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中文翻译

Chapter 7

第七章

The Barbara Taylor School: A Development Community Where Children Learn

芭芭拉·泰勒学校： 一个儿童在其中学习的发展共同体



PERFORMANCE, PLAY, AND IMPROVISATION

表演、玩耍与即兴

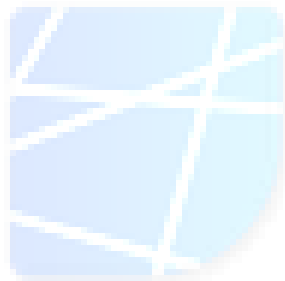
Justin¹ (age 11) was lying still on the rug, surrounded by several children and an adult kneeling beside him peering at his bare stomach (his shirt had been hiked up to his neck). Len, the adult learning director, was holding a cylindrical piece of paper upright above Justin's belly button. Caught by the scene and the children's rapt attention, I asked what was happening. "We're performing an operation," they told me, "the surgical removal of immaturity."

Justin¹ (11岁)一动不动地躺在地毯上，身边围着几个孩子，还有一位成人学习指导员跪在他旁边，端详着他裸露的肚子（他的衬衫被撩到了脖子上）。

Len，这位成人学习指导员，正把一卷圆筒状的纸竖直拿在 Justin 的肚脐上方。眼前的场景和孩子们全神贯注的神情吸引了我，我问他们正在做什么。“我们在做手术，”他们告诉我，“手术切除不成熟。”

Later that day, Justin and Len performed a commercial break during a circus scene created by Alice (age 8) and Julia, another learning director. Len and Justin entered the stage walking. Len said, "Justin, you won't be going to your speech therapist today." Justin stopped in his tracks, yelled, cried, and fell to the ground in a screaming temper tantrum. Len looked up at the audience for a moment, took some wads of paper out of the manila envelope he was holding and said, while he arched them toward Justin's mouth, "The miracle cure—'Matchore Partz' [Mature Parts]." Justin "swallowed the pills." He stood up and he and Len began the scene again. Len: "Justin, you won't be going to your speech therapist today." Justin looked up at him and calmly said, "Oh well, I guess I'll go home then." The audience applauded.

当天早些时候，在 Alice（8岁）和另一位学习指导员 Julia 共同创作的马戏场景中，Justin 和 Len 插入了一段“广告时间”的表演。Len 和 Justin 走上舞台。Len 说：“Justin，你今天不用去见你的语言治疗师了。”Justin 立刻停住脚步，尖叫、哭喊，倒在地上，发起一场尖声大叫的脾气大爆发。Len 抬头看了观众一眼，从手里的马尼拉纸信封中取出几团纸，一边把它们朝 Justin 嘴边呈弧线抛过去，一边说：“奇迹疗法——‘Matchore Partz’ [Mature Parts，成熟部件]。”Justin “吞下了药丸”。他站起身来，和 Len 重新开始这个场景。Len：“Justin，你今天不用去见你



For years, Justin had been having temper tantrums in situations similar to the one improvised in the commercial for “Matchore Partz.” Diagnosed with a variety of specific and general learning disabilities and emotional problems, Justin had been in special education schools until he entered the Barbara Taylor School at the end of the last school year. His parents were concerned that he had “reached a plateau,” as they had heard often happens with children like Justin, and that he just was not developing any further.

¹ The names of children and adults in this and subsequent scenes have been changed.

Justin is a performer. We all are. Performing is how we learn and develop. What I mean by performing is far closer to how the word is used in theater than in manufacturing; we are not talking here about alienated output. (The recent trend in education of delineating “performance outcomes” is as foreign to what I mean by performance as test scores and grades.) It is through performance—that is, doing what is beyond us (if only for that moment)—that when we are very young children we learn to do the varied things we do not know how to do. As Vygotsky described so eloquently, babies transform from babblers to speakers of a language through performing. The relational activity of creatively imitating others is simultaneously the performance of themselves. Performing is a way of taking “who we are” and creating something new—in this case, a new speaker—through incorporating “the other.”

