was also unable to conduct interviews as part of my theoretical sampling due to the people’s availability and time frame of my research. To supplement the interview materials, I included official messages from the Taipei City mayors, the commissioners from Taipei’s Department of Cultural Affairs, and the festival host organization leaders, to delineate and clarify my categories.

Lastly, based on my data, it proved difficult to have one central category/hypothesis to encompass the complexity of the representation of the Taiwanese child and childhood. Although my central category provides a strong interpretation of the contemporary constructions of the child and childhood rooted in TCAF, it falls short in capturing several other important aspects of such social constructions.

● Conclusion

Based on the data from TCAF, the construction of the contemporary Taiwanese childhood is complex and multi-dimensional. It definitely does not fit into a simple dichotomy between the “East” and the “West,” as between “tiger mother” and her counterparts. On the contrary, my data shows convergence between Taiwanese and “Western” cultures. Even on fundamental philosophical levels, many Chinese and Western philosophers, including Foucault, Rousseau, Locke, Xunzi, Mencius, Yang-ming Wang, and Mozi, come to similar conclusions regarding the child and childhood, despite their respective varieties of methods and time periods. This is not to say that cultural differences do not exist. For example, *Ghost Lady* (2002) represents the distinctive art of Taiwanese glove puppets and folktale, while the overall TCAF data makes clear the implications of filial piety. However, the representations of the child and childhood in TCAF are not as different as people might assume.

Ten Lessons of Angels (2010) and *The Light Princess* (2002) are adaptations from US American and Scottish stories respectively. Regardless of whether they were closely or loosely based on the original stories, both plays carried various Western ideologies and were transmitted directly to young Taiwanese audiences. Even though Western adaptations are in the minority of TCAF award-winning plays, they are popular in Taiwanese TYA in general. TCAF, as an international children’s arts festival, also annually imports performances to Taiwan. All of these stories – Western, Taiwanese and Western-Taiwanese mixtures – along with other media in children’s lives, make the construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood more fluid than ever before. It is absolutely a misconception to view Taiwan as a pure “oriental” society, as demonstrated by TCAF’s materials.

From TCAF's data, I propose a hypothesis of viewing Taiwanese children as adults' future. This central category, along with the other analytical codes, such as childhood as adults' pasts, gender issues, and religion, demonstrates the complexity in the construction of the Taiwanese child and childhood. While these elements come from uniquely Taiwanese materials, they are not necessarily qualities unique to Taiwan. Our world is only going to become more fluid as cultural exchanges become easier. The "Eastern" and "Western" binary is based on myths and inconsistent with the reality, even if it is used to attract audiences/readers.

註譯

- ¹ 子曰：夫孝德之本也。(Shih, 1972, p. 4)
- ² 夫孝始於事親，中於事君，終於立身。(Shih, 1972, p. 9)
- ³ 立身行道，揚名於後世，以顯父母，孝之終也。(Shih, 1972, p. 8)
- ⁴ 身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷。(Shih, 1972, p. 9)
- ⁵ Official translation. (Ma, 2003, p. 1-2)
- ⁶ Official translation. (Liao, 2005, p. 3-4)
- ⁷ My translation. “解決問題的生活技巧”(Chang, 2005, p. 6).
- ⁸ My translation. “擁有豐富快樂的人生”(Chang, 2005, p. 6).
- ⁹ Official translation. (Ma, 2006, p. 2-3)
- ¹⁰ 藉由兒藝節找回大人們失去已久的童心 (Chang, 2007, p. 7).
- ¹¹ “升學壓力”(Lung, 2000, p.6-7).
- ¹² “孩童們會被「大人的期望」消滅掉對學習的好奇與樂趣。(Ma, 2005, p.1-2)
- ¹³ 而你們，記得帶著爸媽，一起釀造 2003 年最甜美的回憶。(Liao, 2003, p.3-4).

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古典面具劇——侗劇

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摘要

侗劇 (khon, โขน) 是中南半島傳統劇種中歷史悠久、辨識度極高的宮廷古典面具劇，自古代起便隸屬於國王和皇室，並在皇室與貴族的資助和參與之下發展。該劇種過去一度是全男子的表演團體，20 世紀起始有女性演員扮演女性角色，但全劇演出仍以男性表演者為主。該劇種最為鮮明的特徵是表演者戴著製作精緻繁複、色彩鮮艷的面具和服裝，每個面具代表不同角色的性格、身份、能力與階級，演出故事清一色來自印度史詩《羅摩衍那》(Ramayana) 的泰國化版本——《拉瑪堅》(Ramakien)。侗劇表演動作具有鮮明的武術風格，此一風格使該劇種在傳統上擅長演出戰爭和武戲劇目。同時該劇種的演出一般大型的泰國古典樂團——皮帕特樂團 (pipat ensemble) 伴奏，並由吟誦者和歌隊敘述故事和演唱歌曲，表演者表演中並不開口，僅負責演示出吟誦者所描述的故事內容和情感，也因為如此侗劇亦經常被稱為啞劇。本文將對侗劇的發展根源、歷史、藝術形式特徵、演出文本、面具的辨識要素以及侗劇在現代社會中的功能轉變等方面，進行初步的探究。

關鍵字：侗劇、囊艾、內洛坤、面具、《拉瑪堅》

Khon——Thai Mask Dance Drama

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Abstract

Khon, the ancient Thai mask dance-drama, is one of the most well-known traditional theatre genres in the Indo-China Peninsula; it dates back to the early 16th century. Traditionally it was developed under the patronage of Thai kings and royal families from the Ayutthaya period to the early 20th century. With a strong martial style in its movements, khon was once performed by males only. Though female performers began to take female roles in khon plays starting from the early 20th century, male performers are still the main attraction.

The most distinctive features of the genre are martial style movements of male performers (especially the ogre and monkey roles) and their colorful, refined masks. Each mask represents a particular character in *Ramakien* which is a Thai version of Indian epic *Ramayana* and the only story source of a khon play. Owing to its distinctive style of martial arts, khon is especially good for war and martial repertoires. Like most Asian traditional theatres, khon performance is accompanied by a traditional orchestra, the pipat ensemble, with chanters and chorus who chant, sing and speak for the actors. For this reason, khon is often referred to as pantomime. This paper aims to introduce khon's origins and history, as well as its artistic features and changes in modern Thai society.

Keywords: khon, nany yai, lakhon nai, mask, *Ramakien*

壹、前言

在亞洲劇場研究領域中，東南亞傳統劇場的文化藝術遺產一直以來受到西方劇場研究者的重視，此除了與歐洲曾殖民東南亞有關，更因為東南亞的舞劇與偶劇傳統極為豐富，而且這些傳統藝術仍與宗教儀式和社會生活有密切關聯，因而吸引來自表演藝術、宗教學、人類學與社會學者的注意。近年東南亞在政經和社會文化的影響力頗受國際重視，台灣不僅與東南亞有極近的地緣關係，同時近幾十年與東南亞國家人民通婚和頻繁的商業往來，對於東南亞的文化應多加了解與研究。筆者近年的教學與研究路徑之一，為對東南亞傳統劇場的傳統進行歷史變遷和傳統理論面向的探究，並以柬埔寨宮廷舞劇作為主要田野考察和理論分析對象。在研究過程中，發現中南半島國家的傳統劇場形式多存在相互影響的關係，若要深入了解其傳統劇場藝術的變遷，亦需要對與其有相互影響的鄰國劇場傳統進行考察。換言之，東南亞傳統劇場變遷因素不只來自國家內部的，同時也存在跨文化和區域性的影響。

