Bachelor Thesis

Less pretention, more theatre

Theatre that makes a change

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Preface

I have been playing theatre myself for more than ten years and always saw this as an enriching experience, that goes beyond the actual hours of rehearsal and performance. For almost four years now, I'm a student International Development. In 2006, my first year at Wageningen University, I saw a play in Amsterdam preformed by Nairobian street children, 'The Black Pinocchio', a project of Amref Flying Doctors. I was surprised and inspired by this combination of theatre and development, therefore I orientated myself on it some more. This way I discovered several interesting initiatives like the 'Theatre Embassy' and 'The Power of Culture' and interesting and inspiring persons like Boal and Prentki.

That my bachelor thesis would be on the subject of Theatre for Development was clear already a year ago. The same time, I was wondering whether it would suit me more to start a more practical education, like a theatre course in art academy, instead of continuing at university. Therefore I was determined to do at least an internship within my bachelor, so I started orientating on this. After a bit of searching I found cultural NGO Miriyawalé. One of the directors, Janette de Haas, was immediately enthusiastic about the idea of setting up a theatre project. In September 2009 I have been orientating some more on the Theatre for Development literature. There is a lot of literature on this subject and it was a bit difficult to structure it. From October 2009 till February 2010, I have been in Mali, of which more than two months in Sikasso to work on the theatre project.

My journey, in which the project takes a central place, has been the most enriching experience of my live. The project was a success story and at once all the literature seemed to make more sense and I was better able to structure it. This was the perfect combination to start writing my thesis in March 2010. I enjoyed working on it and it inspired me to continue in the area of Theatre for Development. Hopefully the reader will enjoy reading and will be inspired by it as well.

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Summary

This thesis investigates the values of theatre when using it as tool to bring about development. These values can be found in the *theatre making process*, *the underlying social process* and the *development process of the individual*. A literature research on the values of TfD, the theatre making process, came to the following values. TfD; comes to the roots of problems, doesn't rely on literacy or well developed infrastructure, is an effective communication tool, brings about concrete action and change, is a safe space to try out things, can explore sensitive issues and is as no other communication tool suited to use indigenous forms of expression.

In Sikasso a city in Mali, a theatre project for young unemployed people was carried out having the goal in mind to activate them. The theatre making process in Sikasso, underlines once more the values of theatre that came to the surface in the literature research. During the project in Sikasso the values of the underlying social process came to the surface. Which are being analysed in this thesis using the team development stages of Tuckman and the levels of teamwork of Glasl & Ballreich. For the successfulness of a project, it is of crucial importance to pay attention to these stages and levels. With the 'successfulness of a project' is meant both coming to a good end-performance and the development and empowerment of its participants. Positive circumstances in the underlying social process, can contribute to the individual development process.

To analyse this individual development process some more, the Self-Determination Theory of Ryan & Deci is useful. This theory states when a person is more autonomously motivated, he will be more productive, effective and experience a higher state of well-being. The goal of the Sikasso project was to activate its participants, say make them more autonomously motivated. With using the SDT, it was possible to explain and analyse the development process of the participants in becoming more autonomously motivated. This potential of theatre to develop the individual, is another clear value of theatre as development tool.

In the conclusion suggestions are made for further research, since in the existing literature on TfD there isn't much attention paid to the value of the underlying social process. Besides that the development of a commonly used tool to analyse and evaluate the development of the individual in a TfD project would be of use. Developing tools to analyse and evaluate TfD projects are of use both for the successfulness of each individual project and to prove the value of TfD in general, which will assist the TfD movement to establish itself in the ambiguous development industry.

1. Introduction

In the late 1970s there's started with the use theatre in the development arena. Although existing already decennia it doesn't seem to be an established tool in the development industry yet. A lot of people are not familiar with it and will ask themselves 'why bother people who aren't even sure of their daily food supply with playing theatre?' Last year I have been working on a theatre project in Mali, and I also find a lot of people in the Netherlands wondering 'what was actually the sense of this project I was working on'.

Development collaboration seems to be under constant debate and revision. What is the most effective and sustainable way to practice development collaboration? Of course there isn't an univocal answer to this question, that's why so many reports and proposals are written about it. Like the latest WRR report (the Dutch academic council for governmental policy) with the interesting title: *Less pretention, more ambition – Development aid that makes a change*[1]. The report's two most important findings are to focus really on *development* and to look broader than within countries, but also at the *global issues.*

The Dutch Ministry of Development Collaboration based their granting of subsidies to NGOs on this report. The subsidy request of an alliance of three cultural NGOs, *Mundial*, *Theatre Embassy* and *Music May Day*, was rejected. '*The organisations that have been rejected do not satisfy the so-called threshold criteria maintained by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hivos is the only organisation active in culture and development whose request was not rejected'* (Schuring, 2010). Is the proposal of this alliance designated as not contributing enough to *real development*?

To my opinion, having culture included in development collaboration is of crucial importance. Though, not for everyone, not even the Dutch Ministry, this seems that obvious. My personal interest is since long time the use of theatre to bring about development. Having read a lot about it and last year practiced it for my internship, for me the value of it seems completely logic. Though, looking at the latest events in the Netherlands, it seems necessary to explain the potential, importance and value of culture in development collaboration once more.

This thesis will deal with *Theatre for Development (TfD)*, what are the values of it? The outcome should be a readable thesis for everyone not familiar with Theatre for Development. The main question is: *'What are the values and critical issues of a TfD project, used as a tool to bring about development of its target group, and for the development and empowerment of the individual actors within a TfD project?'* The thesis is divided in two parts, first part is an extensive literature research on the values and critical issues of using TfD. The second part will be based on my experiences of working on a TfD project in Sikasso, Mali. For a bit more than two months I have been working with nine unemployed young people towards performing our own play. The values of this project for the development and empowerment of its participants should be covered in this part.

The goal of our project was to *'activate the participants'*, it was not in our ability give them jobs, but we could try to help them keep their heads up. Through making theatre it was hoped the participants will surpass and surprise themselves of their abilities, regain self-confidence, learn to work in a group, have enjoying two months and through this get ideas, inspiration and hope for the future. To reach our goal, the *theatre making process*, the *underlying social process* and the *individual development process* turned out to be all of crucial importance. The theory and method of the *theatre making process* were designed in the before the start of the project and we hoped to evoke through using theatre an *individual development process*. Though, during the process, I became increasingly aware of

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[1] Minder pretentie, meer ambitie, Ontwikkelingshulp die verschil maakt (Wetenschappelijk Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 2010)

the importance of the *underlying social process*. This process is important for the functioning of the group, I learned a lot from it and I assume the participants learned tacitly from the experience of group work. These three processes are interrelated, but to emphasis the importance of each, their will be dealt with each process separately in this thesis.

We described our goal as the *'activation of participants'*, but actually the concept *'empowerment'* could have been used as well. Especially because the definition of Rappaport on *'empowerment'*, explains in an interesting and useful way the interrelatedness of the individual and the social development: *'The concept suggests both individual determination over one's own life and democratic participation in the life of one's community, often through mediating structures such as schools, neighborhoods, churches, and other voluntary organizations. Empowerment conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power, and legal rights. It is a multilevel construct applicable to individual citizens as well as to organizations and neighborhoods; it suggests the study of people in context'* (Rappaport, 1987, p. 121).

Following this definition of empowerment, it explains that to assist people in empowering themselves, attention should be paid to both the individual and its social context. This somehow justifies the distinction we make in processes. The theatre making process and underlying social are to be found in the '*the social influence'* and the individual development process in the '*psychological sense of personal control or influence'*. The circumstances in the underlying social process are of influence on the individual development. This background and theory lead to the following research questions.

Research Questions

Main question
What are the values and critical issues of a TfD project, used as a tool to bring about development of its *target group*[2], and for the development and empowerment of the individual actors within a TfD project?

Sub questions
1. What are the potential values and critical issues of using TfD as tool to bring about development within a *community*[3]?

2. What were the values of the TfD project *'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!'* for the development and empowerment of its *participants*[4]?
      a. Value of theatre making process
      b. Value of underlying social process
      c. Value of individual development process

Method

This thesis will begin with an extensive *literature research* on the values of TfD. Many practitioners of TfD have been writing about their theories and experiences, what they see as important values of TfD and where they have struggles with it. Following the *snowball method*, the most productive authors are selected and will be discussed. Since the writings of Boal are a great inspiration for a lot practitioners of today, as well for me, his method and theory will be discussed extensively. This literature research should give insight in the potential values and critical issues of using TfD as tool to bring about development.

Having discussed this literature on TfD, we will turn to the values of the project 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!' in Sikasso. For two months we have been working with nine unemployed young people on a play. During this process I made notes of my observations, which are the most important source to deal with the second sub question: '*What were the values of the TfD project 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!' for the development and empowerment of its participants?*' The goal of our project was *'to activate'* its participants, therefore the definition of Rappaport of *'empowerment as increased self determination and democratic participation in the life of one's community'* is useful to analyse the value of the project for its participants. This definition makes clear the interrelatedness of the social and individual development, and therefore somehow justifies our distinction in the value of the *theatre making process*, the *underlying social process* and the *individual development process*.

The outcome of the literature research will be used as theoretical framework to analyse the value of the *theatre making process* in the 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!' project in Sikasso, Mali. The design and execution of the theatre making process will be extensively described. The effect and appreciation of the theatre making process for the group members will be linked back to the values of TfD that came out of the first chapter.

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[2] Depending on the goal, theory and method of a TfD project, the 'target group' is defined. It can be a few people making a play together, but it can be the whole community of a village as well. Depending on the project the audience can be included in the 'target group' or not.

[3] This first sub question will be answered using literature on TfD, most practitioners of TfD define their target group as the whole community of a certain village, therefore the term 'community' is chosen here.

[4] This second question will be answered using the experiences of the 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!' project in Sikasso. Here the target group was limited to the participants, the members of the theatre group, the actors, therefore here the term 'participants' is chosen.

During the process, I became increasingly aware of the importance of a well guided underlying social process for the functioning of the group, to work towards its tasks of a good theatre performance within a pleasant work environment. To analyse the underlying social process and the development process of the individual, there was a need for some model or framework in which I could place my observations. As far as this literature research went, no theories were found which were specific for a TfD project setting. Literature that was on the group dynamics within a theatre group setting, was too western oriented. For instance: *Social identification, stress and citizenship in teams* by Haslam, Jetten and Waghorn (2009). This was too much focused on the western perception and experience of stress, so not really valuable to describe the Sikasso project. Therefore general theories on team development, group dynamics and self-determination of the individual are being used. I carried out a search for useful tools to describe these processes, this search should not be seen as a literature research as such, therefore it is to narrow. I was short in time given the ECTS credits for a Bsc thesis, therefore it wasn't in my ability to have this literature research more extensive.

The dynamics of the underlying social process will be described using the theories of Tuckman and Glasl & Ballreich. These theories will be explained after which I will use them to analyse the underling social process of the Sikasso project. From here the value of this process for the individual empowerment of the participant should come to the surface. The theories of Tuckman and Glasl & Ballreich enabled me to analyse the underlying process and to use it for my personal development in future group activities. As for the other participants I assume they also tacitly learned from this experience, which in the words of Rappaport *'empowers them to better participate in the life of their community'*.

To deal with the individual development process towards more self determination, firstly the Self-Determination Theory will be discussed. Making use of this theory, the dynamics of the individual development process of the group members will be analysed. The activation and empowerment of the participants is discussed, which should make clear the value of this process for the unemployed young people of the project. For this last part of the second sub question, the evaluation interviews I had with seven actors are an important source as well.

Having followed this method, it should be possible to answer in the conclusion the main question of this thesis. *What are the values and critical issues of a TfD project, used as a tool to bring about development of its target group, and for the development and empowerment of the individual actors within a TfD project?*

Content

In this first introduction chapter, the background and context of this thesis are being explained. It is made clear why it is interesting and necessary to analyse the values of TfD. The research questions are made clear and the working method is explained. The rest of this thesis will work towards answering the sub questions and in the end the main question.

The following chapter, chapter two, will analyse the potential values and critical issues of the use of TfD. First the historical background of TfD will be given, how it is started and developed. Special attention will be paid to the writings of Boal. After which different literature will be discussed from which the values of using TfD should come to the surface. Out of this literature research came as well the struggles, say critical issues, practitioners of TfD are facing.

The third chapter will deal with the values of the theatre making process. First the findings of chapter two will be set out as a theoretical framework for this chapter. After which the design and execution of the Sikasso project will be explained. Having described the project, it will be linked back to the values and issues that came out of the previous

chapter. Are the same values and issues of TfD seen in the Sikasso project?

The fourth chapter will be about the underlying social process. First the theories of Tuckman (1965) and Glasl & Ballreich (2001) will be explained, which will be used as theoretical framework to analyse the underlying social process. From having this process analysed, the importance of it for the final goal of the project, the development and empowerment of its participants should be clear.

The fifth chapter will deal with the individual development process. In this chapter the Social-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) will provide the theoretical framework to analyse the dynamics of this process. Therefore this chapter will begin with an explanation of this theory. A research of Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) on the behaviour of unemployed people, will be summarized shortly, since this is interesting to compare with the behaviour of the unemployed youth of Sikasso. Having set up a theoretical framework, from here the individual development of the participants will be described. Besides, using the evaluation interviews, there will be dealt with how they experienced and appreciated the project.

In the conclusion the values and critical issues of the theatre making process, underlying social process and individual development process will be summarized. With all this information, the main question can be answered. Besides that, a suggestion for further research will be done.

2. The potential values and critical issues of Theatre for Development

2.1 Shift in perspective on development

As explained in the Introduction, development aid is under constant debate and revision. With having new scientific insights and getting every day more experience in practice, the development perspective is constantly changing. For this thesis it is not necessary to deal with it in depth, though for the overview it is of use to now a bit the context. Therefore a bit simplistic and generalised the shift in perspective on development will be described.

For decennia Third World countries have been colonised, not only their country itself and their natural resources, but also their language, religion, actually their whole culture. After the independence they were supposed to take care of themselves, organise their own government, social services, security etc. But decennia of being colonised has made the people passive objects of their situation. All these years of being colonised, their world was named for them (Prentki[5], 2002). Now they were 'independent', but in practice they weren't able, they hadn't enough competence, to organise their own state. Because they were not able to develop themselves, a large group of devoted development workers entered the stage, telling them how to develop.

There have been different paradigms on the practice of development aid. The *modernization theory* experienced his heyday in the early 1960s, it states that: *'The primary task of underdeveloped countries was to create, through educational expansion modeled on Northern school systems, a modernizing elite which would supposedly foster the capitalist and democratic conditions necessary to transform underdeveloped countries into modern nations'* (Roxborough 20-22 in Kerr[6], 1991, p. 56). In practice, African states generally failed to achieve economic takeoff. The other well known and applied model of development was Marxist. Although African socialism achieved progressions in fields such as literacy and mass communication, in general it failed and Marxist models for African development came discredited by the mid 1970s.

Development theorist became aware there was need for an urgent rethink of developmental strategies. In the 1970 'Dependency theory' of underdevelopment came up (Frank, Wallerstein, Amin). *'New emphasis was placed on the need to delink African economies form the Northern core metropoles and to seek appropriate technologies for laying the foundation of an indigenous industry. Perhaps most important for aid funding, it was felt necessary to mitigate the effects of urban/rural disparities by channeling aid to NGOs rather than to state bureaucracies'* (Ibid, p. 56).

These post-colonial development programs had in common they were all mostly top-down organised, this way the locals stayed passive objects of their history. The degree of participation was low, and therefore they weren't able to continue the project after the facilitators had left. In other words, the projects weren't sustainable. Which in turn lead to the frustration of a lot of development workers and to debate about the usefulness of development aid at all. There was a pressing need for other, more sustainable development methods. Development workers learned from their experiences, and a huge amount of qualitative as well as quantitative research has been done to develop more effective methods.

General conclusion was that projects should be more bottom-up organised instead

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[5] Tim Prentki is a professor at Winchester University, UK, his research interest is TfD, political theatre and 'the fool in the theatre' and he teaches TfD and Applied Theatre, he is active both in practice as well as theory (Winchester University, 2010)

[6] David Kerr has been practicing Theatre for Development in Malawi.

of top-down. The local community should be more involved, there should be a high degree of participation in the planning as well as the action, they should have the feeling they 'own' the project. When they play a bigger part in the project, it is more likely they will be able to continue the project by themselves. 'Participation' became a central word in every development project plan. To set up a bottom-up project, communication plays a central role. Research on effective development methods, was therefore from now on a lot about the right communication methods.

2.2 The start of the Theatre for Development (TfD) movement

'Theatre workers responded to this need in the late 1970s with the "Theatre for Development" movement' (Kerr, p. 57). In this quote Kerr refers to the need for more participatory communication methods, since development workers were aware of the fact in the former theories of Modernization, Marxism and Dependency, the cultural component was missing.

Theatre can be used in various way to bring about development. The focus can be on the end-product, the performance, which can function as tool to entertain and/or educate. This was the focus of the *Laedza Batanani* model (Botswana), frequently used in Africa during the late 1970s and early 1980s and on which the current model of TfD is based,; *'Community workers researched the developmental problems of that area, created plays through collective improvisation which highlighted some of the issues at stake, and performed the plays for the community to stimulate discussion, leading to community action that would hopefully overcome the development constrains.'* (Kerr, p. 59). The focus was on the advantage of overcoming illiteracy and the attraction of drama as entertainment.

Critique on this model was its workshop format, or "project syndrome". The theater worker's usual two-week stay was way to short to understand the processes going on in certain community. Kerr is pointing on the Tanzanian experiences of Mlama (2002), through which he addressed this problem. Mlama has been doing more long term projects, with more long term visits included. Other element of this model that needed rethinking, was the fact that in this model plays were created by theater facilitators from the outside. In practice it turned out this wasn't the way to stimulate more democratic debate. *'If people are left out of the action and dialogue in the play, it's difficult to turn them on like a tap when it's all over'* (Kidd, "Liberation" 5, in Kerr, p. 61). Prentki (2002) is seeing the problem of end-product orientated theatre as well: *'They* (the villagers) *assemble as requested, sit in a circle around the performance space, watch a skit and maybe join in the singing and dancing at the end and then wait to be told what to do; how to dig a well; how to wear a condom; where to queue up for immunisation. In other words, even though the techniques may now be more sophisticated, the power relations remain the same. Years of top-down development practices have left communities firmly in the grip of a self-image which declares them to be ignorant people in need of outside help for their own good. They are passive objects to whom something needs to be done.'*(Prentki, p. 124)

Such insights led to the search for more participatory methods. The Ahmadu Bello University Theatre Collective (ABUTC) in Nigeria was inspired by the ideas of Kidd and Boal. Their projects, from 1977 to 1982, were developed getting more and more participative. ABUTC catalysts, like Ola Abah, sought inspiration in Boal, but also in theories developed by popular theatre else where. An innovation they made, was to not evaluate the success of a campaign by counting the cabbages planted or the condoms distributed. Instead, they let the villagers incorporate not only in the post-performance discussions, but also in the creation of the plays themselves. *'In explaining the increasing appropriation of their land by outside agencies, the farmers "role-played" various ways they could question and resist these practices. After each "rehearsal" the farmers analyzed their action – its limitations and potential obstacles – and then redramatized their course of action'* (Etherton, "Popular

Drama Work 15" in Kerr, p. 61). Despite the effort traveling university theatre groups did to *"taking theater to the people"*, practitioners grew dissatisfied with the concept. *'Such practices were, they felt, premised on the patronizing assumption that the people were deprived of culture and need intellectual "manna" from the university'* (Kerr, p. 58).

Using theatre in a more participatory way, let to a shift in focus from the end-product to the theatre making process. TfD projects of today are not only, or sometimes even not at all, focusing on the end-product, the performance. Instead, they make full use of the potential of letting people play theatre. Practicing theatre can be a rich experience for the individual as well as a community. By most TfD practitioners of today the theatre making process is seen as most valuable when using theatre as development tool.

While orientating on what has been written on theatre and development, one could get confused of all the different terms being used: popular theatre, theatre in education, people's theatre, forum theatre, action theatre, etc. Since all these terms represent more or less the same method, using theatre for development, Prentki is arguing that all practitioners should adopt the term *Theatre for Development* (TfD), therefore this term will be used in this thesis as well.

TfD practitioners have a broad vision on development. Abah[7] reconsiders here the definition of community development. Official and agency definitions are most of the time focusing on economic growth. *'There is a constant change in the definition of development and participation, which very often reflects and reinforces the programmatic interests of the development industry managers (WB, IMF, OECD and the development agencies of powerful nations)'* (Abah, 2007, p. 436). The villager, who is undergoing this development, might have other perceptions of what he sees as development. What makes development real, according to Abah is not only the fulfilling of physical needs, but also the spiritual as well as the psychological. Prentki is seeing development also in a broader context, he's bringing forward that being colonised, have done more damage to these countries then is often assumed. Therefore the focus should be as well on cultural aspects, to give people their dignity back, to transform them in active subjects instead of passive objects. Okagbue[8] (2002): *'....that development did not just mean acquiring Western technology, living in well-built and well-furnished houses, driving cars etc. Like culture, development consist of both material and non-material aspects, and that for real development to occur the two aspects have to be present'* (p. 81).

