Looking for Amina: an experience on Forum Theatre
Entertainment-Education and Participatory Approaches

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Photographs
Photograms from the documentary "Amina busca feina" (Soto, 2009)
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All human societies are "spectacular" in their daily life and produce "spectacles" at special moments. They are "spectacular" as a form of social organization and produce "spectacles" like the one you have come to see. Even if one is unaware of it, human relationships are structured in a theatrical way. The use of space, body language, choice of words and voice modulation, the confrontation of ideas and passions, everything that we demonstrate on the stage, we live in our lives. We are theatre!

Weddings and funerals are "spectacles", but so, also, are daily rituals so familiar that we are not conscious of this. Occasions of pomp and circumstance, but also the morning coffee, the exchanged good-mornings, timid love and storms of passion, a senate session or a diplomatic meeting - all is theatre.

One of the main functions of our art is to make people sensitive to the "spectacles" of daily life in which the actors are their own spectators, performances in which the stage and the stalls coincide. We are all artists. By doing theatre, we learn to see what is obvious but what we usually can't see because we are only used to looking at it. What is familiar to us becomes unseen: doing theatre throws light on the stage of daily life.

Last September, we were surprised by a theatrical revelation: we, who thought that we were living in a safe world, despite wars, genocide, slaughter and torture which certainly exist, but far from us in remote and wild places. We, who were living in security with our money invested in some respectable bank or in some honest trader’s hands in the stock exchange were told that this money did not exist, that it was virtual, a fictitious invention by some economists who were not fictitious at all and neither reliable nor respectable. Everything was just bad theatre, a dark plot in which a few people won a lot and many people lost all. Some politicians from rich countries held secret meetings in which they found some magic solutions. And we, the victims of their decisions, have remained spectators in the last row of the balcony.

Twenty years ago, I staged Racine’s Phèdre in Rio de Janeiro. The stage setting was poor: cow skins on the ground, bamboos around. Before each presentation, I used to say to my actors: "The fiction we created day by day is over. When you cross those bamboos, none of you will have the right to lie. Theatre is the Hidden Truth".

When we look beyond appearances, we see oppressors and oppressed people, in all societies, ethnic groups, genders, social classes and casts; we see an unfair and cruel world. We have to create another world because we know it is possible. But it is up to us to build this other world with our hands and by acting on the stage and in our own life. Participate in the "spectacle" which is about to begin and once you are back home, with your friends act your own plays and look at what you were never able to see: that which is obvious. Theatre is not just an event; it is a way of life!

We are all actors: being a citizen is not living in society, it is changing it.

Augusto Boal,
March 27, 2009. World Day Theatre Manifest
ABSTRACT

From the 70’s on, most of the communication initiatives combining education and entertainment elements to promote behaviour change on issues like illiteracy, HIV-AIDS or family planning, have not been owned, designed nor operated by the people needing change. The introduction of the Freirean liberating pedagogy principles through Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed techniques means a disruption in the way of understanding how communication and development models can merge within an endogenous and sustainable perspective. The monologue of technicians designing the change to be promoted for a passive audience who consume “values” is substituted by a dialogue among oppressed, who analyse their problems from their experiences and propose alternatives to overcome the oppression through discussion and action, understood as a “rehearsal for revolution”. The attempt of this project work is to analyse how participatory approaches contribute to theoretical and practical development of Entertainment-Education. To do it, it follows the thread of a particular case, a play created by a Moroccan family with the help of a Catalan NGO, that depicts the daily oppression suffered by Amina in her will to find a decent job, while tries to spark a debate on the ways people can face and overcome this kind of oppression in Catalonia. The case shows how participatory approaches stimulate empowerment and self-esteem of the oppressed and participants, who are able to go beyond their particular cases to discuss and propose alternatives on structural conditions that hinder development. It also reveals the epistemological difficulties to apply evaluation methods and follow-up mechanisms in Theatre of the Oppressed experiences to strengthen the goals of social change in the mid and long term.
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A man lost his keys. A friend came to visit and found him squatting down, searching around on the floor with all the lights on in the house. "What are you doing?", asked the friend. "Looking for my keys", answered the man. "Where did you lose them?", asked the friend. "Over there in that dark alley", came the reply. "So why are you looking over here if you dropped them over there?" "Because there’s light here...".

Oriental Tale

If you don’t know the answer, discuss your question.

Clifford Geertz
1. THE INVESTIGATION PROJECT

1.1. AMINA’S LOOKING FOR A JOB

Amina busca feina (Amina’s looking for a job, in Catalan) is a Forum Theatre play created by a Moroccan family (Amina El Hilali, and her two sons, Ayoub and Hamza1) with the help of Forn de Teatre PaTothom, a Catalan organization that uses Theatre of the Oppressed techniques to promote local development through the empowerment of the oppressed. The play tells the real-life problems of Amina to find a non-discriminating job in Catalonia as an 1) old 2) immigrant 3) woman. It was performed for the first time in Barcelona at the Ill International Meeting of Theatre and Education, in April 2007. From then on, it has been performed around fifteen times, six of them in Catalan prisons.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AN OBJECTIVES

Since the analysis of the Peruvian telenovela Simplemente Maria (1969-70) showed that it triggered some remarkable unintended effects, the field of entertainment has become a permanent ingredient in educative initiatives linked to development policies. Dozens of soap operas, comics, cartoons and even musical hits have been designed around the world to influence individual and collective positive behavior around specific issues: HIV-AIDS, family planning, gender inequality, illiteracy, etc. (Singhal and Rogers, 2004). According to Singhal and Rogers (1999), Entertainment-Education is "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about and educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior" (Singhal and Rogers, 1999: 9). Taking into account the historical evolution of the field and the range of objectives it may be aimed at, Tufte (2005), prefers to define Entertainment-Education as "the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviors to liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas" (Tufte, 2005: 162).

However, most of E-E interventions have used mass media to tackle these issues. Interventions that seldom are designed, owned and operated by the people themselves. In this sense, Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed breaks the one-way ‘expert’ monologue, transforming entertainment-education into a two-way dialogue between audience and actors. This change in the communicative model has its correspondence in the conception of development. Questions like coherence and ethics between the fields seem to be at stake.

The overarching objective of this project work is to study the Forum Theatre format to shed light on how that kind of participatory communication initiative contributes to theoretical and practical development

1 By that time, Ayoub was 17 years old, and Hamza 14.
2 From now on, I may use both the word Entertainment-Education or its abbreviation E-E.
of communication for development discourse and in particular E-E. This is done through a single case study where production, text, and reception levels are analyzed through the usage of qualitative methods.