Ironically, as we perform our way into cultural and societal adaptation, we also perform our way out of continuous development. What we have learned (through performing) becomes routinized and rigidified into behavior. We become so skilled at acting out roles that we no longer keep performing. We develop an

的语言治疗师了。”Justin 抬头看着他，平静地说：

“哦，好吧，那我想我就回家吧。”观众鼓掌。

多年来，在类似“Matchore Partz”这段广告中即兴呈现的情境里，Justin 一直会大发脾气。他被诊断出多种具体和一般性的学习障碍以及情绪问题；在上一学年末进入芭芭拉·泰勒学校之前，他一直就读于特殊教育学校。他的父母很担心，因为他们常听说像 Justin 这样的孩子会“到达平台期”，他们担心他就是不再继续发展了。

¹ 本场景及后续场景中儿童和成人的姓名均已更改。

Justin 是一名表演者。我们所有人都是。表演正是我们学习和发展的方式。我所说的“表演”，更接近这个词在剧场中的用法，而不是制造业中的用法；这里谈的并不是异化了的产出。（近年来教育领域划定“表现结果”的趋势，与我所说的表演同样相去甚远，正如考试分数和成绩等级与表演相去甚远一样。）当我们还是很小的孩子时，正是通过表演——也就是去做超出我们现有能力的事情（即便只是那一刻）——我们学会了各种自己还不知道如何去做的事情。正如维果茨基极有说服力地描述的那样，婴儿通过表演，从咿呀学语者转变为一门语言的表达者。创造性地模仿他人的关系性活动，同时也是他们对自身的表演。表演是一种方式：带着“我们是谁”，并通过吸纳“他者”而创造出新的东西——在这里，就是一个新的表达者。

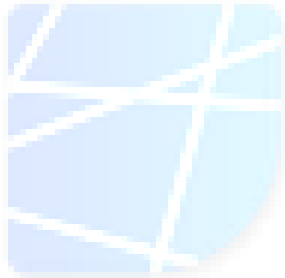
具有讽刺意味的是，当我们通过表演一路进入文化与社会适应时，我们也通过表演一路走出了持续发展。我们通过表演所学到的东西，被例行化并僵固化为行为。我们变得非常擅长把各种角色演成固定套路，以

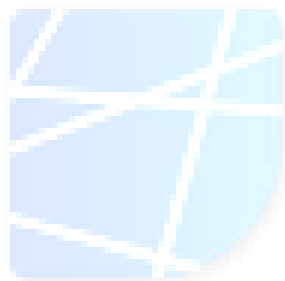
identity as “this kind of person”—someone who does certain things and feels certain ways. Anything other than that, most of us think, would not be “true” to “who we are.” Justin’s emotional development was at a standstill; he repeatedly did what he knew how to do—have a tantrum. Like most of us, Justin was unaware that this emotional response (perhaps to frustration, change, or disappointment) was and is jointly and socially constructed by himself and others. It did not (perhaps would not and could not, for whatever reasons) occur to him that there is an infinite number of things one can do or say upon hearing that the plans have changed.

Creating an environment for Justin to perform—both his tantrum and something other than a tantrum—can reinstate developmental activity. From a Vygotskian perspective, it supports him to go beyond himself, to socially create other responses, to experience being other than who he is, to produce something new, to develop. It breaks the pattern. It challenges the cardinal rule of psychology’s “hidden curriculum”—that our actions follow from how we feel. (But if this were really the case, there could be no such thing as theater or other cultural entertainment. Depressed actors would act depressed on stage regardless of the play in which they were performing.) From a Wittgensteinian perspective, performing helps to free Justin of the “picture that holds us captive” (the one way of seeing things). Performing changes his location and relationship to his emotions and is a way of “moving around about” his so-called emotional state (which, in effect, has become a form of alienation) and helps him to create, with others, new emotional forms of life. Justin’s performing creates a changed environment (which, in dialectical fashion, is inseparable from him and others) and rekindles his capacity to be a social maker of meaning. The difference between Justin performing his temper tantrum and his typical behavior of having a temper tantrum is the difference between developing and not developing.