It's remarkable that most of the authors on TfD begin their literature with their definition of development, from which they present TfD as the perfect tool to reach this sustainable development. *'If development is understood as a process in which people's conditions – material, social, political or cultural – are changed, then theatre with its immense transformative potential seems to be an ideal form through which to explore a community's developmental aspirations and possibilities'* (Prentki, 1998, p. 420). TfD can contribute to projects in all aspects of development, such as health care, education, children's rights and poverty, it should not be seen as an aspect as such.

The method of Boal lies at the heart of many TfD practices of today (Prentki, 1998). Therefore before going on with describing the different functions the theatre making process can have for development, we'll be dealing with Boal's theory and method.

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[7] Oga Steve Abah is a professor of TfD, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. He has been doing research in the TfD area since 1980. He has always been working in an interplay between classroom and the field, theory and practice (Abah, 2007, p. 447)

[8] Osita Okagbue is senior lecturer in theatre and performance Studies, at the University of Plymouth, UK.

2.3 Boal

One of the first, and probably the most inspiring for other practitioners was Augusto Boal (1931-2009), an influential writer, director and theatre scientist from Brazil. His book 'Theatre of the Oppressed', first published in 1973, is still really useful for practitioners of today and his theory still applicable. *'It is the philosophical foundation of the whole system of Theatre of the Oppressed, so it cannot change because I have not changed my opinions about theatre, about history, or about the voracious political systems that prevail in most parts of the world.'* (Boal, 2008, p. ix). He is suggesting, and during his live he practiced, influencing changes in the practice of theatre. His leading argument through the whole book is that theatre should be given back to the public. In it's very origin, ancient Greek, it were the ordinary people who made theatre and enjoyed to do so. The authorities made rules and restrictions for the practice of theatre, which Boal sees as an unforgivable mistake. Through his book, Boal is explaining different ideas und uses of theatre there have been through history. He is doing so to strengthen his argument of the use of theatre, it explains in a nice way with more functions theatre when you let the audience participate more actively. Therefore here his historical description of the use of theatre will be summarized shortly.

With stepping away for the chorus to have a dialog with them, Thespis, a figure living in ancient Greece, is seen as the first actor (6th century BC). Before in the Greek tragedy the chorus was always harmoniously singing the same words, the whole play long. This action of Thespis shows clearly how theatre can give people a voice; *'without realising it, Thespis had created the Protagonist, the Proto, the First, the one who stands alone, the one who rebels, thinks and acts for himself '* (Boal, p. xiii)

The authorities saw clear the power of theatre and therefore thought of it as being extremely dangerous. Solon the Great, a law maker: *'The people might not understand your little game* (the improvisation of Thespis)*, this lie, could pollute our culture – and there's nothing good in that. There's good in what the Chorus sings, in what's been written down and read by us, before being sung by you people. These freethinking notions are extremely dangerous.'* (Boal, p. xiii) While scaring Thespis with the dead punishment, Solon continues: *'What you actually said doesn't matter. It doesn't matter which words you used. What matters is that you demonstrated that things could be said. You showed them it was possible to speak out. You showed the people that each can think with his own head, choose his own words. This just won't do: it sets a bad example. I know that they can, but it must not be generally known.'* (Boal, p. xiii, xiv)

While rejecting it for this reason, Solon describes exactly the power of theatre and why it is so useful for people to escape from their oppression. Despite the angry Solon, Thespis continued being the protagonist, he enjoyed it and was also encouraged by the public, who loved his improvisations. Later on, by others, the *Deuteragonist* and the *Tritagonist* were invented and a dialogue was established on the stage. This changed theatre dramatically because now it was possible to have dialogue, there was discontinuity between two opinions, two possibilities, it shows there's more than one way. *'Dialogue is Democracy'* (Boal, p. xvi).

This is why Plato[9] thought as well of theatre as being something dangerous. All these actors on the stage having different ideas, doing bad things, this might inspire the public to protest and do bad things. Aristotle[10], a pupil of Plato, said: *'Amicus Plato, sed magis amicia Veritas!'* Which means he is a friend of Plato, but a closer friend of truth. Aristotle reasoned why theatre was such a beautiful thing to direct the public. It doesn't matter whether the

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[9] Plato (427-347 B.C.) the founder of the first philosophical school, the 'Academy' and one of the most influencing philosophers in history (Palmer, 2000).
[10] Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) on of the most dedicated pupils of Plato, after the dead of Plato he established his own academy; the 'Lyceum', in which he taught and criticized the work of Plato (Palmer, 2000).

Protagonist is doing bad things or not, it is even all right that the public identifies themselves with the Protagonist. He called this phenomena *Empathia*. Actually it is a good thing the public shares in the pleasures of the bad things the Protagonist is doing, because this way you can, by letting the Protagonist being punished for his sins, and regret them, let the public rethink that it is not a good idea to act like this. Aristotle: *'Listen, the audience is empathetically identified with the Protagonist. They think with his head, they feel with his heart. You only need the Protagonist to repent, to do a bit of 'mea culpa', end it'll be sorted. And I'm calling this confession Anagnorisis. Like it?'*[11] (Boal, p. xviii).

The main function of the Greek tragedy and the Aristotelian system of tragedy is repression, because according to Aristotle, the principal aim of tragedy is to provoke *Catharsis*: because people have seen something happening on the stage, they don't see the necessity anymore to act so themselves. They already saw the action, and its consequences. In this system *'dramatic action substitutes for real action'* (Boal, p. 135)

Centuries later, there was Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), a controversial theatre maker and theorist. He didn't agree with the ideas of Aristotle, theatre as substitute for real action, instead the argued: *'dramatic action throws light upon real action, the spectacle is a preparation for action'* Boal, p. 135). The audience should not feel emotionally connected with the protagonist at all, because he should think for himself. To make sure the audience didn't feel emotionally connected, he used the '*Vervremdungseffekt*'. This method allows everything, all theatrical techniques, to remind the spectators all the time they are watching a play, to make sure they do not get to much emotionally involved, but think critically about what's happening (Boal, 2008).

Boal is stating that Brecht made a great progression, but still the huge gap between the actor and the spectator remains. Boal's most innovative idea is that the audience should not sit stock-still watching a play, but they should act themselves. They should transform from passive spectators, into actors, people who can transform the dramatic action, for which Boal uses the term 'Spec-Actors'. This way the Spec-actor can train himself for real action.

Boal developed his methods and theories, for the participation of the audience, while working on a literacy project of the Peruvian Government. *'We considered theatre as a language, with the advantage that everybody speaks it, literate or illiterate, with or without artistic talent. The language of theatre is of great use for the oppressed, to express themselves and to discover new concepts in this new language.'* (Boal, p. 97) Boal is inspired by the ideas of Paulo Freire and his 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1971). In short, Freire's theory is that to escape from their oppression, first of all people should reflect extensively on why and how they are being oppressed. When they understand how they came into the position they are, they will be able to change something about it (Freire, 1971). Boal is actually giving method to practice the pedagogy of Freire. The method of Boal is meant to make people more aware: of what is oppressing them, what their position is in this oppression, where they can find solutions. Boal sees theatre as a perfect way to do this.

The human body is the first word of the theatrical vocabulary. So to produce theatre in a controlled way, one must control his own body, know his own body. By helping people to be aware of their own muscular structures, you help them towards being able to assemble structures of others, in others words, to play someone else. When knowing the body, one will be able to participate in different theatrical actions, which will transform him from an spectator into an actor. Being able to make your body expressive is necessary when one wants to play theatre, others should be able to understand what you're trying to tell.

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[11] Boal (p. xix): '…Aristotle wasn't as plainspoken as I have made him out to be. He was well educated, used to reading between the lines and spotting nuances. As for poor old me, I come from Penha, a working-class area in the north of Rio de Janeiro, where we call a spade a spade. So I have to be more direct, more objective. I have to tell the brutal truth! It's my destiny; I'm condemned to speak clearly.'

When comfortable with your body and being able to make it expressive, people are ready to use *'theatre as a language'*. Which has got three degrees: simultaneous dramaturgy, image theatre and forum theatre. In every next degree, the level of participation of the spectator is higher. Forum theatre is probably the most known method of Boal, it works as follows: on a certain social or political problem of difficult solution a scene is being played. All the stakeholders watch it, at the end of scene they can tell whether they agree with the solution being presented in the play. The change one suggest should be played by this person himself.

Boal is stating that theatre itself is not revolutionary, but his working methods may be a *'rehearsal of revolution'*. On the stage the action is fictional, but at least there was action, which inspires people to take action as well in real live. In this form of theatre the catharitical effect is completely avoided. Boal's theory is, by letting people try taking action on stage, in a fictive world, will *'...create a sort of uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks fulfilment through real action.'* (Boal, p. 98) and *'It is not the place of the theatre to show the correct path, but only to offer the means by which all possible paths may be examined.'* (Boal, 119).

Everything described so far are forms of *rehearsal-theatre*, and not *spectacle-theatre*. These forms of rehearsal-theatre are very successful and practiced by the spec-actors with joy. But, it is also possible for them to practice forms of theatre that come more close to real spectacles. Boal, together with other theatre makers, developed different methods to do so: newspaper theatre, invisible theatre, photo-romance, breaking of repression, myth theatre, analytical theatre and rituals & masks. He is describing all these methods practically, ready for use. All are meant to get a more finished form of theatre, but following a method in which the players and audience are triggered to think critically about their society and their individual position in it.

2.4 The values of Theatre for Development
2.4.1 The roots of the problem
TfD can be seen as communication method with, when right practised, a high degree of participation. With emphasis on *'when right practised'*, because their have been TfD projects forcing communities to practice theatre a certain, Western, way. Or projects where already a lot was fixed by the facilitator and in practice not much space was left for the communities to define their own problems and own possible solutions. In these projects the degree of participation was too low to lead to sustainable outcomes.

The TfD practitioners of today put emphasis on having the degree of participation high as possible. By letting people decide what should happen in the scene, which subject, which action, which characters, they become aware they are in charge of something. They move from being object into being the subject of their situation. Though this is happening in the safe space of fiction, it is the first step in the right direction. If the whole community is participating in the project, truly democratic, the road is paved for the transition from fiction into social action. TfD is focusing to evoke sustainable self-development within a community, to do so the community should be critically conscious of the sake of the project, which can be evoked by doing theatre (Prentki, 2002).

Through theatre the villagers were able to analyse the structures of domination and dependence, to make their own resolution in response, and to decide the best methods of implementing the resolutions. Theatre proved to be most suited to this task because it enabled the villagers to produce and distribute messages from their own perspective. (Mda[12], 1993, p. 179). Zakes Mda is being cited here, but the idea that theatre is really effective in

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[12] Zakes Mda is professor in creative writing: fiction and play writing, at Ohio University, US (University of Ohio, 2010)

getting the problems of a community on the surface is widely shared. Mlama[13] (2002) is stating that the community's perspective often point to the *roots of problems*, which a development expert is often not able to.

According to Mavrocordatos[14] (2002) sketches on daily issues create openings for public discussions of issues that would not emerge during formal meetings. He gives a nice example of how a sketch can give valuable information. In a certain village in Mali, there is the problem of malnutrition. People made a sketch of it and the audience was asked to participate in finding the solution. Their solution was to go to the Commandant to ask for emergency food aid. At the same time, youths of the village were together with an NGO digging half-moon shaped trenches to harvest the minimal rainwater and nourish their dry land, so they would be able to grow their own millet. The fact that they didn't mentioned this solution in the theatre, tells they did not 'own' this solution. Which is of course important informant for this NGO. This would probably never have come to the surface in a formal meeting.

2.4.2 TfD doesn't rely on literacy
Other advantage of using theatre as communication tool, is that it *doesn't rely on literacy* or a well developed infrastructure. In developing countries the rate of illiteracy is high and it's infrastructure not so well developed. Only few, urban people have access to modern media, such as television, radio and internet. Not having access to this modern media is not the only disadvantage of it, this modern media is also broadcasting messages formulated elsewhere, of which the communities should be passive audience. Therefore TfD is a suitable alternative, since it's essence is interactivity to mobilises local knowledge and perspectives.

2.4.3 Establishment of an effective communication tool
TfD starts and ends with the expressive potential of the body (Prentki, 1998). As we read in the method of Boal, before being able to use the body to play theatre, asks for some preparations. But once established, it will stay as an effective, useful and participatory communication tool. Mavrocordatos is even making a distinction in TfD projects where the outcome is evaluated in non-theatrical forms, and projects where the theatre is seen *as* the development. Mavrocordatos favours the latter, he thinks the fact people played theatre and there is an *effective communication tool established*, which can be used for future problems, can be for sure enough results of a TfD project. *'The latter is a more difficult strategy to sell to project-funders who look for more tangible outcomes than the empowering processes involved in participating in acts of fiction.'* (Mavrocordatos, 1998, p. 11)

2.4.4 Concrete action and change
Abah (2002) doesn't see theatre *as* the development, he is focusing on the *liberation process*. TfD makes it possible to have discussion in a more participatory way, to solve community issues, cause a positive shift in perspectives, this way it will have an empowering function on participants. However, according to Abah, empowerment is 'just' a middle point in the process to reach the final destination of TfD. This destination is *concrete action and change* in the community. The liberation process (the final goal), is divided in two phases of action: the workshop, doing the theatre, through this awareness is created, critical questions are asked and challenges thrown. The second phase is the real action phase, which is meant to bring about concrete changes in the community. *'Liberation is the ultimate goal and we*

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[13] Penina Mlama is chief academic officer at University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Mlama, 2002).
[14] Alex Mavrocordatos is member of the staff team on the MA community Drama for Development, King Alfred's College, Winchester, UK. He has extensive experience in West and Southern Africa (Mavrocordatos, 1998 and 2002).

arrive there through empowerment. People are said to be empowered when there is critical awareness, on the basis of which action may be taken. The power to act and to influence one's environment lies at the core of liberation.' (Abah, p.71)

Kerr, who is talking about the successful participatory methods of Boal and ABUTC, which gave the tools of analysis to the poor, is stating that in order for such tools to by effective, they must be made available to the popular organizations that can transform the results of analysis through practice. *'It is not enough simply to express problems (through theatre) if this is not linked with critical analysis of and action on the underlying causes and structures; it is not enough to rehearse struggle if this does not lead to struggle'* (Kidd, People's Theatre, 15 in Kerr, p. 63).

Abah and Kerr could not be said having complete opposed views on TfD compared to Mavrocordatos. It could be said Marvrocordatos is having the focus on the near future, in which your results would only be having theatre as communication tool established, it might be seen as the first phase of Abah's liberation process. With seeing concrete action and change as final goal, Abah and Kerr are having the distant future in mind.

One striking example of an African TfD movement linked to real struggle is that of Kamiriithu Theatre in Kenya (Kerr, 1991). Two famous productions of them, namely *Ngahiikga Ndeenda* and *Maitu Njugira*, caused a lot events; imprisonment of the author Ngûgî wa Thiong'o, the banning of Ngahiika Ndeena, the refusal of a license to perform at the University of Nairobi, the destruction of the Kamiriithu Theater by Kenyan police, and the subsequent flight of KCECC intellectuals. The co-author of Ngûgî wa Thiong'o, Ngûgî wa Mirii, was working in a literacy office. A remarkable result of *Ngahiikga Ndeenda* was the growth of literacy in Kamiriithu. Besides that, there were other results like a decline in alcohol-related crime and other social abuses, which were common in a peri-urban settlement like Kamiriithu. *'The major difference between the developmental successes of Kamiriithu and those of other Theatre for Development programs is that the funding and the decision-making were almost entirely in the hands of the community, rather than in those of development agencies trying to assist the supposedly underdeveloped masses'* (Kerr, p. 64).

2.4.5 Safe space
Next to the advantage of the no reliance on literacy or well developed infrastructure, the use of the body has some more advantages. Prentki is arguing that always and everywhere people have used different forms of art to express themselves and their relation with their environment and social surrounding. Theatre takes a special place in the different forms of art, because it uses the human body as its medium. Because of this, theatre comes to images which are more close to reality than any other form of art. Though, it is not reality, but a *safe space* to try out things, give comment and offer alternatives. You can try out possibilities, knowing that consequences are never fatal. People can try out roles different from their reality, peasants can be chiefs, women can be men. *'All forms of transgression can be explored and all norms of reality subverted.'* (Prentki, 1998, p. 420).

2.4.6 Sensitive issues
Not only is the degree of participation higher, with using theatre, you can also reach a broader field. Prentki & Lacey: *'Many sensitive issues, which may be too delicate or dangerous to discuss openly, can be explored through the use of drama. Playing the role of a different character allows people to say things that would not be possible in their own voices'*. Mavrocordatos had valuable experiences with this in the Tana community, Mali. Here women didn't had the right to voice their opinions in public meeting, so although there was a play on courtship there were only men in it. When it was performed, women weren't pleased at all with how they were portrayed; as money-hungry and fickle. It led to a heated public debate and women decided to make a play themselves, playing as well the men roles

to show how the saw the behaviour of the men.

2.5 The use of indigenous art forms

2.5.1 Mutual learning process

It is being discussed by different TfD authors in which degree they should take indigenous art forms into account. There are practitioners implementing their methods, without looking at already existing indigenous performance forms. *'For example, the UNICEF-sponsored immunization program, which is using theatre as part of its mass information campaign, has adopted a top-down approach to the communication of information'* (Kerr, p. 66). These practitioners prefer to use Western methods they are used to work with. A *Western*, alien, form of making theatre was used, to explore the issues of an *African* community (Okagbue, 2002).

Mlama (2002) argues it is better to use indigenous forms, and this way make it a *mutual learning process*. Let the community challenge your artistic superiority, expose your clumsiness with their traditional dance, recitation, or mime. This will also change the view of the community of having an expert tell them what they, passive objects, should be doing. Mavrocordatos' (2002) project in Mali was totally based on the indigenous art forms.

Next to these radically different ways of implementing TfD, there are also a lot of practitioners who chose to do something in between. TfD is more than any communication tool *suitable to be combined with indigenous art forms*. Every community in the world has in some way already an form of performance art, which can be used in TfD, which is easy and effective. The community feels more familiar with their own communication forms, which they are more able to understand well and through which they can express themselves clearly.

2.5.2 Create identity through a common form of theatrical expression

For the project of Okagbue in Mediana (2002) could be argued that it was difficult to use an indigenous form, since it wasn't such a homogenous community with a certain indigenous folk form of its own. But Okagbue himself is not seeing this as excuse to leave indigenous forms out of the picture: *'The ethnic rivalry which existed in the community was part of the reason why there was a lack of communal feeling and theatre could have helped by first creating, with the people, a sense of identity through a common form of theatrical expression. But we missed that opportunity and instead presented them with a finished theatre, but one which they could not be really part of because it was not from and of them. They simply consumed the fare, with obvious pleasure it must be said, but nothing else.'* (Okagbue, 2002, p. 87)

2.5.3 Tension between respecting indigenous art forms and trying to change something

In his article Okagbue's main argument is that *'… theatrical performances are very much part of the cultural en social processes of society and they are therefore implicated in the politics of identity and its representation in society.'* (Okagbue, 2007, p. 114) To prove this, he uses the example of performances in Mali and Nigeria, where although there are many women in the audience and female characters in the play, women remain on the sideline in the theatre making process. Okagbue argues this is not by accident, but in both societies, women are indeed 'at the side line'. Victor Turner: cultures *'are most fully expressed in and made conscious of themselves in their ritual and theatrical performances'* (Okagbue, 2007, p. 119) In this we clearly see a problem: on the one hand we want to use TfD to change something, at the other hand we should take into account and respect the indigenous forms. So what to do when one wants to change the fact women are on the sideline, but wants to use a indigenous form of theatre as well?

The answer lies probably in finding a good balance between using indigenous forms

and implementing new ones. According to Prentki the role of a facilitator, who intervenes in a optimal level, is of crucial importance. To come to this 'balance of optimal intervention', a facilitator should somehow dive into the community, to take care the locals will in the end let go the idea of seeing him as expert and themselves as objects. The image should emerge that they are working together, as equals, for the same goal, with the same purpose in mind. This is a time consuming method, and therefore not always possible to practice, because project funding is more short term, quick result, oriented.

2.5.4 Huge potential of using indigenous art forms
The possibility of TfD to use indigenous art forms is an advantage, compared to other communication strategies, like the modern media, which are not contextualised in the local settings *'Communication as a process is hinged on the cultural dialects within a society. Since culture shapes the environment within which a message is decoded, indigenous media forms such as very specific performances – dance, music, drama, drums and horns, village criers, orators and story tellers – continue to present themselves as effective channels for disseminating messages in predominantly rural societies where the population tends to be predominantly 'orate' or 'oral-ate' rather than 'liter-ate'* (Mushengyezi, 2003, p. 108).

