The Theatrical Ties that Bind:
An Examination of the Hidden Curriculum of Theatre Education

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2013 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
May 2013
ABSTRACT

Examining the elements of the hidden curriculum in theatre education allows theatre educators the opportunity to reflect on their own pedagogy and its effects on the learner. The hidden curriculum refers to the unspoken or implicit values, norms, and beliefs that are transmitted through tacit messages. When the hidden curriculum remains veiled, the impact on the learner’s education and socialization process can perpetuate gender, race, and class inequalities. In order to understand how the hidden curriculum manifests itself in theatre classrooms, we have to look at schools as “agents of legitimation, organized to produce and reproduce the dominant categories, values, and social relationships necessary for the maintenance of the larger society” (Giroux, 1983, p. 72).

This qualitative study examined the hidden curriculum in theatre at the secondary level and looked at theatre teachers’ pedagogy in reproducing elements of the hidden curriculum. Interviews, naturalistic observation, and a researcher reflective journal were employed in the data collection process to better understand: a) the elements of hidden curriculum that appear in theatre education at the secondary level, b) how the pedagogical practices of theatre teachers support societal structures, and c) how the hidden curriculum in theatre reinforces gender, race, and social class distinctions. Data were then coded and analyzed to find emergent themes. Multiple theoretical perspectives serve as a conceptual framework for understanding the hidden curriculum, and provide a neglected perspective of the hidden curriculum in theatre education. The theatre classroom provides a unique space to view hidden curriculum and can be viewed as a unique agent of social change. Themes related to the first research question emerged as: a) privileges for older students, b) school rules, c) respect for authority, d)
acceptance of repetitive tasks, and c) punctuality. Themes related to the second research question emerged as: a) practices, b) procedures, c) rules, d) relationships, and e) structures. Finally, themes related to the third question emerged as: a) reinforcement of social inequality, b) perpetuation of class structure, and c) acceptance of social destiny. The discussion looks at the functions of theatre pedagogy in the reproduction of class, inequality, and institutionalized cultural norms.

*Keywords:* hidden curriculum, theatre education, secondary education
DEDICATION

Peggy Grittman
August 18, 1928 – September 10, 2012

I am dedicating this dissertation to my beautiful grandmother. Although she is no longer of this world, her memories and life continue to influence mine. She was a gentle inspiration to so many people, including my own. She spent her life in service to others, and her love knew no bounds. Thank you so much Grandma; I will never forget you.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family—Mom, Dad, Grandpa, my sister Jessica, my brothers Cory and Harrison, and Mindy—for their love and support. I would also like to thank Nick, Lori, and Cameron. To my mother, who always took that call and knew exactly what to say. To my sister, for always being an infinite source of strength and inspiration. To everyone else, thank you for all for your love and support. I can never pay you all back for all the help you have provided, and the infinite wisdom you bestowed upon me.

I would like to thank Johnny Saldaña for being the best mentor. I feel lucky to have had this opportunity to learn from him—and look forward to working with him in the future. His support through this journey has meant so much to me. He made me believe in myself, and gave me the courage and self-confidence to begin down this academic road. I have the highest respect for Johnny, and hope that one day I may help future graduate students with the same gusto. He has had such a profound effect on theatre education. Through all of my interviews, all mentioned the profound influence that Johnny had on their teaching—one mentioning the Superman theme as the most memorable. He also allowed me to work on the Lifelong Impact Study, which provided me valuable experience in qualitative research and helped me to complete this dissertation. I also would like to thank Johnny for his insanely prompt feedback.

Thank you to Gustavo Fischman, who I had the opportunity to learn from in course work and in my experience in *Current Issues in Education*. His first drawing of a rhizome will have an indelible mark on my subconscious. I will never forget that we do not fit in nice, neat categories, but are much more intricate and complex.
Thank you to Erik Malewski, who provided me the chance to explore theory on another level. I am grateful for how he provided feedback with thoughtfulness and encouragement, and how he offered engaging advice when I struggled with educational theory. Erik always took time for his students and that has made a lasting impression.

Thank you to Kimberly Scott for both challenging my ideology and helping me stay sane throughout graduate school. She has been an incredibly strong female mentor and friend. She has shown me how to continue in academia, and to strive for academic success. Thank you to Donald Blumenfeld-Jones for providing me valuable feedback and support through challenging theory classes and helping with the shaping of my dissertation. Your valuable insight helped me understand a very complicated topic. Thank you to my wonderful editor Eric Moon, for helping me fine tune this dissertation. And finally, thank you to Brian Hamilton for being the inspiration to begin this journey. Although he could not see me finish, I know he is smiling down from heaven.
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PREFACE

Although we have seen many studies that have looked at the hidden curriculum from many different theoretical perspectives, none have considered the space of the theatre arts as a different venue to research. It is my hope that by providing an additional perspective, future theatre teachers will be aware of the choices that they make, and become agents of change in the socialization process, not pawns of reproduction.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“A fundamental problem facing us is the way in which systems of domination and exploitation persist and reproduce themselves without being consciously recognized by the people involved” (Apple, 1982, p. 13).

Educational theorists have long determined that the formal curriculum does not serve as the only means of education within social institutions (Jackson, 1968; Apple, 1980; Eisner, 2002; Snyder, 1970; Tyler, 1969). There is also the null and hidden curriculum that serves to educate students. Eisner (1985) refers to the null curriculum as those aspects of the curriculum which schools do not teach formally. He writes, “subjects that are now taught are part of a tradition, and traditions create expectations, they create predictability, and they sustain stability” (p. 90). What happens when the traditions propagate inequality and marginalization? The null and hidden curricula are very closely related, depending on which theoretical perspective a researcher considers. For most, the hidden curriculum comprises the tacit messages with which teachers communicate the values, norms, and beliefs of dominant society. Determining the messages’ purpose, and whom they serve, is of particular interest when studying the hidden curriculum.

There are many different perspectives on the hidden curriculum and its roles in education. Functional sociologists view the hidden curriculum as a necessary function of society that teaches the ideology of political, structural, and accepted behavior that society dictates (Jackson, 1968; Dreeban, 1968; and Durkheim, 1961). Marxists view this
hidden curriculum as maintenance of the capitalist economy (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Anyon, 1983). The Feminist perspective views the hidden curriculum as a means for reproducing gender inequalities in schools (Clarricoates, 1978; Culley, 1988; Riddell, 1992). Sociological perspectives provide a basis for understanding the hidden curriculum, but no studies have looked at the intricate nature of the theatre classroom. Theatre classrooms provide a unique space for student engagement, intrinsic student learning, and embody the need for human artistry. The overt curriculum in theatre is pivotal in achieving academic goals (Rabkin & Redmond, 2006) and cognitive and social skill development (McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras, & Brooks, 2004). However, the overt curriculum is different than the hidden curriculum (Pinar & Bowers, 1992). If we know what theatre teaches overtly, then what does theatre teach informally? That will be the aim of this study. Theatre classrooms provide an excellent environment to view how the hidden curriculum manifests itself, because theatre programs serve as mini-business models where students can learn “adult roles in both theatre and speech: actor, director, stage manager, orator, debater, etc.” (McCammon, Saldaña, Hines, & Omasta, 2012, p. 18).

Problem Statement

Current research and pedagogy on theatre education focuses on the benefits and advocacy for the arts (Bennett, 2001; Gonzalez, 2006; Heathcote, 2003; Mandell & Wolf, 2003; McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras, & Brooks, 2004; Ruppert, 2006; Swados, 2006). A national effort for regulation in the performing arts is a fairly new phenomenon in the United States compared with other subjects, such as the traditional canon of English and mathematics (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). According to the
National Endowments for the Arts\(^1\) (NEA) appropriations history, federal spending for the arts fell from 167.5 million dollars in 2010 to 146.02 million dollars in 2012. While outside grants provide additional support for the monies allocated by the U.S., the NEA’s budget ($155 million for FY 2009) represents less than one percent of total arts philanthropy in the U.S. This budget is barely sufficient to provide what is considered effective art education.

In 1992, the Arts Education Consensus Project, sponsored by the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB), began an 18-month effort to establish objectives for assessing arts instruction in the nation's elementary and secondary schools. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) had assessed music education in 1972 and 1978 and visual arts education in 1975 and 1978. The National Endowment for the Arts, in collaboration with the Getty Center for Education in the Arts, funded the Arts Education Consensus Project (AECP), enabling it to create the NAEP Arts Education Assessment Framework. (U.S. Department of Education, 2012)

Despite efforts to regulate arts education\(^2\), schools within North America are still deprioritizing funding for the arts, and placing more focus on standardized testing (Winner & Hetland, 2008). Chapman (2004) noted that there was a significant decline in support for the arts within schools between 2000 and 2004. With the reduction in funding, theatre teachers then begin to shift focus to standardized testing and

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\(^1\) The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is an independent federal agency established in 1965 to support artistic excellence, creativity, and innovation. For more information please visit: [http://www.nea.gov/about/index.html](http://www.nea.gov/about/index.html)

accountability. Wahl writes, “emphasis on standardized testing, expectations of parents and antiquated admission requirements from post-secondary institutions combine to dictate the curriculum for pre-service teachers and limit the time available for student experimentation and risk-taking” (as cited in Schonmann, 2011, p. 21). This has placed strain on theatre teachers, who are struggling to maintain viable theatre programs in their schools (Walker, McFadden, Tabone, & Finkelstein, 2011). Because of this, the theatre curriculum has now established its place within the educational milieu as an extracurricular, expugnable subject. And while individuals continue to fight for theatre to remain an active part of our schools, a continuing trend of hidden curriculum begins to emerge that unveils, among other things, a homogenized curriculum, marginalized students, reproduction of class structure, and negation of transformative dialogue.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine how the hidden curriculum manifests in theatre education programs at the secondary education level. This study will determine what themes emerge from the data collected, and will analyze the data through a neo-Marxist perspective to provide an alternate view to the socialization process of theatre. The main question asked in this study aims to understand how the theatre hidden curriculum affects the socialization process of high school students. This study outlines the research method and data collection techniques used in this study. The research design will be presented, followed by data collection techniques, setting, sample, and ethical considerations. After a description of the setting, a detailed account of each data collection strategy will be offered.
**Research Questions**

Examining the hidden curriculum in theatre classrooms will enable theatre teachers to reexamine how they are shaping their students’ learning, and for what purpose. Naturalistic observations, the teacher’s explicit curriculum, and observing extracurricular activity or the afterschool routine established by the theatre teacher, will inform the themes that may exist in the hidden curriculum. The research questions are:

1. What are the elements of hidden curriculum that appear in theatre education at the secondary level?
2. How do the pedagogical practices of theatre teachers support societal structures?
3. How does the hidden curriculum in theatre reinforce gender, race, and social class distinctions?

**Method**

Examining the hidden curriculum in theatre education will help me better understand the role it plays in the socialization process. I want to gain new perspectives in theatre education pedagogy. I will provide an in-depth analysis of the information that cannot be conveyed quantitatively. Since I will be using a qualitative approach from an interpretivist perspective, I will provide rich descriptions of this complex phenomenon from a sociological viewpoint. I want to illuminate the experience and interpretation of the actors (teachers and students) involved in the hidden curriculum, and I want to give a voice to those individuals. Pitchforth, Porter, van Teijlingen, & Keenan (2005) note that “Writing-up qualitative research inevitably results in the emergence of new ideas and
ways of viewing the data and hence plays a crucial role in the analysis process” (p. 2).

My significance then will address the following:

- How solid, coherent, and consistent is the evidence in support of the findings? (Triangulation will be used to determine the strength of evidence in support of a finding.)

- To what extent and in what ways do the findings increase and deepen understanding? (The findings will provide new insight into theatre education.)

- To what extent are the findings consistent with other knowledge? (A finding supported by and supportive of other work has confirmatory significance. A finding that breaks new ground has discovery or innovative significance.)

The reader needs to be able to confirm that the findings are grounded in the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I will use a descriptive model of reporting in the findings section. I will give a summary of the finding followed by an illustrative quote to support that the finding that has been triangulated.

**Limitations/Delimitations**

This approach will allow themes to emerge from the data that are deeply rooted within participant responses. This humanistic interpretivist approach allows the researcher to consider multiple facets of the data gathered. A member check will ensure that the data collected are accurate. The strengths of this study lay in the numerous data collection methods. An additional strength in the study is the triangulation of data from the collection.
The weakness in this approach is the risk that both gathered data and analysis may be tainted by my own personal bias. Despite a member check of the collected observations and interviews, personal interpretation leaves room for my own personal history and experiences to affect the outcomes. In addition, the data collected at the three schools are not generalizable, and therefore can comment only on the specific schools, rather than the larger population.

**Theoretical Framework**

It is important to understand the hidden curriculum in theatre because it can lead to a better understanding of the socialization process. The official explicit curriculum within schools utilizes assessments and standards to create uniformity. The standards were developed to provide “direct knowledge and access to what was previously opaque” (Popkewitz, 2004, p. 245). It is also a mechanism to increase accountability, so that all students have the same access to education; this ensures that students are learning what the experts in the field believe to be important content. This is not completely undesirable, and it can result in higher achievement. However, if used incorrectly, this use of assessments and standards can have negative results. To be clear, this is not a failing in standards and assessments, but rather in the way they are used. The way standards and assessments are used serves to socialize and transmit knowledge to students within the school system. A restructuring of the standards and increased use of assessments in theatre indicate that the arts are trying to keep up and maintain status with other content domains. Nevertheless, what lays beneath the surface of assessments and standards are implications of social, political, and cultural underpinnings embedded in a
hidden curriculum. Giroux (1983) argues that the hidden curriculum is the “unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life” (p. 47). This resonates with most theoretical perspectives, but he goes on to question for whom this serves, and for what purpose. This will be the common definition for hidden curriculum used in this study.

**Terms defined.** Some of the commons terms used in this study can have multiple meanings depending on the type of research. For clarification, I will list the more common terms used, and give specific definitions for how I view them in this study.

- **Hidden curriculum:** The “unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life” (Giroux, 1983, p. 47).

- **Hegemony:** Apple defines this through Gramsci, noting that hegemony “refers not to congeries of meanings that reside at an abstract level somewhere at the ‘root of our brain.’ Rather, it refers to an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived” (Apple, 2004, p. 4).

- **Legitimization:** This is the process by which the practices or habits of an institution or (representatives of) a class become hegemonic, that is, take on the force of natural law.

- **Theatre education:** High school (9-12) theatre programs that have both course work and after school productions or drama activities. This type of theatre
education focuses primarily on teaching acting skills, technical theatre skills, and theatre history background knowledge.

- **Habitus**: This is a “mediating notion that revokes the common sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing ‘the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality’ [in the famous expression of Bourdieu], that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316).

- **Theatre pedagogy**: Roots itself in both drama and stagecraft. Helps to prepare students outside of the realm of theatre.

- **Capital**: Is the “accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated,” embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46)

- **Cultural Capital**: forms of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a person has, which give them a higher status in society. Parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the attitudes and knowledge needed to succeed in the current educational system (Bourdieu, 1986).

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3 Bourdieu writes, “the product of a dialectical relationship between a situation and a habitus, understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions which, integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions, and make it possible to accomplish infinitely differentiated tasks, thanks to the analogical transfer of schemata acquired in prior practice” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 261).
**Functionalist perspective.** The functionalist perspective of the hidden curriculum is seen as a necessary utility that helps transmit norms, values, and beliefs that need to be shared and learned for individuals to better function in society. Émile Durkheim noticed how social institutions, such as schools, perform a specific function for socialization that other structures cannot provide (Margolis, 2001). Durkheim (1961) noticed that schools teach more than the established curriculum in teacher textbooks and instructor manuals.

Phillip Jackson (1968), in *Life in Classrooms*, coined the term *hidden curriculum*. In this study he noted that the hidden curriculum taught specific skills: learning to wait quietly, exercising restraint, trying, completing work, keeping busy, cooperating, showing allegiance to both teachers and peers, being neat and punctual, and conducting oneself courteously (Jackson, 1968, pp.10-33). Portelli (1993) argues that Jackson sees schools as “the sum total of unofficial institutional expectations, values, and norms aimed at by educational administrators, and perhaps teachers and to a lesser extent parents, and which are initially completely unknown to the students” (p. 345). Dreeban (1968) viewed schooling as a means to “form transient social relationships, submerge much of their personal identity, and accept the legitimacy of categorical treatment” (p. 147). In this perspective, the hidden curriculum is the unstated agenda that conveys certain elements like punctuality, discipline, obedience, respect for others, hard work, competition, or highlighting gender differences among students.

**Marxist perspective.** The Marxist perspective views the hidden curriculum as more than just simply learning norms, values, and beliefs. Marxists see schools as serving capitalism and the state and, in turn, reproducing race, class, and gender inequalities. The socialization process of schooling is therefore reproducing stratified relationships and
ideological beliefs. The most prominent examination of this perspective was by Bowles and Gintis (1976) in *Schooling in Capitalist America*. They argued that, through formal and hidden curricula, schools reproduce the social relations necessary to maintain capitalism (Margolis, 2001). Their theory, *correspondence theory*, found that this reproduction was possible through the following:

1. competition and evaluation
2. hierarchical divisions of labor
3. bureaucratic authority, compliance
4. fragmented and alienated nature of work

Examining the hidden curriculum in theatre will allow theatre teachers to acknowledge the “subtle or not-so subtle messages that are not part of the intended curriculum” (Nieto, 2004, p. 28). Regardless of socialization beliefs, this helps the theatre teacher understand the role of transmitting “tacit messages to students about values, attitudes and principles” (Kentli, 2009, p. 6). Recognizing the socialization process of schooling within theatre education helps teachers understand the student experience. They believe that this will allow educators to attain a greater understanding of how to improve schooling and achieve the schooling goals of the 21st century. This is paramount because it provides a quality and equal theatre education experience for all youth, so that more individuals may benefit from the positive, lasting effects of the theatre curriculum. The caveat is when theatre teachers’ pedagogy differs based on class distinction. This leads to students being funneled and prepared for differing career paths, which leads to class stratification.
This phenomenon is documented in Jean Anyon’s (1983) framework for social class and the hidden curriculum. Anyon’s concept of social class and the hidden curriculum defined elements of the socialization process that were distinct for different social classes. The types of schools she defines are the working class, middle class, and executive elite school.