為了建立對中南半島傳統劇場的了解，以利於對亞洲傳統劇場變遷的研究與觀察，筆者計畫透過撰寫一系列中南半島傳統宮廷舞劇形式的文章，聚焦於歷史發展與形式特徵，逐漸建立對中南半島傳統劇場形式的了解。這一方面可作為此領域之文獻研究初探，是未來田野工作的前導研究；另一方面亦是筆者未來對該區域的宮廷舞劇進行整體變遷的比較、分析的基礎。同時，也由於台灣及其他華文地區對於東南亞傳統劇場形式頗為陌生，此類文獻研究初探亦有助於建立華文世界對東南亞傳統劇場的認識。基於前述之研究動機，本文將從泰國極具代表性的宮廷古典面具劇——「侗劇」(khon, โขน)¹開始，對此傳統藝術的發展根源、歷史、藝術形式特徵、演出文本、面具的辨識要素、以及侗劇在現代社會中的功能轉變等方面，進行初步探究。

侗劇是中南半島傳統劇種中歷史悠久、辨識度極高的宮廷古典舞劇，自古代起便隸屬於國王和皇室，並在皇室與貴族的資助和參與之下發展。該劇種過去一度是全男子的表演團體，20世紀起始有女性演員扮演劇中女性角色，但全劇演出仍以男性表演者為主。侗劇最為鮮明的特徵是表演者戴著製作精緻繁複、色彩鮮艷的面具和服裝，每個面具均代表不同角色的性格、身份、能力與階級，演出故事清一色來自印度史詩《羅摩衍那》(Ramayana)的泰國化版本——《拉瑪堅》(Ramakien)。其演出通常有大型的皮帕特樂團(pipat ensemble)伴奏，

由吟誦者和歌隊敘述故事和演唱歌曲，表演者表演中並不開口，僅負責演出吟誦者所描述的故事內容和情感，也因為如此傀儡經常被稱為啞劇。傀儡在發展歷程深受其他古典劇種影響，因而與其他傳統劇種有諸多相似元素，但與其他劇種在表演上最大的差異是，傀儡表演者戴有面具，同時在表演動作上具有鮮明的武術風格，此一風格使該劇種在傳統上擅長於戰爭和武戲劇目。

貳、傀儡的起源

傀儡真正起於何時現已無法得知，一般學者相信泰國三個最主要古典劇種——囊艾² (nang yai, หนังใหญ่ 大皮影戲)、傀儡和內洛坤³ (lakhon nai,ละครใน 女性宮廷舞劇)，並非原生於泰國本土，它們的根源可能是來自鄰近柬埔寨的類似古典劇種。此應起於泰國在早期漫長的發展過程中，不斷吸取較高文明的柬埔寨的各項社會文化元素，包括政治與行政機構體制、神王政治觀念和眾多藝術形式 (Brandon, 1993: 236-7; Miettinen, 1992: 40-1; 蔡百銓譯, 2001: 84-5)。然柬埔寨劇種對於泰國古典劇種影響的程度究竟如何，學界目前尚未有清楚的研究。⁴著名的泰國古典舞劇學者 Mattani Modjadra Rutnin⁵ (1993: 6) 認為 khon 一詞應是起源於高棉語考爾劇 (lakhon khol)，考爾劇是柬埔寨的男性面具劇，與傀儡形式極為相似。⁶Rutnin 指出，14 世紀素可泰王朝 (Sukhothai, 1238-1438) 的曇摩羅闍一世 (Phra Maha Thammaracha I, 1347-68) 授命刻寫的銘文上曾提到 ten 的字眼，此為跳躍或移動腿、腳之意，由於這正是傀儡動作的術語，因而推斷傀儡在當時可能已存在。此外，因為此詞亦為軍中士兵根據鼓聲節奏踩踏其腳步之意，這一紀錄也被用來推斷傀儡是從軍事訓練武術發展而來的證據。

除了來自柬埔寨傳統劇種的影響，一般認為傀儡與泰國古老皮影戲囊艾有直接的親緣關係，原因是兩者有眾多的相似元素。學者們推斷，它們可能是一個源頭的兩個分支劇種，或者傀儡可能是在囊艾的影響下後來形成的劇種 (Rutnin, 1993: 7)。囊艾為一種相當獨特的大型皮影戲，在泰國最早確切演出的紀錄可追溯到阿瑜陀耶王朝 (Ayutthaya, 1351-1767) 的烏通國王時期 (King U-thong, 1350 - 69)。囊艾皮影偶為一整片、無鉸接關節的皮影片，皮影偶與故事場景均刻在同一張牛皮製的皮影中，有的皮影片僅刻一個角色，有的則包含兩三個角色在內，整個皮影大小從一到兩米不等。相較一般亞洲傳統皮影偶，囊艾皮影偶相當巨大而沉重，每個皮影偶都需要一位偶師來操縱，偶師在操縱

皮影偶的過程，其身體與四肢也同時進行武術舞蹈般的表演，因此觀眾觀看的不僅是皮影偶，偶師的表演亦是觀賞重點（Brandon，1993：236；Miettinen，1992：44-6；段立生，2005：325-6）。有鑒於此表演特性，囊艾的偶師們會在螢幕前後進行表演，觀眾既可透過螢幕看皮影偶在螢幕後的投影，亦可在螢幕前親見偶師的動作表演。

目前所知傀儡最早確切的演出紀錄是 1515 年，為阿瑜陀耶王朝的拉瑪鐵菩提二世國王（Ramathibodi II，1491–1529）在其 25 歲生日的慶祝節目中安排了各種表演，其中便有傀儡。據稱當時表演傀儡的舞者便是囊艾操偶師，記載中他們的表演為模擬囊艾偶師的動作。此外，這時的傀儡表演者臉上僅化濃妝，至後來才進一步演變為戴面具。針對此有些泰國學者認為，古代傀儡的濃妝裝扮可能泰國古代曾受到印度古典舞劇卡塔卡利（kathakali）的影響（Brandon，1967：65；Brandon，1993：236-7）。⁷

除了古老文獻的記載，還有其他因素可看出傀儡與囊艾之間的緊密關聯。首先，大部分的泰國舞劇劇種均以 ton（段）來指稱一齣戲，傀儡劇目單位卻稱之為 chud（套），這個詞其實是囊艾演出中用來指稱一整組偶的意思；傀儡和囊艾的吟誦和歌唱敘述都稱之為 kham phak，同樣都以 kavya 和 chandra 的詩體寫成，並加上以 rai 詩體形式表達的即興對話，稱之 cheracha。其次，傀儡表演中表演者有身體橫行移動的動作，此近似於囊艾偶師操偶時在螢幕前的身體橫行移動方式，此來自囊艾偶師在螢幕前的表演因需要呈現平面的皮影偶，必須左右來回橫向移動所致，但毋須在螢幕前表演的傀儡卻也有此動作特性（Brandon，1967；Rutnin，1993）。而泰國民間有「洛坤舞，傀儡跳」⁸的俗諺（戚盛中，2013：267），這亦被視為是傀儡受囊艾影響的一大例證，因為囊艾偶師雙手要拿皮影偶，無法手舞，其身體動作只能盡量凸顯腳步和跳躍動作來替代，而傀儡表演者的腳步和跳躍動作也是其演出中相當突出的部分，這一動作特質被認為正是來自囊艾的影響。此外，兩個劇種使用的故事素材清一色僅使用《拉瑪堅》，因此在劇目和人物方面有高度的重疊與相似。尤其是從目前五類傀儡的其中一類「螢幕前的面具劇」（khon na cho）（Rutnin，1993：7），幾乎可視為是傀儡與囊艾具有直接關係的證明，這種傀儡是在白布螢幕前表演，就像囊艾偶師的表演一樣。