The results of this case study should lead me to answer in a satisfactory way two overarching research questions:

- Which are the contributions of Forum Theatre to Entertainment-Education strategy?
- How can Entertainment-Education strategy strengthen the goals of Forum Theatre?

1.3. OVERVIEW OF EXISTING RESEARCH

Since Augusto Boal created and developed the Theatre of the Oppressed in the 1970's, his techniques has been widely studied as an artistic expression for social change (Cohen-Cruz and Schutzman, 1993, 2006; Babbage, 1996, 2004). The Cohen-Cruz and Schutzman's work is specially relevant, since it compiles studies on Boal's techniques from different perspectives and areas: post-colonialism, racism, feminism and social movements, among others. Other relevant authors, as Kalomgera (2005) and Epskamp (2006), have related their studies on theatre to development policies in Africa. In their research, Theatre of the Oppressed appears as another element in the varied scenario of development related theatre issues.

Nevertheless, in-depth analysis of Boal's work from a communication for development perspective are virtually non-existent, what seems strange to me, since Freire's work (a mainstay of Boal's thesis) is one of the main sources of communication for development theories, especially of those related to participatory approaches (Richards, Thomas and Nain, 2001; Jacobson and Servaes, 1999; White, 2000; Servaes, Jacobson and White, 1996). Tuftel (2005) and Singhal (2004) have pointed to the need to pay attention to Theatre of the Oppressed as an expression of new trends in Entertainment-Education, but, they have not paid the same attention to it as to other media-centered initiatives. Singhal (2004) is the author of the closest attempt to do it. In the chapter "E-E through participatory theater", Singhal (2004) explores the participatory roots of Theatre of the Oppressed, describes the characteristics of Boal's techniques and gives some examples of experiences that used them to promote local development. However, conclusions just point to the obvious innovation introduced (the participatory approach), but do not focus on questions related to effects research in Theater of the Oppressed based E-E initiatives and to the coherence between development theories and participatory theatre. My interest is to go further in this attempt with the help of a case study.

1.4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Analyzing current E-E trends means to submerge into the pendular waters of communication for development. Thirty years ago, waters were not so complex as now. The Diffusion of Innovations Theory
reigned and some entertainment formats as soap operas were increasingly ascribed an educational potential as a tool both for dissemination of information and for awareness raising and behavior change (Tuftte, 2005, 163). Although participatory approaches were introduced in the communication for development field earlier at mid-70's, it is my impression that radical questioning of the very essence of modern theories is coming a bit late in the case of E-E. I think E-E mainstream wasted its years trying to perfect a machine without paying much attention to the voices demanding access, participation, owning and new development models in other fields of communication. When this debate finally came, we found out that a new paradigm of communication, characterized by a bridging of paradigms, is emerging, leading to fundamental revisions of communication models and methodologies (Tuftte, 2001:14).

As a strategy whose main goal is to provoke effects in the audience through the exposure to a media product, to this complexity based on the evolution of communication and development trends that support E-E strategies, we must add the broadening of the range of theories supporting E-E effects research. The dominant theoretical basis for most E-E research in the past was Bandura's social learning theory. According to Singhal and Rogers (2004) "a natural fit exists between Bandura's theory and entertainment-education interventions, which often seek to influence audience behavior change by providing positive and negative role models to the audience" (Singhal and Rogers, 2004: 12). However, the effects research panorama is now enriched by many other theories: the elaboration likelihood model; audience involvement; dramatic theories; social constructivism, uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, knowledge-gap, and diffusion of innovations; and Haberm's theory of communicative action, among others. Moreover, theoretical research on E-E is currently taking the role of emotions more seriously. Last investigations seem to point to the necessity of focusing on rhetorical, play and affective aspects of E-E, which emphasize the entertainment, rather than the education aspects, more related to cognitive and rational explanations.

To take a case study as a connecting thread of this discussion implies to revisit other sources of meaning to interpret the value of the experience. Concepts as globalization, empowerment, discrimination, otherness and stereotyping are taken into consideration, due to the particular nature of the story behind Amina's looking for a job play.

1.5. METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

Looking for Amina is a descriptive single case study. As Yin asserts, case study research continues to be an essential method of social science inquiry, especially when investigators "desire or are forced by circumstances: a) to define research topics broadly and not narrowly, b) to cover contextual or complex multivariate conditions and not just isolated variables, and c) to rely on multiple and not singular sources of evidence" (Yin, 2003: xi). According to the same author, at least six kind of case studies can be identified: first, case study research can be based on single or multiple-case studies; second, wether single or multiple, the case study can be exploratory, explanatory or descriptive. An exploratory case
study is aimed at defining the questions and hypothesis of a subsequent study or at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedures; an explanatory case study presents data bearing on cause-effects relationship, explaining how events happened; and descriptive case study presents a complete description of a phenomenon within its context (Yin, 2003: 5).

Reading Clever Maputseni's project work, *Using Radio for Advocacy and Communication of Issues Affecting Farm Communities in Zimbabwe* (Maputseni, 2006), I found out another useful reference to Yin. According to him, case studies are the preferred method when the researcher has little control over events and when the focus is on answering the 'why' and 'how' question about a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Maputseni, 2006: 32). As in Maputseni's case, making an attempt to explore the relation between Theatre of the Oppressed and E-E without the help of a case study would have been difficult. As Babbage points out, assessing the general outcomes of Forum Theatre is a difficult task, since it always depends on too many particular factors, unquantifiable in many cases. Even if this assessment could be produced, "it would not reveal whether Forum itself 'works', but only how far it made an impact with those people, at that time, in that place. Its more productive to ask in what circumstances, under what conditions, the techniques work best" (Babbage, 2004: 33). I believe case studies are useful because they help you to both illustrate complex theoretical terminology and keep your feet on the ground of "real life", where practices are filled up with paradoxes and contradictions that theory may not reveal.

The techniques used for this project work were aimed at shedding light on the case from different angles. The study seeks to explain the relevance of the experience through the triangulation of data gathered from three different levels: 1) the production of the play; 2) the content and 3) the reception process. With this method I could assemble a jigsaw puzzle. All pieces kept their identity, but altogether told a single complex story.

For this project work, I used:

**SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS on the production level:** I carried out three in-depth semi-structured interviews: one with Montse Forcadas, co-director of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom; another with Jordi Forcadas, co-founder of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom and director of *Amina's looking for a job*; and the other with El Hilali’s family. All interviews were designed to gather different complementary information.