The working class school focuses on control. In this school’s curriculum, rote behavior is encouraged, and the student’s work is focused on the following procedures (set forth by the teacher): worksheets, quiet classroom work, and little classroom discussion (p. 149). A strong punitive classroom discipline system dominates the working school curriculum.

The middle class school focuses on students getting the right answer (p. 153). This particular curriculum is driven by everyday needs and focuses on control. The curriculum focuses on practical content, teaching students how to negotiate life and the working world. There is more flexibility within this context, and there is some emphasis on thinking skills.

The final type of school Anyon defines is the executive elite school. In this school environment, there are no bells, and there is more focus on personal control. Creativity is not encouraged within this environment, and the curriculum is driven by decision-making skills. The teachers in this school are polite to students, and there is a great amount of personal freedom within the school—movement, leaving the classroom, speaking with teachers (p. 159).

To deconstruct theatre education is not to provide any disservice to the field of educators in theatre; rather, the goal is to instigate a conversation about the role we play within our society. This brings awareness to a field that finds itself in economic peril and,
without warning, may not have the funding to provide future students with the same theatrical opportunities. I find myself locked into a subtext that does not allow for any deconstruction of the structures; albeit some forms do allocate for reshifting thought—e.g., dialectical critiques.

**Feminist perspective.** The feminist perspective views the hidden curriculum as perpetuating gendered stereotypes. They also view schools as lowering girls’ aspirations, ambitions, and expectations, and focus on stereotyped roles in the home. In Clarricoates’s (1978) study titled *Dinosaurs in the Classroom*, she notes that teachers were more focused on the interest of the uncooperative boys and counted on girls putting up with topics that the boys liked. She illustrated the “ways in which gender inequities were confirmed as a ‘natural’ outgrowth of school policies and pedagogies” (Margolis, 2001, p. 9). Feminists suggest that education helps the socialization process of women, and reinforces the ideology that men are in authority. Riddell’s (1992) study examined the ways schools confirmed class and gender division at the secondary level through subject choice in high schools.

**Neo-Marxist perspective.** For the purpose of this study, the functions of the hidden curriculum will be examined through a neo-Marxist perspective to investigate one possibility for how theatre teachers perpetuate a particular message in the socialization process. Neo-Marxists view the student’s class, race, and gender as important in determining what type of experience that student has at the school. In this perspective, there is not one hidden curriculum but many. Some consider the Bowles and Gintis (1976) work to be of a neo-Marxist tradition. However, Apple (1979) puts a different spin on the hidden curriculum. In his book *Ideology and Curriculum*, he notes that there are
high-status and low-status curricula that are both devices for stratifying students into future career options. He later goes on to make the case that this reproduction can also be seen in the textbooks at the schools.

**Significance**

This study is significant because it will allow theatre educators to improve their pedagogical practice. Examining how “systems of ideas that order pedagogy, childhood, achievement, participation, and educational policy are social constructions and effects of power” (Popkewitz, 2000, p. 27), and can help bring awareness of the elements of the theatre’s hidden curriculum. This will allow theatre teachers to be more aware of the implications of their own personal values and beliefs and how they may impact their students’ education. Becoming aware of the influences of personal biases, class size, and/or arrangement of the theatre classroom and how they may affect learning, increases students’ success within the theatre class. We can observe the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are embedded and transmitted to students by researching the “underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships” in a theatre classroom and in theatre life at the secondary education level (Giroux, 1983, p. 47). Looking at how a theatre teacher structures his or her classroom, interviewing teachers, critically reflecting, and observing behaviors within the classroom, allowed for documentation and analysis of the hidden curriculum within the theatre classroom.
Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research in theatre education focuses on the benefits of the arts, which assist the learner in the socialization process and prepares them for future endeavors. But there is little to no research studying differences among theatre curricula and the possibility for hidden meaning. Little to no research has been conducted on how the hidden curriculum manifests in theatre classrooms. When reviewing the existing literature on theatre education, gaps within the research became prevalent, especially pertaining to the hidden curriculum.

Currently, theatre education research concentrates primarily on qualitative and mixed methods inquiry, and little to no research, quantitatively or qualitatively, documents elements of the hidden curriculum. Support for the theatre arts is showcased in the body of research, which highlights theatre’s positive effects on other content domains—e.g., reading, writing, math, biology—and on other developmental functions—e.g., cognitive, emotional, psychosocial, and physical development. However, there are no studies that examine the ways in which the hidden curriculum socializes students in theatre curriculum, and how those socialization processes produce inequalities or support societal structures. By ignoring other perspectives—e.g., gender, racial, and class stereotypes—in their research, theatre researchers are leaving out an important part of theoretical framing that can benefit the field utilizing an intersectionality lens (Margolis, 2008). By not considering patterns of gender, race/ethnicity, and disability within various socioeconomic schools, we fail to recognize the entire spectrum of the hidden curriculum.
and its effects on the learner. In the next section, I will explore the various aspects of the hidden curriculum as they have been explored in other subject areas.

**Defining Hidden Curriculum**

The explicit curriculum within theatre education is known as the “selected tradition,” centering on the books, textbooks, and plays that teachers require students to read for their studies (Williams, 1973). But the term hidden curriculum refers to the unspoken norms, values, and beliefs transmitted through tacit messages. Sociologists believe that these messages have multiple possible purposes depending on whom or what they serve and on the theoretical perspective that one might take. Eisner (1994) writes, “schools have consequences not only by virtue of what they do not teach, but also by virtue of what they neglect to teach. What students cannot consider, what they don't process they are unable to use, have consequences for the kinds of lives they lead” (p. 103). This creates an uneven playing field for students experiencing the hidden curriculum.

Looking at how the hidden curriculum manifests itself in theatre education will reveal how these messages support societal structures. Through this lens, we can look at how the teacher will organize classroom life and consider “the inculcation of values, political socialization, training in obedience and docility, the perpetuation of traditional class structure—functions that may be characterized generally as social control” (Vallance, 1973, p. 27). The hidden curriculum is informal learning that takes place along with the explicit curriculum. Its purpose depends on the theoretical lens through which the hidden curriculum is viewed.
Executive Skills, Social Skills, and Norms

The executive function is defined as the collection of mental processes that are goal-directed, and this function enables students to connect past and present experiences (Anderson et al., 2001). Walker, McFadden, Tabone & Finkelstein (2011) found that an arts education may contribute to the development and refinement of a student’s “executive functioning” (p. 14). Anderson (2001) shares that the hidden curriculum means to “indoctrinate” in order to maintain social privilege “or esoteric knowledge and practices—and that is imposed together with the formal taught curriculum” (p. 30). This includes the places of instruction and the “unstated rules” that are required for completion of a formal education (p. 30). What Anderson is alluding to is how the curriculum is controlled and contrived, especially in distance education. Students must predicate knowledge on past understandings in order to comprehend their own personal social norms.

Myles and Simpson (2001) problematized the area of curriculum that assumes that certain social skills are acquired, and directly impacts social functioning for youths with Asperger Syndrome (AS). The authors created a worksheet that allowed parents and youths with AS identify particular areas that needed social interaction work. They provided explicit examples of ways to help particular social attributes. This not only helped the youths identify the areas of deficiency, but also provided a road map for students to improve in these social areas (p. 264). Dawson and Guare (2009) looked at the executive skills that are beneficial within the curriculum for student development, but at the same time present problems of hidden curriculum (p. 14).
Lee (2011) looked at the cultural factors that relate to the hidden curriculum with students with autism (p. 141). Utilizing Myles and Simpson (2001), Lee identified that the areas of knowledge in the hidden curriculum are “teacher expectations, teacher pleasing behaviors, students who potentially make good friends compared to those whose actions are less than honest, behaviors that attract positive attention from teachers and peers, and behaviors that are considered negative or inappropriate by teachers and peers” (p. 142). Since children with ASD (Autism Spectrum Disorder) face challenges relating to social skills and social interactions, these areas proved to be difficult for them to decode, making them more susceptible to the hidden curriculum (p. 142).

**Socialization**

Margolis and Romero (1998) examined women of color in a graduate sociology program. The reproduction of inequality operated within the hidden curriculum in order to create a strong and a weak curriculum. The weak curriculum, according to Margolis and Romero, is a “good education in sociology,” and the strong form is “reproducing inequality through the exclusion of race/ethnic issues from the curriculum and the absence of opportunities for ‘social interaction for minority students’” (p. 4). Through the interview process (conducted after a survey of a larger population), the researchers found significant areas of inequality within the curriculum as well as hidden messages. One of these is the “cooled-out” effect, in which students were tracked to “appropriate” levels of socioeconomic education (p. 14). This study shows that tracking and exclusion are areas of hidden curriculum that still dominate higher education.
This socialization process can lead to problems in other areas as well. For example, let us consider the issue of hazing. Hazing, as a form of rite of passage, can be seen in the informal curriculum for acceptance (Chang, 2011). Students in this study saw hazing as a required process of acceptance, and through this psychological study, the researcher measured social identity formation. Chang offers a variety of examples of hazing through the lens of the medical profession, for example. The individuals involved see it as a required part of the socialization process to have long, debilitating hours of work. Perhaps hazing could be one of the areas of potential prejudice as well if we look into a theatre program (p. 37). Hazing and initiations are traditional aspects of some Thespian programs; Chang’s notion of hazing provides insight and complicates the socialization process of some theatre program initiations. Considerations need to be made for hazing inquiries into the hidden curriculum—in other words, the ways in which theatre programs promote this notion of socialization. This study will not look specifically at the hazing program, but recognizes the fundamental flaws in the tradition of hazing in some Thespian or theatre programs.

Considerations also need to be made for whose perspective is examined in the hidden curriculum. Fielding (1981) conducted a study about a “large English comprehensive school” (p. 1), which focused on pupils’ perspectives and the hidden curriculum of a sociology classroom. Fielding uses correspondence theory in this study. Bowles and Gintis’s (1976) correspondence principle is the relationship between American education and the capitalist economy (p. 321). Fielding (1981) found that:

4 The Educational Theatre Association (EdTA) is a national nonprofit organization that operates the International Thespian Society (ITS), an honorary organization for theatre students.
sociology formed part of the ‘normal school’ and did not exhibit noticeably more relevance to the world outside the classroom. The hidden curriculum still claimed superior knowledge for the teachers and a devaluation of pupils’ own opinions and consequently a high status for knowledge defined as such by the teacher, and a low status for pupils’ own experience, and experientially based knowledge. (p. 336)

In some cases, this devaluation proceeds into professional life as well, impeding role models and mentees. Barrett et al. (2009), in a study of 42 participants interviewed in a semi-structured interview in Ontario, found that “the respondent alludes to the idea that a [student teacher] mentee might feel compelled to avoid contradicting a mentor to ensure a good evaluation. This acceptance may also entail teaching practice that runs counter to what mentees have learned and internalized from their experiences in faculties of education” (p. 689). Several themes emerged from the interview transcripts that the team coded and identified: “conceptions of essential skills, the risk of critique, and characteristics of transformative mentors” became problems within this curriculum (p. 687). This working class mentality places value on a hierarchical system that relies on obedience and order. The prevailing thought of the student teacher mentee, to gain acceptance from a manager figure in fear of rejection, highlights the subtle nature of a hidden curriculum of the working class.

**Constructing Knowledge**

One study looked at thirteen case studies that investigated various newly implemented exams in the United Kingdom. The aim of the study was to “illuminate
students’ experiences of some of the newer forms of assessment” (Sambell & McDowell, 1998, p. 393). Through this study, the researchers found that “students do not respond to the hidden curriculum, they construct it through their interpretations, perceptions and actions” (p. 393). There were two levels of analysis from which the researchers derived the data set codes. They assessed the relationships of the learner to the exam, the individuals giving the test, and the formation of identity as it relates to student tracking. The assessments included were derived through interviews, textual analysis, and observations. The researchers found that motivation (intrinsic and extrinsic), relationship between assessor and assessed, and typification of assessment based on previous experience were areas where the hidden curriculum was perpetuated (p. 400). What they found was that students construct their own version of the hidden curriculum. Awareness of these areas highlighted how teachers can work “towards a reduction in the negative aspects of the hidden curriculum” (p. 401).

A study by Kjellin, Månsson, and Vestman (2009) suggested that “practical work at schools affected the students’ understanding of the character of a desired classroom dialogue” (p. 1). The researchers were investigating student development of the value of democratic participation (p. 2). The explicit curriculum was determined by the investigators who monitored student perceptions of the meaning of the lesson. The hidden curriculum may determine particular limitations children have within the classroom, which may then hinder children’s learning. Apple (2004) described a classroom where the teacher controlled kindergartner behaviors and perceptions in a negative way. The kindergartners in this study had to adjust their emotional responses to conform to what was appropriate by the teacher. The children did not always feel
comfortable with the rules and regulations that the teacher had implemented. Through this study, Apple suggests that the hidden curriculum was considered the unstated teaching of social and economic norms and expectations. The supports the notion that students in school may not be “mindless” as once thought. This socialization process can contribute to the construction of the learners’ ways of knowing.

**Race, Gender, and Class**

Viewing theatre education through an intersectionality lens (Battle & Linville, 2006; Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; hooks, 1994; and Margolis, 2008) allows us to understand how race, gender, and class inequalities are reproduced in classrooms. Plays are selected in two ways: by the teacher and/or by the student. Units vary as well, and are typically selected by the teacher. Shakespeare, Greek, Commedia dell’arte, Pantomime, and early American Dramas are just some of the types of units incorporated into modern theatre curricula. In some schools, Kabuki and African ritual theatre are considered advanced curriculum. In addition, students who are given a choice for play selection will often choose a traditionally European play, even in urban settings. This trend is linked to bell hooks’ sociocultural theory. Theatre curricula are traditionally composed of teaching professionals “excluding representation from any other jurisdiction” (O’Farrell, 1993, p. 3), and could explain this trend of teacher influence.

Underrepresented/disenfranchised students have been misrepresented and therefore will continue to see themselves as underrepresented. They are often under scrutiny of the dominant discourse presented within society, and therefore select material that is counter to them. Hence, some students choose “white” plays over traditional plays that highlight personal heritage. However, there are currently no present studies that investigate this particular phenomenon.
Langhout and Mitchell (2008) studied a second grade classroom where they collected three months of interviews as data; “they asked the research question of how academic disengagement was facilitated by the school’s hidden curriculum and mediated by race/ethnicity and gender in this working class school” (p. 609). They found that the hidden curriculum at the school “was taught primarily through the disciplinary system and held that boys and Black and Latino students misbehaved and therefore did not belong in school” (p. 609). They found that the hidden curriculum perpetuated institutionalized racism (Bear, 1998; Hale, 2001; Howarth, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

**Reproduction**

Theatre is a somewhat unique subject within the educational curriculum; it carries standards, testing, grading, and the same rules as the rest of the school, but it is also a miniature business model. Theatre programs have budgets, deadlines, marketing, and they produce entertainment goods. The question of this study centers on theatre teachers’ message of the socialization process as a means of reproduction. This can lead to inequalities and marginalization. It is because of this that we should be able to investigate other content domains and subject areas. Since theatre can be viewed as a sub-context of the larger society, we therefore should expect similar attitudes and beliefs about gender construction. One qualitative study captured the gendered processing of the hidden curriculum and the reproduction of cultural capital developed within a teacher preparation program (Jacobson, 2008). The researcher found that “the hidden curriculum of the teacher education program can lead participants to view their programs as total institutions” (p. iii). The researcher found that men within the pre-service program
solicited feelings of incompetency when working with young children due to the
genderizing of the female role of the early childhood teacher, which was supported within
the pre-service program (p. iii).

Sex-Role Differences in Participation

**Adult attitudes/perceptions toward gendered stereotypes.** In order for us to
consider the salient areas that the hidden theatre curriculum could encompass, we must
turn our efforts to looking at other investigative studies in other content domains. These
studies will help us understand the effects of the hidden curriculum. In order for us to
understand why we would want to look at the patterns of gender and racial stereotypes
within a theatre classroom, we have to consider the effects of these stereotypes. How do
these stereotypes come to be? How do perceptions of parents and students help further
perpetuate stereotypes? How could these effect students within a theatre classroom?