至于不再继续表演。我们发展出一种身份认同——“我是这种人”：会做某些事、以某些方式感受的人。我们大多数人会认为，除此之外的任何样子，都不“真实”于“我们是谁”。Justin 的情感发展处于停滞状态；他反复做着自己知道怎么做的事情——发脾气。像我们大多数人一样，Justin 并没有意识到，这种情绪反应（也许是对挫折、变化或失望的反应）过去是、现在也是由他自己和他人共同地、社会性地建构出来的。他没有想到（也许由于种种原因，他不会想到，也无法想到），当听到计划改变时，一个人可以做或可以说的事情有无限多种。

为 Justin 创造一个可以表演的环境——既表演他的脾气爆发，也表演某种不是脾气爆发的东西——能够重新启动发展性活动。从维果茨基的视角看，这支持他超越自己，社会性地创造出其他回应方式，体验成为不同于既有自己的样子，生产出新的东西，并由此发展。它打破了原有模式。它挑战了心理学“隐性课程”的基本规则——我们的行动源自我们的感受。（但如果这真的成立，那么剧场或其他文化娱乐形式就不可能存在。无论演的是什么戏，抑郁的演员都会在舞台上演得抑郁。）从维特根斯坦式的视角看，表演有助于把 Justin 从“将我们俘获的图像”（那唯一一种看待事物的方式）中解放出来。表演改变了他相对于自身情绪的位置和关系；它是一种围绕他所谓的情绪状态“移动起来”的方式（事实上，这种状态已经成为一种异化形式），并帮助他与他人一起创造新的情感生活形式。Justin 的表演创造了一个被改变的环境（以辩证的方式看，这个环境与他和其他人不可分割），并重新点燃了他作为社会性意义创造者的能力。Justin 表





The Barbara Taylor School is performatory with its dominant activity, like the scene just described, improvisational performance. The cultural—performatory, nonepistemological, therapeutic approach to understanding human life discussed in chapter 4 is both the basis of the school's practice and a specific expansion of it. The idea is simple to articulate (but exceedingly difficult to practice consistently). Children become successful learners through performing as learners. To perform, you need a performatory environment (often a stage). If the existing environment is not conducive to performance, then it must be reshaped into one that is performatory. Not once, but continuously.

As social institutions go, schools are among the least conducive to performance; they are, typically, nonperformatory and even antiperformatory in structure and ambiance. For example, beyond kindergarten, play (including pretend play, a type of performance in my sense of the term) is discouraged and even disallowed. The dichotomy work/play that is operative in the broader culture is not only strongly reinforced within schools ("stop playing around and get down to work") but is replicated in the dichotomy learning/playing that traditional schools construct organizationally and discursively. For example, in most schools a specific time is set aside for play (at least in the early grades; junior high and high schools often have no play time but "study hall" and physical education classes instead). We speak of doing school work, not school play; we play house but we do not play reading.

In spite of the recognition that play is critical in children's development and learning (as many psychologists, e.g., Bruner, Jolly, & Sylva, 1976, and Sutton-Smith, 1976, have long argued persuasively), schools are becoming not more playful but less so. As Rust (1993) noted in a study of kindergartens, far from it being the case that early childhood practices have had a positive influence

演自己的脾气爆发，与他通常意义上发脾气的行为之间的差别，就是发展与不发展之间的差别。

芭芭拉·泰勒学校是表演性的；它的主导活动，正如刚才描述的那个场景一样，是即兴表演。第四章中讨论的那种理解人类生活的文化—表演性、非认识论的、治疗性取向，既是这所学校实践的基础，也是对该取向的一种具体拓展。这个理念说起来很简单（但要一以贯之地实践却极其困难）：儿童通过作为学习者去表演而成为成功的学习者。要表演，就需要一个表演性的环境（通常是一个舞台）。如果现有环境并不有利于表演，那么它就必须被重新塑造成一个表演性的环境。不是一次，而是持续不断地这样做。