- **Interview # 1:** The interview with Montse Forcadas was aimed at going deep into the philosophy of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom. I wanted to know how they work, their conception about local development and the contribution to it of Theatre of the Oppressed.
- **Interview # 2:** From Jordi Forcadas I expected to gather some details about *Amina's looking for a job* production, but also his point of view on effects research and the contribution of the play to promoting empowerment and local development.
- **Interview # 3:** My intention was, "simply", to know how they felt after been performing the play for a year, and to which extent they got empowered by analyzing their discourses.
Three different interview guides were designed. The semi-structured interview enabled me, on the one hand, to explore personal opinions on topics like development, empowerment and efficacy, and, on the other, to gather some concrete information about the process of creation of the play and the context of its performances (audiences, limitations, etc.) within an opened conversational framework. Thanks to this predisposition, I could move through a frank dialogue without losing a thematic guide. Balance between thematic and dynamic aspects was needed. According to Kvale (1996), dynamic questions help to "promote a positive interaction; keep the flow of the conversation going and motivate the subjects to talk about their experiences and feelings” (Kvale, 1996: 130). I think it was the most suitable technique for the investigation, since the access to sources of information was not easy.

**FOCUS GROUP on the level of (participatory) reception**: When defining the Project Plan of this essay, my first intention was to carry out a focus group with part of the audience of the play: this meant a 7-10 heterogeneous people group that could give me a varied range of points of view about strengths and weaknesses of the play in relation to social change. This was not possible, due to the dispersion of the audience and the lack of time to join a group. Then, I decided to focus on Theatre of the Oppressed students, since they could enable me to broaden the contextual information, gathering valuable data (as they were also audience) and enriching discourses and points of view related to effects research and the contribution of the play to social change (as they had studied Theatre of the Oppressed techniques at Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom). Four students were selected. One of them worked for a NGO settled in the same district where I work. Another student is friend of a friend of mine and the rest were classmates at Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom. Unfortunately, few days before our meeting, one of them moved back to Argentina for a new job. I combined individual and collective work with them, so on the one hand I could gather information from them, on the other hand, as audience and, on the other, as Theatre of the Oppressed techniques students in dialogue.

Since *Amina's looking for a job* was not being performed anymore, I used a DVD of one of the performances recorded by Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom to gather the basic information I needed for my project work: what was going on in the play and what kind of reactions provoked among the audience. Specifically, the analysis of the DVD was aimed at throwing light on four elements:

1) The "moments of oppression” suffered by Amina.
2) Amina's responses to the oppression.
3) The participation sparked among the audience (dialogues, action on stage, etc.)
4) The debates sparked around immigration and oppression at work.

All material gathered with interviews, discussion group and from the DVD, was triangulated and related to the theoretical framework.

Reviewing my role as a researcher, I think I trusted too much semi-structured interviews as a tool that
could give me concrete information about a phenomenon I could not attend and personal discourses on topics of my interest at the same time. Specially in the case of Amina, I think it could have worked out better. I realized Amina's problems even with Spanish language were big enough to make the interview a difficult exercise. I was aware I had to simplify many questions, but it was not easy, however. Amina showed very impetuous with some of her statements, but her narration lacked continuity. I think the presence of her sons and husband in the interview blocked the possibility to know more in-depth Amina's feelings. Many times, her older son, Ayoub, went further in his role as translator of her words, speaking for the family as a whole.

A more exhaustive thematic analysis of the data gathered at the light of the main theoretical topics would have enrich the discussion, relating the different views on *Amina's looking for a job* case (production, content and reception process) to entertainment-education theories in a more systematic way. However, it was not possible because of lack of time.

1.6. LIMITATIONS AND HANDICAPS

The most obvious limitation of this project work was the impossibility of doing participant observation during the performance of the play. To put a magnifying glass over the whole thing, using classical research tools to investigate a participatory process was not a comfortable situation for me. By the time this research began, *Amina's looking for a job* was not being performed anymore. The possibility of a new chance always existed, since it depended on demands of external institutions or organizations, but finally it did not arrive. I realize this handicap could have been overcome with the use of a wider variety of research methods. However, again the lack of time definitively contributed to limit the scope of the research.

Moreover, the audience of the play were dispersed, so I could not carry out a focus group with them, and there was no systematized information about the play.

Another handicap to overcome was the little enthusiasm showed by people in charge of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom, specially Montse Forcadas, in relation to this investigation. The main reason was that, from its foundation on, many students had requested their short time available to interview them for their works, while at least the results of these never arrived to Pa'Tothom.
2. CONTEXT OF THE PLAY. GLOBALIZATION AND MINORITIES: THE CASE OF CATALONIA

2.1. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO CATALONIA: NATION AND NATIONALITY

Catalonia is one of the seventeen Spanish Autonomous Communities, located in northeast Spain. Its capital city is Barcelona. Catalonia covers an area of 32,114 km² and has an official population of 7,210,508 (2008)1. It borders France and Andorra to the north, Aragon Autonomous Community to the west, the Valencian Community to the south and the Mediterranean Sea to the east. The official languages are Catalan, Spanish and Aranese.

In 1714, the Catalan independent institutions were abolished and its lands incorporated into a united Spanish administration under the new Bourbon dynasty. In the first third of the 20th century, Catalonia received its first statute of autonomy, during the Second Spanish Republic (1931). After the defeat of the Second Republic in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Franco’s dictatorship suppressed autonomous institutions. Official and public use of Catalan was banned.

Catalonia recovered political and cultural autonomy with the adoption of a democratic Spanish Constitution (1978), that defines Spain as an indissoluble nation that recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government of the historical nationalities (Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia and Andalusia) and regions that constitute it. Both the 1979 Catalan Statute of Autonomy and the current one, approved in 2006 by referendum, state that Catalonia, as a nationality, exercises its self-government constituted as an autonomous community in accordance with the Spanish Constitution and with the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, which is its basic institutional law. However, the Preamble of this Statute, which however lacks legal value, states that the Catalan Parliament defined Catalonia as a nation, despite the Spanish Constitution recognizes Catalonia’s national reality as a nationality2. The discussion on nation and nationality is not banal, as issues like independence and self-determination may be at stake in an hypothetic future3. Catalan autonomous government holds exclusive jurisdiction in various matters, including culture, environment, communications, transportation, commerce, public safety and local governments while it shares jurisdiction with the Spanish government in education, health and justice. Catalonia has been always one of the most industrialized parts of Spain.

From 1977 to 2004, Catalonia was governed by a center-right wing nationalist coalition. This coalition is still majority in number of votes, but from 2004 on, a coalition of socialists, left-wing pro-indepedence party and eco-communists governs Catalonia.