First, we turn to the attitudes and perceptions of the parents—specifically toward
math—to investigate how parents shape student perceptions. Cadinu, Tomasetto, and
Alparone (2011), state that:

> Developmental theory and empirical evidence suggest that parental attitudes and
endorsement of gender stereotypes about math are important for the development
of children's academic attitudes, beliefs, and performance. . . . Therefore, in the
earliest school years, when parents are known to be an important source of
information for their children's academic motivation (Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala,
1982), parents’ gender stereotypes should also be paramount. (p. 944)
Cadinu, Tomasetto, and Alparone (2011) claim that Stereotype Threat (ST) stifles student engagement in many interdisciplinary studies. Parent perceptions of their son’s or daughter’s ability to perform well in a particular subject can either support or discourage further learning of the subject matter, preventing success based on an opinion. Investigating ST among mothers highlights how reproduction of gender roles is perpetuated from the home to the school:

Most important, the present study has been the first to demonstrate the moderating role of mothers’ gender stereotypes on girls’ vulnerability to ST. As predicted, performance decrements under ST were found only for girls whose mothers did not reject the stereotypical view of math as a male-typed domain. In contrast, when mothers strongly rejected the gender stereotype, the girls performed equally well in the ST and control conditions. (Cadinu, Tomasetto, and Alparone, 2011, p. 947)

This could explain why some students in theatre have a preference for costume design versus stagecraft. If parent perceptions of math can influence whether or not girls have success in mathematics, then perhaps there can also be some link to the technical areas of theatre. The perceptions of their parents could influence a student’s opinion about whether they themselves are capable of being successful within the various areas of theatre. Even though both costume design and stagecraft require a great deal of math skills, the traditional gender roles of technical theatre may influence parents to persuade children to participate in what they deem as appropriate areas of theatre. Parents may purchase materials or manipulatives to help their son or daughter become more successful in one area and not another (Cadinu, Tomasetto, & Alparone, 2011, p. 944). There also may be more willingness to help out their son or daughter participate in one area and not
another—e.g., a mother who is willing to help a daughter sew new costumes for a show or a father who is willing to help his son in constructing a set. Their own skills may only lie in a particular field because of the gender stereotype that was presented to them, perpetuating the social construct and historically passing on gender stereotypic traditions. This passing of the roles may play an important role into whether or not students select one area or another within theatre.

This continuation of parents’ attitudes may influence how parents guide their students to become involved in certain areas of the theatre curriculum. This may also show how outside influences such as parent stereotypes influence the student, and have effects that can also push them into a certain vocational field. This may include pushing boys into more labor-oriented jobs and girls into more meticulous jobs, where men use more gross motor skills and women use more fine motor skills. This can have an effect on a woman’s self-worth and self-efficacy when it comes to fields where there are traditionally lower numbers of women (Whitson, 2008).

What about the work force? If an adult has the perception that the sexes should have certain roles in the work force, then perhaps this holds true for the theatre classroom. Students have a perception of schooling that is influenced by culture, family, and friends. Parents’ perceptions play a role in how children develop their own stereotypes, but what we also have to consider is how teachers’ perceptions are affecting that stereotype. How do teacher perceptions of gender roles affect whether or not a student will participate within a certain area of theatre? This perpetuation of gender roles can be supported by Fossum, Haller, Voyles, & Guttschow (2001), where they found that girls who were building Lego robots were six times more likely to be helped by the
teacher, and the teacher would perform the task rather than allow the girls to do the task themselves (p. 2). Teachers hold sex-biased stereotypes in a range of academic areas including math, science, and reading. This can also be seen in educational studies in mathematics in a piece titled Teachers’ Gender Stereotypes as Determinants of Teacher Perceptions in Elementary School Mathematics (Tiedemann, 2002). Since there is no evidence to suggest that teachers are assigning males and females to different areas of work in theatre, we can only speculate whether or not the teacher’s own bias plays a part in developing a student’s willingness to participate in all areas of theatre. Within Tiedemann (2002), we begin to see how teachers’ perceptions about who is good at math may play a role in who perceives themselves as good at math. This may entice the student to become more involved within a particular area. If the theatre teacher takes the perception that the strong men should be building a set, and the domestic girls should be sewing costumes, then he or she may be more inclined to assign those particular areas to certain genders.

Student perceptions/attitudes toward gendered stereotypes. When speculating what effects the patterns of students create within certain areas of the theatre, we cannot negate the students’ upbringing as a source of influence. For example, the kinds of toys a student plays with as a child may influence his or her particular interests when growing up. We already know that parental influence “may be especially relevant at the very beginning of schooling, when children rapidly shift focus, interest, and involvement in different school subjects and form beliefs about their own competence in specific domains” (Nicholls, 1978, as cited in Cadinu, Tomasetto, & Alparone, 2011, p. 944).
According to Martin’s (1998) study, there is a discrepancy between children playing with blocks; within preschools, boys were more often found to play with blocks than girls. Additionally, Ligh (2000) found that there was a 2:1 ratio in terms of frequency of play with Lego toys, supporting the notion that traditional gender roles begin to evolve at an early age. Pike (2005) does challenge the notion that blocks and Legos are strictly a gendered toy, but this does not take into account the perception of the parent. If the parent has the perception that the block is a gendered toy and that one specific sex should play with them, then what is to stop the parental influence on a student when it comes to preference within the theatre? Even though we find that there may be a difference in communication style among girls and boys (Thompson & Moore, 2006), the traditional stereotypic behavior that students learn while very young influences their participation in various areas of schooling.

A study conducted about preferences for male or female salespeople, and how students believed gender would affect performance evaluations and discipline, found an interesting correlation between consumer perceptions and their preferences (McKay & Tate, 2001). “The findings of this study suggest that these students believe that treatment decisions in the work place are based in part on gender stereotypes or that they ‘should’ be” (p. 256). If perceptions like this are so strongly rooted within our classrooms regarding the workforce, then maybe students are helping to create the stereotype. Nevertheless, how else are these stereotypes perpetuated?

Classroom experience reinforces these stereotypes. Evidence indicates that girls and boys are treated differently in the classroom from elementary school through
college and graduate schools (e.g., Goetz, 1996; Mann, 1995a; and Sadker & Sadker, 1973). Specifically, research indicates that males receive more attention from teachers, they get more precise and challenging feedback, more “air time” during classroom discussions, and they interrupt more. (Mann, 1995a, as cited in McKay & Tate, 2001, p. 256).

Perhaps theatre teachers are giving preference to certain areas in their classrooms. Maybe teachers, when asking technical questions about stagecraft, are calling on more males to answer, and when asking questions about costume design are calling on more females. “One result of such unequal attention is that girls become less active participants in the learning process, asking and answering questions less often than boys” (Sadker & Sadker, 1973, as cited in McKay & Tate, 2001, p. 256). What happens as a result of this is “gender bias in the classroom diminishes girls' self-esteem, expectations, and even opportunities later in life” (Goetz, 1996, as cited in McKay & Tate, 2001). Perhaps this is one reason for the perception of the lack of females within the technical stagecraft design field.

What we have found, because of potential inequalities within the theatre program, are spaces of perpetuating stereotypic behavior which may be a cause for unequal patterns within the sexes among the various work areas within theatre. To continue examining inequalities within the theatre field as a vocation we turn to Herron et al. (1998), where they documented the sex inequities within theatre manager positions and found that

Two-thirds of upper management positions in arts management are held by men, and three-fourths of middle management positions are held by women. The data on job position, salary, education, and career goals show some quantitative
explanations for the disparity in job distribution. However, analysis of men and women's salaries, overall, revealed that when age, education, and experience are equal, men receive an average of nearly $14,000 more per year than women.

When we analyzed salary by upper and middle management, we found that the largest salary discrepancies occur in upper management positions. (p. 39)

The authors suggest that a “glass ceiling” may exist within the field of arts management because men hold more upper management positions and have higher salaries.

Another study conducted made the case for why there is such a strong digital divide, and reported on the vast gender and ethnic differences within the computing field (Varma, 2009). Varma furthers this research with another study investigating why so few women are in information technology (IT) fields. She identified early “socializing and anxiety toward technology as the two main factors for the under-representation of women” (Varma, 2010, p. 2). Once again, this displays the potential for outside influences to affect student participation within the various areas of theatre.

**Race/Ethnic Differences in Participation**

**Attitudes of ethnic stereotypes.** Steinbugler, Press, and Dias (2006) found that “gender/race prejudice towards Black women and Black men influences Whites' opposition to affirmative action at different levels than negative attitudes towards Blacks as a group” (p. 805). What we would need to consider then is how this affects the theatre classroom, and how perceptions of different ethnicities influence where they participate in the theatre program. Being able to look at this through an intersectionality lens gives the researcher a better understanding of how these areas connect (Battle & Linville, 2006).

Durell, Chiong, and Battle (2007), in “Race, Gender Expectations, and Homophobia: A
Quantitative Exploration,” make the assertion that “regardless of race, anything that hampers an individual’s growth as well as complete and positive expression—such as racism, homophobia, and strict gender expectations—merits examination and, ultimately, elimination” (p. 312). What we can take away from this is the need to examine any and all curricula, from all perspectives, for any evidence of a hidden curriculum that may be hindering students of color from achieving an equal education.

**Effects of stereotypes on marginalized groups.** Contrada et al. (2000) built the case around ethnic-related sources of stress, and what we can infer from this study is to consider the other viable areas within the theatre curriculum. Meaning that, the stereotypic behavior at the secondary level may be found within theatre culture to include or exclude different racial groups. A small but growing body of research has implicated ethnicity-related stressors as a determinant of physical health outcomes. Williams, Spencer, & Jackson note that much of this work has focused on discrimination experienced by African Americans, whose rates of physical disease and mortality significantly exceed those of Euro-Americans (as cited in Contrada & Ashmore, 1999). It is important to mention that no study of theatre hidden curriculum has been interrogated through the intersectionality lens, and the way in which theatre classrooms help support the hegemonic culture by becoming the emergent culture (this will be explored further in the analysis). What are the effects of stereotypic behavior in the theatre classroom? What effects can it have on the marginalized student?

It is important to acknowledge and research the possibilities of disproportionality, not only within the theatre classroom but within all classrooms. The devastating effects of racial stereotypes can lead to long-term physical, emotional, and psychological damage
for the student. One study focused primarily on blood pressure, and found that when African Americans experience discrimination there is an increase of blood pressure, which could be another factor in the high statistics of heart disease among African Americans (Krieger & Sidney, 1996).

Another study conducted by Armstead et al. (1989) found that when African Americans were shown videotapes of discrimination, their cardiovascular response increased, highlighting another potential for cardiovascular disorders later in life. It is important for us to consider these when we are in our classrooms. McKown and Weinstein (2003) conducted two studies that examined children’s awareness of stereotypes. This study shows

... that a greater proportion of children from stigmatized groups are aware of broadly held stereotypes. That children from stigmatized groups were more likely to be aware of broadly held stereotypes probably reflects the greater salience of stereotypes in the daily life of children from stigmatized groups. (p. 506)

Consequently, the results showed that “children from stigmatized groups become aware of broadly held stereotypes; indirectly activated stereotype threat can significantly hamper cognitive performance” (McKown & Weinstein, 2003, p. 510). This is another indication that we need to be aware of these types of stereotypic behaviors to prevent them within our classrooms. By looking at the participation of each of the various technical theatre areas, we will be able to see if there is a preference for where students spend their time and if this is grounds for potential racial stereotyping. If there is some type of physical or psychological damage we could be doing to a student, then the issue needs to be addressed to prevent it from happening not only in the theatre classroom but also in other content areas.
Other Considerations

Sexuality perception stereotypes. According to one study where 368 undergraduate students were surveyed using an ATLG (Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay men) scale, researchers examined how stereotypic behaviors during secondary education play a role in how students are perceived (Herek, 1988, p. 456). “Hostility is associated with traditional attitudes about gender- and family-roles, perceptions that one’s friends hold similarly negative attitudes, strong adherence to an orthodox religious ideology, and past negative experiences with gay people” (p. 470). Furthermore, heterosexual individuals are more likely to have tolerant attitudes if they belong to a liberal religious denomination or are not religious, if they endorse nontraditional views of gender and family, if they do not perceive their friends as holding attitudes similar to their own, and if they have had positive experiences with lesbians and gay men. (p. 471).

Perhaps it is the perception that the theatre arts community is a more liberal one, which attracts a larger population of gay and lesbian students. Male students within theatre programs are experiencing a level of exclusion from other males in other content domains due to the stereotypes that they bring (Sánchez, 2009). Perhaps this could influence whether or not male students participate in more traditional male roles or female roles, because they may not want to face further persecution from peers outside of the theatre program. Some students participate in theatre, which is seen as an unmasculine activity, because it is an alternative to sports such as football (Perrotti & Westheimer, 2001). Chapman (2005) conducted a study on the heteronormativity in U.S.
plays. The de facto rule in high school suggests that “plays should not be overtly sexual or have non-heterosexual characters (unless for the purpose of a joke)” (p. 2). This breeds the message that homosexuality is not desirable and that monolithic heteronormative behavior is what the dominant society dictates for proper socialization.

**Environmental Factors**

Titman (1994) looks at the school environment as a place for the hidden curriculum. The areas scrutinized were maintenance, management strategies, equipment use, school ground design, fixed play equipment, and environmental quality. She found that children were aware of rules and were confused by certain rules versus others. “The hidden curriculum of school grounds exists and exerts considerable influence on the attitude and behavior of children in all schools. It is, however, within the power of those who manage schools to determine the nature of the hidden curriculum of their school grounds” (p. 76). These affect children’s attitudes and behaviors and how they react to their surroundings.

Gallagher’s (2007) *The Theatre of Urban* is an ethnography that explores deep discourses of racism and homophobia within theatre education programs. Gallagher’s critical ethnography was a study that hoped to spark social change. Conducted over the course of three years at four different schools, Gallagher examined four different theatre programs and teachers using drama as a personal social change agent to transform the classroom culture. She acknowledged that theatre classrooms are a place for students to express themselves, unlike other classrooms. Within this ethnography, the theatre space was seen as an exploratory environment where it is safe to navigate hidden curriculum implications.
In McLaren’s (1999) *Schooling as a Ritual Performance: Toward a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures*, McLaren asserts various ways students and teachers conform to the ritual of school. This is done by asserting various personas by the teacher and the student—student in the “cooked” state, teacher as the hegemonic overlord, and teacher as the liminal servant (p. 90). These three states require students to perform a particular ritual based on the rituals and rules established not only by the teacher but also by the school. McLaren asserts that “rituals may be considered ‘bad’ if they constrain the subjectivities of the students by placing limits on oppositional discourse, reflective dialogue and critique” (p. 85), which is what may be happening within the theatre classroom. By depriving individuals of their innate desire to construct their own identities, students may find that they resist normative rituals, especially within the educational milieu.

Parental influence is another key element within the theatre classroom that affects student involvement and progress within the program or class. In Lareau’s (2000) *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education*, alternate views of the social institutions—family, work, political, economic, and religious—and the inequalities they encompass were discussed. Lareau went on to complicate the matter further by addressing that “social class, as well as race and gender, influence life experiences in many spheres, from the work place to family life” (p.167). Her study found unstated messages and norms that are replicated from the parents through cultural reproduction. The effects of the home life establish a particular protocol that theatre students may find eerily liberating or invasive depending on the family’s cultural upbringing.
Ideological development forced upon theatre classrooms rings an echo of the ideology that was forced upon the lads and ear’oles in *Learning to Labour* (Willis, 1977). The dominant ideology of the hegemonic culture is trying to replicate itself, and some are viewing the restructuring of theatre education curriculum as reproducing the normative culture. “Ideology, is itself, partly influenced by cultural production, and for that, contains a modality and effectively within cultural process” (p. 160). If the theatre teachers/students are reproducing their own culture, and hegemony is acknowledging that reproduction, then the dominant culture is allowing that reproduction. The theatre provides a place for some students to find refuge from normative discourse, while at the same time becoming marginalized for joining. This may subliminally “teach us to believe that domination is ‘natural,’ that it is right for the strong to rule over the weak” (hooks, 1994, p. 28).

**Positive Implications of a Hidden Curriculum**

McLauchlan (2010) investigated grade twelve students in a year four drama class in Ontario. She found that the class increased overall enjoyment and that they enjoyed the different ways of teaching and learning (p. 142). In this mixed methods study, the researchers gathered data from three schools. They suggest that “keeping kids in school” can be encouraged through participation in the arts. In this study, there is a hidden curriculum that motivated students to stay in the school system, which was seen in their perceptions of their drama class (p. 143). The positive hidden curriculum in this study was to keep students in school. This hidden message conveys that students need external motivation to stay in school.
Conclusion

Current research of the hidden curriculum looks at the ways in which inequalities—race, gender, class—are perpetrated, the socialization process of schools, and examines the skills, values, and norms learned by students. While studies exist that examine the elements of the hidden curriculum, no studies have considered the space of the theatre as an additional space for consideration. Theatre programs and classes at the secondary level provide additional insight because they socialize students in a different way than other traditional classes. This highlights the need to examine the hidden curriculum in theatre. Theatre educators need to ensure that through the dramatic structure of their classes, students do not become marginalized or disempowered through their pedagogical practices.
Chapter 3

METHODS

The main question asked in this study aims to understand how the theatre hidden curriculum affects the socialization process of high school students. This chapter outlines the research method and data collection techniques used in this study. I will present the research design, followed by data collection techniques, setting, sample, and ethical considerations. After a description of the setting, I will provide a detailed account of each data collection strategy.

Research Design

This study is grounded in qualitative inquiry because it is open to an interpretivist approach\(^5\), which is appropriate for the research because it is based on understanding social interactions and influences. Papalia, Olds, & Feldman (2008) suggest that qualitative research takes a more open-ended, exploratory route. Instead of generating hypotheses from previous research, qualitative researchers gather data and then examine it to see what hypotheses or theories may emerge. Qualitative research is highly interpretive; it cannot yield general conclusions, but it can be a rich source of insights into individuals’ attitudes and behavior. (p. 44)

Since we are investigating the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the teachers about the rules and regulations within the theatre classroom, gathering data from multiple perspectives will help inform the data set. I conducted interviews, observations, and kept a reflective journal. The data were analyzed and coded and salient themes were constructed.