Okagbue is putting another advantage of using indigenous forms forward. He is stating that the ideal Tfd needs *'...to abolish the distinction between stage space and audience space and establish instead one creative and liberating space in which both the community and the cultural worker can embark on a journey of discovery'* (Okagbue, p. 90). But actually, in many traditional African performance forms the line between actor and spectator had never been that strict or even never existed. So indigenous forms should be extensively explored when one wants to use TfD. The potential of using this indigenous forms should be fully exploited.

2.6 Challenges for TfD
In its ideal, most participative form, TfD is practiced not in a certain project with a special focus. Instead a facilitator, animateur, enters the stage, to guide the community in the process of identifying, understanding and solving development issues (Mlama, 2002). Here lies the problem of TfD directly, it is difficult to find a donor who is interested in sponsoring a project of which the goal and it's focus are not clear before the start. Stating your goal is making theatre, seeing theatre *as* development (Mavrocordatos, 1998), also probably won't lead directly to a heap of money. The problem with the development industry of today, is that it wants to see clear goals and quick, measurable, yet sustainable result. You can see the tension through this demand clearly. The fact the success story of the Kamiriithu Theatre in Kenya was not depending on development agencies, is another striking example of the difficulties TfD faces with the development agencies. How should TfD manage to secure a good position in the ambiguous development industry?

Okagbue (2002) is having difficulties with answering the question whether the effort of his project in Ghana was really successful. He is positive about the fact that they trained the core team to practice TfD and come to a performance. They succeeded to *'...raise questions, highlight issues, make the connection between seemingly unconnected social problems and in the process to challenge our spectators' perceptions of these problems and issues...'*. He continues: *'But, as always with centre-to-periphery model of development communication, the community was expecting answers that we could not give, and miracles we could not perform.'* (Okagbue, 2002, p. 84) More than setting new light on the problems didn't happen, they left the people very much as they had found them. Okagbue is stating he should have been using a more participative form, a more bottom-up method of making theatre, but one can wonder whether in that case the people were left in a different way.

Once having identified the main problem a community is dealing with, it is often

found that the heart of this problem lies at macro level, on which the community has got no influence. *'The successful move from a position of apathy to "we can do it" quickly degenerates into "you can never win" situation.'* (Mlama, 2002, p. 49). Mlama is putting emphasis on this problem and argues that TfD practitioners should therefore put their head together to discuss how TfD could be more effective for development, to divine it's role for the development of Africa in the 21st century. The macro level forces that undermine Africa's development are enormous, and TfD has so far not proven it can overcome this forces. In this context, Kerr is pleading to have more TfD plays which are addressing macro level issues and are presented towards the petty-bourgeoisie: *'In a society that suffers from a deep-rooted authoritarianism, a theater devoted to the conscientization of the petty-bourgeoisie (regarded as a potential lever of social change) might have more genuine popular qualities than an apparently progressive, participatory popular theatre which merely mobilizes peasant or working class communities for social therapeutic purposes'* (Kerr, p. 69).

Kerr is being skeptical about TfD, he puts emphasis on the contradiction between the restricted political arena of African popular theatre and its theoretical participatory goals. With the restricted political arena, he means the fact there are so many one-party dictatorships in Africa; *'whether they be rightist or nominally leftist, certain limits are placed on popular mobilization.'* (Kerr, p. 65). During his work on a TfD project in Malawi he became concerned about the way state bureaucracies sought to control the process. They tried to blunt the element of class or social conflict which were raised in the plays. Besides that, the participants didn't feel free to come up with their very own issues. *'It is as if the groups have been creating plays which they hope will please the politicians or Ministry of Health officials, rather than analyzing the issues which really affect their own village'* (Kerr, p.66). Kerr argues that if the popular voice: *'….merely parrots the received wisdom of political despots or developmental gurus, then the people are participating in their own mystification. Popular theatre workers are tempted to assume that a participatory form is automatically liberating'* (Kerr, p. 68).

Kerr is asking himself how you can overcome the interference of political and bureaucratic elites in TfD projects, and how to prevent these elites simply continue to manipulate people by co-opting popular forms of culture. According to Kerr *'The solution is to find or to create the cultural space in which communities can maximize their critique of the prevailing hegemony without being subjected to excessive risk.'* (Kerr, p. 69).

2.7 Conclusion: the values and critical issues of TfD

Having done a literature research on the most productive authors on TfD, different values of TfD are found. Summarised these are the following, TfD: **comes to the roots of problems**; **doesn't rely on literacy or well developed infrastructure**; is an **effective communication tool**; brings about **concrete action and change**; is a **safe space** to try out things; can **explore sensitive issues** and is as no other communication tool suited to use **indigenous forms of expression** which can make it a **mutual learning process**, can be helpful to **create identity** and a traditional theatrical form might be very participatory already in its essence. This potential of using indigenous forms, should be fully exploited.

Authors also wrote on some critical issues of using TfD, say, important issues to pay attention to for the successfulness of a project and issues the TfD movement should consider in general. Factors important for the successfulness of a project are; the **level of participation** of a community; the **role of the facilitator** and the **use of indigenous art forms** instead of western orientated forms. Issues that the TfD movement should consider to establish it's position in the future are: the question whether TfD is able to make a change when the **roots of the problem are found on macro level**; the **non suitability of the African political arena** of dictatorships or not well functioning democracies to practice TfD and the **problems with the financing** of TfD projects when practiced in its most ideal form. In the

next chapter, the design and execution of the Sikasso project will be described and how it can be linked to the values and critical issues found in this literature research. The finding of this literature research will be used as theoretical framework for the following chapter.

3. The values of the theatre making process

3.1 Theory

The conclusions of the previous chapter provide a theory to describe the values and critical issues of the theatre making process in Sikasso. The following values of using theatre came to the surface. TfD; *comes to the roots of problems*, *doesn't rely on literacy or well developed infrastructure*, is an *effective communication tool,* brings about *concrete action and change*, is a *safe space to try out things*, can *explore sensitive issues*, is as no other communication tool *suited to use indigenous forms of expression* which can make it a *mutual learning process* and through which *identity* can be created.

Critical issues of TfD found in the literature research are the following. Factors important for the successfulness of a project are: the *level of participation* of a community; the *role of the facilitator* and the *use of indigenous art forms* instead of western orientated forms. Issues that the TfD movement should consider to establish it's position in the future are: the question whether TfD is able to make a change when the *roots of the problem are found on macro level*; the *non suitability of the African context* of dictatorships or not well functioning democracies to practice TfD and the *problems with the financing* of TfD projects when practiced in its most ideal form.

The design and execution of the theatre making process 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!' will be described, after which there will be analysed whether the values and critical issues, according the theory of the previous chapter, are found in the Sikasso project as well.

3.2 Design and execution of the theatre making process *'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!'*

3.2.1 Design of the project

3.2.1.1 Introducing the team and NGO Miriyawalé

This paragraph will begin with introducing the team and the NGO I worked with. Since I'm a student International Development, with a specialisation in communication and inspired by the potential of theatre, I was searching for a NGO active in the field of Theatre for Development to do my internship. This is how I came in touch with Janette de Haas. De Haas is one of the directors of NGO Miriyawalé, Sikasso, Mali. Miriyawalé means 'realizing ideas'; miriya = thoughts, and walé = doing or carrying out. The NGO is established with the idea to give the youth of Sikasso prospect and hope for the future. Mali is ranked at the bottom of the HDI index, place 178 of 182 countries (UNDP, 2010), and to flee their country seems for the youth the only possibility to escape from the extreme poverty. While this has for the country as well as the youth only negative consequences. It's a cliché, but the youth is the future. This young people have lots of potential, they can lift Mali out of poverty and make the early democracy a success. This is why Miriyawalé is focusing on the youth of Sikasso.

The mean activities of the NGO are based around their cultural centre within the district Mancaroni, Sikasso. In this save environment children and youngsters can play and learn. There is pedagogic guidance, which is a necessary addition to the situation at home and in schools. The centre is carrying out a combination of attention, creativity and education, culture and development (de Haas, Annual Report Miriyawalé, 2009). The strength of the centre is that it is as much as possible driven by local volunteers. They look

after and play together with the children, they organise cultural and sport activities and they cook together. The NGO is facilitating young people to realize their own ideas; whether it is a Malian guy willing to set up a soccer team to participate in the local tournament or a Dutch girl willing to do a theatre project.

Together with de Haas, I thought of a method to carrying out a theatre project. We decided on our target group, goals, planning and working method. The idea was it would be me carrying out the project and de Haas supervising and helping were necessary. At the final moment, the fortune smiled upon me and granted to me an inspiring colleague: Salomé Mooij. She had finished her high school in June 2009 and was actually planning to do an internship in Guinea Conakry. Because of the coup over there in September 2009, she was forced to flee to Mali. She fitted perfectly in the project since she had already quite some experience with playing theatre, especially improvising theatre.

3.2.1.2 Background and the goal of the Sikasso theatre project

The target group of our project were young, unemployed people. A short-sighted person could say the youth in Sikasso are idle, while according to me the term *apathetic* suits more. Where does this apathy come from? The rate of unemployment in Mali is extremely high, namely 30% of the labour force, being ranked at 180 of the 200 countries in the World Fact Book (CIA, 2010). Besides that, the hidden unemployment is probably quite high as well. You might have a job at the carpenter, but when there are no customers you will find yourself doing nothing, earning nothing. The young people have the idea it doesn't really matter whether they have a diploma or not, when not having the right connections, which counts for the majority, you're not likely to find a job. There are not much easy jobs to pick up, and to set up your own business you should have a quite enterprising spirit and of course some money to do a first investment. It is not that these young people don't want to, it is just almost impossible to make a living. This makes the youngster give up trying and losing their spirit, which could be interpreted as laziness.

The main goal of the theatre project was to activate the participants. It was not in our ability give them jobs, but we could try to help them keep their heads up. Through making theatre it was hoped the participants will surpass and surprise themselves of their abilities, regain self-confidence, learn to work in a group, have enjoying two months and through this get ideas, inspiration and hope for the future. Besides this main goal, a nice by-product of our project would be the performance. The play was going to be preformed at several places; at the centre, in schools and in prison. With our play we would entertain and hopefully inspire the audience.

3.2.1.3 Theory

How should the project activate the participants? To begin with, some very literally activation, from now on they had at least three mornings a week a reason to get out of bed. Three mornings they had an activity on which they were expected to be on time. Which is already quite a progress from having seven days a week nothing to do.

When a person is participating in a theatre making process he learns a lot about himself. They learn to use their body, to make it expressive and to use their mind creatively. People get more self-confidence and tend to blossom. Next to this development of the self, they are participating in a group process where they could share experiences and ideas. They have to take into account the opinion and wishes of the others and defend their own interests. Together they should create a comfortable working environment and come to a good end-product. For unemployed people it is a rich experience to work with a group and through this they meet new people.

I had been reading Boal in advance, which inspired me to do a project like this. Boal is expressing the power of theatre as no other, so probably for everyone dealing with

theatre his writings are interesting to read. Our project was meant to give people a voice, we used *theatre as a language*, like Boal is describing. The participants decided the content of the play. They could raise their voice what they saw as important, what they saw as a problem and where they saw solutions. And it wouldn't be only us, the facilitators, who would listen to them, at the end they would have the possibility to show their play to a wide audience, so a lot of people would hear them. This way, it was hoped to empower the participants.

3.2.1.4 Working Method
Although inspired by Boal we didn't plan to use his methods literally. Boal's main argument is to give the theatre back to the public, to involve the audience. In some degree we followed this, by making theatre with ordinary people instead of professional actors. But we did not plan to facilitate a certain form of Forum Theatre, the performance would be according to the classic model. Facilitating Forum Theatre in a successful way asks quite some specific training, which we all lacked.

Actually, before the start of the project the only certainty about our working method was we would make a play ourselves. The role of the participants should be as huge as possible, it was going to be *their play*. All the facilitators had experiences with theatre exercises and improvised theatre. We made the conscious decision not to describe extensively our working method on forehand. Instead we would adapt our working method to the circumstances; the amount, the level, the motivation and the interest of the participants. Participant on the project was on voluntary basis and the first week of the project we would get a group together. We decided to use mouth-to-mouth promotion and make a call on the local radio.

3.2.2 The execution of the project: The theatre making process
3.2.2.1 Starting up
The project started the beginning of November and lasted 2 months. The first two weeks were for orientation, for us as well as for the potential participants. As said, our working method wasn't that fixed, so we gave ourselves the space here to get to know the context and the potential of the participants. For the participants it was orientation as well, did they feel like working on a play with us for 2 months? These first weeks we had introduction rounds, group discussions and started with some drama exercises. We fixed the repetition days: Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday from 9 to 12. After each repetition we would have lunch together.

Explaining these exercises was not always that easy, all the exercises we were doing in the beginning were completely new for these people. Besides that, they had to translate my lousy French. Most beautiful to see was, for both parties this wasn't a reason to give up. I used my whole body to make things clear, the participants were most willing to understand and interpreted something and made a nice exercise out of it. We struggled, but most of all, we had a lot of fun.

3.2.2.2 Action!
After two weeks of orientation the group was fixed and we could start working on the actual play. The past two weeks we had been talking already on the problems the youth faces, now it was time for action! We gave the group some tools, ideas from which they could start improvising, just to see with what they would come up. For instance, we gave a certain object, to make a little scene around. But, what we got back was a complete play! We found out it wasn't a problem at all for the participants to come up with ideas for the play and to express what they thought of as being interesting. Except one, Sidiki, all the participants didn't had any experience in making theatre before, meaning there were quite some

naturals in the group. Of course not for everyone it was that easy from the beginning, but because on general the scenes were of high level, these others could follow in the example of the naturals.

3.2.2.3 Few examples of scenes

From the improvised scenes it became clear what Malians like: *drama*! We asked for small scenes, in the following a few examples of what we got back:
- the girl who didn't care about love, but was only interested in money
- a conflict between a cultivator and a livestock holder
- a *villageur* (someone from the country side) is going to the city to find a job, he isn't lucky and therefore forced to steal to make a living. The potential victim catches him and surprisingly feels sorry for him and decides to give him some money.
- a conflict between a teacher who is determined to learn important things to his unmotivated pupil

Being more comfortable with improvising the group went from small scenes to almost complete one-act plays. We asked the groups to make two scenes, one with a terrible and one with a happy end:
- a child is disagreeing with his parents who are giving some food to a beggar, he is afraid of not getting enough. The same child is not motivated to work at school, instead he prefers drinking tea[15] with his friends. The teacher finds out what he is doing, and finds out as well his daughter is pregnant of this lazy pupil. The teacher is going to his parents were a heated debate is started, ending in a fight, in the scene with the terrible end. The happy end was that before the debate escalated the father gave some money to the teacher.
- someone who just finished his exams, comes to an enterprise to have an interview. The director is willing to take him, but before he has to pay a huge amount of money. In the bad end he has to come home and stays unemployed, in the happy end he finds a friend willing to pay the bribe for him.

These were just a few examples of interesting scenes that were made. Since we let them play in *Bambara*, the national language, we let someone explain what was happened afterwards. Few people of the group spoke perfect French, few spoke poor French and few of them were somewhere in between. Through all these scenes various things came to the surface. Striking is the fact so many scenes are about money and work. Giving the actors all the freedom in making scenes it gave us insight in what was going on in their heads: what they saw as important subjects, as problems, what solutions etc. It was a necessary addition to the group discussions we already had. For example the last scene, at the enterprise, leaded to a discussion of the school system, because I asked what receiving your *'Bac'* means. I found out your *'Bac'* is, as in the French education system, your final exam. More interesting was the fact how the guys described the way girls could receive their *Bac*, namely *'Gagne le bac sur le bureau'*. Instead of studying they prefer sleeping with the teacher. So it was not only what happened in the actual scene from which we could learn, but as well the discussions afterwards.

In the following is explained with a nice example how we touched a sensitive issue: The following scene was made: a boy who was desperate to find a job, went to the fetisjeur[16] to ask him what to do. Then the fetisjeur told him to come back with the head of a child, and for sure he would find a job afterwards. Mooij and I asked if advices like this were really given on which the group answered positive. We were really a bit shocked by this

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[15] You can compare the Malian tea (strong black tea with a huge amount of sugar) with our coffee; drinking it always and everywhere. With the only difference that to prepare this Malian tea takes a while, which illustrates nicely the difference in mentality between the Malians and the Dutch: Malian tea vs. Senseo.

[16] A fetisjeur is a kind of witch from the animistic Malian religion.

Malian interpretation of a career counsellor and tried to evoke a discussion on this subject. We were really curious what the actors thought of advices like this and the fact that still people believe in it. But the guy who played the fetisjeur felt offended and said that indeed it was awful to tell to chop off a child's head, he would replace it for the head of a sheep. Because he was playing it without being ashamed at all, we didn't felt it was a sensitive subject, which was difficult to discuss. Therefore we didn't spend any effort to hide our shock, which had as a consequence that no one dared to speak on the subject anymore. Instead, everybody agreed to replace it for the head of a sheep. So we found ourselves defending the idea of chopping off the head of child. Because, of course, we saw this as a subject too interesting to leave out. The guy who played the fetisjeur gave us a present, but we didn't know how to receive it, so we almost ruined it.

3.2.2.4 Working towards the final play

Having all these individual ideas of scenes, it was me who brought these together to one piece, with a story line and a current curve. Which meant some improvised scenes would be add literally, some with a bit of adjustment and some completely new scenes had to be add for the story line. The final play contained thirteen scenes. Still the facilitators only told what should happen more or less in case of the latter, it was to the actors to made a scene of it. Besides the fact is was in our philosophy to be only a facilitator, we did not really have another choice, because almost the whole piece was spoken in the national language, *Bambara*. After every scene we were told what had happened by someone speaking perfect French. Sometimes we asked what was said a certain moment, sometimes we checked whether certain things were said. But most of the time we directed only the dynamics on the stage, the position of the actors and their movements. Except Sidiki, all the actors were beginners, so explaining the 'basics' like not standing with your back towards the audience, was already quite a job. Since it was the participants who should decide on the content, it never had been a problem we didn't understand *Bambara*. We facilitated in bringing them together and introduced them in making theatre, they decided on the actual play.

Now we started every repetition with a warming-up and then resumed at the scene where we ended the day before. Working this way, we finished the play and had one week left to repeat it a few times, *'met le point sur le i'*. The advantage of making a play this way; it isn't really necessary to repeat things again and again. Since they made it themselves, they remember everything quite well. Of course the other huge advantage of not playing from a written piece, is the fact that one of the participants was illiterate and a lot others limited literate. Last advantage was that the actors did not only knew their own role very well, but also of the others. Since they thought together of the content and what should be said and done. This way it was easy to have a stand-inn for someone. Which was easy during repetitions, but as well at the premiere because Isa stepped out of the group the last moment.

3.2.2.5 The content of the play; Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!

To give an impression, the content of the final play is summarised here shortly. The main character is Abou, a guy who has just finished his exams. While he's going through his problems, meanwhile in his group of friends, the *grain*[17], there are also things happening. In the beginning Abou is really positive about his future, now he can go search a job and earn his own money. He meets his friends at the grain, they are all quite sceptical about his plans. His friends tell him it is almost impossible here to find a job. Abou is stubborn and goes to an

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[17] The 'grain' is a place were a more or less fixed amount of friends are coming together everyday or few times a week to hang around and drink tea. The oldest, most respectable man within the grain, is the *chef du grain*.

enterprise to have an interview. The manager is willing to take him, but before he has to pay a sum of 150.000 Fc (around 230 euro). As a poor guy, Abou is not able to do so, so he goes to another enterprise and another and another. We did not play each time a whole scene, but made a dance which symbolises having a lot of interviews, and end up with nothing.

A friend of him, feels sorry and advises him to go to a fetisjeur. Abou goes to a little village, in this scene we see a few 'typical village things' happen, to visit the fetisjeur. The fetisjeur is a very respectable man and Abou is a bit scared of him. This fetisjeur tells him to come back another day with the head of a child. Meanwhile in the grain, a guy named Macdjo has out of the blue lots of money. He has bought himself new clothes and is really generous and gives all his friends something as well. Some people in the grain suspect him of being a thief. The girl in the grain, in the first scene dating another guy, decides to go away with Macdjo, since money is the only thing that interests her. Abou has taken up the plan to construct a fake child's head to give to the fetisjeur. Unfortunately for him, the fetisjeur sees through and is furious. Abou is really scared and runs home, he is afraid the fetisjeur will take revenge since he has got this superterrestrial powers. He has to do something to please the fetisjeur.

Completely lost, the only way to get out of his trouble seems to chop off a head of a child for real. The fetisjeur will be satisfied and he will find his job. During the night he tries to kidnap a child, but the brother of this child is there to save his little brother in time. This little brother is on the street because he is too lazy to work and help his family. After this experience of being almost killed, he decides to change his live. Since he and his brother are musicians they start up together a course to teach tourists how to play traditional instruments.