2.2. THE OTHER CATALANS: SHACKS AND IDENTITY

_Catalonia ends here. Here Murcia begins._ This sentence, spread on a banner at the border of a shanty town next to Barcelona, around 1936, sums up part of one of the greatest social phenomenon in the construction of Catalonia’s national identity in last century, if not its very essence since its birth in the Middle Age. For more than two thousand years, Catalan territory, due to its localization, was crossed and settled by diverse European and Mediterranean people. However, although its institutions were shaped through the interaction between different cultures (Castells, 1998: 70), the social and political recognition of this diversity has been not always so evident along time. Nationalist proclamations to defend the Catalan identity against migratory processes have been usual since its modern foundation at the end of the 19th century. Acceleration of globalization processes has produced an increase of this discourse, specially in right wing nationalist coalition that governed Catalonia from 1977 to 2004.

In 1964, journalist Francesc Candel shook the foundations of Catalan identity with a book, titled “The other Catalans”, on the living conditions of the immigrants who came to Catalonia from other Spanish regions (specially Murcia and Andalucia) in the 1950’s and 1960’s. Shacks, misery, surveillance, solidarity, communism, no light, no water, illiteracy. It was a huge report on thousands of people who settled in the poorest districts of Barcelona seeking a bit of hope. Men working in the construction industry. Women working as maids. The book questioned the prevalence of a fixed Catalan identity in a context that was changing at speed of light due to the incorporation of these Spanish and poor immigrants to Catalan urban society. It took many years to naturally assume their contribution to Catalonia’s development and their central role in the construction of its identity. In fact, according to some authors, it was not until their participation in the struggle against Franco’s dictatorship in the late 1970’s that migrants reached the status of citizens (Marín, 2005: 88).

However, the recognition of the role of the Spanish speaking citizens as a molecular part of national identity is still a source of debate and has not always been comfortable for Catalan autonomous governments. Two examples. Since the end of dictatorship, the institutional ceremony of _La Diada_, the Catalan national day, has been involved in polemics (Carbó, 2006:6). In 2005, the performance by Mayte Martín, a Catalan flamenco singer who sang in Spanish and was catcalled by a minority, generated an intense debate in the media about Catalan identity. Two years later, Catalonia was the guest at Frankfurt’s literature festival. For several months, a discussion was sparked about the necessary presence or not of Spanish speaking writers.

All Catalan governments, in their effort to re-normalize Catalan culture after a dictatorial break of 40 years, have been questioned (mostly by right-wing Spanish forces, minority in Catalonia\(^6\)) for positively discriminating one side of a reality that, especially in metropolitan areas, have changed mainly because of internal and external migratory processes.

\(^6\) The major right-wing Spanish party, Partido Popular (PP), is only the fourth political force in Catalonia.
2.3. THE NEW OTHER CATALANS: MOVING OTHERNESS

If these Spanish immigrants became Catalans thanks to their struggle for civic rights in the 1970's, who deserves to be designated as immigrant nowadays? And how long? A commonplace spread in the 1980's tries to answer the question: "Everyone living and working in Catalonia is Catalan". Castells (1998) adds to this sentence "and wants to be Catalan". For him, "the sign of 'wishing to be' means to speak, or try to, Catalan" (Castells, 1998: 71). All Catalan parties but right-wing Spanish nationalist Partido Popular (PP) agree that language, the basic foundation of Catalan identity, is a key factor to enable the integration of immigrants in Catalan society (Crespo, 2004: 162).

According to Delgado (1998), an immigrant can reach her/his recognition as Catalan as he/she pays taxes and demonstrates his/her productivity capacity, but loses this privilege when he/she starts dancing, celebrating, cooking or, simply, speaking (Delgado, 1998:16), specially if his/her culture is considered to be non-modern. Delgado assumes that the immigrant is not an objective figure, but a social construction, an adjective applied to people with determinate negative characteristics: he/she is a poor intruder coming from an underdeveloped civilization; tends to be, numerically, excessive, so he/she is considered as something that should be expelled; and is also dangerous, since he/she is associated to any kind of threat to integrity and social security. (Delgado, 1998: 35).

In 1995, Francesc Candel, the journalist who opened the eyes of so many people towards the Spanish immigration situation, was invited to a colloquium on new trends of immigration. Another claim on a banner, hanging from a wall, was in front of him: "We want to be treated as the other Catalans" (Candel and Cuenca, 2001: 12). Who were this time behind the banner? Thirty-seven years later, Candel had to write another book to answer the question. The sense of otherness had begun to move in the 1980's, as Spanish migrants gained rights and social recognition and extra-communitarian migration became numerically relevant.

2.4. MOHAMMED, OR THE ETERNAL IMMIGRANT

Most of immigrants in Catalonia come from Morocco7. After a brief period, characterized by mobility, during the stage of the industrial development promoted by Franco's regime in the 60's, Moroccan began to settle in Spain from 1975 to 1986, as restrictions in traditional European countries of destination (France, Germany and Netherlands) increased (Colectivo IOÉ, 1994:108).

The construction of a negative image of Moroccan/Muslims have been dominant in Spain from the sixteenth century on. According to Martín Corrales (2002), this explains the persistence of stereotypes and clichés. Some surveys have underlined, for example, that the image of Muslims in Catalonia is associated

7 In 2006, there were 198,986 registered Moroccans in Catalonia of a total of 966.004 foreigners (a 13,4% of Catalan population). Following them, we find Ecuadorian (84.252), Romanians (63.266), Bolivians (53.000), Colombians (44.576), Italians (37.680), Argentinian (36.333), Chinese (34.993), Peruvians (30.933) and French (29.430) (Gil and Domingo, 2007:245).
to qualities as cruelty, few disposition to work, lack of honesty or the idea that they are untrustworthy (Coletivo IOÉ: 101).

Nevertheless, this stereotype has not always been uniform, since it has been subjected to changes in relations between the two sides. Martín Corrales lists the events and historical processes that negatively influenced them: the long medieval Reconquest, the frustrated Hispanic expansion in Africa, the African war in 1859-60, the participation of Moroccan troops in fascist army during the Civil War (1936-39), Ifni-Sahara war (1958-59), the frustrated decolonization of Sahara and the Green March, commercial conflicts and fears sparked by modern Islamist fundamentalism. For Corrales, in a context of chronic internal difficulties (monarchical unity in XV c., the agonc defense of colonial empire in XVII and XVIII c., the difficulties to create a liberal state in XIX c., Prismo de Rivera’s dictatorship, the short life of Second Republic, and Franco’s dictatorship), conservative sectors took the Moroccan as the eternal enemy that hindered the improvement of Spanish international prestige. Meanwhile, left-wing forces could not help the temptation of publicizing that the eternal and irresolute Moroccan affair stood in the way of democracy in Spain (Martín Corrales, 2002: 247). It seems to be a clear case of dichotomisation of the other.