除了囊艾，另一個被認為影響傀儡形成的重要因素是泰國古老的武術傳統。一個素可泰王朝時期的浮雕記載了惡魔的快節奏舞蹈，此被認為或許是傀儡最

初的形式。之後一個載於1458年的碑文，進一步描述這種舞蹈演出有樂團伴奏，其中使用的樂器包括豎琴、雙簧管、鑼鼓等。傩劇中的武術舞蹈被認為很大程度受到著名泰國古兵器武術——krabi krabong 的影響，這是一種以劍和棍作為武器的打鬥武術，是泰國宮廷中年輕王子和貴族們經常學習的武術種類。記載中，素可泰王朝的蘭甘亨國王（Ram Khamheng，1279–98）、阿瑜陀耶王朝的納黎萱國王（Naresuan，1590–1605）和吞武里王朝（Thonburi，1767–82）的鄭信國王（Taksin，1767–82）均擅長於 krabi krabong。這種武術後來亦加入音樂，並發展成舞蹈，如《匕首曲》（Pleng Darb）和《劍曲》（Pleng Krabi），都是在皇家慶典時表演持有武器的戰鬥舞蹈（Chandavij & Pramualratana，1998：108）。傩劇唯一的文本來源《拉瑪堅》含有大量的戰鬥場面，這些戰鬥舞蹈正好提供打鬥場面表演的需要，現今傩劇的戲劇場景中仍可看到這類戰舞表演。

從傩劇中含有濃厚武術傳統的特性中，我們可窺見這門古老藝術的傳統功能之一，即它有作為傳播宮廷禮儀、鞏固國王權力和加強貴族、武士對皇室忠誠度等的功能。首先，傩劇的動作基礎來自於古代泰國皇室貴族和武士經常學習的 krabi krabong 武術，因而這些貴族和武士傳統上也經常參與到宮廷傩劇演出當中。其次，傩劇場景中經常展現嚴謹繁複的宮廷禮儀，所有場面安排和人物行為均嚴格按照人物的階級來行事。Miettinen 指出傩劇的《拉瑪堅》劇目中有大量的宮廷場景，尤其是發生在主角拉瑪（Rama）和托薩坎（Tosakanth，即原《羅摩衍那》中的十面魔王 Ravana）各自的宮殿中。這些場景所呈現的繁複宮廷禮儀實際上是反映了泰國傳統宮廷禮儀，這些繁複的宮廷禮儀透過傩劇演出傳撥給宮廷成員、侍衛和觀賞者。

Miettinen 進一步舉例，傳統傩劇的演出慣例均從開場戲（audience scene）作為演出起始，而一般開場戲不是在拉瑪便是在托薩坎的宮殿。這類開場戲的宮廷場景中會經常呈現統治者被他的朝臣所圍繞，表演中透過朝臣們的座位順序或所站立處的高度呈現其官階排列，而劇中人物的行為一律遵循嚴格的宮廷禮儀，如當統治者坐著時任何人不得站立或行走。《拉瑪堅》劇中有關古代貴族間的戰爭和衝突是最受觀眾歡迎的部分，這些戲劇段落也經常包含了進行長段的談判、使者交換、戰爭場面，這些場面也明顯展現嚴格的宮廷禮儀規範。以戰爭場面為例，當主角人物和他們的軍隊聚集在戰場的場面，拉瑪和托薩坎會穿著全套禮服，手握有精細裝飾的弓箭和武器，從舞台兩側上場，他們必須搭坐傳統鍍金、具火焰裝飾、和由帶著馬頭的車伕所駕駛的泰國戰車，雙方後面

各自跟著猴子大軍和惡魔大軍，此亦反映了古代的禮節（1992：55-6）。

由於古代資料的匱乏，傩劇確切發展的歷史和過程並不清楚。Rutnin 認為，傩劇可能在 17 世紀的阿瑜陀耶王朝便已發展成今日看到的形式和風格，尤其是波隆摩閣國王（Boromakot，1732–58）的任內更是泰國宮廷舞劇劇種發展的黃金時期，現在看到的傩劇服裝很可能便是根基於阿瑜陀耶時期的宮廷服飾（1993：3-4）。由於傩劇和其他泰國古典劇種在這段時間發展得相當成熟與精緻，使泰國的古典劇種影響其它大陸東南亞國家的傳統表演藝術，例如 1767 年泰國首都在泰緬戰爭中淪陷時，緬甸軍隊帶走大批宮廷舞劇舞者，將精緻的泰國古典舞劇吸收為己有，繼而影響緬甸當地舞劇的發展。而曾在泰國作為人質的柬埔寨安東王子（Ang Duong，1841–59）也在 19 世紀中期引入泰國精緻的宮廷傳統戲劇傳統，並根據泰國宮廷劇種重建柬埔寨的宮廷藝術，⁹這就是為何目前柬埔寨的宮廷劇種的型態與泰國在藝術形式上極為相似的原因。

19 世紀下半葉起，傩劇開始受到泰國女性宮廷舞劇內洛坤的影響，吸收其浪漫傳奇特性，並從內洛坤的劇目和音樂改編新的歌曲和吟唱故事，到 20 世紀這種影響更為鮮明，此主要是透過內洛坤的舞者演員加入傩劇演出所帶來的。到 1930 年代為止，傩劇舞者原本清一色僅有男性演員，但 1932 年起女性舞者被允許演出劇中的女性角色，通常是由內洛坤的女性舞者來扮演。此一改變將內洛坤的舞劇風格引入傩劇的表演之中，並進而產生一類專與內洛坤舞者合演的傩劇類型——「宮廷面具劇」（khon rong nai），主導傩劇這些新改變的改革者是拉瑪五世——朱拉隆功國王（Chulalongkorn，1868–1910）的弟弟 Naris（1863–1947）。Naris 王子創造了一種新的、現代的《拉瑪堅》作品風格，稱之為 lakhon dukdamban，包含有浪漫的歌曲和音樂，這種風格經常被用於現代傩劇作品中，讓傩劇更為優美和令人喜愛，但這些改變也導致它喪失許多傳統武術的特質（Rutnin，1993：4）。

目前傩劇有五類演出形式，這些形式大致反映出傩劇受到其他表演藝術影響的痕跡。1. 露天面具劇（khon klan plaeng）。在大廣場演出，有軍方校閱和戰鬥展示意味，其伴奏音樂要符合行軍節奏，這類演出僅有吟誦調和對話，但沒有唱。2. 序曲節目（khon rong nok，也稱 khon nangrao）。這類演出經常在第一天的開場表演和第二天的主要節目中被採用，多在非正式的場地演出。其演出在舞台上設有一長竿，在演出中可供演員端坐所用，而長竿被設置在接近上舞台的位置，上連有繪景的布幕，通常是山裡或森林的場景。此類傩劇同樣沒有