By accident Abou runs into this little guy and his brother and sees his successfulness. He is touched by the fact he almost killed this street child, who is has now took up his live, not hanging on the streets anymore. Abou is inspired by the fact you can take your live in your own hands whenever you want. Successfulness is not always guaranteed, but the most important is to keep on trying. The play had an open end; Abou goes back to the enterprise to ask whether he can have a job over there. Having explained the content, the title should be understandable as well. '*Bara beyi*' is Bambara for there is work to do: '*There is work? There is work!*'

3.2.2.6 The décor
Next to the content, we needed also costumes, stage-properties and of course a décor. Since time was pressing it were the facilitators who arranged this all, we had the feeling we could not leave it to the actors just hoping they will finish everything on time. We did asked the actors about their ideas, but we found ourselves running around and stressing to get everything done before the dress-rehearsal.

Looking back, we made a mistake right here. With the prospect of having the premiere within a week, we became end-product orientated instead of staying process-orientated. We almost lost our primary goal out of sight: *to activate the young participants*. We could have facilitate to let the actors arrange these things themselves. Then they were fully responsible for the whole performance. Besides that, it would probably have been an easier job for them, since they know where to buy everything and what's the good price to pay for it. We missed this chance because we felt in an *end-product orientated attitude*: within a week we are playing for an audience so we have to make sure things are finished by then. For both parties it would have been better when we organised this different: for us it would have meant having less stress, for them having more responsibility so more satisfaction when things were done.

3.2.2.7 The performances

Everybody was quite nervous for the premiere. Unfortunately, the night before the premiere day, the sister of Sidiki had died after she gave birth to her child. Instead of having a premiere, we went all together to the funeral. So the next day, our nerves were still there. We were hoping the group was playing just as good as during repetition. Will they have stage-fear? The group was especially nervous about how the audience would receive the play. You can imagine the release for us all when the play went absolutely perfect with a lot of energy and the audience was fully concentrated and entertained. Within an afternoon, I could feel and see the degree of self-confidence, empowerment and group bounding raised substantial.

During the performances, a theatre making process continues, every time the play is being performed it develops a bit more. As a director it is important to keep on giving directions during the series of performances. In the case of our play it was especially important to watch attentive every time, since we had only *the line* of each scene being fixed, the text wasn't fixed. As facilitators we paid attention to let the actors stay focused on the *line*. For a lot of Western actors this method asks rather something, because every other time each scene is a bit different. You have to stay focused on what is going on and react from your character on it, instead of stick to your lines you have been learning by heart. In general western actors find it rather difficult to let go the certainty of scenes being completely fixed, and one is said to be a good actor when able to do so. That our actors were naturals in practicing theatre was clear. A lightning example of this was the fact the play was getting longer each time we preformed. We had the complete opposite 'problem' of forgetting lines: each performance they added something. The audience was, almost always, enthusiastic and this encouraged the actors to give a bit more every time.

In total we had eight performances. The first were in schools, but we also preformed in the prison, in the garden of the governor, in the open air theatre in the city centre and, by suggestion and arrangement of the participants themselves, in a little village nearby Sikasso. At the IFM, l'*Institute de Formation des Maîtres*, we had a discussion after the performance. There were a lot of girls in the audience, so we were curious what they thought of the money-hungry girl in our play. The outcome was a surprise, in contrast with the experience of Mavrocordatos (1998), having women upset because of this image of them, the IFM girls thought of *Bijou* as being an intelligent woman. It is a smart thing to arrange through your marriage your social security. Love is a beautiful thing, but it doesn't feel your stomach and it won't dress you.

3.2.2.8 The use of indigenous forms

Though we did not really specifically searched to use indigenous forms, we did fit ourselves in the local context. Our method of working was Western in its essence, since all the facilitators gained experience in making theatre in the Netherlands, but much room was left to make their own scenes, dances etc. We taught the participants the method of making a play through improvised theatre. But we did let them challenge us by letting us teach traditional dance, for sure we did show our clumsiness, which Mlama (2002) is seeing as essential for a good facilitator. This way of working on the play was a mutual learning process. Therefore I would say it wasn't a lack in our project we hadn't searched for specific indigenous forms.

In the beginning of the project we searched to find a balance between when to let things happen and when to intervene. What's culture and what's just rude? In other words, we felt the tension between respecting 'indigenous forms', though in this context the term 'local forms' suits better, and trying to change something. For example the way of working the participants were used to from their culture. When someone is not fulfilling his role a satisfying way according to the others, they want a more talented person to show him how he should act. This is completely the opposite of the method and pedagogy we know; you

should let everybody fill in their role themselves and you can coach him how to improve, but you should *never* tell an actor exactly what to do. We found the balance in allowing someone else to play the part of someone else one time. The actor can get inspiration from the other one, but is not obliged to act the exact same way. It seems to be perfect balanced facilitator Prentki (2002) is searching for.

Advantage of the local context we were working in: the participants were quite easily tempted to be active and creative. The culture of Mali is quite expressive and people are familiar with using their bodies. In contrast with the Dutch, an average Malian guy can dance. You only had to put on some music to tempt people to move, and when electricity was cut off, clapping hands was enough. Also with improvisations they hadn't much difficulties. You gave them the assignment to make a little scene around a certain object, you got back a whole play. As already told, also during the performances it was no problem at all to continue the improvisation instead of staying in a fixed way of acting. We did not use specific indigenous forms, but we did exploited the huge potential that was embedded in the local, cultural attitude.

3.2.2.9 Challenges for the sustainability of the Sikasso Project
In the beginning of our project we had problems since the financing wasn't secure. I had been searching for funds, but we got the response our project sounded really nice and sympathetic, they wished us all the best with it, but wouldn't sponsor us. We were determined to continue the project, so I decided to do an appeal on my friends and family. This forced me to explain the sense of our project to a broader public. For a lot of people it wasn't that easy to understand the sense of doing theatre in Mali. My aunt said literally; 'She preferred to give something to a project that helps people over there directly'. We were lucky the few people who did understand the idea of the project, were really generous, so we could continue.

I have to say it has hurt a bit even my friends and family weren't that willing to donate. Though, it was an interesting experience from which I learned how difficult it is to find funds for a project and how clear you have to be about your goals and method. When being in a project, the sense of it seems completely logic for you and your colleagues, but it is an art itself to explain this clearly to the Netherlands.

The financing of the project wasn't sustainable, but the outcome was. The theatre group wants to continue, they are activated, motivated and enthusiastic to continue doing theatre. At the moment we are searching for a sustainable way of financing the group. The fact that Sikasso is a 'cultural desert', though with a few oases like *Festival du Balafon*, should make clear the sense of having a theatre group who can make plays on the demand of the Sikasso audience. At the moment this thesis is written, our search hasn't been successful yet.

Like Okagbue (2002) I also find myself sometimes wondering whether this project really helped this young people forward. Especially when they asked me what I would be doing when back in the Netherlands. I told them enthusiastic, since I am, about my plans to finish my study in Wageningen and to continue my studies in England. While telling, I realised more than ever the huge difference in chances between them and me. I realised I would leave them pretty much in the same conditions as I had found them. Like Mlama (2002) is stating, often you find the roots of the problems a community is facing at macro-level. The participants of the project could not change anything about the fact of the high unemployment rate. In spite of this, I would say the project has been a success. To begin with, maybe I left them in pretty much the *same conditions*, but I didn't left the *same people*. They had been activated, motivated and inspired. The fact that they decided to continue with the theatre group, makes I did not leave them in the exact same condition, they continue have something to be enthusiastic about.

In addition to Mlama (2002) who is arguing '*TfD practitioners should put their heads together to discuss how TfD could be more effective for development and this way divine its role in the 21st century*', I would say besides that TfD practitioners should also look to how to present the method in the ambiguous development industry. Having nice plans about its effectiveness, will be useless without having donors for TfD. Staying within the comfortable zone of scientists and practitioners who understand the potential and usefulness of TfD is interesting when one wants to discuss the most effective way to practice, but it won't help to establish TfD as a commonly understand communication tool within the development arena. TfD practitioners should not stay in fiction but step in the reality of the development industry and make a strong front to establish for TfD the role it deserves.

3.2.2.10 Results
Thinking back to our goal, we could say overall our project was a success. Unfortunately in the end we lost one participant, but the eight that were left could said to be activated. We introduced them in making theatre and they participated with joy. They became aware of themselves and their place in the group. They enjoyed working with each other and learned a lot from it. The issues of the youth of Sikasso have been extensively discussed and a nice and inspiring play came out of it. The fact the group decided to continue despite my depart is telling a lot. They enjoyed and appreciate making theatre together too much to stop.

Besides having reached the main goal, the play itself turned out to be nice-by product indeed. In general the audience enjoyed watching our play and in two cases we had an interesting discussion at the end. The success of the performances had an huge impact on the participants, for their self-confidence, group-feeling and empowerment. In chapter four there will be dealt more extensively with this group process and in chapter five the individual development process will be analysed more in detail.

3.3 The values and critical issues of the theatre making process 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!'

3.3.1 The values of the theatre making process 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!'
Linking the results of our project back to the values of TfD which came out of the literature research of the first chapter, we can conclude all these values of TfD have come more or less forward in the Sikasso project:

We *came to the roots of the problem*, though it should be said this wasn't really surprising. Since we worked with young, unemployed people, it was expected they saw the same problem as we did when formulating our goal: being educated or not, for the youth in Sikasso it is difficult, say almost impossible to find a job. Since TfD *doesn't rely on literacy or a well developed infrastructure*, we could quite easy and with all levels of people start the project. We *established an effective communication tool*, which the participants are able now to continue themselves. We found the participants enjoyed sharing their experiences and ideas through the medium of theatre, with each other as well as with the audience. The issues of the youth of Sikasso have been extensively discussed and an inspiring play came out of it.

In some degree we reached *concrete action and change*, we activated the participants and they are motivated to continue the theatre group. As said, the roots of the problem are at macro-level, but for the live of the participants something concrete has changed. They have some more activity and they have met new people. The regained confidence since they feel being actors now. In chapter four there will be dealt more extensively with this group process and in chapter five the individual development process will be described more in detail.

The environment of the project was a *safe space to try out things*. The participants dared to play every role they liked and criticised for instance the managers of enterprises, the fetisjeur, money-hungry girls etc. This way they could give comment and offer alternatives, possibilities can be tried out with the advantage the consequences are never fatal. We touched *sensitive issues* and explored them. The advice of the fetisjeur is a nice concrete example of this.

It could not be said we fully exploited the *indigenous art forms*, but we did make full use of the *local forms*: the fact the participants are quite expressive themselves and are brilliant naturals in improvised theatre. We made it a *mutual learning process* by letting them teach us the traditional dances and some Bambara songs.

3.3.2 The critical issues of the theatre making process 'Bara Beyi? Bara Beyi!'

Some critical issues for the successfulness of a project described in the previous chapter, were certainly issues in the theatre making process in Sikasso as well. Like searching for the *balanced role of the facilitator* and the *use of indigenous forms*. We asked ourselves the question when to intervene and when to let things happen since they are culturally specific. I feel like overall we fitted ourselves in the role of a perfectly balanced facilitator. Within the design of our project, we already assured a *high degree of participation*, which we indeed carried out as can be read in the part of the execution of the project.

From the Sikasso project, two other critical issues came to the surface, namely so *stay process orientated* also coming close to the first performances. I think because of our experiences making theatre in the Netherlands, focusing on having everything arranged perfect and in time, we did not even thought of give the participants the responsibility to arrange the décor. From this experiences I learned not to miss this chance in a future project and therefore I see it as a critical issue.

The other critical issue found in the Sikasso project, is our way of recruiting for the project, when looking at the goal we had in mind. As told our target group were unemployed young people, who tend to lose their spirit for the future. When one really wants to have the most apathetic youngster in a project, you should look them up instead of waiting for them to come to you. For example: one of the participants, Allassan, who is a classic example of the target group, was recruited at *Festival du Balafon*. I came to talk to one of his friends, who I told about the project. He told me I should ask his friend Allassan to participate, since he was unemployed since 2005. It was not an easy job to get Allassan enthusiastic to participate, but I was stubborn since I saw he perfectly fitted in the target group of the project. One can wonder whether a guy like Allassan would have come to the centre by himself after having heard via others about the project. To phrase it more general, when your goal is activating or empowering, you should *critically think how to approach your participants*. Since non-active and non-empowered people are not really likely to take the initiative to come to you.

Some of the issues the TfD movement as a whole is facing, came to the surface in our project as well. Like the *problems with financing*, I did not succeed in finding a donor and doing an appeal on my friend and family also wasn't that successful as was hoped for. I also asked myself what had actually changed since the *roots of the problem were at macro level*. We did *not see the political powers as problematic*, which Kerr is describing as being an issue. Instead, we had the feeling all the actors felt free to say whatever they felt like and did so as well in all the performances, included the one in the garden of the governor where the authorities were present.

4. The values of the underlying social process

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters the values and critical issues of the *theatre making process*, of TfD, have been described. This is done by using different TfD literature and the case study of Sikasso. Though, in the Sikasso project not only the values of the theatre making process came to the surface. We found out the other *social processes*, events and incidents not directly linked to the theatre making process, that took place during the project, were of crucial importance as well for the successfulness of the project. Everything that wasn't *directly related* to the theatre making process will be called the *underlying social process*. With emphasis on *not directly related*, because why it is interesting to pay attention to is because of the *indirect relation* with the theatre making process and the effect participation in such a process had for the development and empowerment of the participants. It should be said the *theatre making process* is a *social process* itself, but to include everything of importance for the successfulness of a project, the *social process as a whole* should be taken into account.

To discuss the values of this underlying social process, it was necessary to find some tools. My head and notebook were full of interesting events which were not yet described in the *theatre making process* part, but which were of importance for the outcome of the project. For sure I could have write a beautiful novel about it, but for this thesis it was necessary to analyse these events in an academic way. As far as my literature research on TfD went, there were no methods found to analyse these *underlying social process* within a TfD project. Literature that was on the group dynamics within a theatre group setting, was too western oriented. For instance: *Social identification, stress and citizenship in teams* by Haslam, Jetten and Waghorn (2009). This was too much focused on the western perception and experience of stress, so not really valuable to describe the Sikasso project. Therefore, there is moved to general literature on team development. It should not be seen as a literature research on team development as such. Instead, the literature that seemed most useful for my purpose was chosen.

When people work together in groups, there are always certain social processes going on which are important to look at since they influence the outcome of the certain project. Several authors have been writing on these social processes, like Tuckman who has been of great influence with his *Forming, Storming, Norming, Performing team-development model* (1965). In this model he describes the different stages a team is going through when working towards a certain performance. Glasl and Balreich (2001) are talking about the five different levels of team work. These models might by interesting and helpful to investigate and analyse the *underlying social processes* of the Sikasso project.
There will be started with explaining the theory of Tuckman, which will be used to analyse the development phases of the Sikasso. Then the theory of Glasl & Ballreich on levels of teamwork will be explained, after which the levels of the team work in Sikasso are analysed using this model.

4.2 Theory: Tuckman (1965): Development Phases of Teams

The model of Tuckman is developed after an extensive literature research dealing with stages of group development over time. To do this research Tuckman classified the developmental studies by; setting, realm and position of the group in the *hypothetical development sequence*. The hypothetical development sequences include four phases; *forming*, *storming*, *norming* and *performing*. It focuses on the development of maturity and ability, establishment of relationships and the changes in leadership style.

4.2.1 Setting

The setting of a group can be a group therapy setting, a human relations training group (T-group), an experimental or natural group. The Sikasso project can be seen as a combination between *group therapy setting* and *human relation training group*. Group therapy setting, since it's goal was to help the participants to better deal with their personal problems. Besides that it was also meant to help the participants interact with one another in a productive way and to be aware of the dynamics underlying such interaction. Within a T-group *'....the goal is interpersonal sensitivity'* (p. 385). We wanted to achieve having the participants communicate and work productive and with attention for one another.

4.2.2 Realm

The realm into which the group behaviour falls, can be divided into *interpersonal* or *task activity*. *'The content of interaction as related to the task at hand is referred to as task activity. The proposed distinction between the group as a social entity and the group as a task entity is similar to the distinction between the task-oriented functions of groups and the social-emotional-integrative functions of groups, both of which occur as simultaneous aspects of group functioning.'* (Bales, 1953; Coffey, 1952; Deutsch, 1949; Jennings, 1947 in Tuckman, p. 385).

Tuckman argues in therapy groups and T-groups the task itself is a personal and interpersonal one, therefore within such a setting it is difficult to distinguish the interpersonal and the task-activity. *'Failing to separate stages by realm obscures the continuity of the developmental process. While the two realms differ in content, as will be seen, their underlying dynamics are similar.'* (p. 386)

Since the Sikasso project can be seen as a combination of group therapy and T-group setting, it is indeed difficult to separate the stages by realm. Though, there have happened a lot interesting things in the interpersonal or social realm, therefore it is useful to look at Tuckman's classification.

4.2.3 Hypothetical development sequences

In the following figure, the hypothetical development sequences of Tuckman are presented in a graph. The official graph is somewhat adjusted, since I want to put emphasis on the difference in social and task activity realm, I've added these in the graph. The social realm is the outside one, and this model shows as well the interrelatedness in this realm by leaving out clear boarders as in the task activity realm.
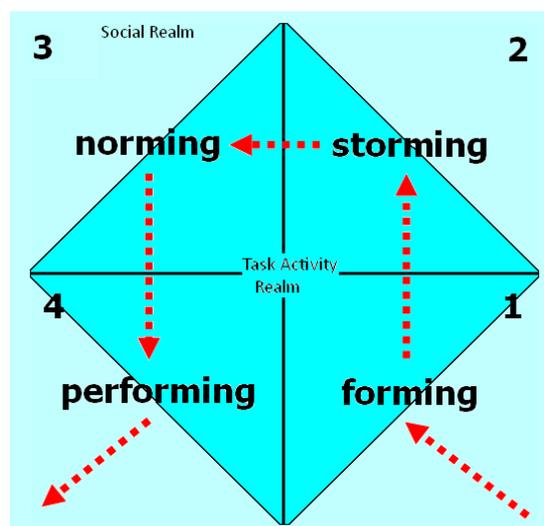

Figure 1 (Based on Tuckman, 1965)

4.2.4 Forming

The first stage is about the *forming* of the group, the individuals come together for the first time. The social realm is marked by *testing* and *dependence*. The participants are testing the leader and the system of interpersonal relations. Since it is a new and unstructured situation there is a high dependence on the leader. In the task activity realm, the orientation on the task is central.

4.2.5 Storming

In the social realm, intragroup conflict occurs, *interaction is uneven and "infighting" is common*. When it comes to task activity, participants will emotionally respond to the task demands. This is most clearly seen when the task is self-understanding and self-change, as in therapy- and training-groups. '*In both task and interpersonal realms, emotionally response to a discrepancy characterizes this stage.'* (Tuckman, p. 386).

4.2.6 Norming

'*The openness to other group members is characteristic in both realms during this stage.'* (Tuckman, p. 387) In the social realm, the focus is on development of group cohesion. '*The group becomes an entity by virtue of its acceptance by the members, their desire to maintain and perpetuate it, and the establishment of new group-generated norms to insure the group's existence. Harmony is of maximum importance, and task conflicts are avoided to insure harmony'* (p. 386). The realm of task activity is marked by an open exchange of relevant interpretations. Within therapy groups and T-groups, this means discussing oneself and other group members.

4.2.7 Performing

'*Within both realms the emphasis is on constructive action*' (Tuckman, p. 387). The social realm is marked by functional role-relatedness, '*… the group, which was established as an entity during the preceding phase, can now become a problem solving instrument'* (Tuckman, p.387). Tuckman argues as well the social unity now supports rather than hinders the task process. Theodorson (1953)*,* who has done a study within the setting of a natural group; '*… sees the group as developing a subculture over time, along with development of member responsibility to the group.'* (Tuckman, p. 395) The task in this phase is the emergence of solutions, '*… in therapy- and training-group context, these solutions are more specifically insight into personal and interpersonal processes and constructive self-change'* (Tuckman, p. 387).

4.2.8 Adjourning

Tuckman himself added in the 1970's a fifth stage into his model; *adjourning*. In this stage he describes the break-up of a group, hopefully after having successful completed the task. People can feel vulnerable and insecure because of this change and it is important to pay attention to this (bussinessballs.com).

Since the *theatre making process* is already extensively described, which can be seen as the *task activity realm*, the model of Tuckman will be used especially with the focus on the social realm. As Tuckman is stating, within therapy groups and T-groups it is difficult to distinguish the two realms, but we'll try to make a good attempt. Hopefully from this the values of the underlying social process within a TfD project setting will become clear. To do so, for each phase there will be described how this phase has been experienced in Sikasso for the social realm.

4.3 The development phases of the team in Sikasso approached from the social realm

4.3.1 Forming: Testing and Dependence

The *forming* of the group for the Sikasso project was an interesting process. In the first two weeks the boundaries of the group weren't clear, which certainly influenced this phase of the team development. There was a high dependence on the leaders, since no member had experience with participating in such a project. In turn, neither the leaders had experience with a project in this context. From both sides there was testing, I looked at what the participants were able to by themselves and how they acted and reacted on each other. For the participants I was quite interesting as well, for people who were not familiar with NGO Miriyawalé before, it was their first experience to work with a *toubabou*, Bambara for a white person.