As Hall (2003) emphasizes, stereotyping “reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’, it excludes or expels everything which does not fit, is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order and tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power” (Hall, 2003: 257). The role of Spanish media in creating, reproducing and spreading stereotypes about immigrants has been widely studied (Santamaria, 2002; Buisef, 1994; Contreras, González and Sierra, 2003; Consell de l’Audiovisual de Catalunya, 2000; Giró, 1998; Martín Corrales, 2002; Nash 2001, among others). According to Aguado Terrón (2003), mass media “do not just impose stereotypes and simplified cognitive schemes, but also substitute our daily experience -indeed social experience too-, of the ‘cultural other’ (the foreigner, the immigrant, the strange)” (Aguado Terrón, 2003: 27). Media monopolize the experience of the other and its consequent marketing as an object of consumption (Ibid: 28). Manoni (2003) outlines that social representations are important as they are dynamical, structuring and persevering: they are cognitive and emotive processes, and create meanings and symbolical and dynamical realities; they act as organizing schemes of reality; and they maintain permanence and congruency of what is believed (Manoni, quoted in Rodrigo, 2003:164).

According to the study Catalan Society 2008 (Montagut, 2008), Catalans are feeling perplexed, confused and disoriented by social, political and economical changes experienced in 2007. Oriol Homs, president of the Catalan Association of Sociology, compares Catalonia with a teenager who realizes his/her body is changing and has to adapt to it (Playà Maset, 2008). The research stresses three axes that feed this disorientation: 1) the assumption that Catalonia is not the motor of the Spanish economy and modernity

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8 “These days, self-proclaimed representatives of both Islam and the West compete -not over the number of warheads, but over the souls of unattached individuals, in rhetorical attacks on each other. In research on ethnic relations, this kind of mechanism is sometimes called dichotomisation, that is the mutual defining of the other as the opposite of oneself -as that which one does not want to be. Enemy images always depend on this kind of simplistic, stereotypical depictions of the other. Realistic, nuanced descriptions contain too many shades of grey and too much complexity to be of ideological use in creating hatred and implacability”. (Hyland Eriksen, 2005: 33).
anymore; 2) the coming of a new migrant wave; and 3) the moral and ethical dilemmas raised by scientific
innovations and new ways of life. The yearbook compares the context of this new wave with that of 60’s:
the integration of these new immigrants will not be easy, also due to the economical crisis the country is
facing (Playà Maset, 2008). Following Martin Corrales’s thesis, Moroccans run the risk of becoming, again,
the scapegoats of this historical moment. Actually, right-wing nationalist parties insist on the need to stop
the immigrant fluxes, arguing that national resources are not infinite. According to Stolcke (1995), ”this
line or argument is so persuasive because it appeals to the ’national habitus’, and exclusivist notion of
belonging and political and economic rights conveyed by the modern idea of the nation-state (Elias 1991)
central to which is the assumption that foreigners, strangers from without, are not entitled to share in
’national’ resources and wealth, specially when forgotten, for example, that immigrants often do the jobs
natives won’t” (Stolcke, 1995: 3).

2.5. MINORITIES, GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Globalization has brought something more than a compression of time and space. Impacts on senses of
social trust and confidence are deep. Bauman (2007): ”Our vital perspectives are unstable -as our jobs and
the employers, our couples and friendship networks, reputation we enjoy in society and self-esteem and
trust derived from”, (Bauman, 2007: 18). The global de-territorialized elite responsible of new rules of
economy and their social consequences can not be confronted face to face, thanks to its capability to
move across borders. On the other hand, refugees and immigrants are a visible, easy and immobile target
to discharge the excess of rage (ibid: 59). According to Provansal (1999), immigrants become visible not
because of their high number or their cultural diversity, but because of their capacity to organize
themselves into collectives and communities: from solidarity networks to common strategies to overcome
precariousness and coexist in the streets. (Provansal, 1999: 22). One thing seems clear for some authors:
although globalization reduces some cultural differences, because some statements and ideas are being
spread everywhere9, the daily contact with the other is perceived by a part of a society as a threat to
their culture and customs (Hylland Eriksen, 2005: 37).

According to Appadurai (2007), minorities personify the central problem of globalization of many nation-
states, as they are necessary (for the economy and even for war) and at the same time annoying, because
of their identities and anomalous loyalties:

Minorities are the point where a set of uncertainties that intercede between
daily life and its global backdrop enter into a crisis. Minorities generate
uncertainties on the national being and citizenship. Their legal ambiguous
status puts pressure to constitutions and legal norms. Their movements
challenge border patrols. Their financial transactions erase dividing lines
between national economies and between criminal and licit transactions.

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9 Hylland Eriksen (2005) mentions: monetary economy, mass media, human rights thinking and state interventions (Hylland Eriksen,
2005: 37).
Their languages exacerbate concerns on national cultural coherence. Their ways of living represent a simple way of moving common social tensions, specially in urban societies. Their politics tend to be multifocal, always resulting a source of concern for security maintenance. When they are rich, they evoke the phantom of elitist globalization, acting as its pariah herald. And when they are poor, they are comfortable symbols of the failure of many forms of development and social assistance (Appadurai, 2007: 63).

Somehow, minorities are “metaphors and reminders of the treason to traditional national project”, Appadurai states (ibid: 61).

The case of Catalonia is particular, since the migratory phenomenon is framed within a territory where a nation without state tries not to loose the train of globalization, promoting its minority (regarding the Spanish) culture as an open door to integration, without having enough political tools to manage the situation. In fact, one of the arguments to renegotiate a new autonomous constitution arose from the need to locally manage the migratory phenomenon.

From 2004 on, the new Catalan government has turned the emphasis from the national towards the social. Civic rights and integration are commonplaces in its discourses. If we take Coll’s (2001) definition - “integration is the gradual process through which new residents come to be active participants of economic, civic, cultural and spiritual life of a country” (Coll, 2001: 156)- two questions can be formulated: can this integration be effective while immigrants do not have some rights, for example the right to vote? Is it possible to be citizen without political, economic, civic, cultural and spiritual rights?