歌唱，只有吟誦調和對話，皮帕特樂團則分佈在舞台兩側。這種序曲表演一般包含反覆演奏序曲音樂，接著上演一段長竿舞蹈，然後接演一場《拉瑪堅》中關於魔鬼 Pirab 的故事。3. 螢幕前的面具劇 (khon na cho)。這種傩劇表演像囊艾皮影戲一般，舞者在白布螢幕前演出。4. 宮廷面具劇 (khon rong nai)。這是與女性古典舞劇內洛坤一起演出的傩劇，khon rong nai 的字義是指類似於內洛坤的傩劇、或是國王保留在皇室娛樂中的傩劇。這類演出有歌唱、吟誦調和對話，舞台佈景較為精緻。5. 現代面具劇 (khon chak)。這是一種 19 世紀發展的現代化風格傩劇演出，在室內劇場演出，採用大量的繪畫佈景。專職負責泰國傳統藝術保存、訓練和演出的「藝術局」(the Department of Fine Arts)，自 1946 年以來一直定期上演的傩劇表演便屬此類 (Yupho, 1963: 3; Phitthayalāpphrurthiyākōn & Yupho, 1968: 17-9; Rutnin, 1993: 8-9)。

參、傩劇的藝術形式特徵

作為具有宗教性和神聖性的宮廷劇種，傩劇為一發展成熟的大型劇種，演出有時能多達百餘演員。在 1930 年代以前，傩劇的表演者為全男性，而在 1932 年的憲政革命¹⁰後，女性始被允許演出傩劇中的女性角色，通常是由女性宮廷舞劇內洛坤的表演者來擔任，惟男性表演者仍是傩劇的主要表演者。傩劇演員分為四類行當，這些行當主要是根據《拉瑪堅》中四種類型角色來區分：(1) 人類或神仙等精緻的男性角色，如主角拉瑪(Phra Ram)和他的弟弟拉喀(Phra Lak)；(2) 女神、公主等精緻的女性角色，如悉達(Nang Sita)；(3) 怪物角色，即各類惡魔人物，如蘭卡島(Lanka)國王托薩坎；(4) 猴子角色，如哈奴曼(Hanuman) (Miettinen, 1992: 55; Rutnin, 1993: 9)。

泰半是來自印度史詩的影響，因為其故事中含有豐富的神話傳奇色彩，人物包括神、人、惡魔、以及各種具神性和魔性的動物，因此東南亞傳統劇場的行當分類(包括舞劇與偶劇)，大致把角色設定在「精緻／有教養者」(refined character)到「粗魯／缺乏教養者」(unrefined character)這兩端光譜之間。爪哇的哇揚皮影戲(wayang kulit)是最能細緻地體現此種特徵的劇種之一，在此原則基礎下它還細分為多種類型人物。傩劇的行當分類雖不像哇揚皮影戲有多種細緻的人物分類，但亦反映上述人物分類特徵。大致而言，傩劇的人類和神仙角色屬於或靠近「精緻／有教養者」，而惡魔和猴子類角色則屬於或靠近「粗魯／缺乏教養者」，人物的服化妝、面具、裝飾、身體動作、談吐及語言都需要

體現出這種角色分類所應有的特徵。

20 世紀的傩劇，其精緻的男性和女性角色行當受內洛坤舞劇影響極大。扮演精緻的男性和女性角色也經常是來自內洛坤的舞者演員，可以說這兩類行當的演員訓練和內洛坤的演員訓練基本一樣，因此真正傩劇的表演特色和訓練其實是展現在怪物和猴子行當上。由於傩劇演員之怪物和猴子的腳部和身體動作被認為是來自於囊艾皮影戲，尤其是囊艾偶師的手、手臂、肩膀、頭和腳部動作，傩劇演員的訓練也著重在這些方面。傩劇表演者必須從小開始訓練，通常是八到十歲開始，老師會根據他們的體型特性和能力分配學習不同行當，專業演員至少經過 9 到 10 年的訓練，這些訓練除了每日基本功和角色行當程式練習，還須練習打鬥和武術技巧（Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho，1968：9-12；Rutnin，1993：9）。

正如同一般亞洲傳統劇場的表演，傩劇的表演亦是基於程式化動作，不熟悉該劇種的觀眾並不容易了解演出表達的意義。Dhanit Yupho 是泰國大師級的傩劇專家、同時也二次大戰後推動復興傩劇的重要推手，目前泰國古典舞劇的重要文獻大多由他整理保存、撰寫和主導出版。Yupho 在談到傩劇演出中身體動作時，提及泰國人一般日常生活中使用兩種語言，一種是以嘴表達，用耳朵來聽，是謂口頭語言（vocal language）；另一種以四肢和身體表現，用眼睛來接收，稱為手勢語言（gesture language）。據說後者是因為遠古時期的人們不知道如何開口表達，便以手勢語言來表達。Yupho 認為在有口頭語言的場所中使用手勢語言，已足以滿足人類的日常需求，這類手勢語言主要有三類，一、象徵著接受、拒絕、召喚等的手勢；二、象徵熟悉動作的手勢，如站立、行走、坐、躺和招呼/致敬動作等；三、表達情感的手勢，如愛情、仇恨、喜悅和悲傷等。泰國傳統劇場中的動作表演，很大程度便是從這些日常手勢語言中提煉出來，傩劇和內洛坤亦是將其作一優雅的變化和提煉，因此若觀眾能熟悉這些日常生活手勢語言，便不難了解傩劇的表演（1963：3-4）。

一、吟誦者、歌隊與伴奏樂團

除了龐大的演員陣容，傩劇演出時在舞台一側有正式編製的泰國古典樂團皮帕特樂團（pipat ensemble）伴奏，並配有吟誦者和歌隊。整體傩劇的表演依靠舞者、吟誦者和樂隊之間的完美配合，吟誦者尤其扮演關鍵角色。傩劇的吟誦者稱為「傩帕」（khon phak，此名稱後來亦包含了在現代發展中才加入的歌隊）。

大約有二到四位男性吟誦者為男性角色說唱故事與台詞，而女性角色則有女性歌唱者來說唱（Miettinen，1992：57；Chandavij & Pramualratana，1998：110）。倥帕和爪哇皮影戲中的偶師——*dalang*¹¹有著相類似的指揮和引導的功能，在演出中佔有核心地位。他們負責描述情節和吟誦極具表現力的台詞，表演者則是根據吟誦者的敘述、台詞和歌唱在舞台上移動與表演。演出中，倥帕有時用敘事者身分以說或唱描述故事發生背景、交代情節、或抒發人物情感，有時亦能以第一人稱代替角色說台詞和進行對白。整體來說，其吟誦的詩體分為兩類：*kampak* 和 *ceraca*（Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho，1968：3-4）。*kampak* 是韻文體，類似詩歌吟誦，並經常以一種接近宗教儀式性的語調誦出；*ceraca* 則是對白，也被稱為 *rai-yao*，是韻律性的散文體，除了用在為人物進行對白，*ceraca* 也用來敘述舞台上的動作。由於倥帕的吟誦與歌唱是作為引導演員做出相應的動作，因此他／她必須完全熟悉戲劇主題和了解演員動作的韻律，才能控制調節自己的吟誦和停頓，以便和演員的舞蹈技巧相符合。在演出中，經常一或兩位主要吟誦者站舞台一側、靠近觀眾的醒目位置，他們的吟誦顯然也是觀眾觀賞的焦點之一。他們為人物說唱其台詞和抒情歌曲時，亦充分地投入到其說唱的角色喜怒哀樂之中，而表情十足，和日本傳統偶劇人形淨琉璃中的說書人極為類似。