I felt tested as well another way, some participants were investigating my role as leader. Since I was busy orienting on them and the cultural context, I did not establish myself as a strict leader. In the first week, few participants did not always listen to me with attention, went away to get cigarettes or play table football and were always to late.
I found out the interpersonal relationships, made it impossible to have a *closed* session. When people pass by the cultural centre, it would be impolite not to enter and greet everybody. Besides that we had our repetition always outside on the terrain of the centre, so the *gardien*, his wife and children were always there as well. Other thing I discovered in this first phase of testing, it was difficult to let people talk directly about their personal lives within a group. To please me, they will tell a few things, but I found out later on in the project, almost every participant had a much more interesting, moving background. It is clear they are not used to show their cards immediately.

The participants were testing me, but as well each other, say the interpersonal relation system was tested. For instance in the first week a guy, named Douda entered, because he also wanted to participate. A few members of the group, knew this guy a bit and together they turned against Douda. They didn't had any trust in him he would be a reliable participant. In my opinion it was rude to state this in front of a whole group, according to de Haas in this culture it was quite normal to do it this way. I interpret this as them testing Douda and the other participants, and my testing them by letting them show how they 'solve' things like this, I didn't interfere.

4.3.2 Storming: Intragroup Conflict

In the beginning the conflicts were set around the fact we were getting bored of the participants being always to late and not concentrated. Some participants had difficulties with our working method. Why making a play ourselves? That will cost a lot of time, just give me a role and I will play it without question. Also with the improvising exercises some participants had some problems.

This phase wasn't a really clear *phase* we went through, since sometimes, later on in the project, we felt back in this storming phase. Sometimes I found myself as facilitator running around to maintain the cohesion, say keep the group physically together. Several participants had several reasons for not showing up at once. Reason why I was motivated to explore why this participants were not there and what to do about it, was because of most of the time the participants did feel mentally connected with the project. It was for individual reasons why they were hindered to come, them seeing my putting effort to have them at the repetition, let them even feel more mentally connected to the project. For instance Madou who didn't showed up at once anymore or Ali who had an attack of malaria. Another interesting example is of Adama who turned out not to be unemployed at

all, but instead could not come anymore since his boss was claiming him.

When these actors didn't showed up for a long time, I decided to visit them at home to ask what was going on. Before I tried to call them, but I found myself every time being disappointed. On the phone they told me sorry for not being there, for sure they would be there tomorrow. Next day they weren't there as well, to find out what was going on, the best solution seemed to go visit them. For several reasons this was a really good choice. To begin with, I walked with Allassan to these absent actors, it was a walk of almost an hour. In this hour I had a really interesting conversation with Allassan about his background and his wishes. In the group Allassan wasn't really on the front and I had never heard a lot of him. In the Netherlands it would be normal to sit in a circle and let everybody tell something about their personal background. In Mali it works different, people tend not to tell that much in the beginning or not the complete truth. When knowing a person a bit more, he may decide to let you share in his personal live. This is what happened during my walk with Allassan. From this the lesson can be drawn it might be wise to build in this *'informal' moments* with the individual participants to get to know them some more.

Ali was really pleased and surprised I visited him, he had been really ill and was still a bit tired. But the fact I came to visit him, strengthened and motivated him to be there the other day. Next to Ali lives Adama, here I find out he was absent because his boss was claiming him. It took me quite a while to get the whole story clear. I was surprised, since it was clearly a project for unemployed youth and now the main character couldn't be there because of his boss. Adama explained he was a *gardien*, a guard, and normally had nothing to do since his boss was never there, he felt like being jobless and did not meant to cheat. Since we were already very far in the process and I believed Adama, and he was a really good actor, I decided to try to help him. I went to talk with his boss, explained the situation and asked permission for Adama to join the repetitions. His boss was OK with it and Adama could stay.

From Adama I understood Madou wasn't there because after Tabaski he stayed in his village since someone of his family had died. That's how things go in Mali, when someone dies everybody leaves their business and is there together with his family. Luckily Madou went home the other day, so at the end of the week my group was complete again.
It had cost my quite some effort now and then to keep the group together, but it was worth it. To begin because at the end of the project, we could not afford to lose too much people. But besides that, it gave the participant a good feeling being missed when not there and seeing my paying attention to them and their issues. This is what I observed, but what Ali was clearly stating as well in the evaluation interview (see APPENDIX).

4.3.3. Norming: Development of Cohesion
Because of the experiences the first week, the participant being too late and not really concentrated, we went over in *norming* naturally. To create a productive team, some simple and clear rules should be introduced:
1. Be on time
2. Don't leave during a repetition, also not a few minutes to get cigarettes
3. Pay attention to us when we are explaining something and to each other when telling something or playing a scene
For being on time we introduced as well a reward: for each morning you're on time you will receive 250 Fc. When being all three mornings on time, you will get a bonus of 250 Fc. So being a whole week on time can bring you 1000 Fc.

Introducing this rules was necessary to create a pleasant working environment. Besides that it was the first time Mooij and I were quite strict to our participants. With introducing this role, Mooij and me established ourselves as well some more as leaders. Though the play would be theirs and the participants should 'own' the project, they really

needed someone and some rules to stay together and with the noses in the same direction. Leaving out a few exceptions, our rules worked very well. Mooij and I couldn't allow ourselves being one minute late, because almost all the participants were already there, to tell us we were not in time.

We entered the phase of *norming* as well, because we made clear the boundaries of the group. People should decide whether they wanted to participate the next 7 weeks or not. This way, people who did not liked the idea of our project stepped out. This helped us becoming an entity, and the participants had the desire to maintain and perpetuate it. Having become an entity, the second week we went together to a play in the local open air theatre. Under the pretext of gaining inspiration of our own play, we had a nice and social group activity. We already thought of it on forehand this would be a good idea to make a little trip with all the participants for the sense of belonging to the group. In this context we also went to the Senoufou museum in the 3th week of the project.

4.3.4 Performing: Functional role-relatedness
Being an entity in which everyone has established his role, and knowing we could rely on everybody, we could work on the *task*: making a play. Obviously in improvising theatre it is a great advantage having different types of persons, who came up with different ideas for the play. The final performance, playing for the audience was a success as well. This made all the participant feel confident about themselves and the group and enthusiastic to continue. From the fact that they arranged the last performance themselves, it was in a little village nearby Sikasso, becomes clear the role of the leader was diminishing.

4.3.5 Adjourning
In the context of the Sikasso project it was especially important to pay attention to the breaking-up phase. To begin with because on average Malians have more difficulties with departing and saying goodbye. Second the group was a vulnerable and insecure one, since all unemployed young people. We gave them two enjoying and inspiring months, what to do afterwards? When we made them aware of the fact in January the project would come to an end and we would leave Sikasso, they were almost all really sad. I would say our goodbye-party was the way to pay attention to pay attention to this adjourning phase.
From this feeling of vulnerability and insecurity, the idea came up to continue with the theatre group. De Haas was already willing to continue with the group after our depart, under the condition the group itself was motivated to continue. They were, so the decision was taken to continue despite the depart of Mooij and me.

4.3.6 Usefulness of Tuckman's model
Tuckman's model is useful to describe the underlying social process in Sikasso, especially since he distinguishes the social and the task realm. This helped me to make clear the distinction between the social task of making a play and the social, interpersonal realm. Tuckman stated: 'Failing to separate stages by realm obscures the continuity of the developmental process' (p. 386). This strengthens my argument in the introduction of this thesis of the importance to analyse the underlying social process separately.

With describing the different phases of the team development from the social realm, lot of interesting events of the underlying social process are analysed. But it should be said I do not have the feeling of have gone to this stages this clearly as Tuckman is describing them. The storming stage wasn't that clear, or should we say; was there all the time, so not really a stage. For instance I had to work on maintaining the cohesion, which could be seen as storming, later on in the process.

Due to this *'running around to keep the cohesion'* , I found by accident a nice informal way to get to know participants some more. In the *forming* stage I already find out

it wasn't possible to sit around in a circle and let everybody talk about their personal lives. Walking for half an hour with Allassan and having visit Ali and Adama in their home situation gave me some way more valuable information than I got from the group discussions. This was a very valuable happening in the underlying social process, from which I have learned for a future project.

Besides me learning from going through these different phases, the group members had learned, though tacitly, as well. The performing phase, in which a team is able to work on carrying out the task, is clearly reached in the project. An illustrating example of this is the fact they arranged the last performance in a little village nearby Sikasso themselves. They had learned to take decisions as a team and carry them out as well. Consciously they are focused now on the fact they like to play theatre and would like to continue. Tacitly they learned they are able to go through these phase of creating a functioning team and they are able themselves to function in a team. This value of the underlying social process, is of importance for the development and empowerment of the individual as well. This developing and empowering process will be described more extensively in the fifth chapter.

4.4 Theory: Glasl & Ballreich (2001) and the five levels of teamwork

According to Glasl and Ballreich (2001) team work, like the Sikasso project, has got five levels. Namely: individual group members, content = issue level, interaction = psychological level, procedure = method level and external relations of the group. These levels are presented in figure 2. '*Teams are defined as work groups that are charged with the fulfilment of a performance task that requires joint cooperation*' (Glasl & Ballreich, p.3).
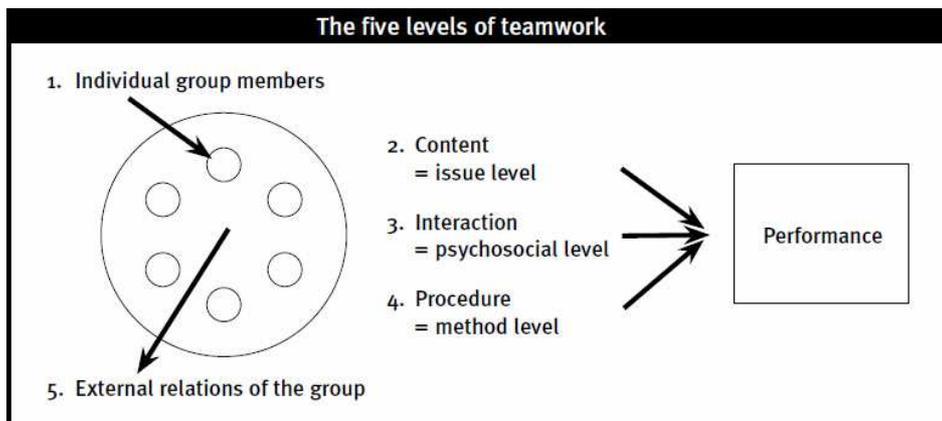

Figure 2 (Glasl & Ballreich, 2001, p.2)

Making this distinction of levels, could be helpful to analyse the underlying social process. It is of crucial importance to create good conditions at each level of team work, when one wants to reach a successful performance. In Sikasso we found out that indeed it is interesting and necessary to pay attention to all this levels of your team. When only focusing on the *theatre making process* (Level two, the content, the issue) one can oversee the importance of *external relations* or the *individual*. When one want to make an interesting play and attain development and empowerment of the individuals, all the levels should be taken into account. Therefore its seems interesting for us to describe the different levels of team work in Sikasso following the theory of Glasl & Ballreich.

The dynamics of a group are complex and difficult to analyse, since the levels are all interrelated. A problem that arises in one level, can have consequences at another. For instance level four, the *procedure* can have influence on the third level, *interaction*. Which was certainly the case in our project. Having decided to use improvising methods, this influenced the way people interact with each other. It might not be clear in which level the

roots of a problem lie, which makes it difficult to analyse. Since Glasl and Ballreich's article (2001) is about conflict prevention and resolution, each level is described from the point of view how it can influence a conflict. Though, we will also focus on how each level can support the performance and development of the individual.

4.5 The five levels of teamwork in the Sikasso Project

4.5.1 Individual Group Members

'*A group member can struggle with intrapsychologicial tensions and conflicts, and express these externally as he seeks to cooperate with other team members*' (Glasl & Ballreich, p.3). When a person is under stress, tension or pressure, this can influence his *perception capability*. Having personal problems can lead to *"cognitive short-sightedness"*. In other words, the personal situation of someone influence his ability to learn new things and be open-minded towards new things. Besides, it influences his emotions and the volitionally of an individual. These factors influence the external behaviour of the individual, which has consequences for the potential of conflicts within a group.

There are a few illustrating examples of individuals having influence on the performance of the team. It weren't average participants, but unemployed young people and living in one of the poorest countries of the world. You can imagine they all had their stories, background and issues, so were very likely to struggle with intrapsychological tensions and conflicts. I found out that, no matter how many problems, some participants were perfectly able not to show this in their external behaviour. For example Badjan, who had a lot of problems at his home situation. His mother is double handicapped, he doesn't have a job and his brother, who worked somewhere else, lost his job so isn't able anymore to send money to Badjan and his mother. Badjan was always on time, concentrated on the exercises and having a good mood. His presence was nothing but a positive influence on the group.

An example of a individual with a quite negative influence was Sidiki. It is even an understatement to say his mood and behaviour has had some ups and downs, high mountains and deep valleys suits better as metaphor for his behaviour. In the first week he was all positive, since he did had some experience with theatre, he was pleased being able to make theatre again. He was really helpful and patient with me and motivated to search participants. I was really pleased with his presence and even preferred to call him a colleague instead of a participant. Looking back, I assume he liked the role of being needed to help me out and see me struggling and not doing everything perfect. His negative behaviour started in week 3, the same week Mooij and I had the group fixed, under control, my French was improved and we were productive. For instance on a trip to the Senoufou museum of Sikasso, he kept himself apart from the others. He reached his height with refusing to stand together with the rest for a group photo.

Because of his negative behaviour Mooij and I decided to consider him as a little project with in our project, we had to learn how to deal with him. In the first weeks he had been fulfilling the function of translator *French-Bambara* and vice versa. We did not want to be depended on him, so we asked Adama to somehow naturally take over his position. Adama did a great job in this and we could continue being productive. As expected it didn't work out positive for Sidiki's mood, he took every chance to stir things up. When not busy with trying to make trouble, he was on his chair with the most uninterested attitude I ever saw. Although it was possible to continue making scenes, the behaviour of Sidiki made the process more difficult and struggling. I interpret the behaviour of Sidiki as someone who had some inter-psychological problems: He liked the idea of being needed, to feel more special than the others. Once having lost this position, he sought to attract attention another, very negative way. He didn't liked to see himself as 'just an ordinary participant'.

At the point the conflict almost escalated, since Mooij was getting really angry because of him always bossing around, I decided to talk to him individually. I asked him the complete open question of why he was acting like he did. It wasn't necessary to explain myself some more, he knew exactly what I meant. He explained me it was just his way of doing and we should not feel offended by it. With this statement, it was clear he didn't want to go into deep in inter-psychological problem. I had experienced already, this is not possible to force a bit in Mali, so I explained him, it was just our way of doing *to feel* offended by it. He said he was sorry and went to Mooij as well to apologize for his behaviour. Only the fact he felt the need to apologize, proves he knew very well the consequences of his behaviour. After this conversation he was indeed not such an annoying influence anymore, but he was silent and not really participative. After a while he succeeded in taking another more active attitude and he seemed to feel comfortable again in the group. With his extreme behaviour, Sidiki is a illustrative example of the influence an individual ca have on teamwork.

4.5.2 The content or issue level; issue topic or task to be performed

Important in this level as a facilitator is to *'recognise that any issue can be perceived and assessed differently from the different perspectives of varying subject disciplines.'* (Glasl & Balreich, p.5). Somehow the whole group, including the facilitators, decided on the issue and the task to be performed. It was the facilitators coming up with the task to be performed; make a play. But it were the participants deciding on the issues which will be dealt with in the play. Besides the task of 'making a play', we as facilitators had another goal in mind; activating the participants, which was to be reach through making a play. Of course we did not tell the participants, that they, unemployed apathetic youth, needed to be activated, instead we told the goal was to make a play. So actually we weren't exactly on the same issue level.

There is an striking example in which this difference of task perception came to the surface, which I have called the *money issue*. From the beginning of having the *'be on time-rule'* introduced it was successful, almost everyone was on time and they were really pleased with their reward every end of the week. Till one week before the premiere everyone was satisfied, then a discussion about the reward was started. Being so thankful in the beginning, now the participants were stating it wasn't enough. Within a week they had to play for an audience, which is really difficult so they should earn some more. At first Mooij and I felt a bit offended by this question, since it seemed really unthankful taking into account everything we had already done for them. Besides that we did not want to have a discussion, we needed to have a rehearsal.

To be honest I did expect this question sometime to come to the surface. All the participants were poor, so seeing you're able to give them 1000 Fc every week, you would be able as well to give them 2000 Fc, and they could use it very well. Reasoning this way, I could understand the participants tried and I did not feel offended anymore. I saw the misunderstanding in their interpretation of the reward. They had the feeling they had a job now and were being paid for it, but too less. They told me with a job they would earn way more. We explained them once more this was a project on *voluntary basis* and they were free to go if they could do a job elsewhere.

The participants started a huge discussion together in *Bambara*. Mooij and I could do nothing more than hoping the best of the outcome. At once it was silent and one of the actors, Adama, asked us if we could finally start with the repetition now. Mooij and I could not be more surprised: *'So… you all agree to continue?'* the group answering: '*Yes of course, we really enjoy to play theatre, let's start!*'. We decided not to spend any more words on it and started the repetition. We would never know what exactly was said in the discussion they had, but the outcome was clear; they could life with our interpretation of the reward and with not getting a higher one. Since they saw the task of making a play, they saw as

being rewarded for acting. While actually we had in mind to reward them for the fact they were present and on time, which was part of our 'activation program'. This example shows how another interpretation on the issue level can cause conflict.

Another example which illustrates the difference in perception of the issue, is already mentioned in the previous chapter, when I have explained 'the chance we missed' by stressing around ourselves to arrange the décor. One can be sure of, it is only us seeing this as a missed chance and not the participants. Since they saw their job as acting, they didn't had the feeling of 'having missed a chance to be some more activated', with not arranging themselves the décor. Luckily besides these two examples, the difference in perception of the issue didn't expose much and didn't cause any more conflicts.

4.5.3. The interaction or psychosocial level
'Each group will need to organise itself around certain roles if it is to both achieve its goals and also maintain cohesion as a team.' (Glasl & Ballreich, p.5). The way people in a group interact together is of crucial importance for the working environment of the group. From the Sikasso project we had the experience that not only it is important how participants interact during the repetition itself, but also everything that happens outside official repetition hours.

'Individuals who are strongly fixated on their own roles – for example the shy person, the dominant person, the one who talks all the time, or the clown – can inhibit the process of cooperation. Group members must rather learn to recognise their own distinct behaviour patterns and role expectations, to review these and to adapt them to the given situation. Thus, a high degree of role flexibility is the critical hallmark of properly developed teams.' (Glasl & Balreich, p.6). Sidiki is again an interesting example here, since he played quite some different roles in the group. From the motivated and helpful colleague to the negative, uninterested troublemaker, back to a dedicated participant. From the point of view of Sidiki, it was important he was able to change his role again. From the point of view of the group, it was important they allowed him to take again another role.

A crucial point for Sidiki and the group, was the day the premiere was planned. The night before the day of the premiere the sister of Sidiki died, after she gave birth to her child. De Haas, Mooij and me decided to pick up all the actors and go together to Sidiki to support him. Arriving their, the guys turned out to be the youngest at the funeral, which meant they had to go to the cemetery to help digging the grave. This made our presence immediately very important and appreciated for his whole family. Sidiki, who had just changed his role to devoted participant, saw himself being confirmed in this role. Despite his negative behaviour of the past few weeks, we were all there. He was emotional and therefore vulnerable, so our presence and support was of importance for him. That night he came to our house, and told he would like to let the performance of the next day continue, for sure he would be there. He did not used much words, but his visit was enough to show how much he appreciated our presence that day.

For other participants, like Alice, Allassan and Badjan, they changed their role from being shy and a bit passive towards active participants, able to explain their opinion and ideas, during the theatre making process as well as in other social activities. Especially Alice needed some time to defend here role as being the only girl in the group. She never had problems with it, but she did have to position herself between this guys. In the end her role was well established, somehow she was the traditional woman, taking care of the food and cleaning, but the guys respected her as well having this position. Of course it was hilarious as well for them to say how much better Alice did in housekeeping and taking care of her child than Mooij and I would ever be able to do.

The group as a whole, enjoyed being together more and more when getting more familiar with each other. Every week the level of fooling around with each other was getting

higher. Especially after the first successful performance I had to ask the group to be a bit more concentrated instead of joking and laughing all the time. I tried to play a bit the strict leader, but of course inside I was very happy the group has developed towards being so funny, enjoying and inspiring.

4.5.4 The procedure/method level
'Conflicts are often initially experienced as relation-specific, even though the problems can actually be traced to a poor selection of work methods. …. Teams must learn and familiarise themselves with a variety of working procedures and methods, and must become good at reaching right decisions as to which procedure is most suitable for which purpose.' (Glasl & Ballreich, p. 6). Our working method, to fulfil the task of making a play, was improvising participatory theatre. This method has been extensively described in the previous chapter. As could be read in that chapter, when the participants were getting more familiar with the method, we could be more productive.