Last SOS Racismo’s Yearbook on racism in Spain is clear: racism is being normalized at both institutional and social levels (SOS Racismo, 2008). The study considers that law is maintaining inequalities and promoting the violation of the human rights of those people trying to get to Spain or actually living there. At a social level, the yearbook outlines that propitious circumstances to racist demonstrations and discriminations are increasing, as a consequence of opportunistic political discourses and the treatment given by mass media.
3. AMINA’S LOOKING FOR A JOB: THE PLAY

3.1. AMINA’S TROUBLE

Probably, Amina’s story does not differ much from other stories about immigrants. She always had worked in dress-making and tailoring sector. At some point she lost her job and had to look for another one. “Then I realized what it meant. I employed people. I would have never imagined I would need to look for a job” (Soto, 2007)\(^{10}\). Amina entered into a vicious circle. “I went to the INEM\(^{11}\) but there were no chances in tailoring industry. I arrived at home and could not keep thinking… I accepted some works, though they were not good for me. Why? Because I needed it. I needed the money, I have three sons. Then I really understood how the employers are. My little son helped and came with me at the INEM to talk with the social assistant… but I found problems everywhere. So I left him at school and I went on with my struggle” (Soto, 2007).

Amina’s difficulties to find a decent job and to get support from administration increased, since she does not speak Catalan and has some problems to do it in Spanish\(^{12}\). Bureaucracy did not help\(^{13}\). The jobs she could take were always underpaid and temporal. She mainly worked for few months washing stairs. “I took every work they offered to me. With or without contract, it did not matter: it was just work. I realized that enterprises enslave people. I remember they paid to me 400 euros and I took the money without saying anything. I worked for a couple or three months and then I went back home to suffer and seek another job” (Soto, 2007).

Apart from revealing the general tendencies of precariousness in Catalan labour market\(^{14}\), Amina’s case introduces many aspects of two interrelated and juxtaposed processes suffered by poor immigrant women in globalization: the triple discrimination and the double otherness.

3.2. TRIPLE DISCRIMINATION, DOUBLE OTHERNESS

Delgado (1998) defines discrimination as ”the mechanism that assures that moral inferiority attributed to a community is corresponded at the level of social relations” (Delgado, 1998:186). Discrimination is

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10 My translation, from Catalan subtitles.
11 Spanish State Employment Public Service.
12 According to Sintes Pascual (2008): “[T]he Spanish is useful for them [the immigrants] as a social interaction language, as Catalan is not strictly necessary to live in society […]. That Catalan is a secondary option in the process of linguistic integration does not mean that is not considered, according to some sociolinguistic studies, as a necessary language for progress at work and as a determinant factor for the acceptance of the autochthonous” (Sintes Pascual, 2008: 61). Among Maghronian immigrants, a 32,8% do not understand Catalan; 44,7% understand it but do not speak it; 9,6% speak Catalan but can not write in; and 12,7% speak and write in Catalan; 4,5% do not understand Spanish; 13,1% understand it but do not speak it; 32,1% speak it but can not write in; and 50,3% speak and write in Spanish (Sintes Pascual: 2008: 57).
13 The 2006 Yearbook on Immigration in Catalonia insists on denouncing discrimination suffered by immigrants: “At this point, when immigrants represent such an important percentage of population, nothing justifies the lack of resources necessary to avoid that an obligatory administrative procedure become a penalization in terms of personal discomfort and, even worse, in terms of enjoying juridic security and of social and juridic damages derived” (Larios and Nadal, 2007: 22).
14 42% of immigrants have a temporal contract; 56% have a salary under 900 euros; 56% do not have labour union representation; 47% are unemployed because of the end of contract (Parella and Recio, 2008: 70-105).
produced when a human group is treated in a different manner, forbidding its access to a certain sphere or tolerating its participation in it with disadvantaging conditions. It has different expressions: lower salary for the same job, less opportunities to find it, etc.

Triple discrimination suffered by immigrant women and the ethnic stratification of labour in Spain has been widely reviewed for the last ten years (Oso, 1998; Parella, 2003; Solé, 2001; Ribas, 2000). In the age of globalization, trends of feminine migration point to an emergent international division in the sphere of reproductive work, as a result of a growing demand of feminine workforce motivated at the same time by the participation of local women in the labour market\textsuperscript{15}. That is how it is established a process of transference of reproductive work between women, through which middle-class white women improve their labour position thanks to the resource of a reserve force integrated by other women coming from peripheral countries. So, the internationalization of reproductive work, as a consequence of the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy, creates a triple system of subordination of immigrant women, based on gender, ethnicity and social class (Parella, 2003: 127). According to Solé (1999), invisibility attributed to women, which refers both to the tasks she does and her hierarchy, and to her function in society (within institutions and mass media), plays a transcendental role in the maintenance of this mechanism. (Solé, 1999: 209).

Marginality at work is translated into marginality as human beings. The immigrants enter into a vicious circle, reinforced by stereotypes and prejudices (Solé: 210), resulting an invisible collective without power to decide neither on their personal lives nor on their jobs. Immigrant woman is perceived as the ideal workforce to do the domestic jobs, as these are considered to be a low rated activity, labelled as ‘dirty’ and ‘de-qualified’, inherent to feminine condition and often done in informal sectors of the economy (Parella, 2003: 127).

The impact of the otherness promoted by media, Nash (2001) assesses, is heavier in the case of women, since it turns around two axis: the post-colonial ethnocentric thought, common to both women and men immigrants, and, more specifically, the androcentric thought. These elements constitute the double otherness (Nash, 2001:104). Women are represented as symbol of a different culture, while their "high fecundity” is seen as a threat of perpetuation of an invasion. "It is common to find out a discourse of otherness backed up by a vision of the subaltern that emphasizes the characteristics of ignorance, lack of culture or lack of capacity of immigrants” (Nash, 2001: 148). The double otherness perspective represents a decisive cultural mechanism in the process of homogenization and implication of the migrant community in a symbolical universe that denies prominence, subordinates them to collective projects and ethnofixes them in cultural terms (Nash, 2001:151).

\textsuperscript{15}According to some surveys, 60,9\% of immigrant working women are non-qualified workers (Parella and Recio, 2008: 76).
3.3. AMINA MEETS THE THEATRE: FORN DE TEATRE PA'TOTHOM

Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom is a center of theatre studies and investigation founded in 2000 in Barcelona, that uses theater as a tool to improve people's quality of life, specially of those of considered 'vulnerable'. "We understand exclusion as a phenomenon suffered by some sectors as a consequence of a specific economical philosophy that turns rights into consumer goods. Those who have no chance of defending themselves from social exclusion are vulnerable". The organization also acts 1) to support those sectors or groups with a specific problem, suffering the effects of a social conflict; 2) to be part of the local cultural agenda and a reference point; 3) to support and collaborate with different sociocultural initiatives to complement them; and 4) to become an important resource for Barcelona's cultural network, widening the nature of its activities. Pa'Tothom offers "an integral teaching on interpretation, social education and communication" (Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom, 2008). According to its philosophy, the organization mainly works with and for collectives at risk of social exclusion due to nationality, sex, age or other factors of social vulnerability. Through theatre it is expected to "contribute to develop a major interest on social exclusion problems and to promote and develop awareness models in the so-called marginated and 'oppressed' groups, promoting into them a critical spirit that makes easier for them, as far as possible, their liberation through conscience of equality and justice". Art is considered a "potential that must be explored, from interpretation and animation to its function as creator of new structures of knowledge" (ibid). The range of projects is wide: from organizing theater workshops in Catalan prisons and schools, to teaching Theatre of the Oppressed techniques and organizing international meetings of practitioners. Pa'Tothom's philosophy is the story of a movement from a will of giving free and opened access to culture to an application of social change theories of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, transforming theatre into "a rehearsal of revolution" (Montse Forcadus, personal communication 2008).