就社会机构而言，学校几乎是最不利于表演的机构之一；通常来说，学校在结构和氛围上是非表演性的，甚至是反表演性的。例如，幼儿园之后，玩耍（包括假扮游戏，也就是我所说的表演的一种）会受到抑制，甚至被禁止。更广泛文化中运行的工作/玩耍二分法，不仅在学校里被强力强化（“别玩了，赶紧做正事”），也被传统学校在组织上和话语上建构出来的学习/玩耍二分法所复制。例如，在大多数学校中，会有一个特定时间被划出来用于玩耍（至少在低年级如此；初中和高中往往没有玩耍时间，取而代之的是“自习课”和体育课）。我们说做学校作业，而不说做学校玩耍；我们会玩过家家，却不会“玩阅读”。

尽管人们已经认识到玩耍对于儿童的发展和学习至关重要（许多心理学家，例如 Bruner、Jolly 与 Sylva, 1976, 以及 Sutton-Smith, 1976, 早已对此作出令人信服的论证），学校却不是变得更有游戏性，而是更

on elementary school education, the reverse is becoming the norm:

In the kindergarten, the focus was the "whole child." There was time for play, and play was understood to be the child's work ... Readiness for school came as a by-product of the kindergarten experience ... Where once there was a sense of freedom with regard to the curriculum, now there is pressure on parents and early childhood teachers to make sure that children are ready for school even before they get there. Screening for kindergarten is commonplace, and testing of kindergartners is almost routine. (pp. 4-5)

Thus, children are socialized very early on to associate playing with free time, fun and frivolity, and learning with work, what is important and what is real. So are adults. (If you are a teacher or parent, listen to yourself over the course of a day and hear how you talk to your students or children about school, work, play, and learning.) Even Barbara Taylor School parents, who have consciously chosen a play(performance)-oriented educational environment, can be decidedly uncomfortable when their children respond to the perennial question, "What did you do in school today?" with "We played."

It seems to me that no small part of what is "wrong" with play has to do with our strong cultural commitment to reality and the family of conceptions associated with it, including truth, fact, correctness, and rightness. The dominant mode of instruction is designed to help students "get it right" (the liberal pronouncement "There is no right answer; I just want to know what you think" notwithstanding). Teaching children to get it right (regardless of how practically useful and desirable this may be) is, simultaneously, teaching them that there is something identifiable as truth. It is teaching them to "tell the truth"—about numbers, words on a page, the Civil War, or the shooting down the block. The 3-year-old's scribble of the family dog towering over the family

少。正如 Rust (1993) 在一项关于幼儿园的研究中指出的, 早期儿童教育实践并没有对小学教育产生积极影响; 相反, 反过来的情况正在成为常态:

在幼儿园, 关注的重点曾经是“完整的儿童”。曾经有玩耍的时间, 而玩耍也被理解为儿童的工作……入学准备曾经是幼儿园经验的副产品……过去在课程方面曾经有一种自由感, 而现在, 父母和幼儿教育教师都承受着压力, 要确保孩子在真正到校之前就已经为上学做好准备。幼儿园入学筛查已经司空见惯, 对幼儿园儿童进行测试也几乎成为常规。 (第 4—5 页)

因此, 儿童很早就被社会化为把玩耍与自由时间、乐趣和轻浮联系在一起, 而把学习与工作、重要的事和真实的事联系在一起。成年人也是如此。(如果你是教师或家长, 请在一天之中听听自己是如何向学生或孩子谈论学校、工作、玩耍和学习的。) 即便是芭芭拉·泰勒学校的家长——他们已经有意识地选择了一个以玩耍(表演)为取向的教育环境——当他们的孩子用“我们玩了”来回答那个年复一年都会被问到的问题“你今天在学校做了什么?”时, 也可能明显感到不自在。

在我看来, 玩耍之所以被认为有什么“不对”, 其中相当一部分与我们在文化上对现实以及与之相连的一整套概念的强烈承诺有关, 这些概念包括真理、事实、正确性和正当性。占主导地位的教学模式旨在帮助学生“做对”(尽管自由派式的说法会宣称“没有正确答案; 我只是想知道你怎么想”)。教孩子做对(无论这在实践上多么有用、多么值得追求), 同时也是在教他们: 有某种可以被识别出来的东西叫作真理。它是在教他们“讲真话”——关于数字, 关于纸页上的文



house (both barely recognizable) is applauded; when children are very young we encourage their imagination and care little about reality. By the age of 10, however, this child will get little praise for drawing unrealistically.