For the success of a project it is of crucial importance to chose a method that fits the group. For our project, you could say in the beginning the participants struggled a bit with all this freedom but in the end the method fitted perfectly. The group even adopted the method themselves and continued making theatre this way, which is more than we had hoped for. We had the idea in mind when the participants showed themselves they were able of learning new methods and controlled these, say develop themselves, this would have an empowering function. With having the participants able to completely continue the new method themselves, the level of empowerment is even higher.

4.5.5 External relations
Glasl and Ballreich are putting emphasis here on the relations between the team and its *organisational setting*. For the Sikasso project external relations have been of influence as well, but not within a certain *organisational setting* as such. Instead the external relations with their families, or broader the population of Sikasso, say the culture of Sikasso were of influence on our performance. Looking at the degrees of participation in the Tannenbaum and Schmidt Continuum (businessball.com), our group cannot be placed in one degree, since we dealt with several different external relations.
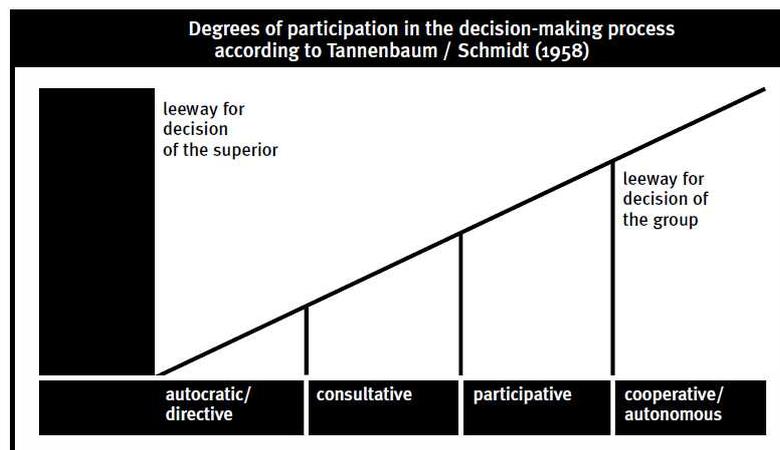
Figure 3 (Glasl & Ballreich, 2001, p. 10)

Degrees of participation in the decision-making process according to Tannenbaum / Schmidt (1958)

leeway for decision of the superior

leeway for decision of the group

autocratic/ directive — consultative — participative — cooperative/ autonomous

Looking at the place of the group within the broader organisation of NGO Miriyawalé, the group can be found in the *cooperative/autonomous* side of the graph. De Haas, director of NGO Miriywalé, gave Mooij and me as facilitators the autonomy to carry out the project. In turn, Mooij and me gave the participants the autonomy to make their own play. But we as a group, also had a place in the broader organisation of Sikasso. For instance at the moment we were playing in the garden of the governor or the prison, we did

not have anything to tell when the authorities told us to break up our performance since it was taking too much time. The whole group, included de Haas, was pushed in the *autocratic/directive* part of the graph. Much more pleasant was the cooperation with the village chief of Nietjen, who we asked permission to perform our play in his village. Here we as a group, could be found in the *participative* part of the graph.

Besides this visible superiors, there were also external relations which influenced the teamwork, which could be explained as *cultural superiority*. There were some cultural powers, we had to deal with and could not change anything about. For instance the influence of *Tabaski*, last weekend of November, one of the most important Islamic traditions, clearly had its effect on the group. The week before it had a positive effect, since they were all willing to be on time to earn some money for Tabaski. I have never experienced a religious party being more materialistic oriented then Tabaski. Most important of the party was having new clothes, shoes, hair and having a sheep to sacrifice. After this weekend of party, some participants were ill because they had eaten to much, another stayed some longer in his home village, the ones that were present were tired and preferred to drink some tea and relax. This example illustrates how *external relations with the broader cultural context* a group is working in, can be of influence on the teamwork.

4.5.6 Usefulness of Glasl & Ballreich's levels of teamwork

The five levels of team work Glasl & Ballreich introduce, are a useful tool to analyse the values of the underlying process in Sikasso some more. In addition to focusing on the *method* and *content*, which refers to the *task realm* of Tuckman, they offer a lot more levels (individual, psychosocial, external) to explain the social processes, which can be seen as the *social realm* of Tuckman. Since the stages of team development of Tuckman weren't that clearly distinguishable, the levels of Glasl & Ballreich offer are interesting. According to these levels of teamwork model, there should be created good conditions in each level through the whole project. Therefore the model of Glasl & Ballreich is strengthening my argument of the importance of paying attention to the underlying social layer. The examples of the Sikasso project that were given on each level of teamwork, are supposed to illustrate this some more. The creation or presence of good conditions in each level is of importance to work towards the task of making a play, but as well to reach the goal of activation and empowerment of the individuals.

For an individual to develop, an encouraging group environment is of crucial importance. The example of Sidiki, being able to change his role again in a devoted participant, was possible because the group accepted this. The participants are likely to be focused on the fact they learned a new method and the issue is to make a play on their experiences and ideas, but tacitly they experienced all the levels and learned from this. Though, it should be said from the evaluation interviews I got back they almost all really appreciated to work in a group and hope to continue in the same composition.

Besides the participants appreciating the team work, I learned a lot myself as well in the different levels. To give a few illustrative examples; it was my first time to experience a funeral in Mali, which was very special and though sad an enriching experience; I learned how Malians are used to act in daily live, like shaking hands again every morning and ask whether they slept well and how the family is going; I learned a lot from the external relations, the importance of Tabaski, family live and position of theatre and cultural activities in Sikasso. I can probably go on a few pages with everything I learned and experienced being so special for me. I see my own development of this intercultural experience as a *'nice by-product'* of this project.

4.6 Conclusion; the values of the underlying social process

Tuckman (1965) as well as Glasl & Ballreich (2001) gave a useful theory to distinguish the *social process* or *realm*, what I call the 'underlying social process', from the *social task*, in our project the creation and performance of a play. With their theories on the importance of the different phases of team development as well as the different levels of team work, they emphasized the importance to pay attention to the underlying social process. With giving examples of the Sikasso project to illustrate the phases and levels, it is hoped the values of the underlying social process for the Sikasso project have become clear. When one wants to have a successful project, a good end-performance as well as development and empowerment of its participants, there should be paid equal attention to the task realm as well as the social realm. When being aware of the risks in the different phase and levels of teamwork you can come more easy to the roots of a certain problems or even overcome these problems. Good conditions should be present or created on all levels of teamwork. Not only it can help you to avoid negative consequences, when being aware of these different phases and levels can help you as well to use them positively.

Due to the time span of this thesis, an extensive literature research on which theories, methods or tools suit best to investigate the *underlying social process* of a TfD project, could not be carried out. Further research on team development theories should be carried out, preferably with a focus on psychosocial groups. I argue for theatre groups the working processes, task activity, as well as underlying social processes, the social realm, are of crucial importance for the successfulness of a project. With the 'successfulness of a project' I mean creating and performing a good play as well as the development and empowerment of its participants. Therefore attention should be paid to both realms, during the project as well as when analysing and evaluating. To do so effectively, further research should be carried out on team development theories within the specific setting of theatre groups. Hopefully this will lead to a useful tool specialised on analysing the underlying social processes of TfD groups. This tool could be used during the project, to be aware of different factors that earn attention as well as afterwards to analyse the underlying social process and what could be learned from it. This can possibly lead to suggestions how to educate participants to learn about and take control of all these dimensions, levels and stages, to become effective group members. Not only can the participants learn from it, as shortly explained in my role as facilitator I learned a lot as well from the happenings going on in the underlying social layer.

With having extensively described the values of the underlying social process within a TfD project, for the successfulness of a project on the task activity as well as the development and empowerment of its participants, it is hoped the value of a TfD project is underlined once more. The potential of development within a project as Sikasso, goes beyond the task activity of making a play. The examples of Sikasso illustrated this, but I argue for every TfD project the underlying social process is very valuable for the successfulness of a project in the final performance as well as in the developing and empowering function of the participants.

5. The values of the individual development process

5.1 Introduction
In the previous chapter the focus has been on the underlying social process, or the group development process. It was interesting and necessary to take a close look at this process, since it is of importance for the successfulness of the project. In which successfulness is referred to as both creating and performing a play and the development and empowerment of its individual participants. In chapter three we had a close look at the theatre making process, now we will deal more extensively with the individual development process of the participants. Which is the final step in analysing our project, since our goal was 'activation of its participants'. For which the term of Rappaport on 'empowerment' is suitable as well: '*The concept suggests both individual determination over one's own life and democratic participation in the life of one's community*'.

To analyse the individual development process, a theoretical framework was searched in which I could place my observations and the information from the evaluation interviews I had with several actors. As far as my research went, a useful theory about individual development in the specific context of a TfD group wasn't found. Boal has been using Freire's theory on 'escaping the oppression' to develop his theatrical methods. He is aiming on making people aware of their situation, the reason why they are being oppressed. Being aware of the roots of their oppression, people are able to change something about is, reasons Boal. Unfortunately I do not see the method of Boal as useful to analyse the individual development process closely. First reason is because Boal developed his method but did not developed a tool to analyse this individual development process, he is aiming on it, but how to analyse whether people are escaped their oppression? Second, I think of the reasoning of escaping the oppression is a logical next step once people are aware of what's oppressing them, as a bit simplistic. Third reason is that I think of the term 'oppressed' as being too controversial. Instead I prefer the definition on 'empowerment' of Rappaport, in which individual determination and democratic participation are central.

Therefore a general theory on individual development should be found, which would be useful to describe the individual development of the Sikasso participants. The Self-Determination Theory (SDT) of Ryan & Deci (2000) and his application to the behaviour of unemployed people in a research of Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) seems interesting to explain the individual development of the participants of the Sikasso project. To begin it is applicable to explain the *'apathy'* of the youth in Sikasso that has been described in the second chapter in the 'background' part. Having explained this, the SDT helps explain why our project would contribute to the individual development and empowerment of the participants and how it turned out in practice. Few examples will be given that illustrate the development and empowerment of some of the participants. In the end I will conclude whether it is possible to apply the SDT and its relation to the Sikasso project, in the broader context of SDT in relation to TfD in general. Are TfD projects in general of value for the development and empowerment of an individual? This chapter will begin with an explanation of the SDT and how it is applied to a research on the behaviour of unemployed people.

5.2 Theory
5.2.1 Ryan & Deci (2000): Self-Determination Theory
Deci & Ryan are stating: '*Human beings can be proactive and engaged or, alternatively, passive and alienated, largely as a function of the social conditions in which they develop and function*' (2000, p. 68) and '*SDT aims to specify factors that nurture the innate human potentials entailed in growth, integration, and well-being, and to explore the process and conditions that foster he healthy development and effective functioning of*

individuals, groups and communities' (Deci & Ryan, p. 74). According to the Self-Determination Theory (SDT) of Ryan Deci, a macro theory on human motivation, there are several *types* of motivation. Instead of other authors who are mostly talking about the *amount* of motivation. *'The initial idea was that the type of or quality of a person's motivation would be more important than the total amount of motivation for predicting many important outcomes such as psychological health and well-being, effective performance, creative problem solving, and deep or conceptual learning'* (Deci & Ryan, 2004, p. 182)

SDT most central distinction is that of *autonomous motivation* and *controlled motivation*. Within autonomous motivation, *intrinsic motivation* and *internalized extrinsic motivation* (which one is *identified* with and *integrated* into himself) can be found. In contrast, controlled motivation, consists of external regulation (in which one's behaviour is a function of external contingencies of reward or punishment) and introjected regulation (in which the regulation of action has been partially internalized and is energized by factors such approval motive, avoidance of shame, contingent self-esteem, and ego-involvements) (Ryan & Deci, 2000). People who are controlled, experience pressure to think, feel, or behave in particular ways. These two types of motivation explains what energizes and directs behaviour. Both stand in contrast to *amotivation*, which means having a lack of intention and motivation, people might not act at all.

Cognitive Evaluation Theory, is developed by Deci & Ryan (1985) especially to explain the different factors which influence intrinsic motivation. These factors are the innate psychological needs for *competence*, *autonomy*, and *relatedness*.
Competence: social-contextual events (feedback, communications, rewards) that evoke a feeling of being competent during action, can enhance intrinsic motivation for that action.
*Autonomy***:** to enhance the feeling of being competent, its is of crucial importance the individual feels autonomous, that their behaviour is *self-determined*.
Relatedness: SDT is stating that intrinsic motivation is more likely to flourish when people feel secure and related towards others, whether it is family, a partner or friends.
Pay attention to the fact that these psychological needs, only explain *intrinsic motivation*: meaning having intrinsic interest, have appeal of novelty, challenge or aesthetic value. To understand the nature of extrinsic motivations, a closer look should be taken on them separately. Especially looking at how people internalize extrinsic motivation can be interesting (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

The more actions of people are internalized to the self, the more *autonomous* they feel. The advantages of this are manifold; more behavioural effectiveness, greater volitional persistence, enhanced subjective well-being, and better assimilation of the individual within the social group (ibid). *'Given the significance of internalization for personal experience and behavioral outcomes, the critical issue becomes how to promote autonomous regulation for extrinsically motivated behaviors. That is, what are the social conditions that nurture versus inhibit internalization and integration?'* (Deci & Ryan, p. 73)

An individual is more likely to reach this feeling of autonomy when the psychological needs of autonomy, relatedness and competence, are full-filled. These psychological needs are of crucial importance with regard to ones optimal experience and well-being in daily life. They seem to be universal, which does not mean their mode of expression is the same in all cultures, but at least they are apparent in all cultures. In contexts supportive of autonomy, relatedness and competence, individuals are more likely to internalize and integrate certain regulations. These findings are of importance for individuals trying to let others integrate or internalize certain regulations in order to let them work effectively, persistent and in the condition of well-being (ibid.).

The SDT model assumes individuals have an inclination towards activity and integration, but

also have a vulnerability to passivity (Ryan & Deci, 2008). The focus of the model is to specify the conditions that tend to support people's natural activity versus elicit or exploit their vulnerability.
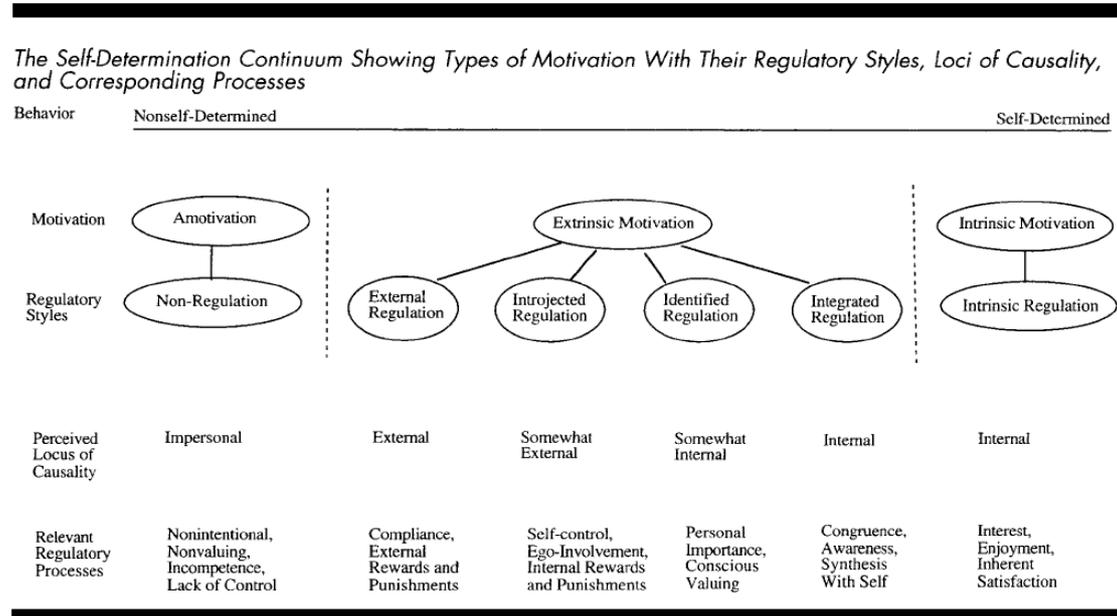

The Self-Determination Continuum Showing Types of Motivation With Their Regulatory Styles, Loci of Causality, and Corresponding Processes

Figure 4 (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 72)

5.2.2 Vansteenkiste et al. (2004): The behaviour of unemployed people

A research of Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) has been on the subject of job search behaviour of unemployed people and their relation to persistence in searching, unemployment experience, and well-being. For their research they used SDT to examine unemployed people's motivation both to search and not to search for a job.

In the past decennia already lot of research is done on the negative experience and consequences of being unemployed. There has been research on: '*…depressive symptoms (Winefield & Tiggerman, 1990, Winefield, Tiggerman & Goldney, 1991), anxiety (Donovan & Oddy, 1982), somatic symptoms (Kasl & Cobb, 1980), lower self-esteem (Hartley, 1980), poorer well-being (Banks & Jackson, 1982; De Witte, 1993; Feather, 1990; Vinokur, Caplan & Williams, 1987), and even with higher rates of child abuse (Justice & Duncan, 1977) and suicide (Argyle, 1989)'* (all in Vansteenkiste et al.).

Although most individuals experience negative feelings caused by their state of unemployment, every person rejects individually to it. Therefore every individual has got a different job searching behaviour, the SDT model is useful to investigate this behavior. All sort of motivation, from amotivation to pure self-determination can be found in the behaviors of unemployed people. A person can be fully *intrinsically motivated* to search a job because he finds it interesting, enjoying and inspiring to work. Though, in most social-contexts there is certain pressure on unemployed people to search for a job. Whether it is by its social surrounding of friends and family or the government putting 'official-pressure' through an obligation of applying for jobs, there is almost always this external pressure, say *extrinsic motivation*. A person can feel this regulation as being integrated in himself, he also sees the necessity of job searching. When the regulation is *integrated and internalized*, the person will feel autonomous which might positively influence his effectiveness, persistence and well-being on job searching. The research predicted '*…. higher levels of autonomous job-search motivation would relate positively to the intensity of people's continued search because having a job is personally important to these people and it provides the energy*

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necessary to persist' (p. 346) These predictions turned out to be valid, though people being more persistent or not always more effective in finding a job. Ryan & Deci (2001, in Vansteenkiste et al.) distinguish *hedonic well-being*, which means being happy and has been assed with variables such as life satisfaction, and *eudaimonic well-being*, which means to be relatively fully functioning and has been assed with variables such as self-actualization. They suggest that autonomous motivation is especially related to eudaimonic well-being. Being continuously reject when applying for a job evokes stress and make people feel unhappy, though there feeling of eudaimonic well-being can be maintained.

Unemployed people who are strictly externally *controlled* on their job-search behavior, are expected to experience their state of unemployment negative and have low level of well-being. Besides it is expected it has a negative influence on the persistence in job-searching, since people tend to resist activities to which they are forced.
People being *amotivated* have the feeling job-searching behavior will not lead to the desired outcomes, people tend to feel helpless. It is likely amotivation is related to negative experiences of being unemployed, because people don't feel autonomous, unable to affect their unemployed situation.

The research is not only focusing on the motivation of searching, but also to the motivation of not-searching. It isn't true, as often presumed, that not job searching behavior is a consequence of being amotivated. People can also chose autonomous not to search for a job, they prefer to spend their time on something else. The expectation of the research was that autonomous motivation not to search was stronger related to positive outcome of well-being than the autonomous motivation to search. *'The reasoning is that autonomous motivation to search consistently yielded failure which vitiated the positive effects of autonomous motivation, whereas autonomous motivation not to search maintained the valued outcome'* (Vansteenkiste et al., p. 348). When the behavior of not searching is autonomous instead of controlled, people are expected to have higher feeling of well-being. *'In particular, autonomous motivation not to search for a job yielded positive relations with experience and well-being variables much as autonomous motivation has shown such relations in other life domains, indicating, in line with Warr (1987), that some people are able to adjust to unemployment in a relatively healthy way'* (Vansteenkiste et al., p. 361).

5.3 The individual development process in the Sikasso project
5.3.1 The unemployed youth in Sikasso
It is interesting to look at the research of Vansteenkiste et al. since both SDT and unemployment are extremely relevant for this thesis. Though, it is a research conducted in Belgium, a Western country with an organized social security system. I won't go to deep in the macro economic and political problems of Mali, but will illustrate the huge differences between Belgium and a country like Mali. In contrast with Western countries, the extremely high youth unemployment rates aren't a reason for the Malian government to set up a large scale youth employment program. At least, no measures are taken which are actually effective neither this measures end up at the ones who need them most. In Sikasso, I have been visiting the *APEJ* (Agence pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes) which on paper is doing good work, but in practice you should pay only to subscribe yourself for a program. This excludes the poor youth already from the beginning. Without an effective social security system, the unemployed youth doesn't have any source of income and they don't get any other form of career support. Like the many researches about the negative influence of being unemployed Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) mentions, these negative influences, like depressive symptoms, anxiety, somatic symptoms, lower self-esteem, poorer well-being, are present as well at the Sikasso youth.