Since her two sons were attending at Pa'Tothom, Amina tried to convince Ayoub (17 years by then) to create a play where they could tell the abuses she was suffering in all stages of the process of looking for a job. Amina began to be interested in theatre as she saw how her two sons used it to tell stories and work on values. Ayoub states: "I always arrived at home and told her: 'Mom, now we are studying Antigone, we have to work on any play with similar characteristics and the director told us to think about a story'. And she asked me to talk about a story that was happening, where we were involved in. One day I said to her: "Look, come with me, we will do something together" (Soto, 2007). That is how Amina and her two sons met Jordi Forcadus, theatre director and co-founder of Pa'Tothom. He would help El Hilali's family in their challenge of performing Amina's story onto the stage.

3.4. AMINA'S LOOKING FOR A JOB: PLOT AND PLAY

Amina's looking for a job plot is based on the experiences lived by Amina El Hilali. The play dramatizes, with lots of humor, the obstacles found in every stage of the process. All stages have in common the

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16 Who we are? Section, retrieved from Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom official web site http://www.patothom.org on 25th September, 2008.
discrimination suffered due to genre, origin and age. Amina always wears a veil and keeps its body always contained, holding her handbag. She does not make many gestures, but gets nervous and raises her voice when she feels she is suffering an injustice.

The 33 minute play combines long (4 minutes aprox.) and shorter (30 seconds to 1 minute aprox.) scenes, all of them introduced by a lively Moroccan song:

1) Scene #1: Amina goes to INEM to demand a job with her little son Hamza. Hamza reads the job vacancies of the board looking for an offer in tailoring sector. The government employee, a ‘champion’ of bureaucracy, treats them without respect, in favor of a supposed efficiency. Although an offer comes from a tailoring enterprise, the employee tells Amina she does not fit with the profile required, because she lacks experience with leather. Amina, a bit impatient, asks him for a chance: “But let me try!”. Amina looks for another vacancy and demands the employee’s attention, since there are no more people in the room, but he strictly insists (always in Spanish) on following the bureaucratic procedures: “Madam, this is not a zoo. You have to wait for your turn”. The scene is repeated when it comes Amina’s turn: the employee accompany his words with unnecessary gestures so as Amina can understand him. This time she is rejected because she does not speak Catalan. Amina does not understand why she has to speak Catalan to clean stairs. The government employee ignores Amina’s complains and asks Hamza to explain again to her mother why she can not get the job. Amina and Hamza leave the INEM offices. The government employee stays talking to someone on the phone: “Hey, guy, stop speaking Catalan because I can’t understand anything!”.

2) Scene #2: Amina and Hamza visit the social assistant because the economic institutional aid Amina receives is coming to an end. Again, though they get a more humanized treatment, bureaucracy, supposed deficiencies on interpersonal communication and solutions proposed by social assistant (a course of Catalan language and 50 euros for a month) do not allow Amina to resolve her problem. As the government employee, sometimes the social assistant speaks slow and loud to be more understandable or to spell some particular Spanish words Amina does not know. During the visit, Hamza wants to draw on a paper. The assistant tells Amina: “He wants to draw a graffiti. He is modern”. Although Amina understands Spanish, sometimes the social assistant prefers Hamza to be the translator of his words, often in Catalan. “Tell your mother we will try to extend the pension”. Amina is asked to submit several copies of official documents. As she can not afford the cost, the social assistant explains to Hamza this time he will make an exception. Amina should attend a course of Catalan language. The social assistant, again, slowly telegraphs to Amina: “Catalan, work. No Catalan, no work”. Amina, annoyed, complains about the 50 euros aid while she leaves the scene: “I came here to be helped, not to get this”.

3) Scene #3: Amina receives a phone call from Pepi, a vain employer who offers her a job as a cleaner. She will visit Amina to explain the kind of contract she will sign.
3) Scene #4: Amina meets Pepi, who shows off extremely kind. After introducing each other, Pepi asks Amina: "Do you know how does this work, don't you?". As the government employee and the social assistant, Pepi speaks slow and loud, with many gestures, to tell Amina how she must clean the stairs. When Pepi finishes, Amina asks for the contract. Pepi warns Amina that the contract says it is a 2 hour/day job, although she will work for eight hours a day. Amina tells Pepi she can not read, but Pepi, again extremely kind, asks Amina to trust her. Amina signs the contract. After the contract is signed, Amina is acknowledged she will have to pay the transport tickets and the bleach used. Pepi will return her the money spent at the end of the month. For the third time, Pepi asks Amina to give each other two kisses on the cheek. When Amina leaves, Pepi makes a phone call: "Hello, Pep. I just got the #155 in the zone. No, no. I think she will never give us any problem”.

4) Scene #5: Amina and Hamza are going back home, when Pepi, agitated, phones Amina: she needs Amina to substitute a work mate at the moment. Amina complains she was going back home. "Don't you know I have not received payment yet?” "Calm down, tomorrow I will pay you all the money". Amina tells her son in Arab she is going back to work. Hamza replies: "Again? Damn!".

4) Scene #6: We can not know when, but Amina, this time more determined and serious, visits Pepi to reclaim her unpaid salary. Pepi tries to be kind again, but Amina rejects her will to kiss her on the cheek. "No, no, no. I did not receive the payment". "Let's see, sweetie... 

5) Scene #7: Amina has another chance as a cleaner in a big company, thanks to the steps made by the social assistant. Amina and Hamza visit the offices of the company, where an employee receives them afraid: "Hello. What do you want?". The employee stays nervous until they assure her that they have been sent out by the social assistant. The employee then becomes as kind as Pepi, and explains to Amina what's going on. First of all, she asks Amina some questions. "Do you speak Catalan?" Amina lies: "Yes, of course", asking Hamza to shut up. The employee continues explaining what the company is, always interrupting her discourse to ask Amina: "Do you understand it?". Amina always answers in Catalan: "All". The employee continues: "This is a form and this is a pen [...] Good! I can see you understand it all", Amina and Hamza receive instructions about safety measures to clean into the cold-storage chambers of a big company.