\(^5\) Interpretivism is often linked to Max Weber (1864-1920) who suggests that the social sciences are concerned with Verstehen (understanding) in comparison to Erklären (explaining) (Crotty, 1998).
Research Questions

Examining the hidden curriculum in theatre classrooms will enable theatre teachers to assess how they are shaping their students’ learning and for what purpose. Naturalistic observations, the teacher’s explicit curriculum, and observing extracurricular activity or the afterschool routine established by the theatre teacher, will inform the themes that may exist in the hidden curriculum. The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the elements of hidden curriculum that appear in theatre education at the secondary level?
2. How do the pedagogical practices of theatre teachers support societal structures?
3. How does the hidden curriculum in theatre reinforce gender, race, and social class distinctions?

Data Collection

The researcher observed theatre classrooms and produced rich, thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of them. I observed the classroom for one hour increments, and made informal observations for a four week period. As a former substitute teacher at these schools, I was privy to the student culture at each school. Dressing casually and being present in a non-teacher capacity helped students act naturally during observations.

Sample

The sample for this study was selected from three different theatre high schools in Arizona. Sampling refers to “the strategic, referred, random, and/or serendipitous selection of participants” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 33). The sample was based on the theatre
teachers’ availability and willingness to participate. All three schools were located in the metropolitan Phoenix area. The schools in this study represented a suburban working-middle class background, and each case presents a slightly different vantage point of the theatre program based on the school’s location, environment, and culture.

All volunteer teacher participants gave their written consent and all necessary approvals and protocols were obtained through the Arizona State University Human Subjects Review Board. The three theatre teachers selected for this study represent a spectrum of students from grades 9-12 in the metropolitan Phoenix area, but do not necessarily represent all theatre educators’ perspectives and experiences.

The participants’ names and their schools are pseudonyms:

HARPER FLORES: a 35-year theatre veteran with 10 years teaching at Val Verde High School, a school located in a culturally diverse neighborhood. She has an additional 15 years directing theatre in the community. Harper is the full-time director of this theatre arts program and instructs in a spacious auditorium.

MADELYNN WEST: a seven-year teaching veteran at Riverview High School, a school located in an affluent neighborhood with an above average socioeconomic status (SES). Madelynn was brought in to teach with two other tenured teachers, and because of cutbacks, is now the only theatre teacher at the school.

ELLESHA MOSURE: a 27-year teaching veteran from Washington State who has taught at both the middle school and high school levels. Her past theatre programs were award winning at state competitions. She has been at Snoqualmie High School for the past six years. Ellesha was a full time theatre teacher and was recently cut to 5/8ths time due to budget cuts.
Sample recruitment. Recruitment for this study began in early spring 2012. Busy teacher performance schedules and difficulties with district approval narrowed the search. A general recruitment letter was sent to various theatre teachers soliciting participation. Once the theatre teachers expressed an interest to participate, the recruitment email was sent. This email was concise, jargon free, and clearly stated the objectives of the study.

Informed Consent

Permission was obtained from the principal and theatre teacher of each school in writing before the study began. Once participation in the study was confirmed, an informative letter was sent through email which contained additional information about the study and described in further detail the teacher’s level of participation.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on site with each theatre teacher. Each interview began with an explanation of the study and a reaffirmation of confidentiality was explained to help the respondent feel less self-conscious (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103). The semi-structured interview allowed for a more open flow of conversation and encouraged two-way communication. This style of interview allowed the respondent to be more comfortable with some of the sensitive topics that were talked about, and allowed me to ask probing questions for more explanation when needed. This was done to determine the ways in which the teacher’s values, attitudes, beliefs, or norms may or may not be present in the explicit curriculum and, as a result, affect the hidden curriculum. The following is a sample of guiding questions for the semi-structured interview:
Teachers’ Pedagogy

1) Describe your position at the school and what roles you have. What has influenced your teaching?

2) Describe the levels of theatre that you teach here at the school and what is included.

3) How do you teach and assess the learners’ abilities? What is your main goal for your students in your program?

4) What types of teacher tools do you employ?

Institutional and Administrative Support

5) How flexible do you feel the institution and program are to student needs?

6) What are the major challenges or issues your students face in your theatre program?

7) Can you describe aspects of the theatre program that you did not anticipate? How did your administration help or hinder those outcomes?

Student Learning

8) How does your theatre program help students understand what it means to be a theatre student? A theatre professional?

9) How do theatre students learn in your program?

10) Describe how connected you feel your students are to the program and the school.

11) Describe the recruitment and audition process for your theatre program.

School Environment

12) If you could change anything about your theatre, what would it be? What would you change about the school?
13) What are the major challenges you faced or are facing in your theatre program?

14) What differences do you see in the theatre classes versus other classes?

Additional Information

15) Is there anything else about your theatre experiences that you would like to share with me?

The goal was to create a natural and comfortable dialogue. All interviews were conducted on site in the theatre teacher office or green room. After each interview, all three theatre teachers were kind enough to offer a tour of their facilities. Additional questions were asked for clarification and responses were recorded in field notes promptly after the tour was finished. There was no time limit for the interview, but each remained under an hour. In each case, I was able to ask follow up questions through email. When deciding whether to video tape or voice record the interviews, Saldaña (2011) suggests that “voice recording is sufficient for qualitative data collection” and the advantages of digital recording “enable downloading onto computer hard drives or onto disk for later transcription and/or transfer into word processing or qualitative analytic software” (p. 38). For this reason, a digital tape recorder was used for all interviews. All interviews collected from each of the schools were transcribed and coded.

Case Setting

This study investigated three different public theatre programs at the secondary education level: Snoqualmie High School, Riverview High School, and Val Verde High School. These schools are all located in Maricopa County in Arizona, specifically in the
metropolitan Phoenix area. The current and historically heightened political issues in Arizona focus on immigration reform, border control, and gun regulations to name a few. These place different types of strain on each of these school’s environments. The spectrum of theatre curricula in these three different schools provided a variety of data. The schools selected represent a variety of racial/ethnic demographics, overall percentages of scores on the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS), a range of percentages of students on free and reduced lunches, and geographical variety in location. These schools represent the working and middle class in a spectrum that will be covered later.

Arizona’s political environment has been in the national news for quite some time. There is a strong conservative ownership that pushes for border control and immigration reform, which in some cases is racially instigated. This has had an ecological\textsuperscript{6} effect on the students at these schools, and is noted in further detail in the Findings section. This politically charged environment has had a profound effect on the macrosystem in Arizona and influenced the students’ microsystem. This serves as a deeply rooted hidden curriculum that, ironically, some of the theatre teachers in this study did not see as a cause for concern.

\textbf{Naturalistic Observation}

Naturalistic observations were conducted and rich descriptions of the theatre environment in which the participants operate and navigate are given in the Findings

\textsuperscript{6} Urie Bronfenbrenner was a Russian born American psychologist renowned for his ecological systems theory. In his book \textit{The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design} (1979), Bronfenbrenner views human development in terms of ecological systems which are divided into five subsystems: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and the chronosystem.
section. Freeman and Mathison (2009) write that observations can be time consuming, and sometimes there can be role confusion (p. 66); however, they provide valuable insight into cultural construction and interpersonal dynamics. Aspects such as physical layout, school AIMS scores, demographic breakdowns, administrative and teacher policies/procedures, and other features relevant to the hidden curriculum were reviewed to determine transferability and to strengthen the validity of the interviews and reflective journal.

**Researcher Reflective Journal**

In qualitative research, the need for transparency is necessary to make the constructed nature of the research visible to the reader. Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001) make the suggestion that transparency needs to be presented in ways that make it clear how the researcher’s own experiences, values, and positions of privilege in various hierarchies have influenced their research interests, the way they choose to do their research, and the ways they choose to represent their research findings (p. 325).

I kept a reflective journal and reported personal background information, presuppositions, opinions, experiences, and actions that happened throughout the research experience (Janesick, 2004; Breuer, Mruck, & Roth, 2002). I am currently employed as a child and adolescent psychology instructor in the Teachers College at Arizona State University. Additionally, I teach student development theory at the undergraduate level in both face-to-face and online modalities. I hold an undergraduate degree in theatre, a master’s degree in secondary education, and a graduate certificate in teaching. I am enrolled at a
research one university in a doctoral program studying Curriculum and Instruction with an emphasis in Curriculum Studies. My previous vocational and professional endeavors have been in the professional performing arts. I was a professional actor, dancer, and director and have been teaching for the past 12 years in K-12 and higher education. Additionally, I have been trained in qualitative research methods through my doctoral study course work and participated in a research study that prepared me for my dissertation.

**Data Construction, Coding, and Analysis**

Qualitative research is an iterative process that emerges throughout the study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). My questions have been refined, my approaches have been modified, and my positions have changed based on the data that were gathered and the emergent themes that arose. There were three phases of coding for the interviews and observations. Themes were then established and included if any of the following was found: a) reference made by multiple individuals that concurs with previous research; b) significance indicated by a majority of participants; or c) in-depth responses from key participants that display thematic significance (Oliver, 2004).

The interviews were transcribed and the observations were typed. The first cycle of coding was the initial coding stage where I looked for initial salient themes. The second cycle of coding was the structural coding stage, and this was conducted because interview questions had topics as *a priori* categories (Saldaña, 2009, p. 67). The last cycle of coding was the *in vivo* coding stage to honor the voices of the participants (p. 48). Once all interviews and observations were coded, salient themes were constructed and elements of the theatre hidden curriculum were examined.
Reflecting a Specific Tradition

The methods and questions of this study are of a constructivist tradition. The researcher is trying to examine the hidden curriculum within a theatre classroom at the high school level. The data collected will identify themes of the hidden curriculum of the theatre classroom. These will guide the construction of a theoretical framework for understanding the hidden curriculum within the theatre classroom at the secondary education level.

Hidden curriculum studies are, generally speaking, ideology critiques. The ideology may surface through interviews and observations (coupled with interviews about what is observed), examining how the experience of school is structured through a particular ideological position (or multiple positions), and examining ideology in conflict through different “groups” having different ideologies that clash, unseen, in the classroom. The ideological messages permeate all aspects of school. How they are taken up is another area of interest for the hidden curriculum. The experienced curriculum of the hidden curriculum is studied through observations, coupled with interviews of those observed to get their idea of what is happening.

The tradition of this study will situate itself between post-modernism and post-structuralism. By post-modern, I mean that I acknowledge that research is inevitably politically colored and value-laden, and that I will not pretend that my own political ideology does not exist (Green, Camilli, Elmore, 2006). However, to provide trustworthiness, I will be self-reflexive in my own ideology. By post-structural, I mean that I will take a certain stance toward myself as the researcher and those I research. I selected
this tradition because there is no one truth in this study, only an interpretation of the data collected. The data collected is a representation of multiple voices. Because the analysis of the study centers on the interpretation of the data collected, being situated within that interpretation will be critical to the interpretation of the text. Utilizing a post-structuralist perspective will allow me to employ a multifaceted perspective of the data collected.

My concept of hidden curriculum also affects the textual analysis of the data. This is to help construct a critical meaning of hidden curriculum in theatre education. This data will allow me to answer my research question because it will provide me with significant, salient themes constructed from the data. This will also allow me to know the world through the participants (teachers) of the drama program with the understanding that the truths are local, temporal, and provisional.

Ethics

The researcher treated participants with respect and reported any questionable issues that arose during the data collection process. Informed consent was obtained from all participants (see Appendix C) and principals (see Appendix D), and confidentiality was maintained at all times. All participants were given a pseudonym in place of their real names to insure anonymity. The researcher shared all data and results with the participants and made it clear that participation in the study was strictly voluntary. Member checks were given to ensure validity of transcriptions and results. My study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and has been found exempt in accordance with Federal Regulations 45CFR46.101(b)(2) (see Appendix I).
Research Plan

Initially, applications were sent to three different districts in April 2012 after approval from the IRB was granted. All three districts declined to participate in the hidden curriculum study. Principals were then solicited in different districts locally to find participants. Willing principals and teachers were sent an email soliciting participation (see Appendix A) then teacher and principal information was attached (see Appendices B-D). Interviews were conducted from October 2012 through December 2012. All member checking was completed by mid-January 2013 (see Appendix F). I wrapped up and provided closure correspondence with participants at the end of February 2012. Table 1.0 provides an overview of the estimated research timeline and tasks list.

Table 1.0

Research Timeline and Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Tasks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 2012</td>
<td>• Consulted with faculty and academic program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Finishing of dissertation proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>• Defended dissertation proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2012</td>
<td>• IRB application submitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2012</td>
<td>• IRB found exempt in accordance with Federal Regulations 45CFR46.101(b)(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• District application sent to three different Maricopa County districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
May-July 2012

• Districts declined to participate in study

August-September 2012

• Teacher solicitation and principals contacted
• Sites confirmed

October-December 2012

• Teacher interviews performed
• Observations conducted
• Follow up interviews with some teachers for clarification through email

January 2013

• Member checking completed
• Wrapped up and closed experience with participants

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7 The executive research team at each district reviewed my research proposal for six months and in the end declined to participate in the study. They sent letters that stated the following: *Unfortunately, the team has decided not to move forward with your research request due to a number of instructional initiatives under way for the current school year, the executive team felt it was not the right time to involve our schools in the study. We wish you much success in your future studies. Thank you for your interest in conducting research at [name of school district]. This is an area for the hidden curriculum.*
Chapter 4

FINDINGS

To research the hidden curriculum in theatre education, three individual case studies were conducted. The three case studies will be presented in the form of vignettes. Each case is presented separately and then emergent themes are presented afterward with examples provided from each case.

Case Setting #1

Madelynn West

“Go. Be Brilliant”

Madelynn West⁸ is a seven year veteran at Riverview High School. She received her teaching certificate in theatre education from a local university, and was hired to work alongside two additional theatre teachers at the school immediately following her program of study. Her bright, cheerful nature elicits feelings of adulation and respect from her students and colleagues. When Riverview High School had to make budget cuts, Madelynn’s program and fellow colleagues were the first to go. She was left as the only theatre teacher at the school and not only lost her mentor and friends, but also had to re-evaluate the current state of the theatre arts curriculum at the school. Her desire to continue to improve her theatre curriculum led her to incorporate technical theatre into her acting classes to create a well-rounded learning experience. Madelynn explained to me that she went into teaching thinking she was able to be the perfect teacher and that she was prepared; she also thought she would do everything that she always imagined in the first year (personal communication, October 22, 2012).

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⁸ Pseudonyms were used for all participants to insure anonymity.
Riverview High School is located in a suburban neighborhood situated close to schools, shopping, and high-end estates. The median sales price for homes in the surrounding area from November 2012 to January 2013 was $225,000 (trulia.com). This neighborhood has seen a gradual rise of 2% in home prices over the last few years.

Riverview High School is known for its academic successes. According to Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) results, Riverview High School’s Grade 10 students are performing 17% above average in math, 12% above average in reading, 14% above average in science, and 17% above average in writing compared to other high schools in the state (see Figure 1.0). The school letter grade for 2011-2012 was B on the A-F Arizona grading model (azed.org).
Figure 1.0. Riverview High School Grade 10<sup>9</sup> Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS). Scale: % meets or exceeds, except in science and writing.

Riverview High School is dedicated to providing a safe, collaborative learning community that challenges students to achieve their full potential. The ethnic breakdown of Riverview High School reveals a population of 76% White, 16% Hispanic, 4% Black, 3% Asian, and 1% American Indian or Alaska Native (AZ Dept. of Education 2007-2008). Madelynn’s classroom is very homogenized and matches the breakdown of the school. Her cast photos reflect very few ethnic minorities based on a visual investigation. Riverview has 1% English Language Learners (ELL) and of the first languages of ELLs, 71% are Spanish, and the remaining 19% are comprised of Mandarin, Vietnamese,

<sup>9</sup>The state average for math was 60% in 2012. The state average for reading was 80%. The state average for science was 42%. The state average for writing was 70%.
Arabic, Korean, Rumanian, Russian, and Ukrainian speakers (AZ Dept. of Education 2007-2008). Students eligible for free or reduced lunches comprise 13%, versus the state average of 51%.

Madelynn’s classroom is very organized and clear of clutter. Motivational sayings are posted on the wall; one says *Go. Be Brilliant*. She has a labeled and organized filing system along one wall; stored here are markers, glue, pencils, pens, etc.

After many years of trial and error, Madelynn has found that building student acting techniques prepares them for real world situations. Her beginning theatre unit focuses primarily on ensemble building. She teaches that it is not about being a star and claims that she tries to “knock that out of them really quickly” (personal communication, October 22, 2012). Her main goal is to foster a feeling of comfort within the class and give the students a safe place to create. Her main unit focuses on students’ writing. She mixes scenes and monologues to build acting techniques and intertwines a unit on technical theatre.

In her beginning theatre class, she works on developing student knowledge through problem solving:

I hand them a script and I say, “put on a scene.” They start working on it and they figure out where they have problems. *Then they’re asking me for help.* They want to understand blocking better, so I go in and help them, and the other thing about that is they come in with an enormous range of experiences. Some of those kids already know stage directions, they know theatre terms and they’ve been in shows before. And so they do a really good job of peer teaching; it’s good for them to be
able to just jump in and start working, and ask questions as they go along and learn from their peers. (personal communication, October 22, 2012)

In her intermediate theatre class, students are able to design their own unit in technical theatre. They produce a one-act play to continue with their self-writing and development of their monologue technique. She blends technical theatre into every aspect of her coursework, often referring to the technical aspects of theatre even as the students are engaged in an acting lesson.

What is important to note is how Madelynn teaches her theatre curriculum. She is a hands-on teacher and has the students continually engaged. She says that students learn by doing and she does very little lecturing. She says they start by playing games. They do a scene—they do not hear her talk about a scene, or watch a scene ahead of time. She says they get a script and they figure it out as they go along. This problem solving style of teaching forces students to get to know one another quicker, and she claims it bonds them faster, preparing them for more future ensembles.