This short impression of the position of being unemployed in Mali hopefully made clear, the unemployed youth of Sikasso doesn't have the luxurious position to be fully

intrinsically motivated to search for a job. There is the constant external pressure to earn some money to make a bit of a living. Besides that there is the pressure from family, friends, lovers and the self. Though, the degree of which this external motivation is integrated or not can differ for each individual. For instance the main character in our play, he is extrinsically motivated because he would like to earn some money for his family. Besides that he has internalized in some degree the need to find a job, since after so many years of being a serious student with high marks, he would like now to show within an enterprise of which he's able, it will bring fulfillment. There's thin line between this *identified regulation* and *introjected regulation*. When he would be searching for a job because he has the feeling he needs to prove himself, say the ego is involved, it would an *internal controlled* demand. When not really interested to do a job, but only because of the rewards in the form of a salary, one is fully *external regulated*. When the level of internalization is lower or not present at all, the feeling of autonomy diminishes equally, which leads to a lower feeling of well-being, persistence and effectiveness.

As in the research of Vansteenkiste, the youth in Sikasso experiences continuous rejection in their search for a job. Which leads to a lower sense of well-being and influences negatively the motivation to continue. The sense of *hedonic well-being* has been absent already long time, and in this situation it is really difficult as well to maintain the feeling of *eudaimonic well-being*. Persons can easily become *amotivated*, having the feeling their job-searching would never lead to the desired outcomes, they feel helpless and they act apathetic. They don't have a sense of autonomy and feel unable to affect their unemployed status. Only reason for a lot of youngster not to fall in this amotivated position, is because the strong external regulation of the need to make a living is continuous. It is probably clear the level of well-being is extremely low when pushed in this problematic position. Both because of the continued rejection and the negative consequences of the state of being unemployed.

5.3.2 How to relate our theory to Social-Determination Theory
In the previous chapters, the main goal of our project is being explained as *'activating the participants'*. Approached from SDT, you could say our goal was to make the participants more autonomous. Help them to get more to the right of the graph, to have a higher level of internalization of the extrinsic motivation, to help them activating another *type* of motivation, next to the external regulation 'to bring money home' already there.
'The initial idea was that the type of or quality of a person's motivation would be more important than the total amount of motivation for predicting many important outcomes such as psychological health and well-being, effective performance, creative problem solving, and deep or conceptual learning' (Deci & Ryan, 2004, p. 182)

It wasn't in our ability to change anything about the external regulation and macro economic problems. Therefore we saw it as useful to help the participants change something on their internal psychological level. *'Given the significance of internalization for personal experience and behavioral outcomes, the critical issue becomes how to promote autonomous regulation for extrinsically motivated behaviors. That is, what are the social conditions that nurture versus inhibit internalization and integration?'* (Deci & Ryan, p. 73). As explained, according to Deci & Ryan, these conditions are a feeling of autonomy, competence and relatedness. All the participants can be said to live in an environment where these psychological needs are not completely or not at all full-filled.

We, as facilitators of the Sikasso project, can be seen as those ones having interest in letting people integrated and internalize regulations, were Deci & Ryan (2000) are talking about. Within the project we tried to let the psychological needs of the participants be fulfilled. The idea of using theatre was that the participants would learn to use their body, make it expressive and use their mind creatively. Through this, people would get more self-

confidence and tend to blossom, in other words they would feel *competent*. Being in a group with people in more or less the same position and with the shared theatre making task, for which it was necessary to share personal issues and ideas to make an interesting play, would hopefully lead to a sense of *relatedness* to the group for every individual. We decided on the working method, but it would be the participants deciding on the content of the play and everybody should have a say in it. We learned them the competence of making improvised theatre, after which they should be able to practice it themselves. Therefore working on the project should give each individual a sense of *autonomy*.

Through creating the social context which is necessary to promote autonomous regulation for extrinsically motivated behaviors, it was hoped to increase the degree of *internalization* of the external regulations. With *external regulations*, is meant both those we proposed within the project as well as those in the broader social context of each individual. It was hoped having fulfilled the psychological needs in the project setting, this would radiate to having these fulfilled in their daily lives as well.

5.3.3 Analysing the individual development process using SDT

5.3.3.1 Autonomy in Participating
To begin with, the project was on voluntary basis, so participating can be found in the area of *autonomous behavior*. When it was an obligation for them to participate, it could be found in the area of controlled behavior, but it was not. At the moment we had the feeling Isa would prefer to leave the project, he was completely free to do so. Though, it should be said that once participating in the project, one could have be as well motivated by *introjected regulation*, because of being afraid to lose their face when stepping out. This might be a reason why Isa didn't step out earlier. I had to suggest him to step out, a suggestion which he didn't considered for a moment.

Motivation to step in the project were all on the autonomous side of the figure, but differed for each participant, people should have quite some *self motivation* to come to the project. Some, like Adama, Madou, Alice, Badjan stated they decided to participate because the few times in their lives they saw theatre they were really inspired and the loved the thought of having something to do. It should be remarked one can never be sure whether they were fully intrinsically motivated, the fact three Western women encouraged them to participate might have been an extrinsic motivation. Maybe because they had the feeling they could not refuse us something, or maybe because they had the expectation of us being 'rich white people' who were going to pay them. They way Allassan was motivated to participate, was clearly not intrinsically, as is explained in the part 'critical issues' of our project. Madou was giving another reason as well, which can be seen as identified regulation, since he thought when someone is coming all the way to Mali to do her internship, they are someway obliged to help her.

It seemed Sidiki was *introjected regulated*, since he saw himself as having lot of experience in theatre and being a great actor. For no other participant the *involvement of the ego* was more obvious. Leaving apart controlled regulation on which we as facilitators had no influence, stepping in the project was on the autonomous side of the graph, it was, with different degrees of internalization, an autonomous action. So far the degree of autonomy for stepping in the project, once in the project we tried to create the social conditions to fulfil the psychological needs which should positively influence the sense of autonomy and internalization.

5.3.3.2 Encouraging Autonomy
When reading all the personal background's of the participants, it becomes clear none of them had experienced much autonomy during their young lives. Three participants didn't

even finish their DF, so the ones that did should be glad, though they didn't have a choice to continue for their Bac, always because of money constrains. Being educated or not wasn't an autonomous choice, but the education system itself neither encourages autonomy. It is based on learning by heart, following examples and doesn't encourage critical thinking. From the example how they wanted to correct less talented actors, the influence of this education system becomes clear. Having finished or stopped school, these young people didn't have much choice than taking every job which is offered them. They have always been under pressure to make a living. And for instance Allassan, who isn't treated well by his mean uncle, doesn't have a choice to go somewhere else. Having less freedom in your choices, gives people a limited feeling of autonomy. Another striking say I heard a lot from the participants is, *'C'est la fatalité de Dieu, la vie c'est comme ça'*. For instance Madou was stating this when I asked about the cause of dead of his three young sisters. In my opinion this an expression of having a limited feeling of being able to influence your live, of having autonomy.

The participants turned out to be perfectly able to decide on which issues they thought of as being important to add in the play. Besides that they could also express themselves in improvising scenes, this way it was quite easy to let them decide on the content of the play, to let it be *their* play. It should be said, especially in the beginning it were a few participants having the confidence to express themselves clearly and had most influence. As facilitators we tried to let everybody have their say, by giving a more shy person the turn to talk. In the end, each individual had gained enough confidence to give their opinion. With giving people a feeling of autonomy in the context of the project, on the content of the play as well as showing this to different audiences, is was hoped this would radiate to the broader social context. That they would realize in real life they have an influence and a say as well.

From different participants I got through the evaluation interviews the idea we succeeded in giving them a stronger feeling of autonomy. Both Adama and Ali stated they became more aware of the fact they can make a change in their own live, and that they are the very ones who should act to make a change, it won't come itself. Madou told me, because of the project he learned he should keep the energy to continue instead of being discouraged after some kind of misfortune. Every individual of the group can be said to have gained autonomy, because of the fact they all want to continue with the theatre group. Though they still have Janette de Haas to assist and as backup, every individual has got the feeling being able now to continue making theatre without Salomé Mooij and me. We have taught them new methods, now they feel they control them and are able to continue themselves. In other words, they feel autonomous.

5.3.3.3 Encouraging Competence

For almost all the participants it could be said they did not have a strong feeling of being competent. For instance participants like Badjan and Alice because didn't finish their DF, or Isa, who was totally illiterate. But the participants who did finished their DF, but were long time jobless, neither felt being competent. They had failed in finding a job again and again, and when having a job it wasn't a challenging one in which they could show what they were able to, in which they could flourish.

The participants were almost all really creative and able to improvise. Due to the project these talents blossomed and by our feedback and that of the public they felt competent to make and perform theatre. Almost every participant told me, in the beginning he had to get used a bit to the method, but now familiar with it he enjoys a lot playing theatre this way. For all the participants, except Sidiki, it was the first time to play theatre. So now having the feeling be able to make theatre, is a huge progress in two months. Sidiki explained he enjoyed learning new methods to make theatre, and he would like to make a future play in which he will combine the different methods he knows now. Besides learning

to play theatre and have the feeling of controlling the techniques, there is another reason why the feeling of competence was encouraged due to the project. Badjan learned as well from what was happening on the stage, it can tell you something about real life. So from learning to play theatre, they gained competence, but from the theatre itself, participants could learn as well. Having discussed together the difficulties of employment in Sikasso, participants got the feeling it wasn't because of them being not competent, but it is the circumstances. Badjan is explaining clearly that he learned educated people have the same problems as he is facing, so that he is as much worth as an educated person.

There is another factor that I see as important for encouraging the feeling of competence for the participants. I have called this *'the advantages of our clumsiness'*, which refers to and elaborates on the argument of Mlama (2002) to 'show them your clumsiness'. For sure things would have gone faster in the beginning, like explanation of exercises and discussions, when the French of me and my colleague Mooij was of higher level. The interesting advantage of 'our clumsiness' was that the participants felt quite comfortable with us and at the same level. A lot of them had not finished school, so they spook little French, just like us, this created a bound. Besides that we showed our clumsiness as well in letting them teach us traditional dance and some Bambara, with made them feel even more competent. They did not see us as experts, but almost as equals.

5.3.3.4 Encouraging Relatedness

Unemployed people tend to have a rather small world. They don't have colleagues and do not much participate in activities where they are likely to meet new people. Alice told in the beginning she liked to participate because now she was everyday sitting at home alone, taking care of her son. From the evaluation interviews it turned out that for almost all the participants, the most important of participating was to work in a group and to meet new people. For a lot of participants, the reason to go on with the theatre group, is the group and its atmosphere itself. Ali is even stating that before starting on the project, he felt alone somehow. Working in this group was really inspiring and 'opened his heart'. He sees the group as a unity, of which he enjoys being a part. For someone like Ali, who hasn't seen his family for a long time, or someone like Allassan being ignored by his uncle who he's living with, or Alice have no parents or husband but only her little son, a feeling of relatedness is scarce. Besides being in a group itself, the relatedness was encourages as well because together they worked on the same task of making a play and shared issues, experiences and ideas.

Ali putted emphasis as well on my role to keep the group together, the fact I always called everybody who was absent and the way I investigated problems and helped to solve them was according to Ali essential for the success of the project. Sometimes I wondered what was the sense of the many phone calls I had that went like:
Bonjour, c'est Abby, ça va? Où es-tu?
- Oui ça va, j'arrive, j'arrive!
D'accord, tout de suite s'il te plait.
- Oui, Oui, j'arrive tout de suite!
Most of the time this phone call was followed by waiting some more than my perception of *'tout de suite'*. Therefore I was glad to hear that, at least according to Ali, it was of importance I always tried to keep the group together like this.

5.3.3.5 Internalizing

Due to this context, in which the psychological needs of the participants were fulfilled in some degree, they were more likely to internalize and integrate regulations. With having fulfilled the psychological needs within the context of the project, it was hoped to give the participants the tools to expand these in their broader social context.

Within the project, they had to internalize our rules about being on time and concentrated. We were lucky the participants all agreed on the rules, identified with it, and internalized them in some level. Some were from the moment the rules were introduced always on time and concentrated, the ones that weren't always were at least feeling they were wrong and excused for it. Interesting to see was how they corrected each other when too late or not concentrated. Besides this concrete regulation, they also had to internalize our working method. In the beginning our way of making theatre was for everyone completely new so they were externally regulated to act this way. More familiar with the method, and believe being competent to carry it out, they internalized the method more and more. At the moment, every and each participants feels competent to continue making theatre this way without Mooij and me. The fact they internalized our rules and working method, made the group more effective, productive and enjoying the project. Which made the project as a whole work more effectively, persistent and having the participants in a higher state of well-being. All the participants told they had enjoyed the project, so their feeling of *hedonic well-being* was influence positively. It is hoped the project contributed as well to their feeling of *eudaimonic well-being* in their broader social context.

When having the psychological needs fulfilled in the project context, it is hoped the participants take these to their broader social context as well. Having a feeling of autonomy, relatedness and competence here as well, will make them able to internalize external regulations. Like the most important regulation; to search a job. From having explained above what the participants learned from the project, it is hopefully clear this is much more than only effective within the theatre making context. Like Badjan knowing he is worth as much as an educated person. Badjan and others stated the learned to keep their head up after some misfortune and Adama and Ali who stated it were only themselves who could change sometime about their live. Having decided to continue with the theatre group, is for each individual an autonomous decision, putting emphasis on their ability to be active and autonomous.

The crucial and critical question, which can only be answered in the future, is whether the participants are able to keep this positive attitude. As described in 'critical issues' of TfD in general and this specific project, I left them in pretty much the same conditions. Due to the project now they all have an inspiring hobby, met each other, and are in some degree more self-determining, but the context, the macro level, isn't changed at all. I left them in the "we can do it" position, and like Mlama (2002) I have fear this will quickly degenerates into a "you can never win" position. In the evaluation interview, Madou told me he was still thinking about going to Europe to search for a job. Which I can understand, since to rate of unemployment in Sikasso is still extremely high. But I'm afraid Madou will be disappointed again and again when trying to get out of Mali. Maybe we should have paid more attention to having a balance of having a positive attitude and being realistic, say encouraging them in being realistic positive. In your specific context, what's the best to make out of it?

For Isa, the one that dropped out after six weeks, could not be said the project had a positive influence on his development and empowerment. According to me, he was stepped into the project because he hoped to be rewarded for it, like he is when asked to play music somewhere. Isa plays beautiful n'goni, a traditional Malian instrument which resembles to a guitar, which talent was used in the play. From his attitude in the first weeks, I had the idea he really enjoyed to make theatre. He seemed to internalize our regulations; our rules and methods. Later on, he was absent a lot, for which he did not give clear reasons. Later on, from other participants, I understood the reasons of his absence. A few times he hoped to earn some money with playing n'goni on a wedding and the other times he was just stoned. Following the first reason of his absence, we can say the external regulation, to earn money, was too strong. Therefore only the possibility of making some money was enough not to

show up at the rehearsal. The second reason, being stoned, is according to me a clear example of *amotivation*. Having the idea none of his actions will lead to the desired outcomes, he turned to stop acting at all and tried to forget the negative experience of this non-acting with a joint. I assume for a guy like Isa another method than we practiced is necessary to help him activate, develop and empower.

5.4 Conclusion; the values of the individual development process

The SDT showed the importance of the *type* of motivation, the more autonomous the more effective, productive and positive for the well-being of an individual. For an individual to be more autonomous, the fulfilling of the psychological needs, is of crucial importance. Feeling more autonomous, an individual is more likely to internalize external regulations. A theatre group is the perfect setting to fulfil these needs; to create an environment in which an individual feels autonomous.

The Sikasso project has proven this in some degree, but it is possible to take this conclusions broader. In each theatre group, competence, autonomy and relatedness can be created. I would even say a facilitator is obliged to create these, to work effective, productive and enjoying. For participants having fulfilled these needs within the project context, this can be taken to their broader social context. Like Boal is stating: it might be fiction, but at least it is action. Which I would like to elaborate with: it might be in the context of the project, but at least it is somewhere. It is the beginning of action in real life.

This chapter can conclude that, with its potential to contribute to the development empowerment and self-determination of individuals, TfD can be seen as a valuable tool. Though the remark should be made, to take care the participants won't fall back in their former attitude, it is of importance to discuss with them their possibilities within their specific context.

6. Conclusion

Theatre for Development came into existence because of the growing need for more participative communication methods. Theatre makers fulfilled this need, with starting to use theatre in development contexts. Since it came into existence, in the late 1970s, it developed towards having a degree of participation high as possible and being more effective and sustainable. Though, it is still not established as common tool within the ambiguous development industry. Here lies a future challenge for TfD practitioners and theoreticians, how to communicate and prove the effectiveness and values of TfD to establish it as a common tool?

Although practitioners improved and adjusted their theory and methods, those of Boal (1974) seem to be still applicable and are an inspiration for many today. Boal knows as no other to describe the value and huge potential of theatre, starting from the very beginning of theatre. In this historical description of Boal, he describes the first actor and how theatre further developed. Although the way it should be used, for what purpose, is debated continuously in history, one thing is unanimously clear from the beginning: the potential of theatre is much more than just entertaining. According to Boal, in its very essence theatre is action. Having done something once at the stage, paves the road to practice it in real live.

With investigating the literature on TfD, using the most productive authors, who are most of the time also practitioners, the following values of TfD came to the surface. TfD: **comes to the roots of problems**; **doesn't rely on literacy or well developed infrastructure**; is an **effective communication tool**; brings about **concrete action of change**; is a **safe space** to try out things; can **explore sensitive issues** and is as no other communication tool **suited to use indigenous forms of expression**, which has coming advantages like making it a **mutual learning process** and **create identity**.

Besides these values of using theatre as tool to bring about development, the literature research also brought some critical issues to the surface, which are important on project level as well as on the level of the TfD movement as a whole. Factors important for the successfulness of a project are; the **level of participation** of a community; the **role of the facilitator** and the **use of indigenous art forms** instead of western orientated forms. Issues that the TfD movement should consider to establish it's position in the future are: the question whether TfD is able to make a change when the **roots of the problem are found on macro level**; the **non suitability of the African political arena** of dictatorships or not well functioning democracies to practice TfD and the **problems with the financing** of TfD projects when practiced in its most ideal form.

In Sikasso we carried out a theatre project, in collaboration with NGO Miriyawalé. The target group were young unemployed people, the main goal was to activate them and the method improvising theatre. For two months we worked with nine unemployed young people towards performing a play. They decided on the content of the play, so it became their play. Within this project the theatre making process, the underlying social process and the individual development process turned out to be all of crucial importance to analyse the successfulness of the project. The theory and method of the *theatre making process* were designed before the start of the project, we hoped to evoke through using theatre an *individual development process*. Though, during the process, I became increasingly aware of the importance of the *underlying social process*. This process is important for the functioning of the group, I learned a lot from it and I assume the participants learned tacitly from the experience of group work. These three processes were interrelated, but to emphasis the important of each, there was dealt with them in this thesis separately.

To analyse the *theatre making process* in Sikasso, the findings of the literature research in chapter two are used as theoretical framework. One of the advantages of our

method, is that it **doesn't rely on literacy** or a well developed infrastructure. Having the participants taught the methods of improvising theatre, we established an **effective communication tool**, which they are no able to continue themselves. We dealt in discussions and within the play with **the roots of the problem** the youth is facing: the huge rate of unemployment. The environment of the project was a **safe space to try out things** people dared to take every role they felt like and criticised for instance the managers of enterprises, the fetisjeur, money-hungry girls etc. This way they could give comment and offer alternatives, possibilities can be tried out with the advantage the consequences are never fatal. We touched **sensitive issues** and explored them. The advice of the fetisjeur is a nice concrete example of this.

We reached **concrete action and change**, we activated the participants and they are motivated to continue the theatre group. The roots of the problem are at macro-level, but for the live of the participants something concrete has changed. They have some more activity and they have met new people. Next to these concrete changes, their position towards the circumstance is changed, they are inspired to continue with some more positive energy. It could not be said we fully exploited the **indigenous art forms**, but we did make full use of the **local forms**: the fact the participants are quite expressive themselves and are brilliant naturals in improvised theatre. We made it a **mutual learning process** by letting them teach us the traditional dances and some Bambara songs.

In the Sikasso project, we also found some critical issues. We found out it was important to be a **balanced facilitator** indeed. We asked ourselves the question when to intervene and when to let things happen since they are culturally specific, we had to find a balance between this. Within the design of our project, we already emphasized on a **high degree of participation**, which we indeed carried out as can be read in the part of the execution of the project. We did not searched to use specific **indigenous forms**, but, being a balanced facilitator, we did take the local context and culture into account.

From the Sikasso project, two other critical issues came to the surface, namely to stay process orientated also coming close to the first performances. I found out being used to a Western theatre making process, there is the **risk of falling into a end-product focused attitude** when at the end of the project. We almost went beyond our goal of activation and empowerment. The other critical issue found in the Sikasso project, is our way of recruiting for the project. The purpose of our project was to work with young people who had problems with keeping their heads up, stay active. So you can ask yourself whether it is a good idea to wait for this people to come to you. When your goal is activating or empowering, you should **critically think how to approach your participants**. Since non-active and non-empowered people are not really likely to take the initiative to come to you.