倥劇演出中的皮帕特樂團之編制大小端看演出場合。傳統上，倥劇多在露天開放空間中演出，因此會有兩到三組皮帕特樂團人員編制參與演出，一組靠近怪物表演者，另一組靠近人類和神的表演者，而室內演出則通常只有一組樂團人員編制。過去倥劇的皮帕特樂團基本編制包括五種樂器，被稱為五大件（the five）。但在後來的樂團組織發展中，樂器數量漸有增加（Chandavij & Pramualratana，1998：110-1；Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho，1968：4-5）。現今的皮帕特樂團一般包括以下樂器：一個或兩個木琴（*ranad*），雙簧管（*pi*），一個雙面鼓（*taphon*），一個或兩個圓形台坤（*khong wong*），一對小鈸（*ching*）和兩個鼓（*klong*）等。樂隊的樂師必須精通所有的固有旋律和進行曲，同時也要熟悉舞蹈動作。而由於在現代受到各種洛坤劇種（*lakhon*，舞劇）的影響，倥劇中的歌唱也增加額外歌唱者的作法，並增加歌隊的編制，因此現在的倥劇由四個部分組成：舞者、吟誦者（負責詩體和對白）、歌隊和樂隊（Rutnin，1993：8）。

二、傀儡劇的文本

傀儡劇自古代起便僅演出《拉瑪堅》(*Ramakien*) 中的故事事件，此為印度史詩《羅摩衍那》(*Ramayana*) 的泰國本地化版本。泰國 Dhaninvat 王子和 Yupho 合著的《傀儡劇》(*The Khon*) 一書中認為，泰國的《拉瑪堅》並非來自印度古詩人蟻埕(*Vālmīki*)¹²的版本，而是從流行於印度尼西亞的室利佛逝王國(*Sri Vijaya Empire*) 的版本發展而來(Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho, 1968: 5-6)。這與張玉安和裴曉睿所進行羅摩故事在東南亞的流變的研究有相似之處，他們認為泰國的《拉瑪堅》並不是從蟻埕版本而來，而是印度南方的孟加拉和塔米爾流傳的《羅摩衍那》故事相近，且其中有些情節是來自《往生書》，有些來自流行爪哇和馬來的羅摩版本(2005: 110-1)。而實際上不只從印度和東南亞不同版本來的影響，《拉瑪堅》也有許多元素是來自泰國本土文化。自《羅摩衍那》傳播至泰國以來，每一時期都有泰國詩人根據當時的風俗與生活編寫過不同版本，使羅摩故事在泰國經歷了許多增補和變化。因此雖然大致故事架構仍相似，但許多的細節和內容都已泰國化，而與印度的《羅摩衍那》有不小差異。此外，在歷史上泰國國王一直有親自參與文學藝術創作的傳統，而他們的創作也對宮廷古典表演藝術的發展有直接影響力(Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho, 1968: 6-7)。

據考證，九百年前泰國北部的皮邁石宮(*Pimai Temple*) 已經有羅摩故事的石雕，說明羅摩故事在泰國地區至少已流傳九百年。西元四到十世紀間有孟加拉語的羅摩故事口傳文本流傳於泰國地區，而十世紀前後亦有高棉語版本流行於泰國地區。以泰文寫成的羅摩文本究竟最早產於何時並不確定，因為曼谷王朝(*Bangkok*, 1782 至今) 以前的文學作品多已毀於 1767 年的泰緬戰爭。目前所知，吞武里王朝(*Thonburi*, 1767-82) 的鄭信國王創作了古典舞劇所用的《拉瑪堅》四段劇本，而曼谷王朝的拉瑪一世(*Rama I*, 1782-1809) 則蒐集整理和重新創作一批著名的泰國文學作品，他和他的宮廷文人們共同創作和整理了四部詩劇劇本，其中之一便是長達 102 卷、共計 50286 行詩的《拉瑪堅》手寫劇本。這是泰國古典文學最長的詩作及保存最完整的古代《拉瑪堅》劇本，同時也是文化影響力最大的版本，成為後來泰國文學作品、佛寺壁畫、雕塑、表演藝術和其他造型藝術的主要來源(李健, 2007: 152; 張玉安、裴曉睿, 2005: 112-4)。

繼任的拉瑪二世(*Rama II*, 1809-24) 亦積極發展文學藝術。為了宮內的

古典舞劇，他特別修改了拉瑪一世版本中不利舞台演出的缺陷，這一版本只有14300行詩句，比拉瑪一世版本的篇幅小了许多。但此版本被認為是最適合舞台演出的古代版本，因為拉瑪二世的版本是專為宮廷舞劇而寫，主要情節與拉瑪一世版本無異，但為了讓演出更為緊湊，刪掉許多細節和不重要的情節枝蔓，甚至有些地方為表演而做了適度修改（張玉安、裴曉睿，2005：118）。根據《倥劇》（*The Khon*）一書記載，20世紀倥劇較為流行演出文本主要是來自拉瑪六世（Rama VI，1910–25）的《拉瑪堅》版本，但此版本並非在前面國王的基礎上編寫，而是根據英文翻譯的蟻垤版本而來，劇中的人物名字也是採用蟻垤版本，因此與拉瑪一世和二世中的人物名字不同，拉瑪六世的版本在1913年彙編而成，其中有倥劇唱詞與配唱詞10段。此外，1952年泰國藝術局（the Department of Fine Arts）裡專職保存泰國古典舞劇的專家們，根據拉瑪一世和二世的版本修訂了新版本，這個文本並未被完全固定下來，而是根據不同需要而不斷修訂增編（Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho，1968：6-7；張玉安、裴曉睿，2005：121）。這個版本的改編可能與藝術局在二戰後調整倥劇的社會文化功能有關，即意圖將羅摩故事情節調整和修改的更適合大眾和年輕人觀賞。

《拉瑪堅》的主要情節是講述阿逾陀城（Ayodhya）的賢明國王拉瑪，和蘭卡島上邪惡國王托薩坎之間的戰爭。托薩坎綁架了拉瑪的妻子悉達，並將她帶至蘭卡。拉瑪的盟友包括他忠心耿耿的兄弟拉喀、哈奴曼和幾個猴子頭領及其猴子部隊。托薩坎的盟友則包括各種惡魔，多為托薩坎的親戚。當拉瑪和拉喀尋找悉達和托薩坎的途中，兩個猴子國王——基斯基達王國（Khitkhin）的猴王須羯哩婆（Sugrib），以及羌姆浦王國（Chomphu）的濤摩羌姆浦國王（Thao Maha Chomphu），成為拉瑪的盟友並加入尋找悉達和托薩坎的任務。當拉瑪達到次大陸最南端，便下令兩個猴子王國部隊打造跨海的石頭堤道，以穿越次大陸的海面到蘭卡島，並於附近搭建帳篷和營地。在戲劇中，拉瑪同盟的軍隊稱為「蓬軍」（pavilion army），托薩坎的同盟則稱為「蘭卡軍」（Lanka army）。在圍困蘭卡島之時，拉瑪和托薩坎的軍隊之間進行許多戰鬥，最終拉瑪打敗托薩坎並救回悉達。

由於受到小乘佛教的影響，倥劇中演出的《拉瑪堅》故事事件均具佛教意涵。最受歡迎的場景自然是拉瑪和魔王托薩坎的戰鬥場面，而演出亦經常結束在托薩坎及其盟友被打敗，但誓言回來復仇，以此作為第二天接續演出的內容。雖然故事最終托薩坎被殺身亡，但泰國所有的古典舞劇劇種均有一禁忌，即不