In her advanced acting class, her focus shifts to performance as an ensemble. She has the students compete in one-act competitions, put on an improv show, and write and produce their own shows. She has them participate in a Theatre for Social Change unit, which she says they really enjoy at that level and take away many valuable lessons. Madelynn says that her advanced acting class is an opportunity for students who want to specialize (acting, directing, lights, costume, sound, etc.) get that opportunity to shift concentration and prepare them for post-secondary theatre education. She also produces and directs two shows a year, one in the spring and one in the fall. She mentioned that she
used to have the other theatre teacher helping her with the casting process, but now she is the sole decision maker when casting shows. Her criteria for casting do not rely solely on student performance; Madelynn states that she has to start considering other things; like, how old they are, how many times have they tried out for shows and didn’t make it, who’s gotten chances and who’s not gotten chances, who are the kids I want to work with for the next two months, does the kid have a behavioral problem, or does the kid always have an emergency that always comes up. You know the kid that is easier to work with is going to get the role, and you know I am very honest with them about that. You know they are always auditioning; it’s just not those two days they are in front of me in the auditorium (personal communication, October 22, 2012).

Case Setting #2

Ellesha Mosure

“Theatre is real life application”

Ellesha Mosure is a 17-year veteran of the theatre teaching profession with additional experience as a softball and basketball coach. For the past six years she has taught at Snoqualmie High School. Prior to her current position, she taught 11 years at Tahoma High School in Washington State. She is the primary theatre director at Snoqualmie with another instructor who teaches technical theatre. The other instructor is not a certified teacher, so Ellesha must carry the load of students on her roster. She has been a full time teacher for the past 17 years until this past year when she was reduced to 5/8 time. The school downsizing affected the theatre program, and Ellesha
now teaches half days as a part time theatre director, and is still required to produce a mainstage show twice a year.

Snoqualmie High School is located on the outskirts of metropolitan Phoenix. It is situated on the cusp of rural neighborhoods and suburban houses. The average list price for homes in the surrounding neighborhood was $234,174 for the month of February 2012, which is a 1.7% increase compared to the past few months; this area has seen a steady rise in house prices. Houses in popular neighborhoods in the Snoqualmie area can range from $411,280 to $650,000 (trulia.com).

Snoqualmie High School performs academically above average compared with other high schools in Arizona. According to the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) results, Snoqualmie High School Grade 10 students are performing 7% above average in math, 3% above average in reading, 14% above average in science, and 7% above average in writing compared to other high schools in the state of Arizona (see Figure 1.1). The school’s letter grade for 2011-2012 was B on the A-F Arizona grading model (azed.org).
Figure 1.1. Snoqualmie High School Grade 10 Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS). Scale: % meets or exceeds, except in science and writing.

Snoqualmie High School focuses on providing an environment where students create their own legacy of success and develop their own goals, and provides opportunities for students to excel (http://www.ade.az.gov/). Snoqualmie High School’s ethnic breakdown is as follows: White 62%, Hispanic 29%, Black 4%, Asian 3%, American Indian or Alaska Native 2% (AZ Dept. of Education, 2007-2008). There are approximately 3% English Language Learners at this school, with 88% of the students speaking Spanish, 3% speaking Russian, and the remaining 6% consisting of Portuguese, Vietnamese, and Yugoslav (AZ Dept. of Education, 2007-2008). 39% of students at this school are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches (AZ Dept. of Education, 2007-2008).
It is difficult to separate Ellesha’s experiences at her prior and current schools into two unique vignettes, because her prior experience had a profound effect on her current pedagogy. She is quick to differentiate between the two schools; some of the differences include student motivation, administrative support, student future goals, work ethic, and fiscal budgets. She claims her current school is a low socioecomic status (SES) school, while her prior school had a high SES.

At Tahoma High in Washington State, Ellesha said the administration would often pay for her attendance to professional theatre education training, membership dues for professional organizations, conferences, and travel and pay for state competitions. The current administration at Snoqualmie High School does not pay for regular theatre education training. All educators are grouped into a “pigeonholed” training program where teachers simply learn to meet the objectives of state standards. As a 17 year veteran, she feels the training is unnecessary and redundant, claiming, “I’ve already learned this stuff.” She says that her budget for theatre was significantly larger at Tahoma High, and they held higher values and beliefs about the quality of the teaching profession. Ellesha also said that a large difference between her two schools was student motivation for learning. She said that the students’ motivations and goals were to become engineers, doctors, and lawyers. She claims that students at Tahoma High School were more prepared and “would walk into the classroom and everyone had their notebook out, paper, pencils, and the students were ‘like feed me, feed me’” (personal communication, December 3, 2012). The difference between her two schools comes up very often when talking about her theatre curriculum and her process of teaching the curriculum (refer to
Table 1.1. She states that her curriculum had to change dramatically when she arrived at Snoqualmie High School. Ellesha mentioned that students have a “huge sense of entitlement,” and claims the students need to be motivated to learn, always wanting to know, “what can you do for me [as a] teacher” (personal communication, December 3, 2012).

Table 1.1

*Comparison of Tahoma and Snoqualmie Values According to the Theatre Teacher*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tahoma High School</th>
<th>Snoqualmie High School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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Case Setting #3

Harper Flores

“I want natural actors, pure genuine truth”

Harper Flores is a 35-year veteran of the theatre arts community who currently teaches at Val Verde High School. She received her teaching certificate in theatre education from a local university, and was hired to work at Val Verde High School full time after teaching part time at local charter schools. Harper’s upbringing has had a profound effect on her current pedagogy.

Val Verde High School is located on the cusp of suburban and urban sections of metropolitan Phoenix. The surrounding neighborhood home prices average $97,693 in February 2012 and went as low as $43,000 for a home in the immediate area (trulia.com). The average listing price for homes for sale in the wider area surrounding Val Verde High School area was $234,174 for the week ending February 13, 2013, which represents an increase of 1.7% compared to the previous week (trulia.com).

According to the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) results for 2012, tenth graders at this school are performing only 3% above state average in math, 1% above average in reading, 4% below average in science, and 4% below average in writing (see Figure 1.2). The school’s letter grade for 2011-2012 was B on the A-F Arizona grading model (azdepted.org).
The district’s mission and goal is to ensure that every student has the opportunity to gain valuable skills for success in our economy. They do this by maintaining high expectations, providing support for students, promoting student accountability, and helping students master district, state, and national standards. Val Verde High School focuses on providing an environment where students develop respect for self and others, employability, accountability, and lifelong learning skills (http://www.ade.az.gov/). Val Verde High School’s ethnic demographics are as follows: White 48%, Hispanic 45%, Black 3%, Asian 2%, American Indian or Alaskan Native 1% (AZ Dept. of Education, 2007-2008). The school currently has 8% English Language Learners, divided as follows: Spanish 88%, with the remaining percentage represented by Arabic, Cantonese, Filipino, Hopi, Mandarin, Navajo, and other Non-Indian (AZ Dept. of Education, 2007-2008).
43% of students are eligible for the free or reduced-price lunch program. Harper’s classroom is very homogenized and does not represent the large Hispanic population at the school. Her cast photos reflect very few ethnic minorities based on a visual investigation. She mentioned that she would never consider doing a show like *West Side Story*, because she could not get the Latino/a population to audition, claiming this was due to “cultural reasons” of the students.

Val Verde High School students and faculty are full of school pride. Their dedicated teachers care deeply for their students, and the diversity of the school has created a special place for students from all backgrounds. One student comments, “I can't believe how much the students love the school. Also, there is an outstanding amount of acceptance by all students; no matter what your background is” (Field Notes, November 9, 2012). Another student comments:

A large part of who I am today can be attributed to the good people of Val Verde. No matter who you are, what you look like, how much money you have, or what grades you get, there is a place for you. [This school] may struggle with demographics, but the students are better for it. My first week at school, the principal stopped me on my way to class, simply to learn my name and welcome me to the campus. I could hear it in his voice; he cared about me. It is his stewardship over the school that influences the other faculty members to act in the same hospitable manner. (online student review, February 29, 2008)

While generally the students at this school seem to exude a high level of school pride, there is an alternate side to the school. One student claimed that the student body
was segmented, and that there did not seem to be the student support that there once was. Other students express the feeling that their teachers are the best and, “even though it isn't an 'A+' school, the diversity, culture, programs, extra-curricular activities, and the strong leadership skills learned here will [be] forever cherish[ed].” The theatre teacher from this school shared that there is a large LDS population, “…that’s Mormon in case you don’t know” (personal communication, November 7, 2012). Some students from this school shared that there is a large disconnect among students. One student shares that if you aren't part of the religion, then you pretty much are a loner unless you have other friends. I was ignored many times at this school by the 'seminary' students. Staff should do something about that problem. Otherwise the school is an excellent school. It provided me with great classes both in regular, college prep, and advance placement. It has great traditions that have been around for more than 100 years (student online review, June 1, 2007).

Harper has the same type of enthusiasm for the school, which most students share. She loves the “family atmosphere” of the school, which can be attributed to her upbringing. Her father was a sound engineer at CBS, and she was raised on sets, watching Carol Burnett, Tim Conway, and Mike Douglas (personal communication, November 7, 2012). She notes that what influences her current pedagogy was natural, unaffected acting:

Nobody went up to them [Carol Burnett, Tim Conway, and Mike Douglas] and said I need your voice deeper, they were regular people. They didn’t go sit in a corner and bark like a dog to get into character. When Carol Burnett had the
camera on, she had her sketch, ran it, and then immediately looked to the audience with total engagement . . . it was sheer fun and laughter the whole time. They were having a great time. Tim Conway would shoot the first take as it was printed. Then for the second take, they would give him the run to improv or [do] whatever he wanted. (personal communication, November 7, 2012)

These profound childhood experiences have motivated Harper to strive to create unaffected actors who are natural (personal communication, November 7, 2012). Her unique teaching style is a reflection of her 35-year journey as a director. She has worked with many different theatre companies and theatrical organizations, running a theatrical academy for ten years, and she was brought in to direct many musicals before moving into a theatre education setting.

Harper focuses her curriculum on material she brings into the classes (plays, monologues, scenes) and creates hands-on experiences that build cooperation among her students. Her beginning class focuses on building the basics—e.g., actor positions, stage directions, levels, volume, pitch, vocals, energy, etc. She then has her beginning students perform a scene, and has them select a scene that is familiar—for example, scenes from their favorite Disney movies, a particular TV show, and scenes from plays they have seen. “The way I work my beginning class is that I want to rope them in. I want to get them excited about what they are doing, and if they can do something that is fun and familiar, it ropes them into the program” (personal communication, November 7, 2012).

She also focuses initial scene selection on something familiar because it helps her special needs students feel comfortable with her and the class. She mentioned that out of
40 students in a class she often has 10 special needs youth. She said, “I have several special needs students—autistic, mental retardation, Down syndrome, and [by selecting a familiar scene] they can work them in in a familiar way” (personal communication, November 7, 2012). Harper teaches a special needs theatre summer camp, where her love and passion for developing special needs students’ interpersonal and cognitive skills in theatre are apparent. She focuses on getting all the students comfortable with each other, and works on cooperation and team building.

Her intermediate class is audition based. She expects students to be self-motivated and the basics are reiterated and developed as they learn monologues and continue on in intermediate theatre. She promotes democratic practices by allowing the students to write, direct, and audition for their own comedy show. At this level students also take their performances to elementary schools and perform children’s books. Harper’s advanced theatre students usually take speech and debate, and learn the acting side of theatre by presenting competitions in duo-interpretation, and duo-acting in dramatic or comedic scripts. During advanced theatre, students write, direct, and act in a one act that they take to state festivals. Harper mentions that the students produce high caliber work that has won many awards. Her theatre program has won many state awards and has taken first at many state festivals. She told me about one performance that a female student had written. The play is about a couple with marital problems. Here is a summary about this one act play:

The scene takes place in the home of a modern day couple, a young couple who is married, and having marital problems. The wife stumbles upon letters. They were
letters that her grandparents had written when her grandfather was in World War II. He had since passed away. What she found were love letters. Throughout the play, she uses her grandparents as the strength and perseverance to bring her marriage back together.

Harper expects students to be self-motivated, have a strong work ethic, and do the best they can, and she encourages this engagement through workshop-style theatre games. She uses side coaching and continual assessments to engage her students in learning. She mentioned not many of her students go on to pursue theatre as a vocation, but use the skill training for future vocational jobs, adding that theatre skills are helpful for interviews. She wants her students to know the principles of theatre and to use these skills to achieve what they want for their futures.

**Emergent Themes**

These three vignettes from each case setting represent a small population of theatre teachers in Arizona. The conclusions drawn from these individual cases cannot be generalized for the larger population of theatre teachers, but rather serve as a discussion for the hidden curriculum in theatre education. While many assertions can be drawn from the data of this study, a theoretical lens helps focus the findings in the discussion section. Instead of drawing substantive conclusions from each of these case studies, I would like to offer an often neglected perspective, asking what it is that we teach unintentionally in theatre classrooms and how, by adopting this perspective, we reinforce hidden messages.

Below are the findings constructed from the interviews, observations, and field journals. These findings will be discussed further in the discussion section. The findings
are based on the a priori codes that were imbedded in the semi-structured interviews. These are based on the sociological parameters that sociologists see as the function of the hidden curriculum, and sociologists view this as a means for social control. The purpose for which this social control is being taught through tacit messages will be discussed later.

**Assertions**

Question number one was aimed at uncovering what the hidden elements were in theatre education. Question number two looked at how the pedagogical practices of the teacher perpetuated these hidden elements. The discussion chapter will further investigate question number three. After a thorough coding and data analysis, salient themes emerged. Themes related to the first research question emerged as: a) privileges for older students, b) school rules, c) respect for authority, d) acceptance of repetitive tasks, and c) punctuality. Themes related to the second research question emerged as: a) practices, b) procedures, c) rules, d) relationships, and e) structures. Finally, themes related to the third question emerged as: a) reinforcement of social inequality, b) perpetuation of class structure, and c) acceptance of social destiny. The main themes of the elements of hidden curriculum that appear in theatre education in secondary education are discussed as follows.

**Privileges and responsibilities.** One element of the hidden curriculum that can be found in the theatre classroom is the privileges and responsibilities given to older students. This could be seen through preference for student director selection, students cast in shows, students elected to drama club, and even students placed in theatre production class. In all the interviews the teachers stated their preference for working with students who had a good work ethic and gave preference to students who had
seniority. All the teachers’ expectations were centered on a list of work ethics they preferred that older students learned to navigate, gaining privileges and responsibilities when they were in the upper level grades. For example, when it came to the issue of casting shows, Madelynn mentioned that when there are multiple students who would be appropriate for a role, “I have to start considering other things; like, how old they are” (personal communication, October 22, 2012). How many times a student has tried out is also a large factor that weighs on directors’ minds when casting: are they in their senior year, or are they still a junior without many auditions?

Selecting drama club officers was also another area where the teachers demonstrated favor toward the older students. In one observation, it was noted that folders were placed neatly on the wall with each officer position labeled: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, historian, and so on. Each folder was decorated so it stood out from the rest of the wall. It was hard not to notice how it almost served as a visual representation for the students to strive for. In most cases, students must participate in the club for one year before being allowed to run for a drama club officer position. It was mentioned that beginning theatre students do not typically have the same caliber of work ethic as the older theatre students, so many have preconceived notions about who they already want to work with. When discussing how they select a student director, all the teachers had a very specific list that required students to not only have passion, but knowledge for how they like things to be run. Madelynn noted she prefers a student director
be somebody who is organized, who is good about planning ahead, who’s willing to put in more time than anybody else, somebody who can visualize blocking and can communicate that well with their peers, and somebody who has built up a respect with the group that they are working with, somebody they are going to listen to, somebody who they are going to trust [with] their direction (personal communication, October 22, 2012).

The list of expectations typically matched that of the pedagogical practices of the teacher, reiterating the message that a student director needs to have some type of tenure in order to achieve this type of responsibility. For Harper’s classroom, she requires her advanced students to participate in speech and debate to learn the acting side of theatre. The senior projects for theatre are a clear indication of this division, as well as giving preference for upper classman into the production class. Even Ellesha mentioned how students at her school will only work with students who demonstrate motivation for learning, and the newer theatre students lack this motivation. She also mentioned how preference is given toward her more advanced students over other students in the school:

> For the plays that I direct, all of my theatre students can audition, technically anyone in performing arts can audition, but there are not any students who are going to come in and get a role over my advanced acting class (personal communication, December 3, 2012).

Harper is in charge of the student council as well as theatre on her campus. She mentioned that a lot of her students in theatre are also in her student council. Harper commented that there were neither class distinctions nor stereotypes at this school, but
personally—as a substitute teacher of this school for the past four years—I can share that students have a clear division of lower classmen and upperclassmen. In their free time, the students at Val Verde High School tend to group themselves by skill and age. Between classes, many of the older students already have social bonds, and joke around and have fun with one another. The newer students have a tendency to place their bags on the outer wall and stay busy with cell phones, seeming disconnected by observation.