I am not arguing against learning about representational art or perspective. What I am concerned with is the manner in which we adapt children to a culture that places such a high premium on reality, truth-telling, and facts. The way the truth-telling game (in Wittgenstein's sense of language-game) is played, the way school talk is accomplished, belies that it is a game or a way of speaking. On the contrary, it reinforces a belief in the existence of truth and a correspondence between "what is true" and something called reality. (This is known in philosophical circles as the correspondence theory of truth; the proposition "It is snowing" is said to be true if and only if it is snowing.) Truth and reality are among the most deeply entrenched ideological components of Western thought; over hundreds of years they have come to define what knowledge, understanding, and meaning are. As mentioned earlier, they are currently under intense scrutiny by critical and postmodern theorists. In relation to curriculum reforms, for example, exposing the lie in the supposed truth "Columbus discovered America" is necessary and valuable for exposing how ideological curricula can be. However, the ideology runs deeper than the class, race, and gender bias of any particular proposition. In order for the ideological bias to be thoroughly exposed, it is necessary to deconstruct the concept of truth itself. After all, identifying a proposition as a lie is meaningful only if there is another proposition presumed to be true. As valuable as it is as a reform, exposing the lies in received history leaves truth-referential epistemology unexamined.

What is so wonderful about play and performance to me

字，关于美国内战，或者关于街区那头的枪击事件。一个3岁孩子涂鸦出一只高高耸立在家屋之上的家犬（两者都几乎难以辨认），会得到掌声；当孩子还很小时，我们鼓励他们的想象，很少在意现实。然而到了10岁，这个孩子如果画得不现实，就很少会得到表扬。

我并不是反对学习再现性艺术或透视法。我关心的是，我们以怎样的方式使儿童适应一种高度看重现实、讲真话和事实的文化。讲真话的游戏（在维特根斯坦“语言游戏”的意义上）是如何被玩的，学校话语是如何被完成的，恰恰掩盖了这样一个事实：它本身是一种游戏，或者一种说话方式。相反，它强化了这样一种信念：真理是存在的，而且“何为真实”与某种被称为现实的东西之间存在对应关系。（在哲学界，这被称为真理的符合论；命题“正在下雪”当且仅当确实正在下雪时，才被认为是真的。）真理和现实是西方思想中最根深蒂固的意识形态构件之一；数百年来，它们已经定义了知识、理解 and 意义究竟是什么。如前所述，它们当前正在受到批判理论家和后现代理论家的深入审视。就课程改革而言，例如，揭露所谓真理“哥伦布发现了美洲”中的谎言，对于揭示课程可以如何具有意识形态性，是必要且有价值的。然而，意识形态比任何特定命题中的阶级、种族和性别偏见更深。要彻底揭露这种意识形态偏见，就有必要解构“真理”这一概念本身。毕竟，只有当另一个命题被预设为真时，把某个命题识别为谎言才有意义。作为一种改革，揭露既定历史叙事中的谎言固然有价值，但它仍然让以真理为参照的认识论未经审视。

对我而言，玩耍和表演最美妙之处在于，它们颠覆了

is that they subvert Truth and truth-telling. The presumed truth value utterances have in ordinary discourse is suspended in performatory activity. For example, the statement, "My name is Lois," uttered in conversation carries a presumption of truth value (people think, or think they know, that I am either telling the truth or lying). But when a character in a play utters the line, "My name is Cinderella" no one questions its truth value. (No audience member gets up and says, "No you're not! You're my daughter!") Or when a 5-year-old girl says, "I'm the Daddy and you're the baby" in pretend play with her 8-year-old sister, there is no presumption of truth or falsity.