會將托薩坎的死亡呈現在舞台上，因為一般認為此舉將導致演出者和劇團厄運（Rutnin, 1993: 7-8）。而傩劇為何只演出《拉瑪堅》的故事，學者推斷很可能是宗教因素，一方面可能是受到來自古代印度文化的影響，因為印度人相信閱讀或聽《羅摩衍那》可以洗滌罪孽和延年益壽，死後更可進入十六梵天；另一方面，泰國人也相信劇中人物拉瑪是神的化身，同時是理想品格的象徵，因此具有鎮妖、保平安和帶來吉祥的作用（戚盛中, 2013: 271）。

三、面具

傩劇的服化妝反映出泰國宮廷藝術偏好的華麗、金碧輝煌和色彩鮮艷的風格取向。傩劇四類角色行當的服飾、面具和化妝大致有以下原則，怪物的面具和服飾要創造一種殘暴與強而有力的感受，猴子角色則要予人躁動和難以安靜的特質。男性人類角色（通常是英雄，如拉瑪和拉喀）要有莊嚴與優雅，而女性人類角色則予人美麗與溫和之感。而面具可說是傩劇更顯著的特徵，除了代表特定角色，此流傳已久的古老面具傳統本身便具有相當高的藝術性。早期的傩劇除了小丑和女性人類角色以外，其餘演員均戴面具表演。由於兩個交戰國有大量盟國，需要有相應數量的表演者及代表其角色的面具，包括各種神明、惡魔、猴子和各種男性皇室人物的面具，一個面具代表一個特定角色，因而傩劇的面具種類和數量繁多。在後來的傩劇表演中，扮演人和神的演員逐漸捨棄面具，僅穿戴頭冠或尖頂頭飾，並用自然顏色上妝來顯示其人物特徵，如今只有猴子和怪物角色戴面具，但即便如此傩劇的面具數量仍舊驚人（Yupho, 1960: 5; Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho, 1968: 12）。

傩劇的猴子和怪物面具各有兩種類型：尖頂面具和無頂面具，換言之現今傩劇共有四類面具：尖頂猴子面具和無頂猴子面具，尖頂怪物面具和無頂怪物面具。每個面具在造型、紋飾、色彩和面部表情等方面有其各自特點。猴子面具約有三十多種，這些面具均具有相似形狀，要辨認它們的角色須要依靠顏色（包括黃紅色、青銅色、銅色、紫色、蓮花色等），並加上其他面部特徵才能進行辨識。而相同顏色的面具則須要進一步由面部表情和人物攜帶的武器來進一步區分，例如張嘴的白猴面具、並攜帶三叉戟的是哈奴曼（Hanuman），而另一個封嘴的白猴面具和攜帶匕首的是薩地波哩（Satphlee）（Yupho, 1960: 5-9）。

大部分怪物角色都戴有面具，除了在一些現代傩劇劇目中有女性怪物是將

特徵畫在臉上，而不戴面具。怪物面具比猴子面具要繁複許多，有超過一百種的角色面具。這些面具從頭上的冠型和有頂與否，被細分為 14 種類型，但即便如此，和猴子面具一樣，許多角色仍不易辨識，必須依靠多種特徵才能斷定是哪一個角色戴的面具。怪物面具辨識的特點包括頭冠形狀（9 種）、嘴型（咆哮、封嘴）、眼型（鱷魚眼、凸眼）、顏色（綠色、丁香色、紫色、中國紅、硃砂紅、粘土紅、淺藍等）、武器（弓、長矛、棍棒）等。有時若上述特徵過於相近，也會從人物穿著的服飾和戰爭坐騎來分辨。以劇中最標誌性的怪物角色托薩坎為例，他的面具為綠面、帶尖頂勝利皇冠（上面鑲有十臉）、具有咆哮嘴型和凸眼。托薩坎家族的兄弟親戚的面具，多為綠面，如他的兒子因陀羅耆特（Indrajit），面具為綠面、戴竹鞘尖頂皇冠、封嘴與凸眼。這些面具模式均為古代傩劇大師所留傳下來，目前並不清楚這些不同怪物面具的屬性分配原則是什麼，僅知大部分主要怪物角色多為綠面具，而一些怪物所戴面具上的圖案與其在故事中的出身有關，所以面具上會顯現出個人化的特徵並帶有與其出身相關特徵。例如托薩坎有兩個兒子，由他們的象母親所生，因此他們的面具上有小型象鼻印記在鼻子部位，以此來象徵他們的出身（Yupho, 1960: 11-2; Phitthayalāpphrutthiyākōn & Yupho, 1968: 12-5）。

肆、傩劇在現當代的變化：宗教儀式、政治與教育

泰國古典劇種在 20 世紀初期拉瑪六世——哇棲拉兀（Vajiravudh, 1910–25）的任內達到另一個巔峰。拉瑪六世相信泰國古典藝術是泰國文化重要的根源，因此對於古典舞劇和音樂大力支持，在他上任之後的第二年（1911）便成立了「藝術局」（the Department of Fine Arts）¹³，以專職負責保存和訓練泰國的傳統藝術，包括文學、工藝、音樂、舞蹈戲劇等重要藝術文類，其中傩劇尤其受到拉瑪六世的青睞。除了重視傩劇的藝術面向，拉瑪六世更重新強化了傩劇的政治功能，他把現代政治因素與傩劇結合，對其皇室朝臣和親近者施以傩劇訓練，一方面希望藉以復興泰國古代軍事傳統，另一方面也將傩劇訓練作為一種鞏固傳統政治的宣傳工具，強化他們對君主政體的忠誠度。哇棲拉兀個人甚至特別建置了一所專門學校，提供官員之子和中產階級年輕男性正式教育以及傩劇的訓練，這個學校日後演變成一所軍校，並成為國王侍衛兵的來源，由此傩劇在泰國現代社會扮演了新的政治角色（Rutnin, 1993: 9）。

泰國的經濟狀況在拉瑪六世過世後急遽惡化，繼任的拉瑪七世——巴差鐵

朴 (Prajadhipok, 1925–35) 因經費短缺而解散了藝術局，國家削減傳統舞蹈和音樂方面的預算，僅留下少數必須執行皇室宗教和儀式功能的藝術家，此舉使傳統藝術發展大受影響。在 1932 年憲政革命後，泰國成為君主立憲國家，泰王失去治理實權，僅為國家的精神代表，新政府重新恢復藝術局，將原本由皇室直接管轄的舞劇和音樂轉由藝術局進行管理。但由於這段時期到二次大戰之間，泰國處於經濟和政治不穩定的狀態，造成古典劇種急遽衰退。至二次大戰結束之前，藝術局中僅剩下不超過五位的傩劇表演者和十位內洛坤舞者，傩劇及其他古典劇種均陷入危機。