**Rules and regulations.** The second element that can be found in the theatre classroom is the hidden curriculum of rules and regulations. For a theatre classroom, it may seem like there are not many defined rules. Madelynn noted that her colleagues do not see her classroom as being very conducive to learning in that they do not have the same type of rules, rewards, and regulations that other classes have. Instead, it is quite the contrary. The type of rules and regulations that the theatre teachers have in the classroom are the same as the administration and school rules. They abide by the same rules, but they are imposed a little differently. Rather than sitting quietly behind a desk and doing work, theatre students must work the system to not get caught if they are breaking the rules. These students have learned that when the teacher is not around, rules and regulations are looser, as long as they are not caught. In one observation, the teacher sent students to practice their scenes in the hallway. Each group of students had a student director and a small cast. One group went into the hallway and began to rehearse their scene. When I came out to observe, they were sitting on the floor discussing another student’s relationship. The students seemed unaffected by my presence and even included me in their discussion showing me the picture. This is an example of how the students know the rules and regulations and “act” the part:
Female student A: Hey, so, uh, is he gonna ask today?

Female student B: (blushes and laughs, picks up cell phone) He already did this to my mom’s car (shows a picture of flowers on the student’s mother’s car).

Group: (huddling in to see picture) Aw.

Male student A: Such a dope.

Female student A: Whatever, that’s so romantic. (male student A rolls eyes).

Male student A: (rolls eyes and places ear bud in ear)

Female student B: I think we’re gonna go on Friday to go get a dress, you guys should come, I was thinking like blue, like baby blue . . .

Teacher enters the hallway to check on students.

Teacher: How’s it going out here? Come on guys (signals students to sit up, snaps)

Female student A: We’re good, everyone knows what they’re doing (male student A slips ear bud out of ear and into pocket).

Male student A: Ya, we were just gonna run it again.

Teacher: Okay, let me know if you need anything, I’m watching you (to the boy with the ear buds).

Group: Okay, thank you (everyone starts to pull out their scripts).

Teacher leaves. Everyone puts down their script and resumes the conversation.

Female student A: I like blue, but I think I want like a bright pink, or like kelly green or something (Field Note, November 7, 2012).
This conversation continues without the students running the scene once for the next 20 minutes that I sat in the hallway. The students here have learned that when an authority figure enters the hallway, conversation stops, and they must obey school rules and “act” like they’re acting. These students have learned to conform to school rules, understanding the punishment that may happen if they do not finagle the system. They have also learned that when they conform to school rules, there is a reward system in place. This system looks a little different than the gold star on the sticker board—for theatre, the reward is performance. One teacher notes:

my advanced actors, they all want is to have a part in the play. If you want to have a part in the play, Ms. Mosure is only going to cast you if you have a work ethic, if you’re learning the things, if you’re doing your work in class. So when we talk about how we get my advanced acting class to this level, it’s because of the prize at the end of the tunnel, because they want to perform, for the main productions.

(personal communication, December 7, 2012).

**Respect for authority.** The third element of the hidden curriculum found in the theatre classroom is the respect for authority. The students in theatre learn to respect the authority of the teacher, regardless. Students justify where they are going and why, and still are required to do as the teacher says. When the teacher needs to make modifications to students’ behavior, she employs multiple teaching strategies. In one instance, when a student dropped a line, Madelynn smacked her hand on the ground and said, “Come on, let’s go.” In another instance, her approach was much more direct, directly looking at the student, saying:
Teacher: I know what you’re doing.

Student A: Oh, I was just writing some things.

Teacher: Come on guys, let’s wake up.

Student B assists Student A in finding her place in the script. Student A begins to read her line.

Madelynn displays disdain for how the auditorium is treated, and this is transferred to her students, who then in turn learn the lesson that you have to conform to rules and regulations even if you do not agree with them. Her administration clearly has lack of respect for her program or they would have set clear rules on the use of the space.

The juxtaposition of how beginning theatre and advanced theatre are run appears to be a form of training for the students. Students are taught who is in control; this can be seen even in the layout of the rooms. In one classroom, the advanced theatre students were engaged in a circle reading a script, and when scenes were acted out they were up and about. But when it came time for beginning theatre, the teacher asked the students to “prepare the room for beginning theatre” (see Figure 1.3). This type of classroom layout mirrors that of most other classrooms. This teacher even commented that this is what she thinks most of her colleagues see as real learning. The assumption of the students that learning takes place in an organized, regimented class is how the theatre teachers go along with the way they have been socialized to authority. There is a particular set of rules that they have already learned, and therefore continue to see this type of layout in beginning theatre. The theatre teacher in this environment (beginning theatre) holds a different demeanor, that of authority and control.
Sometimes in the advanced class, it did seem as though the teacher took more of a participant role, or at other times a laissez-faire style of teaching. She included herself in the circle (see Figure 1.4). However, even within the circle, the teacher gave a strong presence of authority; in other words, this collaborative environment still had the teacher as a strong figurehead. She would often bring off-topic chatter back down by saying, “come on guys” or “okay, let’s get back on track.”
This is often a common practice of theatre practitioners, and can be seen as a way of socializing students to the more collaborative nature of theatre. But to sociologists, this can also be seen as a way of controlling student behavior. The circle acts as an ensemble builder, creating a community environment, but within the circle students still have to maintain a level of respect for the teacher (and others), asking for permission and giving an explanation of when they need to go do something. The students in both classes showed respect for the authority of the theatre teacher by raising their hands to ask permission or, in some cases, a gentle knock on the door. The students did have to ask for permission to go to the bathroom, see the school nurse, or work in specific areas.

Acceptance of repetition. To theatre teachers, rehearsal or repetition of a show is required to achieve a successful opening night. But what of the students who are not on stage? The students that are sewing costumes, cleaning dressing rooms, and painting flats are also performing repetitive tasks that prepare them for the “real world.” Real world preparation, to these teachers, consists of preparation for the work force. But what
type of work force? According to a Marxist’s perspective, this would be the preparation for participation in the capitalist economy. In some cases, this means preparing students not only to participate in a team, but learning to cope with down time. During many of the rehearsals I observed, many students chose to text friends, gossip with one another, or in one instance do each other’s hair. This acceptance of mundane and repetitive tasks prepares students for real world experiences in the current economy. Most working class jobs involve mundane and repetitive tasks, and this type of reiteration in the theatre classroom highlights how these students are being shaped for a particular kind of work.
Chapter 5
DISCUSSION

According to functionalists, education contributes to both the manifest and latent functions of education. Some hidden curriculum messages promote things like respect for elders and are considered by functionalists to be a necessary feature of the socialization process of high school (see Figure 2.0). This can also create cultural capital. This is because society seeks to reward those who possess higher cultural capital—in this case, provide valuable experience and building confidence in those students who have privileges and responsibilities bestowed upon them. Cultural capital cannot seek to reward anyone as it is just a concept, but if it functions as a measure of value, then a group of people would reward those who have more cultural capital.

Figure 2.0. Theatre students. These theatre students aren’t just learning to sing and dance; they are being socialized to norms like teamwork, respect for authority, and conformity.
(Photo courtesy of shutterstock.com)

School and classroom rituals regularly reinforce what society expects from students. Functional sociologists describe this as the hidden curriculum, the informal teaching done by schools.
This study has shown the various features of the hidden curriculum and how the pedagogical practices of theatre teachers continue to support societal structures. The question arises: for whom and for what purpose do these tacit messages serve? This question has been considered through many theoretical perspectives—functionalism, Marxism, and feminism, to name a few. Functionalists ground themselves in the necessary socialization process of schooling, and see the hidden curriculum as a means for producing correct behaviors for students after high school. This can also be seen at work in the theatre classroom. For example, theatre students learn to respect their elders, have respect for authority, obey laws, arrive on time, and have respect for law enforcement. For functionalists, this hidden curriculum taught through the theatre teacher’s tacit messages is a necessary social control agent.

Marxists, on the other hand, have a different view of the purpose of this hidden curriculum. They view the process much more negatively and as having insidious intentions. They view the hidden curriculum as reproducing workers (proletariats) for the purpose of continuing the capitalist market. This view sees the worker as an empty shell that submits to the bourgeois class. This can be seen in the theatre classroom as well—for example, the daily task that theatre teachers assign for a show. Sewing costumes, painting flats, and memorization of lines could be considered a hidden curriculum that is designed to teach students how to accept mundane tasks and how to deal with boredom, preparing them for jobs in the work force.

Feminism views the hidden curriculum as a means of perpetuating gendered stereotypes. For the large population of females that do take theatre, it was noticed in
observations that the only two individuals who were allowed to work the pneumatic tool
guns were both senior males. During this study, no boys were present in the dressing
room or costume room when assignments were given to clean up after a show.

“Producing” Inequalities

The hidden curriculum strives to create conformity, obedience, and perpetuate
ideology. Schools legitimize inequality through practices such as culturally biased
curricula and pedagogy that privileges middle-class discourse (Apple 1993; Delpit 1988;
Heath 1983; Kozol 1991). When society dictates a particular type of socialization
process, sometimes what seems appropriate for the masses is not fair for every student
involved. Schools are designed primarily for students in the dominant cultural group—
e.g., European-American, heterosexual, middle and upper middle class, able-bodied, and
male (hooks, 1994). Gramsci points out that “schools teach the knowledge that seems
uniquely suited to maintain the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in this
society” (Apple, 2004, p. 41). This is similar to the discourse that is connected with the
No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation (No Child Left Behind [NCLB], 2002).
Additionally, when only two types of subjects are tested (English and math originally),
then students deem other subjects such as history, art, theatre, civics, music, and physical
education not “worth knowing” (Guilfoyle as cited in Marsh, 1992, p. 5). What type of
knowledge is of most worth? Additionally, students that perform well typify a particular
social class. The selective tradition (Williams, 1973) has set us with ideas of hidden
messages that “teach us to believe that domination is ‘natural,’ that it is right for the
strong to rule over the weak, the powerful over the powerless” (hooks, 1994, p. 28).
Theatre teachers praise themselves for resisting the larger culture of school and work to equalize education and social issues in society. Some theatre teachers use their advanced acting class as an opportunity to perform “Theatre of the Oppressed” (Boal, 1979) and to discuss important social issues in their class (Boal, 1992, Spolin, 1999). One teacher said, “they really really really enjoy it at that level, and we really learn some interesting things” (personal communication, October 22, 2012). However, even with the use of things like participatory theatre, image theatre, invisible theatre, newspaper theatre, rainbow theatre, documentary theatre, and playback theatre, reproduction of inequality can still happen. Sometimes this inequality can be embedded in tacit messages of the theatre teacher’s hidden curriculum. This includes things like the social structures of the classroom, the teacher’s exercise of authority, rules governing the relationship between teachers and students, standard learning activities, the teacher’s use of language, furnishings, architecture, disciplinary measures, timetables, and curricular priorities (Martin as cited in Giroux & Purpel, 1983).

The theatre teacher at Val Verde High School gave me a tour of the facilities at the school. At one point we walked by a display of past theatre productions. On display were charming pictures of shows, goofy cast pictures, and funny backstage antics. There was a sea of playbills and marketing posters from past shows, and small mementos attached to some of the poster boards. Some of the memorabilia (playbills, pictures, posters, etc.) had faded and were dilapidated, and some looked like they were done with the highest of professionalism. The plays ranged from Footloose to Beauty and the Beast to Oklahoma to Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat. What I noticed was a
pattern across the cast pictures. The lively vivacious cast in each picture all looked alarmingly homogenized; almost all the students were white. I looked back to see if I had missed something. However, I found very few ethnic minorities in any of the pictures. Not asking anything about it, the theatre teacher began to tell me about her casting process, “I don’t precast; okay, in my big main stage, it’s open to the school (shrugs shoulders).” She continues:

Before we can pick a play or a musical, I have to have a pool of kids who can do it. I can’t do Les Misérables and have nobody who can sing opera. You know, who doesn’t have that legit training? I can’t do My Fair Lady, unless I have a few kids in my pool who can play Eliza Doolittle or Professor Higgins. You know or Beauty and the Beast you know someone who can carry a Belle or a Beast. You know, you have to have in your brain, I have kids, but I don’t go in going, okay she’s going to be Belle, and he’s gonna be Beast. You know I just have to know that I have kids who can fit that role. (personal communication, November 7, 2012)

So, who can fit those roles? Are these shows, in a school that serves a large Hispanic population, culturally biased? As the tour continued, Harper pulled me over to a quiet part of the room where the students could not hear her. By this time, it was after school hours and various students were moseying in and out of the theatre classroom. She then went on to say she could never produce a show like West Side Story. When I asked why not, she exclaimed that she “couldn’t get the Mexicans to come out and audition, and if there were a few kids that did come out, they hardly stay through the whole show and miss tons of rehearsals. It’s like a cultural thing” (Field Notes, November 7, 2012). It
seemed like she did not want to deal with some type of problem and quickly moved on with the tour. At Val Verde High School, the population of students that identify themselves as Hispanic is 45% of 3,419 students. That is roughly 1,539 students (and rising) that this teacher says she could not sway to auditioning for *West Side Story*.

Meador (2005) found that when girls expressed their Mexican ethnicity and heritage in a positive way, status among peers remained low (p. 161). Meador might suggest that what is happening is that Harper’s difficulty in identifying with cultures other than her own creates a culturally biased curriculum. A white, middle-class female who operates in a diverse neighborhood cannot solicit students of a different culture to audition for her productions. I find this prospect alarming and unsettling.

In the article, “*Survival*: A White Teacher’s Conception of Drama with Inner-City Hispanic Youth,” Saldaña (1997) found out how white middle-class female teachers deal with culture shock. The teacher studied was Nancy, a white teacher at a predominantly Hispanic urban school. Nancy went through what is called cultural shock and had to learn how to navigate the culture. “We must learn to adjust, adapt, and function cross-culturally. Like Nancy, we should try and understand other perspectives and strive to be ‘damn human’” (p. 45). The important message is one that resonates with bell hooks’ message: inner change for social change (hooks, 1994). Is this theatre teacher striving to understand the “other” perspective? How can casting a predominantly white play in a large Hispanic community produce inequality?

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10 This study won the 1996 American Alliance for Theatre Education (AATE) Research Award.
In the circus, girls practice on the daring trapeze so that it appears both easy and enticing. But there is other danger in this act. Two young Mexican girls, exotic in their otherness, watch a beautiful white woman on the bar above. The girls gaze upon an attainable ideal as the white audience, their assumptions of gender and ethnicity affirmed by the circus, gazes upon them (Gonzalez, 2006, p. 69).

Indeed, it appears that casting has effects on others. For me, this is an important message for theatre teachers to take away from this study. Sometimes the process for maintaining and propagating a dominant culture can reproduce hegemony and produce inequalities for race, class, and gender. When the formal curriculum is geared toward a race, gender, class, and able-bodied standpoint (hooks, 1994), within the hidden curriculum lay the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the dominant culture. Weiler (1987), in *Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class & Power*, argues that “children whose subcultural knowledge most nearly matches the valued knowledge of the educational system will tend to be most successful . . . thus the children of the dominant classes appear to be successful in school because of their natural intelligence, whereas in reality they rise because they already know what is valued” (p. 10). This is interesting when we consider student involvement in the theatre teacher’s programs. *The students that tend to be more successful in theatre class appear to fit dominant ideology.*

Students at this school repeat the same politically charged racial discourse that is propagated from Arizona politics. Students during this time in school are going through important identity formation\(^{11}\), and typically will gravitate toward parental

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\(^{11}\) Identity versus Confusion is a developmental concept of Erik Erikson’s Psychosocial Developmental Theory. During adolescence, children begin to explore their sense of self. Those who receive the proper
viewpoints, clustering themselves into groups of similar attitudes, values, and beliefs.
One anonymous student exclaims, “It’s an old school that’s over populated with
Mexicans,” and this perspective continues throughout much of the student body. Many
view the school as a “gang school,” and it has been in the paper for student drug
violations and overdoses. Some may attribute these problems to the administration. The
lackadaisical administration was noted by one:

   Communications are entirely lacking, can’t get anyone on phone to discuss
issues… Teachers constantly complain they lose teaching days, yet admin would
not come in a few days prior to deal with issues to keep situation from happening.
They don’t respond to phone calls. Students on special programs left stranded with
no transportation, school calls telling you your child is skipping, after validating
and verifying with teachers. It takes me driving to school, taking the principal to
class to where my child is sitting! (online parent review, December 2012).

A Cultural “Capital” Thing

The theatre teacher’s words echoed in my head; she was making the argument
that she could never produce a culturally relevant play, saying, “it’s a cultural thing” that
students would not audition for her show. The teacher’s ability to create culturally
relevant productions for her Hispanic students is directly related to her inability to build
cultural competence. Milner (2011) found similar results when a white male science
teacher in a predominantly black urban school tried to connect with his students. The
science teacher found better results connecting with the students when the teacher began
to listen and hear his students (p. 80). For tenured theatre teachers, stagnation in

encouragement and reinforcement through this stage experience independence, while those who do not
begin to feel insecure.
pedagogy can support inequality within their programs. The teacher’s attitudes, values, and beliefs prevent populations of students from auditioning for shows due to an inability to produce or connect culturally relevant material, forging a hidden curriculum of dominance based on misunderstanding. This leads to favoritism and marginalization. The other problem is that when minorities are represented in plays, they are represented as spoofs and stereotypes in common theatre productions. This becomes a point of contingency for ethnic minority high school students who do not wish to identify with the mockery of their identity. The minority students of color are resisting performing for the teacher due to the lack of culturally relevant material, not because they are not interested in theatre. Another teacher at Val Verde, claimed the Hispanic population at this school does not usually participate in after school programs, and shared that the girls are “just concerned with their quinceañeras” (Field Note, November 7, 2012). For the theatre teacher at Val Verde, she does not see that the Hispanic students want to participate in the program: “why try?” This teacher was from a well-to-do white middle-class family. She has a standard of what theatre is to her, yet she prides herself on having students from all “walks of life.” The following is an example of how she claims she does not have cliques in her program:

I took these kids over to the Jr. High and I said these are [name of the school] kids, if you’re on swim team stand up, if you’re on the football team stand up, if you’re in dance stand up, if you’re in choir stand up, if you’re in orchestra stand up, if you’re in art stand up, if you’re not in a club right now cause you’re still trying to figure out what you want to do stand up. They represent, like, every aspect of [school name] and I don’t know how I made it happen but I did and I am so grateful; are there cliques at [school name], I’m sure there are, but I don’t have cliques in my program. (personal communication, November 7, 2012).
Most of the students that she mentioned all participated in after school programs that are geared toward middle-class students. These students do not have after school commitments or financial responsibilities, and have support from family members for extra-curricular activities. These are students who can stay after school—who have parents that can drive them to and from school activities. It is presumed that these students make the time commitment to their education.