That truth is not a relevant feature of the human activity of performance is one of its most interesting characteristics (as it is in children's free and pretend play). Over the course of history, the human capacity to conceptualize and make abstractions has proved to be remarkably useful. Two of the most significant conceptual abstractions of Western culture are truth and reality, for they have contributed to producing extraordinary advances in science and technology. The questions being raised about them (here and in much of postmodern literature) have to do with their applicability to human learning and their relevance to the continued development of our species. After all, 2-year-olds manage quite well without being held accountable for the truth, indeed, without having any awareness of it at all. They learn and develop at a fantastic rate, participating in life activities with their families and caregivers in an environment that is, to a large extent, unconstrained by truth-referentiality. Might there be a lesson here? Might we question whether we need Truth? Might it be the case that its uncritical acceptance has come to hinder us in all sorts of ways including, paradoxically, in the learning of "truth-telling" itself? In my view, the suspension and subversion of Truth is no small part of what makes performance and pretend play so growthful and why a performatory approach to learning can rekindle development.

真理 (Truth) 和讲真话。话语在日常话语中所预设的真值, 在表演性活动中被悬置了。例如, 在日常谈话中说出“我叫 Lois”这句话, 会带有一种真值预设 (人们会认为, 或者以为自己知道, 我不是在说真话, 就是在说谎)。但是, 当戏剧中的一个角色说出“我叫灰姑娘”这句台词时, 没有人会质疑它的真值。(没有观众会站起来说: “不, 你不是! 你是我女儿!”) 又或者, 一个 5 岁女孩在和她 8 岁的姐姐玩假扮游戏时说“我是爸爸, 你是宝宝”, 这里也不存在真或假的预设。

真理并不是人类表演活动的相关特征; 这是表演最有意思的特征之一 (儿童的自由玩耍和假扮游戏也是如此)。在历史进程中, 人类进行概念化和抽象的能力已经证明极其有用。西方文化中最重要两个概念性抽象, 就是真理和现实, 因为它们促成了科学与技术的非凡进步。围绕它们正在被提出的问题 (在这里, 以及在大量后现代文献中) 关乎它们对于人类学习的适用性, 以及它们对于我们这个物种持续发展的相关性。毕竟, 2 岁的孩子即使不被要求对真理负责——事实上, 甚至完全没有意识到真理——也能相当好地生活。他们以惊人的速度学习和发展, 在一种很大程度上不受以真理为参照所约束的环境中, 与家人和照护者一起参与生活活动。这里面是否有值得我们学习的东西? 我们是否可以追问: 我们需要真理吗? 是否可能是, 对真理未经批判的接受, 已经在各种方面阻碍了我们——悖论式地, 也包括阻碍了我们学习“讲真话”本身? 在我看来, 悬置并颠覆真理, 正是使表演和假扮游戏如此具有成长性、也正是使一种表演性的学习取向能够重新点燃发展的重要原因。

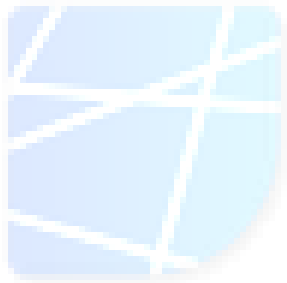
THE SCHOOL'S HISTORY

When the Barbara Taylor School was founded in Harlem, New York in 1985, two progressive traditions—that of African-American community schools and the (mostly White) free school movement—came together. Two years earlier, Barbara Taylor, the founder and principal of the St. Thomas Community School in Harlem, met the Institute for Social Therapy and Research (the form and name of the developing development community during most of the 1980s). At that time, the Institute developed, practiced, and trained people in social therapy, and implemented several projects that utilized this developmental methodology in the areas of health, education, and culture.

学校的历史

1985 年，芭芭拉·泰勒学校在纽约哈莱姆创立时，两种进步传统汇聚到了一起：非裔美国人社区学校的传统，以及（主要由白人参与的）自由学校运动。两年
前，哈莱姆圣托马斯社区学校的创办者兼校长

Barbara Taylor 遇到了社会疗愈与研究所（Institute for Social Therapy and Research；这是这个正在形成的发展共同体在 20 世纪 80 年代大部分时间里的形式和名称）。当时，该研究所发展、实践并培训人们开展社会治疗，同时在健康、教育和文化领域实施了若干运用这一发展性方法论的项目。



East Side Institute