為此，在 1944–45 年時任泰國總理的寬·阿派旺 (Kliuan Abhaiwonges) 任命一個委員會進行保存和推廣泰國的古典劇種和音樂。根據在此委員會擔任要職的 Dhanit Yupho 表示，此雖然是政府的政策，但推廣和保存泰國古典劇種的工作進行的異常艱辛，除了資源的短缺，最重要是政治因素的影響 (1963: III-VIII)。實際上這也是許多東南亞古典舞劇面臨的狀況，即古典舞劇過去均屬於宮廷傳統，是國王們的「財產」，這些劇種主要是服務皇室和與皇室有關的宗教儀式，它們的發展和藝術質性與皇室有緊密關聯，但當傳統的君主政體過渡到現代憲政體制，這些傳統藝術的發展和管轄權便轉移到新政府手上，這些傳統劇種與皇室的連結被迫切斷，而新政府通常不像國王和皇室如此重視傳統藝術，並不願意投入相應的資源。同時也因為新政府的官員一般對這些傳統劇種缺乏了解，並經常要求放入新的政治目的，而使得傳統劇種的發展困難重重、甚至扭曲其發展。Yupho 便提及當他們進行傩劇和內洛坤的傳統復興計畫時，很多時候來自政府上級錯誤的命令，是他們復興計畫窒礙難行的主要原因。

即便有以上種種困難，從文化層面來看，二戰後泰國藝術局的傳統藝術復興工作，不論在政策方向或執行成果均獲成果。從 1940 年代到 1960 年代藝術局進行的古典舞劇復興政策與工作，包括了召集僅存的資深傩劇和內洛坤藝術家協助訓練年輕一代表演者；以及向大眾宣導，說服民眾把孩子送到藝術學校接受訓練；並尋求資助以建立新的演出空間場地，讓年輕表演者有演出的機會；同時重新整理舊劇目，改編為適合現代觀眾欣賞和理解的版本等等。1959 年落成的國立劇院 (the National Theatre, 又名 Silpakorn Theatre) 是目前曼谷演出古典舞劇最主要的場所，也是現今泰國傳承傩劇的重要單位，其工作包括重新建置整理傳統折子戲和劇目，以及推廣傩劇。

藝術局除了重新建立傩劇和內洛坤的演出傳統，另一個重要工作是向泰國

人民和國際社會推廣古典劇種。二次大戰後，泰國社會急遽現代化和國際化，一方面越來越多的國際人士和觀光客關注和喜愛泰國傳統藝術，藝術局為因應這些國際的需求，便重新調整控劇和內洛坤演出內容和故事情節，以便讓不懂泰國文化的國際人士也可以欣賞。二方面，他們注意到泰國傳統藝術有逐漸淡出泰國人現代生活和視野的現象，民眾對於泰國傳統藝術越來越陌生，嚴重缺乏欣賞控劇和內洛坤的知識。因此推廣保存古典劇種的人士認為，他們不僅要向外國人推廣，更要向本國人、尤其是向年輕觀眾推廣。

基於前述古典舞劇在現代轉變的背景，Rutnin 指出控劇脫離宮廷並轉而隸屬於教育部底下的藝術局，此一體制變化改變了控劇接下來發展的質性，亦即控劇的發展方向與重點從過去的宗教、藝術和政治的目的，轉變為教育的目的。藝術局下的專家們也根據此新目的，重新修改演出的劇目內容，例如演出故事開始選擇以兒童為考量的劇目，並縮短演出故事，增加喜劇場景。此外，增強現代舞台佈景和燈光設計在控劇演出中的重要性，提供更為壯觀和童話般的場景，使控劇更具劇場幻覺效果，以此吸引年輕觀眾欣賞（1993：10）。

這些改變的確收到成效，但同時也逐漸改變控劇原有的藝術質性。厚重的佈景和炫目的視覺效果大大削減這門傳統藝術在舞蹈表演上的精妙之處，而新式、創造立體性的西方透視法佈景，也與控劇從囊艾傳統而來的橫移風格存在風格上的衝突。更值得注意的改變是在文本方面，《拉瑪堅》原本是史詩性質的文本，它的重點在於呈現的是一系列的事件與變化過程，及其最終的善惡結果，在傳統上這樣的故事情節和演出並不會關注個別人物的心理特徵。隨著控劇一系列的變革，開始出現實驗性和現代化的控劇作品，不少文本被修改和重新匯編為強調《拉瑪堅》中個別人物的生活和內心世界，例如哈奴曼、托薩坎，甚至其他較為次要的人物也獲得關注，例如托薩坎的兄弟等（Miettinen，1992：58-9）。

而從另一個角度來看，雖然控劇的藝術質性逐漸產生變化，但從教育目的出發的推廣與傳承的政策卻大大擴增控劇在泰國文化和社會上的影響力。以現今控劇的發展來看，二戰後藝術局對於泰國古典劇種的教育導向和大眾化的政策中，相當重視控劇在年輕族群和校園的推廣，此一政策方向的成果，總體而言是頗為成功的。經過二十多年的復興，一度衰微的控劇在1970年代逐漸勃興，並在現代泰國重新獲得重要的文化地位。不少大學紛紛成立控劇團體，這些以年輕學生為主要成員的控劇團體，開始在控劇演出中注入新的現代思想，創作

新劇目，並對《拉瑪堅》做出不同的詮釋。其中值得一提的是，1970年代任職首相的克立·巴莫親王（Kukrit Pramoj，拉瑪二世之子），本身便是熱愛傩劇的舞者演員。他在1966年於國立法政大學（Thammasat University）成立了泰國相當著名的法政傩劇團（Thammasat Khon）。這個團體專門招收年輕志願者加入，劇團提供傩劇的訓練，由克立·巴莫親自教授泰國文化歷史、舞蹈訓練，他也親自參加演出。最令人矚目的是克立·巴莫經常在法政傩劇團演出的劇目中注入對當時政治事件的評論，這使得法政傩劇團成為泰國唯一具有鮮明現代特性的實驗性傩劇團體，其風格是以創新的文本、機智對白和對傳統故事進行現代政治和社會的新詮釋而著名。這個團體的經費亦由克立·巴莫個人資助，他對法政傩劇團的資助一直持續到1996年去世為止（Wee, 2002: 225-6; Miettinen, 2010）。

這些以大學為基礎的傩劇團體，為傩劇培養一群年輕的忠實支持者，在他們進入社會後，不僅為傩劇培養觀眾，也協助擴大傩劇的社會和文化影響力。以法政傩劇團為例，從1966年成立至今，許多劇團成員在踏出校園後進入社會各階層任職，有不少成員進入政府部門、民間機構和企業界，其中有些還成為有力人士。這些人是傩劇在社會上忠實而有力的支持者，使傩劇在政府和民間屢屢能獲得政策和資金上的資助，維持和增強傩劇在現代社會中的文化地位。現今，傩劇在泰國各級學校是一門頗受歡迎的傳統藝術訓練，前述的國立劇院便經常辦理組織全國性的傩劇聯合演出，全國各級學校來參與傩劇聯合演出的學生能超過數千人（Rutnin, 1993: 10）。證明這個超過四百年的文化遺產，從本來在傳統社會由皇室獨擁的宗教儀式和娛樂，在泰國現代社會中成功地被傳遞並轉化到一般人的生活中，而仍為一具有生命力的活文化。

在20世紀亞洲傳統劇場的現代化過程中，要如何與現代社會中持續與現代亞洲民眾產生共鳴，幾乎是所有傳統劇種面臨的課題。為因應此，傳統藝術形式與內容的改變經常是難以避免，因此上述之傩劇藝術質性的改變，可說是亞洲傳統劇場中常見的現象。然而，除了著眼於藝術形式與內容等藝術「成品」（products）傳統的變化，我們更應該關注的是傳統藝術在現代社會中與人們的關係。筆者在另一篇論文〈柬埔寨宮廷舞蹈／舞劇傳統的轉捩點——從神聖到世俗，從共通到獨特〉中，曾探討此問題，論文了引用Janet Abu-Lughod所提出之傳統傳遞過程中的“traditioning”（傳統塑造）觀念，Abu-Lughod認為不應該只把焦點放在傳統藝術成品上，而應該多思考與該傳統藝術的生產過程中密