Students also come to school with certain experiences, habitus\textsuperscript{12}, which make the experience not fair for all other students (Apple, 1993). Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital as the implicit knowledge learned from the environment that provides an advantage in society. This knowledge is typically learned from parents to help children succeed in school. Students of middle-class parents are advantaged because schools privilege the social, economic, and cultural capital they bring with them.

These students have often attended nursery schools, have access to piano lessons and computers, and in general have been exposed and continue to be exposed to enriching social experiences throughout their school career, developing a reservoir of cultural and social resources. The skills, knowledge, and cultural grammar middle-class students from the dominant culture acquire via such exposure gives them an advantage in decoding and moving comfortably about the school system. By taking for granted such knowledge and treating it as equivalent to “talent” or “intelligence,” schools perpetuate an uneven distribution of cultural

\textsuperscript{12}“Bringing to school a characteristic class ‘habitus’ or a system of social meanings and understandings. Habitus derived from family environments may or may not contain the ‘cultural capital’ or ‘symbolic wealth’ that makes educational success a likely outcome” (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 73 as cited in Margolis, 2001).
capital as well as economic capital. In the process, they endorse and normalize particular types of knowledge, ways of speaking, styles, meanings, dispositions, and worldviews. (Margolis, 2001, p. 7)

The fulfillment of one’s education is closely linked to social class. Students of low socioeconomic status are generally not afforded the same opportunities as students of higher status, no matter how great their academic ability or desire to learn.

Val Verde High School is unique, in that it is split between working-class families and middle-class families. I struck up a conversation with one girl, Maria, outside the theatre room and inquired about the plays at the school. She said, “they were cool, really good.” I asked her if she was in any of the shows; she shook her head no. I inquired as to why, and she told me the following story about why she never auditioned:

The week of the audition, she was given a monologue to prepare for the Friday audition. Early in the week she has to babysit her two little brothers, twins, while her single mom had to work. Her brothers are very young and require a lot of attention as their father left before the boys were born, and is nowhere to help. The days she’s not babysitting, she has a job, which requires late hours; sometimes she does not even have time for homework (or memorizing the monologue for the audition). Maria says that her mother tried to help, but didn’t understand all the words as English is her second language. Maria had a hard time memorizing the material herself, she said, “sometimes I just don’t know what is going on, so I make it up.” They do not have a computer at home to help look up the play, the troubling words, or review what the play is even about. Unprepared,
afraid, and defeated she sat in the audience. She said the other students “were like freakin’ professionals” and ended up leaving the house never to audition. (Field Notes, November 9, 2012).

This example shows how working-class students who want to participate in theatre may not be afforded the opportunity because they lack the cultural capital; they have to deal with helping out at home, contributing financially to help pay bills, and may not have the support from family members. The current education system supports students of a higher social class, because those students have learned how to navigate the current system which reproduces one particular social class. The teacher in this school commented on what she expects students to know in an audition: “a prepared monologue, and understand how to deliver a monologue, and find the dynamics” (personal communication, November 7, 2012).

According to Bourdieu, this leads to social class reproduction. Since schools are influenced by dominant culture, middle class values are typically reproduced as American ideals. The hidden curriculum of theatre education rewards those who possess cultural capital. Students who find success in theatre programs have acquired nonacademic knowledge through informal learning and cultural transmission.

The “Real” World

Theatre people are the greatest managers in the world. We collect a group of strangers to take an idea from inspiration to realization on a fixed budget and fixed schedule. No matter the bump in the road, the show must go on. We deliver. (Baily, 2009)
According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), schools have built a strong sense of competition into the curriculum; grades and evaluations are an example. They assert that while children in school practice teamwork, they are preparing for experiences where they must use their cooperation skills. The theatre teachers would say the hidden curriculum of theatre prepares students for the adult world or, in this case, the “real” world. Out of all the themes that arose from the data set, the theme of work rose to the fore. The word “work” was mentioned in all three interviews over 100 times total by the respondents. The term was used in reference to work ethics, preparation for work, and learning work skills. The theme of work was so powerful for one teacher that she quoted Teaching Improvisation: A Practical Classroom Guide for Theatre Educators by James Bailey (2009). She went on to explain that

I am trying to help students learn to be creative, how to be independent leaders and learners, manage projects, manage time, how to work with their peers, how to recognize their strengths and weaknesses and how to go about working on those things. (personal communication, October 22, 2012)

Another teacher referred to her program as a “business” and she is the “boss.” The students who auditioned for shows were wanted in her class so she could control their grades, deducting marks if they were in a production and did not attend rehearsals. She speaks to theatre skills:

A lot of the skills that they are learning in here transferred to the other classes, and I think they want to learn these things, because they see an absolute tangible benefit in the end. I just think that helps a lot, because with the kids I always hear, “I’m never
gonna use that” and so if I point out this is real life application, you can do this when you do this, this, and that. (personal communication, December 8, 2012)

The emphasis on preparing students for vocational work was so strong that each teacher spent time explaining how important it was to them. Based on the theory of Bowles and Gintis, the competition in the theatre program, hierarchical divisions of labor in the theatre program, and the bureaucratic authority prepare students with the skills and attitudes needed for future stratified work in a capitalistic society. One teacher mentioned that “cleanliness and punctuality” were important to her, while another noted that “helping students learn how to conduct themselves in an interview is an important skill that students come back and thank me for” (personal communication, November 7, 2012). The assumption is that these students are being groomed for a certain type of work, and to enter the work force with the skills and cultural capital necessary to navigate society. This may seem to be a functionalist perspective, but a neo-Marxist approach would argue that while preparation for the work force can be a function of schooling, the student’s social class, race, and gender have an effect on determining the type of experience the student will encounter. Since work is so important to these teachers after student graduation, I have to question what type of work. Apple (1979) makes the argument that students are taught both low-status knowledge and high-status knowledge. In each of these cases the students in each of the programs were accepted as the “career-oriented bourgeoisie” (Apple, 1986), and the lower income students at the ethnically diverse school were excluded from high-status knowledge. The hidden curriculum adds to inequality and stratification of class structure, and the theatre curriculum is not free from this inequality.
Implications and Future Recommendations

The theatre class is controlled by hegemonic forces and the hidden curriculum of theatre becomes less apparent to those who are controlled by external forces—e.g., the standards, policy, and school rules. Apple writes that “schools teach the knowledge that seems uniquely suited to maintain the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in this society” (Apple, 2004, p. 41). Theatre teachers have to consider that they may perpetuate this ideal within the classroom. For the theatre classroom, there are a number of areas that have a hierarchy within the social class structure of the high school. These areas subliminally, “teach us to believe that domination is ‘natural,’ that it is right for the strong to rule over the weak” (hooks, 1994, p. 28). Those who are oppressed to the dominant ideology undergo exclusion, isolation, frustration, anger, powerlessness and hopelessness. According to hooks, this applies psychosomatic pressure on students to discard their cultural thought as “inferior” so as to be more successful in this capitalistic and meritocratic society. Multiple dynamics are competing in the theatre environment. 

The theatre provides a place for some students to find refuge from normative discourse, while at the same time becoming marginalized for joining.

The implications of this study serve to generate a dialogue among theatre practitioners. There is no point in drawing substantive conclusions from these three case studies if all it would do is propagate a misunderstanding. Looking at the dynamics of the perspectives does not provide a middle point, but are meant to ignite a conversation about how we are influenced and who we are influencing. Grady (2000) poses the question, “How can various theoretical lenses help us connect ‘thinking’ and ‘doing’ and move us
closer to an embodied practice of pluralism in drama and theatre work?” (p. 154). Becoming self-conscious of the hidden curriculum will “intentionally place our attention and bring assumptions to the foreground instead of keeping them hidden” (p. 154). For theatre teachers and drama practitioners, to accept an ethos of awareness requires acceptance of their hidden curriculum, resistance to what it produces, and imagination to transform their pedagogy.

We must continue to deconstruct. This study offers an often-neglected perspective of the hidden curriculum in theatre education. Theatre teachers should ask what they teach unintentionally and how, by adopting an ethos of awareness, we may seek to reinforce valuable process messages and diminish undesirable ones. For future studies related to this work, it would be valuable to gain student insight and use a dialogical perspective for analysis. Boal writes, “Equally the human being is a rational creature, it knows things, it is capable of thinking, of understanding, and of making mistakes” (Boal, 1995, p. 30). The students’ agency plays a larger role in determining their outcome in the socialization process. This provides the student with more agency in the study, rather than the pessimistic perspective that neo-Marxism can produce. Theatre teachers have a dynamic position in the education sector and can actively employ change, equality, and hope.

There are numerous drama pedagogies that aim to liberate both the learner and the teacher in the educational process. While the focus is to bring enlightenment and challenge ideology, the fact remains that many theatre educators still are forced to teach
in a system that produces inequalities. There is a body of evidence that shows how student engagement in the arts develops critical thinking and intellectual skills that apply to other subject matter (Newmann 2000; Upitis and Smithrim, 2003).

When students have the tools for critical and intellectual thinking, they have the ability to transform (Martin, 1976). This leads to an important discussion about the role of power within the classroom. How do we move the discussion without awareness? I do not think that the discourse can change overnight. However, I do think that some common practices in teacher preparation programs can begin to generate a dialogue about the stagnation which marginalizes students. Teacher prep programs are aimed at producing teachers who can generate the results required of local and federal regulations. The ideology that is dominating these curricula can be changed at the administrative and political level. More immediately, prep courses can incorporate hidden curriculum awareness training.

At the micro level, change needs to begin with the teacher. Lack of awareness of how the hidden curriculum can affect students seemed to be one of the main themes that arose in this study. An assumption was made by all teachers in these programs that theatre is an agent of change and fights dominant discourse; however, what actually appeared to be happening was the perpetuation of the existing socialization process. It does not matter if teachers have to practice within the parameters of a system that seems to produce these inequalities; they do not have to produce the inequalities themselves. For example, theatre teachers can recognize that play selection can affect participation—and
if we want students to be given the opportunity to think critically and mobilize as active agents of change, they cannot be divided into categories that marginalize them or prevent them from achieving their personal goals. Torok (2007) writes

The reproduction of the underclass of disadvantaged students can be challenged through transformative pedagogy that gainsays the hegemony of dominant practices and resilient institutions, and adapts to the local context in a fluid and dynamic fashion. This in turn can prevent students from being exposed to a hidden curriculum of low expectations and despair, excluding them from high status knowledge. (p. 77)

What is necessary, then, is an ethos of awareness and acceptance that everyone has a hidden curriculum, and that not all hidden curricula are positive. Theatre teachers need to bridge out of the traditional ways of teaching and producing shows, which can perpetuate class stratification and marginalize students, and begin to rethink how theatre programs are designed and shaped. Teaching the theatre curriculum critically is an important step: “uncritical teaching leads to the maintenance of the existing ideology” (Ghosh, 2008, p. 28). Learning blocks in teacher prep programs that look at how teaching affects students is a start, but this should not end with teacher prep programs—awareness also needs to spread to seasoned teachers. The seasoned teachers are perhaps the worst perpetrators of the lack of awareness of their hidden curriculum. Districts should provide awareness training on the hidden curriculum to all arts teachers, regardless of tenure. Let us imagine a reawakening that moves our subject toward liberation, and not submission to dominant ideology.


Conclusion

The epistemology of the word pedagogy is derived from the Greek word paidagōgos, which translates into boy leader, a slave servant who took children to school. This leader was tasked with various responsibilities in ancient Greece. The paidagōgos was charged with watching and teaching the children from a servitude position within the household (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010). The paidagōgos is juxtaposed between a dependent reality on the master and contrived power over the children. This dichotomy continues to play out in current theatre pedagogical roles. The dependency is on the administration for work, and the contrived power is over the theatre program. Theatre teachers have specialized in navigating this role, balancing power and dependency. Becoming liminal specialists, theatre teachers develop a strong sense of leadership while maintaining what society dictates as appropriate for the student’s theatre education.

Just as their students have learned to navigate the hidden curriculum, theatre teachers have learned to operate within the pretense of controlled art-making in their productions. Is it not about the students? In reality, teachers are confined to the ideologies of administration, parents, students, and the community.

The learning states of docility and conformity, competitiveness and unending consumption, which are said to belong to the hidden curriculum of public schooling in the United States today, are certainly not the products of that schooling alone. Who can doubt that family, church, community organizations, place of work, and the media have all combined to produce them? (Martin, 1976, p. 147)

These tensions make it difficult for a teacher to navigate. A type of symbiotic relationship emerges and exists for the singular reason, to reproduce. While theatre
teachers thrive within their individual power as leaders in their own classes, their roles and functions are controlled by what society dictates as appropriate material to produce. This limits the type of playwriting that students explore, material that theatre teachers produce; advantages and privileges are given to students, stereotypes are perpetrated, along with the continued marginalization of students.

But a theatre classroom cannot exist without the hidden curriculum. Society will always maintain and reproduce societal structures. There is not a vortex that exists in which a theatre can practice outside the realm of the hidden curriculum, and therein lays the caveat. Theatre teachers, especially seasoned ones, pride themselves on award winning programs, elite productions, diverse classrooms, elimination of stereotypes, and act void of all negative effects of a hidden curriculum. The claim is that *we don’t stereotype.*

Operating under a disillusioned canopy, theatre pedagogy disguises itself as counter-hegemonic discourse but, in reality, is *pedagogical hypocrisy.* The pedagogue, as discussed earlier, is a leader. The theatre teacher is the leader of more than just subject matter. They have the opportunity to structure their classrooms to produce counter-hegemonic discourse, which can move the field toward a critically responsive theatre. Moving away from the production, to social responsibility, can pave the way for future critically responsive theatre. For some, this may seem scary, to create a critically conscious department. Creating a successful money making production, which highlights your skill as an artist, and keeps administrators happy, does seem easier and safer to maintain a job. How do you change someone’s ideology? You don’t. You can rarely change someone else’s ideology—especially a seasoned theatre teacher’s.
I could outline a theatre curriculum that describes best practices in theatre education that places emphasis on the awareness of the hidden curriculum. But that would be futile. Creating any type of rigid framework, rules, or philosophy for an educator places the theatre teacher in another dependent relationship. The dependency and enslavement to the new model of theatre pedagogy allows the theatre teacher power over his or her program. Any new framework, rules, or philosophy of theatre pedagogy would only allow the theatre teacher to slide into pedagogical hypocrisy once again.

To not fall under the perilous spectator category that Rancière writes about, theatre teachers have to navigate their pedagogical hypocrisy through acknowledgement and dialogue about the issues that are perpetrated in theatre education. They cannot just sit on the sideline and expect change. A dialogue can only be the beginning, for if teachers simply ignore hidden curriculums, then critical consciousness becomes a distant ideal.

A critically responsive theatre program needs to maintain that all parts of the program are always up for reimagination. To represent a post-secular pedagogy is to create a counter-narrative to what society dictates. To replicate a counter-normative pedagogy is still pedagogical hypocrisy—a teacher is fighting against multiple forces— not only his or her own ideology, but the students’ own ecology. A hidden curriculum remains hidden because society keeps it there. To reimagine a structure that is so embedded in our society is to reimagine some utopia. I do not propose an entirely new Illich schooling method, but suggest we go beyond the rhetoric that can isolate and arrest ideology. I challenge theatre teachers to always be wrong, every time, all the time. A theatre teacher is independent and dependent. The tension between the two can create teachers that become defensive if anyone tries to change or challenge their pedagogy.
Opening oneself up to the possibility that they harvest and reproduce dominant ideology can allow them to reimagine a theatre program that is not run by the hegemony of theatrical production. The possibility that a theatre program can produce shows for students during school hours, allowing disenfranchised students the ability to participate, is only one example of what a progressive critically responsive theatre could look like. Open playwriting up to topics that do not forge stereotypes, but rather break them.

The strong independent work of theatre teachers creates a hardened ethos, which replicates structures of societies, even if they reproduce inequality. Theatre teachers still work within the confines of a system that replicates domination. Adopting a critically responsive theatre requires the teacher to place value in the learning experience for the teacher and the student. The caveat is what the teacher deems as important may be laden with social proprieties that disenfranchise youth are effected, which may reap the effects of the hidden curriculum. What ensues is rhetoric of hegemonic discourse that the teachers repeat; therefore, they are submissive to “act” in someone else’s show.

Theatre teachers have learned to navigate and survive in the system. Even if they uncover their own hidden curriculum, the structure of society will not allow them to operate outside the realm of the hidden curriculum they are bound to. Therein lies the true hidden curriculum of theatre education. *The theatrical ties that bind are the confines of the structure of society and a critically unaware teacher, perpetuating pedagogical hypocrisy.*

A theatre classroom can never be void of a hidden curriculum, for if it was, there would be no ideology, per se. What we can focus our attention on is the reproduction of stereotypes (playwriting and casting), promoting to outside communities, communication with the community, and letting go of control. Moving forward as a field, playwrights should focus their efforts on creating real characters, not caricatures of stereotypes, and
directors should steer clear of line readings (they can lead to personal interpretation and bias of the directors), select culturally relevant material, employ blind casting, and seek to improve pedagogy with critical awareness training. Theatre teachers can begin a dialogue in professional development workshops that encourage the same type of discourse. Replacing the theatre teachers’ mentality of the one person show and chancing being wrong will help transfer the power of the theatre teacher to empowerment of the students.