Some of the issues the TfD movement as a whole is facing, came to the surface in our project as well. Like the **problems with financing**, I did not succeed in finding a donor and doing an appeal on my friends and family also wasn't that successful as was hoped for. I also asked myself what had actually changed since the **roots of the problem were at macro level**. We did **not see the political powers as problematic**, which Kerr is describing as being an issue. Instead, we had the feeling all the actors felt free to say whatever they felt like and did so as well in all the performances, included the one in the garden of the governor where the authorities were present.

We described our goal as the *'activation of participants'*, but actually the concept *'empowerment'* could have been used as well. Following the definition of Rappaport on empowerment, which is putting emphasis on the individual as well as the social context, the distinction I made in the underlying social process and the individual development process is somehow justified. The *underlying social process* and *theatre making process* are to be found in the *'the social influence'* and the *individual development process* in the *'psychological sense of personal control or influence'*.

To analyse the *underlying social process*, a theoretical framework is set up using the stages of team development of Tuckman and the levels of teamwork of Glasl & Ballreich. Tuckman made clear the important distinction of the task activity realm and the social realm. When having a social task, like making a play, it might be difficult to distinguish these realms, but still very necessary according to Tuckman. Since in this part I wanted to analyse the underlying social process, the different stages of team development are described from the social realm only. According to Tuckman to succeed in a task, it is important to be aware of all these stages of team development. All these stages weren't that clearly seen as Tuckman described, but still his model was useful to analyse some of the underlying social process. Using the model of Glasl & Ballreich was a necessary addition to describe this process some more. The advantage of the division in levels, is these are present during the whole process. One should have or create good conditions in each level, to be a successful team.

Indeed in Sikasso all these levels of teamwork seemed to be important to pay attention to for the successfulness of the project. The 'successfulness of the project' consist of both coming to a good end performance as well as activating and empowering the participants. The suggestion is made to develop a tool to analyse and evaluate the underlying social process within the specific context of a TfD project. This can possibly lead to suggestions how to educate participants to learn about and take control of all these dimensions, levels and stages, to become effective group members. Not only can the participants learn from it, as shortly explained in my role as facilitator I learned a lot as well from the events in the underlying social layer. In other words, the underlying social process has got value for both the theatre making process as well as the individual development process.

To analyse this individual development process, The Social-Determination Theory (SDT) of Ryan & Deci was valuable, it deals with the type of motivation and the autonomy of a person. Since our goal was to activate and empower the participants, say, make them more autonomous, this theory was really suitable. Having autonomous motivation makes a individual more productive, effective and experience a higher state of well-being. For an individual to be more autonomous, the fulfilling of the psychological needs, is of crucial importance. Feeling more autonomous, an individual is more likely to internalize external regulations. This theory is interesting for persons, like us, who want to help individuals internalize certain regulations. In the Sikasso case this was both our regulations, like our method and rules, and regulations from their broader social context, namely the pressure to find a job. Within the setting of the project we did an attempt to fulfil the psychological needs, and it was hoped the participants were able to take this to their broader social context. From my observations and evaluation interviews, I can conclude we succeeded in this in some degree. Although the crucial question is whether the participants will be able to keep up this attitude. The argument can be stated broader, namely that a TfD project is the perfect setting to fulfil the psychological needs of its participants. Which will assist them in having their psychological needs fulfilled as well in their broader social context. So again, an important value of theatre if being underlined here.

Summarized, the values of TfD can be found in the theatre making process, but as well in the underlying process and the development process of the individual. Within the literature, I found most authors focusing on the theatre making process and the individual development process that can come along with it. From the literature the values of the underlying social process for the end performance as well as the individual development didn't came to the surface. Therefore there isn't a useful theoretical tool to analyse and evaluate the underlying social process within the specific TfD project context. Unfortunately, given the ECTS for a bachelor thesis, I wasn't able to do an extensive literature research on underlying social process theories to find out which theories and/or methods are most useful in the context of a TfD project. Therefore I suggest further research in this area.

Not only on the underlying social process of a TfD project, asks for more research. A tool to evaluated the individual development process more concrete would be of use as well. The practitioners are now evaluating their project from their own perspectives and focuses, which makes it difficult to say something in general about the value and successfulness of TfD for the individual development process.

The Sikasso project illustrated the values of the *theatre making process*, *underlying social process* and the *individual development process*. All are important to explain and analyse the successfulness of the project; to come to a good end performance as well as to activate and empower it's participants. I argue to assure the successfulness of each TfD project and to evaluate a project in more standardised forms, more research should be done to develop a tool which is paying equal attention to all these three processes. This is of importance for both the successfulness of each project individually, but as well for the TfD movement as a whole. Being able to analyse and evaluate projects in more standardised forms, can be helpful to prove the values of TfD in a more quantitative way. Which in turn can assist to establish TfD as an accepted and commonly used tool within the ambiguous development industry. This is an answer to the problem of the establishment of TfD which was underlined in the introduction.

Epilogue

It is hoped this thesis was a readable introduction for those not familiar with the use of theatre in the development arena. The values of theatre are extensively described and the project I carried out in Sikasso provided illustrative examples to describe the value of the theatre making process, the underlying social process and the individual development process. I hope readers of this thesis will think now of theatre as being an interesting tool to investigate and use more. But besides that, I hope to be able to continue myself in practicing and investigating the potentials of Theatre for Development. Past decennia TfD didn't succeed to establish itself as common and known tool for development, hopefully it will in the future. Therefore the end of this thesis is everything but not *The End*.

To be continued….
Or,
Bara Beyi!

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Summarised Evaluation Interviews

Note
I tried to have these interviews in the form of informal conversations, I made some notes and tried to cover everything I liked to know; discover some more about their personal background and how they experienced participating in the project. Due to this unstructured way of interviewing, it seemed logic to make readable summaries of them, in which all the information is covered. Since only having made some notes during the interviews, the summaries below hardly show any quotes of the participants. Though, their opinion and ideas are structured summarized and hopefully easy readable.

Besides not be able to cite the answers literally, that would have probably bored you since the interviews were full of flattering and compliments towards me and the idea of the project. I really had to insist to let them give some critics as well or at least some points for improvement of a next project. So these summaries should be seen as an overview of the interesting things being said, not as a summary of the conversations as a whole. All interviews are being done the sixth of January 2009, the day before I would leave Sikasso.

Adama
One of the naturals, and a really energetic actor, this is why we directed with gently touch towards having him as main character: Abou.

Personal Background
Adama is 21 years old and lives in Sikasso, he has a small room in the house of his boss, where he has the function of gardien. During the project, it turned out he is not completely unemployed, and this caused some trouble. His boss isn't allowing him to continue with the theatre group after the first series of performances. Adama is searching for another job, to make it possible to continue with the theatre group. Besides that he doesn't really like living in the house of his boss. His mother lives in a small village approximately 70 km from Sikasso, his father died in 2001. Adama has got 5 brothers, 2 of them work as well in Sikasso, the other 3 are living nearby their mother and work in the agriculture. In 2006 he has lost one brother due to a car accident. He had 2 sisters, both of them died when he was a young boy, he doesn't know the cause. With his other wife, his father got only one child.

From 1995 he had been in school, he received his DF in 2006 and wasn't able to continue for his Bac because there was no money. The decided to go directly to his brother in Sikasso, were he worked for almost a year as photographer. In 2008 he met his current boss. He is putting emphasis on the fact in 2009 he met NGO Miriyawalé and he hopes to be able continue working with us and this really changed his live.

Experiences of the Project
When young, Adama saw a play in his village about protecting the forest, he was really inspired by it. When he heard of a theatre project he had immediately decided to participate. In the beginning he had some difficulties with understanding the working method, but he has learned a lot about making and improving scenes, using your body, move, how to 'act'. In the end he understood everything very well and he thinks of it as being enjoying making theatre this way.

Participating in the project made him think some more about his live. Before he had the feeling live was just passing through time, you sleep, you eat, it doesn't really matter what you're doing. Now he realizes he is able to make a change, although small, in the way

his live is going on. It is of no use just to undergo everything, when admire to have something changed in your live, you should act yourself.

In the beginning of the project, it was because of the language a bit difficult and everything went quite slowly. He suggests for next time having an *'acteur principal'*, who already know the working method and exercise so is able to explain and demonstrate the group.

Ali

Actually, Ali did not completely fit in our target group of young, unemployed people. Since being 40 he cannot be seen as young, and he turned out to have a job as gardien as well. Because of him being so enthusiastic to participate, we decided to turn a blind eye on the fact he wasn't that young. Later on in the process he turned out, like his friend Adama, not to be fully unemployed, having him as enthusiastic participant and already quite far in the process, we decided like with Adama to let him stay. Ali cannot said to be a natural, but was really enthusiastic to make theatre and developed himself a lot as actor.

Personal Background

Ali is originally from Burkina Faso, he is married and has got two kids. The youngest he saw only a few days, because after her birth his job in Sikasso started. He is planning to visit his family in February 2010. Ali has been in school for six years but didn't received his diploma. Because of talking about his family in Burkina, he almost gets a bit emotional because normally he doesn't think about them to much, since he cannot change anything about the fact he is here and they are there. He has to take his responsibility for his wife and children and earn some money for them.

Experiences of the Project

Though before he did not have any experience with making theatre, it sounded really interesting and he decided to participate. It was a great pleasure for Ali to participate in the project, he is thankful I was patient in explaining everything, since he did not have any experience with making theatre this was necessary for him. He is proud of the fact we have overcome all the things that didn't went right in the beginning. We worked really hard on all the scenes, and in the end they were perfect.

From the project, Ali learned how nice and inspiring it is to work in a group. Before he felt alone in someway, working with others really opened his heart. In the end the group was really an unity, a team and he enjoyed working with each and every person. He puts emphasis on my role in keeping the group together. Every time someone wasn't there, I called or pass by. I investigated and helped solving the personal problems of everyone, which was according to Ali essential for the success of the project.

Madou

Madou was one of the naturals, it was the first time for him to make theatre, but he turned out to be a great actor. Without any problems he could stand-in for Isa, who dropped out just before the premiere.

Personal Background

Madou is 21 years old and living in Sikasso at his brothers place and searching for a job. Both his parents are still alive and they life in the village were Madou was born. He has got 5 brothers, of which 2 are already married. He had 3 sister who all died when he was young, he doesn't know the cause of their dead: *'C'est la fatalité de Dieu, le vie c'est comme ça'*. The other women of his father has 5 children.

Madou has been in school till 2007, he received his DF but wasn't able to continue

his studies. Since that moment he is searching for a job, he did some small jobs in the construction and agriculture and in an '*iron-business*'. In Mali they have some special technique of ironing their clothes which is quite labour-intensive, so people who have the money for it, bring them to a boutique. Although he is willing to take every job that is offered him, he finds himself doing nothing. That's way he likes the idea of going to Europe to search for a job.

Experiences of the Project
Madou is the only participant that came to the centre after having heard our radio commercial, that's when he first thought of participating. Besides that he thinks of it as being important to help someone who comes all the way to Mali for her internship. Madou thinks it is really an progression there is a project like this, since it is open for everyone to participate. It doesn't matter whether you have money, or experience. Normally in Mali, you should have rich parents to be able to make theatre. He is stating he did not experience any problems during the project, though he can only speaks for himself, not for the group as a whole.

Madou liked it very much to work in a group and is glad he met some new people. He thinks of the group as having a good team spirit. Besides that he saw some interesting places like the prison and the garden of the governor. Being a participant of the project, changed a lot for Madou. They became someone because of the project, remarkably that now he does dare to speak for the group as a whole. He experienced for the first time how it was to work with western people, which was really nice. At the moment he is trying to get in the army for the second time, thanks to the project he has learned that when he will not succeed he should keep the energy to try other things. Madou is advising me, when doing again such a project to look for seriously motivated actors. It's difficult and unpleasant to work with unmotivated people. When people are causing problems, like Isa, they should be thrown out the group in time.

Allassan

Not from the beginning on, but Allassan developed pretty soon in being a good actor. He is a beautiful example to illustrate the success of the project, since the influence of the project is clearly visible with this participant. The guy who I really had to convince to participate and the guy I left in the beginning of January are completely different persons.

Personal Background
Allassan is 23 years old, his mother still lives in the village where he was born. He can hardly remember his father, he died when he was very young. In 2006 he received his DF, but wasn't, because of financial reasons, able to continue his studies. He thinks of his mother of a really strong woman, she raised 8 children on her own.

He lives in Sikasso at the house of a brother of his father, he is here to search for a job. His uncle is everything but nice, he has got lots of money since he is *pharmacien*, but not willing to share. He is the brother of his father, so it is his social duty to take care of Allassan, but in practice he gives him only a little bit food and most of the time ignores him completely. Two times since he is there, he told Allassan to leave his house. The first time he went to his village, the chef of the village went together with Allassan back to Sikasso and reminded the uncle of his duty. Allassan could stay under the condition he would take care of himself. When he was told to leave a second time, he went to Niono where he worked for 8 month in the agriculture. He sent all the money he earned here directly to his mother.

Experiences of the Project
After the conversation I had with Allassan on Festival du Balafon, he thought the project

might be something for him, so he decided to participate. He enjoyed it a lot to participate, to have something to do. It gave him inspiration for the future and since the group turned out to be able working together effectively, it would be a pity to stop. He is happy having met some new people and having worked in this group, he would love to continue working in this composition. He has learned how to make theatre, on forehand he didn't knew anything about it. Because of the project he developed an interest for theatre. When he was young he has seen some theatrical events on television and he thought of it as being nice, but now he really loves to play theatre. He is inspired to continue making new scenes, actually to make a whole new play. In a following project it might be nice to have a bigger group, around 15, to make a bigger play.

Sidiki

Sidiki turned out to be a participant with quite some whims. In this thesis these are already described, so I won't go into deep with them here. I think of him as being someone who had some internal problems with us leading the group and his enormous ego, he felt threatened in his position by us. Luckily in the end he had again an motivated attitude and a positive influence on the group.

Personal Background

Sidiki is 20 years old and received his DF in 2007, the same year his mother died. He wasn't able to continue his studies after his DF. He has 3 brothers and 2 sisters and he is the youngest brother. His father is married a second wife, but doesn't have any children with her. Because he doesn't have a mother anymore, he is most of the time at the family of a friend of him, the mother in this family said she's willing to take care of Sidiki. The whole family of his friend, he is seeing now as his own family as well. Every night he goes home to sleep at his own family.

In contrast with the other participants, Sidiki had already some experience in making theatre. A man in his neighborhood inspired him to do theatre, since he is 6 he is already familiar with practicing theatre. When someone told him he was a good dancer as well, he decided to work on this serious as well. He helped organizing a concourse, and joined the theatre group of Sikasso when he finished his DF. He was already asked for the theatre group before he finished his DF, but he decided to first concentrate on school Besides that he had to deal with pressure from his social environment. Lot of people stated theatre isn't a real profession. In 2008 he had the leadership function of the theatre and the dance group for the biennale in Kay. In Kay he met Abou Camara and his brother Chaka Camara, Abou is the husband of Janette de Haas and co-director of NGO Miriywalé. So he was already in touch with the NGO before the project started.

Experiences of the project

Since he doesn't have a job, Sidiki liked the idea of participating in the project to have something to do. Besides that he was glad to be able to work on theatre again. Sidiki thinks of the project as having passed very successfully. He doesn't see the necessity of talking about what went wrong. Why should you talk about this if in the end everything turned out fine? When I insist on at least telling something that could have gone better in the beginning, he states that indeed in the beginning it was a bit difficult, for everyone. I had to find out how to control the actors. To do so, you should know the actors very well, then you know how to deal with them. But in Mali this is difficult, he explains, people are not likely to show their real face from the beginning.

Although Sidiki had already experience with theatre, he learned a lot in the project. We taught him a complete new way of making theatre, which really inspired him. He likes to combine his previous experiences with the new ideas and techniques he gained in our

project, for a future play. He thinks of the group as having a good spirit, so hopes to continue in the same composition.

Alice

Alice was the only girl in our group, but it wasn't a reason for her to not participate. In the beginning she seemed a bit shy, but through the project she was more and more able to define her position in the group. She especially succeeded in establish her position in the social context of the group, on the stage she remained till the end quite shy.

Personal Background

Alice is convinced she is born in 1977, so she would be 33 years old, which actually I doubt. Her parents died already long time ago, they were ill. She has got 2 brothers, one of them is in Bamako in university. In 2005 her son Isa is born, I don't dare to ask about the father, Janette de Haas tells me he's in Bamako and left Alice after she turned out to be pregnant. She already knew de Haas before the project started. De Haas found an 'adoption family' in the Netherlands for her son, they are paying the school and nourishment for Isa. She is glad there is an arrangement like this, since she is really poor. She takes good care of her son, so sometimes she doesn't eat herself. Sometimes people around her give her something to eat. Alice has been 8 years in school, but didn't finish anything. In the catholic women's centre, French sisters learned her to make embroidery. When she will have some money, she will buy materials to make embroidery to sell on the market.

Experiences of the Project

Alice already knew de Haas, who told her about the project. The idea of having something to do and play theatre pleased her, so she decided to participate. She enjoyed the past 2 months very much and hopes it would be possible to continue with the group. She met some new people and besides that, some more people in Sikasso know her now because of the performances. In the beginning there were some problems in the group, but we dealt well with these. And since Isa left, there aren't any troubles anymore. Everyone learned a lot and is able know to participate actively in the theatre making process. Alice really enjoyed working in the group and she learned how important it is to show solidarity. She hopes to learn some more when they are going to continue with the group.

Alice sees the 'be on time'- rule and reward as necessary to motivate the participants some more to be on time. She thinks of this as necessary when the group continues. Not to much, people should not come for the money, but just some extra stimulant.

Badjan

Badjan can be said to be the most dedicated participant of all. He has been every and each rehearsal on time and always focused and concentrated. He had some difficulties in the beginning with the exercise, but soon I found out this was only because of not understanding literally what was said, because he speaks poorly French. Once more familiar with the exercises and playing theatre, he blossomed in being an actor.

Personal Background

Badjan is 21 and has been in school till this tenth. He was in a Koran school, where he learned Arabic and to cite the Koran. He left school, because he had to take care of his grandmother, her sister and his own mother, who are all handicapped. I know his mother physically as well as mentally handicapped, Badjan wasn't able to explain to me more about his grandmother and her sister. Since only ten years old, he was only able to beg to sustain these three women and himself. Three years ago the sister died, two years ago his grandmother and then he went with his mother to Sikasso. His brother went to another

place to work, earn some money. He would come back to Sikasso to set up a little business together with Badjan. So far this plan didn't worked out.

Experiences of the Project
Badjan decided to participate because he liked the idea of making theatre, it turned out to be true and he enjoys playing very much now. The past two months were an enjoying experience for him. When making theatre you learn a lot, things happening on stage can tell you a lot about real life. I ask to give a concrete example of this, he answers the fact that all young people have difficulties to find a job, not only the ones without a diploma. Having a diploma or not, everyone is trying to keep their heads up and to stay *'en forme'* . Now he has the feeling being more equal to a person with a diploma. He feels having become an artist. In the beginning he was shy and ashamed for the public, now he is able to forget about the public and get absorbed by his role. Especially playing a comedian brings him lot of joy. When he plays theatre, he is able to forget all the problems he had an is still facing.

He compliments me with listening with attention to everyone and therefore being able to understand and coach everyone, that's why it is so sad I have to leave. He thanks *Dieu* for bringing me on his path, with this statement Badjan is certainly the *king of flattering*. I can do nothing else than explaining again and again I was only to do this project because of their enormous and enthusiastic effort. Badjan is glad I suggested Isa to leave the group, since he is gone the group atmosphere is a lot better. The group is really strong together, so he would like to continue playing theatre with them.

Coming Friday Badjan is planning to participate in a story telling competition. In Arabic he will tell about how he became who he is now. He states it's due to the project he has the courage and self-confidence now to participate in such a competition. Ensuring his position as *king of flattering*, he tells he will also talk about the project and me since that really changed his live.

Karim

Unfortunately I did not find the time to have an interview with Karim. Karim was already in contact with the centre, almost every afternoon he helped with the activities for children. He was still in school, but has a rather strange schedule, most of the time only every morning from 7 till 10. He was really enthusiastic to participate and therefore we decided when he would come every rehearsal day directly after school, he was allowed to play a little role. From working two months with him, I do know some about his background. He lives at family in Sikasso since he doesn't have parents anymore. Since he is in contact with the centre, it is getting more and more his second home and he blossoms here. This gives you the feeling his first house isn't such a warm place to be. When I asked Karim whether the people at his home were friendly, he answered: *'Un peu…'*, which I think of as being quite an understatement. It was a pity he was always to late for the exercises since he is eager to learn and clearly needed it. Though, he was always motivated and concentrated and improved a lot during the project.