切相關的人、地與其他特性，因為它們和該藝術被形塑的原因有密切關連，因為正是這些與之互動的人事物才形塑了傳統。更有甚者，在這種 *traditioning* 的過程中，製造者 (*maker*) 和使用者 (*user*) 之間會產生共通和共享的意義、價值和情感，而這是傳統藝術中重要的集體特性 (林偉瑜, 2013: 182-4)。

筆者在研究柬埔寨宮廷舞劇的當代發展變遷時發現，本來在 19 世紀下半到 20 世紀上半作為柬埔寨極為重要的文化核心的宮廷舞劇，在 20 世紀末已逐漸與宗教、社會、本地民眾生活中疏離出來。雖然過去三十年間，不斷有柬埔寨皇室成員和國際資金注入協助保存該傳統藝術，在該形式的保存和表演者的傳承工作上亦獲得一定成效，但經筆者田野訪查，該傳統藝術實際上嚴重缺乏與當地觀眾產生連結，甚少有本地觀眾觀賞演出，保存下來的傳統藝術更多成為國際觀光客的消費品，過去曾有與柬埔寨民眾生活之間共通與共享的情感、意義與價值卻愈來愈薄弱。¹⁴因此即使該藝術的「成品」被保持完好，卻也喪失 Abu-Lughod 所說之傳統傳遞中 *traditioning* 的動力。

同為宮廷舞劇傳統的傩劇，與柬埔寨宮廷舞劇曾面臨類似的挑戰，即失去皇室的支持和脫離宗教脈絡，導致傩劇失去在社會中存在的依靠和位置，此亦連帶使傩劇喪失傳統的內涵與精神上的支柱和創作來源。然而，當代傩劇從過去的宗教、藝術和政治的目的，轉向教育目的後的發展，似乎為這門傳統藝術找到與泰國民眾的新連結，亦即從過去皇室的象徵轉為今日民眾重要的文化活動，重塑傩劇在現代社會與民眾共通與共享的情感、意義與價值。傩劇的當代發展路徑，實為亞洲傳統劇場在現代社會中如何保有 *traditioning* 動力，提供了有意義的參考。

註釋

¹ 關於本文之人名和名詞翻譯的處理方式如下：本文使用傳統劇場形式名稱多採用華文世界已存在之譯名，而歷史朝代、國王和重要歷史人物則採用華文世界通用之中文譯名，此易於讀者參照其他資料。其餘引用參考書目之作者和藝術家，由於多來自英文著作，且未附上泰文姓名，同時也無已存在之中文譯名，而筆者的泰語仍在初學階段，但已知羅馬拼音之泰國譯名常與泰語發音有不小差距，為避免自譯之中譯名差距過大，本文一律先以其羅馬拼音顯示。

² Nang yai 亦有多種中文翻譯如「南雅」、「喃戲」、「大檯皮影戲」、「囊艾」等，不過其中以《泰國文化藝術史》的段立生所翻譯之「囊艾」最接近泰語發音(2005：326)，同時 nang 原本為皮革之意，而漢語「囊」在古代亦有皮革的意涵，因此較為合適。

³ 在田禾、周方冶編著的《列國志——泰國》中，將 lakhon nai 譯為「內洛坤」(2009：294)，此譯頗為恰當，一方面洛坤與 lakhon 的發音相近，另外，lakhon nai 的意思是宮廷內的舞劇之意，有別於宮廷外的民間洛坤劇種，因此內洛坤的譯法在音與意皆符。

⁴ 由於中南半島國家多氣候潮濕，自古以來征戰不斷，許多文獻皆已不復存在，加上這些國家自身的歷史書寫傳統相當有限，要了解泰柬兩國（甚至中南半島國家）的古代傳統劇種之間的影响，一則需要更多的考古證據，二則需對中南半島國家的傳統劇場形式進行普遍性的了解，並進行一定的田野調查和分析，後者正是筆者目前試圖採取的研究取徑。

⁵ 泰文名字與西方姓名排列一樣，名在前，姓在後，如 Mattani Modjadra Rutnin，其姓氏為 Rutnin。由於泰文姓名一般頗為繁複，本文僅簡稱姓氏部分。

⁶ 正如其他柬埔寨古典劇種一樣，雖然古代柬埔寨考爾劇影響了泰國控劇的形成，但現代看到的考爾劇與控劇高度相似的原因，應當是 19 世紀近代柬埔寨文化受到泰國文化廣泛的影響，泰國藝術形式普遍影響柬埔寨藝術形式所致。

⁷ 泰國戲劇學院 (The College of Dramatic Arts) 的資深控劇專家 Chaturong

Montrisart 在紀錄片 *Khon* 中指出，傩劇應源自卡塔卡利，原因是兩個劇種均演出《羅摩衍那》的故事，同時也都以吟誦者代替演員說話和歌唱，但後來傩劇採用面具而非化妝，原因應該是化妝限制一演員僅扮演一個角色，但戴面具則讓演員可隨不同面具扮演不同角色，較為自由。Wimonmat, Chæ ngchai. (1995). *Khon*. Bangkok : Phanorama Døkkhiumentari. Film.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tmAExYq2HJg>，讀取日期 2014 年 12 月 22 日。

⁸ 此轉引自戚盛中編著的《泰國民俗與文化》，頁 267。但該書中翻為「叨空舞，孔劇跳」，叨空即 lakhon 之意，指的是泰國各類的舞劇，由於本文採用劇種譯法不同，因而在行文中有所調整。

⁹ 關於柬埔寨宮廷舞劇在歷史發展中所受之泰國宮廷劇種影響，請參考林偉瑜（2010）。來自亞洲傳統劇場的啓示——柬埔寨傳統宮廷舞劇的消失與重現。《戲劇學刊》，12，95-123、林偉瑜（2013）。柬埔寨宮廷舞蹈／舞劇傳統的轉捩點——從神聖到世俗，從共通到獨特。《戲劇學刊》，18，145-186。

¹⁰ 1932 年由陸軍上校披耶帕鳳（Phraya Phahol pholphayuhasena）帶領的人民黨（People's Party）發動政變，推翻了君主專制，建立君主憲政體制，並頒布泰國第一部憲法（朱振明，2011：35-9）。

¹¹ *dalang* 是爪哇哇揚皮影戲中的偶師，演出中身兼多職，除了一人操縱所有的皮影偶，*dalang* 還要完成所有人物的台詞、歌唱，同時還要指揮身後甘美朗樂團，幾乎是全劇的總指揮。

¹² 相傳為印度史詩《羅摩衍那》之作者，但真實身分不詳，一般相信蟻垤版本的《羅摩衍那》應非來自於單一作者，而是經歷代吟遊詩人加工所成。

¹³ 泰國藝術局資料參考來源 Fine Arts Department (Krom Silpakorn). Retrieved from “Asia-Pacific Database on Intangible Cultural Heritage.”

http://www.accu.or.jp/ich/en/links/O_THA2-more.html. 讀取日期 2014 年 12 月 22 日。

¹⁴ 關於柬埔寨宮廷舞劇在當代的發展變遷，請參考林偉瑜（2013）。柬埔寨宮廷

舞蹈／舞劇傳統的轉捩點——從神聖到世俗，從共通到獨特。《戲劇學刊》，18，145-186。

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