Theatre teachers must take a proactive role to identify the implicit and unspoken curricular issues extant in their classrooms in order to interpret and modify them into positive attributes. Becoming introspective and allowing theatre to become a space for collective action supports both the theatre teacher and the student. The message that I hope this dissertation carries is that nobody is safe from the implications of the hidden curriculum; this includes the kindest, most well-meaning, student-favored teachers in the world. We must carry forth a strong sense of urgency and commit to not make assumptions about our students, avoid falling into stereotypic patterns of behavior, and strive to not treat students differently based on race, gender, and social class.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A

TEACHER PARTICIPATION SOLICITATION
Theatre Teacher Participant Solicitation

Hello, my name is Angela Hines and I am a doctoral candidate at ASU conducting research in the field of theatre education under the direction of Johnny Saldaña. I am looking for volunteer teachers to interview to gather their perceptions about the hidden curriculum within the theatre classroom. I know your time is valuable, and would only need about an hour of your time. I can come at any hour throughout the day to conduct the interview, and can be extremely flexible around your busy schedule.

As you know, conducting research in the field of Theatre Education is an invaluable resource for future drama educators, and your contribution/opinion would be greatly appreciated. All interview material would be kept confidential as well as pseudonyms used on all documents to protect anonymity. My study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and has been found exempt in accordance with Federal Regulations 45CFR46.101(b)(2).

At your earliest convenience, please let me know if you are able and willing to provide an interview for this study. I thank you for time and appreciate your contribution that you are already making to the field of theatre education. Please email me at ahines@asu.edu at your earliest convenience if you are able and willing to participate in this study.

Thank you and I look forward to hopefully meeting you,

Angela Hines
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this is to provide you (as a prospective research study participant) information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research and to record the consent of those who agree to be involved in the study.

RESEARCHERS

My name is Angela Hines, who is under the direction of Professor Johnny Saldaña as the principal investigator with the College of Education at Arizona State University, and has invited your participation in a research study.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to see how the hidden curriculum manifests in theatre education programs at the secondary educational level. This study will aim its focus on determining what emerging themes arise out of the data collected.

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH STUDY

If you decide to participate, then you will join a study involving research of curriculum in theatre high school programs. This is a comparative analysis of three different schools to see if there are variances in the programs.

If you say YES, then your participation will last for 1 hour at (your school). The researcher request time in the classroom to make observations of the teacher’s pedagogical practices. Approximately three programs will be participating in this study locally.
**RISKS**

There are no known risks from taking part in this study, but in any research, there is some possibility that you may be subject to risks that have not yet been identified.

**BENEFITS**

Although there may be no direct benefits to you, the possible benefits of your participation in the research are satisfactory of helping future curriculum move in a more positive fashion for drama curriculum.

**CONFIDENTIALITY**

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential. The results of this research study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the researchers will not identify you. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records, Angela Hines will use pseudonyms in all data including the school’s name. Electronic documents will be destroyed after three years and will be password protected and only accessed by the researcher.

**WITHDRAWAL PRIVILEGE**

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. It is ok for you to say no. Even if you say yes now, you are free to say no later, and withdraw from the study at any time.

If applicable: Your decision will not affect your relationship with Arizona State University or otherwise cause a loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled.

Participation is completely voluntary, and withdrawal will not affect your grade. Tapes will be immediately destroyed if you decide to withdraw from the study.

**COSTS AND PAYMENTS**

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The researchers want your decision about participating in the study to be absolutely voluntary. There is no payment for your participation in the study.

**VOLUNTARY CONSENT**

Any questions you have concerning the research study or your participation in the study, before or after your consent, will be answered by Professor Johnny Saldaña, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ 85287-2411. Office: Farmer 120-M. Voice: (480) 965-0131 or Angela Hines Office Farmer, 146.

If you have questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk; you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at 480-965 6788.

Thank you,

Angela R. Hines
APPENDIX C

INFORMATION LETTER-TEACHER INTERVIEW
I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Johnny Saldaña in the Mary Lou Fulton Teacher’s College at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to examine the elements of the theatre hidden curriculum through teacher’s perceptions.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve an hour long interview. You have the right not to answer any questions, and to stop the interview at any time. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Your responses will be kept confidential. A pseudonym will be used on the transcription files, and files will be on a password protected laptop. All collected documents about the teacher’s curriculum will be kept under lock and key at Arizona State University in Farmer 302. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be used.

I would like to audiotape this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. The recordings will be
transcribed and kept on audio file for the duration of 3 years, following which the information will be deleted. You will be able to provide a member check of the final version of the study.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team: Professor Johnny Saldaña, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ 85287-2002. Office: Dixie Gammage Hall 245. Voice: 480-965-2661 or Angela Hines at ahines@asu.edu Office Farmer, 302. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let me know if you wish to be part of the study.

Name Printed

Name Signed

Date
APPENDIX D

PRINCIPAL LETTER OF PERMISSION
Hidden Curriculum of Theatre Education Study

Dear Principal ________________,

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Johnny Saldaña at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to see how the hidden curriculum manifest in theatre programs in Arizona’s secondary schools.

I am inviting participation of your drama program. This is not a time invasive study, and will only require a 1 hour student survey. If they choose not participate or may withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. Likewise, if a teacher chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. The results of the research study may be published, but the identity of your school shall remain anonymous.

Although there may be no direct benefit to your school, the possible benefit of the student's participation is none. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to student’s or teacher’s participation. The name of your school, students’, and teachers’ will be changed to protect their identity. Responses will be anonymous and confidential. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but school, students’, and teachers’ names will not be known/used.
If you have any questions concerning the research study or school/class participation in this study, please email me at ahines@asu.edu.

Sincerely,

Angela Hines

By signing below, you are giving consent for your school ______________________
(School’s Name) to participate in the above study.

________________________________  ___________________________  __________
Signature                                             Printed Name                                  Date

________________________________
Position

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.
Teacher Interview Protocol: semi-structured interview.

Teachers’ Pedagogy

1) Describe your position at the school and what roles you have. What has influenced your teaching?

2) Describe the levels of theatre that you teach here at the school and what is included.

3) How do you teach and assess the learners’ abilities? What is your main goal for your students in your program?

4) What types of teacher tools do you employ?

Institutional and Administrative Support

5) How flexible do you feel the institution and program is to student needs?

6) What are the major challenges or issues your students face in your theatre program?

7) Can you describe aspects of the theatre program that you did not anticipate? How did your administration help or hinder those outcomes?

Student Learning

8) How does your theatre program help students understand what it means to be a theatre student? A theatre professional?

9) How do theatre students learn in your program?

10) Describe how connected you feel your students are to the program and the school.

11) Describe the recruitment and audition process for your theatre program.
School Environment

12) If you could change anything about your theatre, what would it be? What would you change about the school?

13) What are the major challenges you faced or are facing in your theatre program?

14) What differences do you see in the theatre classes versus other class?

Additional Information

15) Is there anything else about your theatre experiences that you would like to share with me?
APPENDIX F\textsuperscript{13}

MEMBER CHECK

\textsuperscript{13} This form was adapted from a sample member check form (Janesick, 2004, p. 227).
Dear ____________________________________.

Thank you for an enjoyable and insightful interview. Attached please find a draft copy of the verbatim transcripts of the interview. Please review the transcription for accuracy and completeness of responses. Please feel free to contact me at (602-502-3562) or via email at (ahines@asu.edu) should you have any questions. If I do not hear from you by ________, ___2013, I will assume that you agree with the attached draft of the transcription.

Thank you again for your willingness to participate in this study.

Angela Hines
APPENDIX G

RESEARCHER REFLECTIVE JOURNAL SAMPLE (EDITED)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interior Design</td>
<td>Very organized, motivational sayings on the wall, one in particular be brilliant, filing system labeled and organized, markers, glue, pencils, pens, etc. office had a small fridge with water that she offered me- theatre stadium seats as the seats for visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Involvement</td>
<td>Students seem engaged, but there are some students who do not seem to care about the class activity. These students seem to be called on a bit by the teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Order</td>
<td>Students raise hands to go to the bathroom. Students ask to rehearse in different areas of the auditorium. Seems to be a lot of trust that students will respect school rules when not in teacher’s direct sight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>A friendly type of person, very creative, holds attention of students. A very positive instructor. Great pink nail polish. Very fun, youthful, relatable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disruptions</td>
<td>The older students handled students talking during, nudging them to pay attention, and often giving page numbers to bring them back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>The teacher really controlled the group with calling students by name. It really put the students on the spot. Her personal philosophy really comes out in her desire to create viable skills for the future—something that she mentioned in the interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrating on school work</td>
<td>Students for the most part focus on work when the teacher is present.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall these students seemed very pleased with their experience in theatre. The teacher is very relatable; she has a very bubbly personality, but can be very in control when she needs to be. She is very quick to point out when something in her program does not go right—in particular with administration. She mentioned many of the loop holes that she has to jump through for her own auditorium. Students have a great deal of respect for the green room (their classroom). In between classes a couple of the students pick up bottles, wrappers, and help prepare the room for the next class.

These students seem to have a connection already with theatre, a little different than the beginning classroom. The tone of the teacher really changed in between classes. She seemed like she taught a ridged course. I can’t explain the change in tone, only that it seemed stricter. These students had a different class set up.
Where: Snoqualmie High School

Date: December 12th, 2012

Time: During the class of her school day (half day) 12:00pm

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little about yourself?

Respondent: Okay, ya, well, um this is actually my 17th year as a theatre teacher. Six years here at Snoqualmie, 11 years at Tahoma. And I have always been a full time theatre teacher until this past school year. And now I am like 5/8ths like one less class, and which I am fine with, I actually like it, I think it was actually a blessing in disguise. At first I thought oh my god, this is gonna kill me financially, and you know it does hurt a little bit but it’s wonderful.

Interviewer: You have a little bit of extra time?

Respondent: I do, and you know I have an extra job I that I go to, I just really like the flexibility there is just a difference and the students here vs. the students at my other school, that sorta of changed my thinking a little bit.

Interviewer: Could you elaborate on that a little bit?

Respondent: Okay to be honest, and I know it had a lot to do with I did not teach in an economically disadvantaged school, like we kind of are here, it was more and not necessarily upscale, but the kids motivations and goals were to become engineers to become doctors and lawyers. I don’t find that so much here, I would say the percentage of kids who aspire to do things on a higher scale than that might be 40%. Whereas in Washington, I taught in 3 different schools in Washington, at all three schools it was at least 85%. …ya, and so I would walk into the classroom and every kid had their notebook
out, their paper, it was like feed me feed me (in the upper class children). Here I have to convince kids to stay in my class, why are you even in here, we don’t just play games, and it’s my job to teach but I have to spend so much time motivating them to want to learn And that honestly was the biggest difference, I find that a lot of students here, and I can’t speak for Arizona, I can only speak for Snoqualmie, I think a lot of the Snoqualmie theatre students, have this huge sense of entitlement, you what can you do for me teacher, and not all of them, but mainly in my beginning acting classes, like my advanced acting classes, I mean these kids I’ve had for like three some of them for four years, and they for the most part are not like that. But, it did take me a little while to beat that out of them, you know not physically, but work ethic, work ethic.

**Interviewer:** And how did you do that?

**Respondent:** There were certain things when I first got here, and I was like okay those things don’t work, here you really have to be more hands on, in Arizona, at Snoqualmie, you have to be more hands on. And so basically I lay out the expectations, this is what I expect. Before I would kind of, and when I say before I mean the first two or three years I was here, because I wanted the students to be in charge of their learning, so I would say okay, you are responsible for this type of information, these are the things that you are going to be judged on and of course I would show them an example, like this is your scene, you’re going to perform this scene and in this scene you are going to have an objective you must have obstacles, whatever, the requirements were. And I would always provide them an example, and then we would move on, and then we would move onto a short play, and then we would move on, and now, well you know, cause I gotta get
terminology in there, cause you know I gotta get that terminology in there, so if I introduce like ten vocabulary theatre terms, I make sure, it’s so redundant now, I make sure I introduce it, I talk, I provide, myself a physical teacher, provide the physical example, let’s say its exposition, and then I walk in and I do an example of it, I do an example of given circumstances, okay than we do that then the kids get up and do an example and then we have a practice day, and then you have to demonstrate use of exposition or use of given circumstances, and your graded on them all, I have to make sure I do it, they do it, practice and then grade them, and that works better here, and I have to just keep doing it and doing it, and then there are times when I’m like okay I know I’ve introduced this term, and we’ve moved on, and then I will go back, and I will say okay Jenny tell me what the term given circumstances means, oh I forgot you haven’t said it in about two weeks, and now I make it a point, I leave the terms on the board, and I refer to it, generally, you know maybe not every class period, but if I don’t keep it going, then when the semester exam comes in about three weeks, they will have about a hundred different theatre terms, that they are responsible for, and I’m not going to be like every week what’s this, what’s this, you know there has to be some type of student self-motivation with that. Now when it comes to my advanced actors they all want to have a part in the play, if you want to have a part in the play, Ms. Mosure is only going to cast you if you have a work ethic, if you’re learning the things, if you’re doing your work in class, and you are basically mastering. So when we talk about how do we get my advanced acting class to this level, it’s because of the prize at the end of the tunnel, because they want to perform, for the main productions. And that’s generally it, and so in
order to get there, you need to know something, you need to know a lot actually.

**Interviewer:** You talked about motivation here at this school, but how did you motivate them at your other school?

**Respondent:** You know what, I would go in, and I mean, I still motivated them, but it was a different type of motivation, because I used to be a coach, and when I came here I no longer coached, but there is a part of me that is an automatic motivator, to begin with, and so at my other school, I didn’t have to lecture them on, “do your work Johnny.” I was able to say, guys look, we have goals at the end of the year, and here is where you are today, where do you want to be? In May, and how can I help you get there? And every kid would be like Ms. Mosure I want to work on being lead in the Spring play, okay, then come up with ten steps, ten things that you are going to work on, that Ms. Mosure in gonna help you with in order to achieve that goal, and they would, and I would say you know what this is what we are working on today, and this is what we have to do to get there, and I would teach a lesson and they would just do it, and of course you would have some kids you would have to go back, and redo something’s, but not a lot. They were just more vested in their learning.

**Interviewer:** Okay, so are you the only theatre teacher, what is your role?

**Respondent:** Okay, so I am the Theatre teacher and theatre director, I direct the shows I direct the plays, and then Eric Taylor, he is the technical director, ya, and so I design, and he builds the sets, I design the lights, and he hangs them.

**Interviewer:** Okay, so there are tech theatre classes?

**Respondent:** Ya, and actually they all fall under my umbrella, and they are all under one
roster, mine, because technically he is not a certified teacher, and so it looks like I’m teaching like 58 kids.

**Interviewer:** Oh, okay, so what activities do you and your program participate in?

**Respondent:** Okay, I think it is very important, and again I hate that I keep referring back to Washington, it’s not that everything was so great in Washington.

**Interviewer:** I thought everything was bigger (laugh)

**Respondent:** It was bigger (laugh) and the budgets were bigger

**Interviewer:** The budgets were bigger?

**Respondent:** Oh ya, they paid for me to go to these things. Which is a huge difference between where I was then and where I am now, because the things that I do now, and you know I really like learning. And so if I want to do a workshop I have to pay for it, if I want to belong to a certain professional organization I have to pay for it, and so I don’t do as much as I would like to do, you know like every now and then I will go take a class at Scottsdale community college, I might go check out like a free workshop, I would go to lots of classes, I would go to the theatre conference every year. There were just like so many things, whatever I wanted to do, the school would pay for it. Here, they just don’t pay for it, and the only professional development that they provide, is for like every teacher, and are like how to master your objectives in the classroom, well I learned that when I was working on my certification, you know I would like to do more, but funding wise, and it’s just hard to pay your personal money to do that.
APPENDIX I

IRB APPROVAL
Dear Dr. Saldana and Angela,

Your study, “Hidden Curriculum of Theatre Education Study,” was determined to be exempt in accordance with Federal Regulations 45CFR46.101(b)(2) and has been approved. Research may begin.

**Please remember that any information from this study cannot be used for any other purpose other than what has been approved by the IRB in this application.**

If you wish to use any part of this study for other purposes, you must submit a new study.

Or, if you wish to use novel methods of recruitment or implement changes that may change the exempt status of this study, please be sure to contact our office for the appropriate protocol to follow. Please be sure to keep a copy of all your documents for audit purposes.

Thank you.

Best Regards,

Leticia De Los Santos
IRB Coordinator
Office for Research Integrity & Assurance
Arizona State University
Phone (480) 727.6526
Fax (480) 965.7772
Angela received her undergraduate degree (B.A.) in Theatre with concentrations in Acting and Directing from Arizona State University, her M.Ed. and MAC (Masters in Arizona Teaching Certificate) in Secondary Education: Theatre Education, and will receive her Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction: Curriculum Studies in May 2013 from Arizona State University. Angela teaches courses for the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State. She has experience as an adjunct faculty at Ottawa University, an instructional developer at University of Phoenix, and has experience teaching Drama, Musical Theatre, and Film at the secondary education level. She is the Community Leader Officer for the Graduate Student Council (GSC) of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), and the president of Kappa Delta Pi (an international honor society in education). Her research interests include theatre education, arts based research, critical theory, and curriculum studies.