6) Scene #8: Amina in her first day in her new job. The worker in charge treats her with a disparaging tone. "Hey, you! Hey, you!". Amina always replies: "Amina, my name is Amina”. She asks him for a place to leave her handbag and for the safety toolkit promised in the offices of the company (scene
but he replies with authoritarianism: "Listen to me. If you are still working after Christmas, I will give you a new brand toolkit". The man roughly orders Amina where to start working, but Amina keeps on asking for her gloves and overall. The man leaves and Amina starts cleaning holding her handbag. Few moments after, the worker in charge returns shouting: "What the fuck are you doing without the chase?! If something falls over your head, you can die and I would be fired!!". Amina replies: "Where is my kit? You did not give me anything! Give me the gloves, give me...". The man again: "Ok, ok, ok. What are you doing with your handbag???? Amina decides to ignore him and continues cleaning. The man calls his boss. "Do you know Juan? The man of the office. He says he want you there". Amina replies: "And why don't you tell me why?". "And don't keep on cleaning, they won't pay you more. Go to the office, go". Amina leaves the scene, insulting him in Arab.

Many of the characteristics present in double otherness and triple discrimination processes can be identified in the plot of the play. For example: most people Amina finds in her search for job treat her as an ignorat. They repeat each word slowly and loud to be understandable, when Amina is actually understanding them, or ask her continuously: "Do you know how does this work?", "Do you understand me?" and so on. In other cases (scenes #1 and #2), they prefer Hamza to translate their explanation when they are talking about relevant issues. Often Amina is treated with a false kindness to show them off trustful. This kindness is used by Pepi to cheat her in scenes # 4, 5 and 6. In the next scene, the woman of the office where they have been addressed by the social assistant receives them afraid (we can not guess why. Maybe because of otherness), and suddenly she turns to be kind and nice, even excessively. Amina also receives an authoritarian treatment when she visits the INEM (scene #1) and when she starts working at her last new job (scene #8). There the worker in charge threatens her and repeatedly denies her name. In scene #4, Pepi uses a number to refer to Amina. Her identity is denied. In first scene, even is treated as an animal: "Madam, this is not a zoo. You have to wait for your turn".

For all these people, Amina is the symbol of a different culture. A culture where women are ignorant, traditional ("He wants to draw a graffiti. He is modern", scene #2) and lacked of capacities, as Nash pointed out. All jobs offered to Amina are labelled as ‘dirty’ and ‘de-qualified’, as Parella outlined above, and immigrant women are perceived as the ideal workforce to get them, because of this process of otherness pointing to triple discrimination.

From the first to the last scene, Amina always protests against the oppression she is suffering. However, realizing her claims do not provoke favorable reactions, her last word is always avoiding the problem, leaving the scene behind. From the scene #6 on, Amina changes a bit her behavior. As she realizes he has been cheated by Pepi, she tries to be not so sincere. For example, when the secretary of the company where she will work at asks her about her Catalan skills, she categorically states she can speak it. In the last scene, Amina ignores the advices of the worker in charge and keeps on cleaning, but finally she leaves again, this time insulting in Arab.
As in most of Forum Theatre plays, the oppressed struggle and face the oppression, but they always are blocked by an obstacle or a mistake in their actions that do not allow them to overcome it. It is time for the audience to share and propose alternatives to do it.

In the DVD analyzed, when the play is over, Jordi Forcadas gets onto the stage and asks the audience: “Is this a tragedy or a drama? Can this situation be changed?” The play uses the Forum Theatre technique, which means that any scene can be performed again through the direct intervention of spectators, who previously have discussed a solution for Amina’s troubles in a specific situation. In total, another thirty minutes of discussion and alternative action.

This kind of mechanism puts this play right into an entertainment-education frame of analysis, since its very essence is to change people’s attitudes and behaviors in front of a social problem.
4. ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

4.1. COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND E-E: TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

According to Singhal and Rogers (1999), Entertainment-Education is "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about and educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior" (Singhal and Rogers, 1999: 9). Since the issue began to be purposely explored, in theory and practice, by the Mexican Miguel Sabido in the 1970's, dozens of E-E interventions have been implemented, mainly for health-related educational issues and mostly broadcast, as radio or television soap operas in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Nowadays, there is a growing institutional interest in research and practice17.

A rise of multiple forms of implementation can be noted in the determination of their target (from national campaigns to a cultural targeted audience), the formative research and the human communication theories applied in their message design, the intensity and ability to deliver the pursued effects (from a few lines of dialogue in a TV program to an 8,000 episode series), the diversity of formats used (from radio soap operas to reality television series and songs), the context of intervention (from media saturated societies as the United States to Zimbabwe) and the methodologies used to measure the impact.

Theoretical approaches in the past were most often based on Bandura's social learning theory. This is evident especially in E-E soap operas, which often seek to influence audience behavior change by providing positive and negative role models personalized in the characters (Singhal and Rogers, 2004: 12). However, this theoretical space has been broadened by inviting consideration of social cognitive theory as well as other communication theories: the elaboration likelihood model; audience involvement; dramatic theories; social constructivism; uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, knowledge-gap, cultivation analysis and diffusion of innovations; and Habermas's theory of communicative action. This combination of theories has been possible as a response to a move in the interest on Entertainment and Education elements of the strategy. Singhal and Rogers (2002) highlight that past investigations of E-E were centered on cognitive and rational explanations of effects, utilizing the hierarchy-of-effects, stages-of-change, and other models. Today, E-E investigations are focusing more on the rhetorical, play, affective and entertainment aspects of the interventions. Moreover, scholars are also going beyond an exclusive use of individual-level theories to investigate E-E instigated changes at the system or community level (Singhal and Rogers, 2002).

Tufte (2005) outlines that the actual gradual broadening in epistemological, theoretical and methodological foundations of E-E lead us to think of it not just as a communication strategy, that of social marketing conceived as far back as in the 1930s. For Tufte, E-E "is the use of entertainment as a

17 For an account of the institutions promoting E-E, see Singhal and Rogers (2004: 7).
communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviors to liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas” (Tuft, 2005: 162). This broad range of objectives is interrelated to the different conceptions and models of communication, education, development and social change.

Three different generations of E-E interventions can be identified following the theoretical and methodological trends of communication for development (Tuft, 2005: 162-166).

First generation E-E - marketing behavior18: this generation includes first 1970's experiences related to pro-social behavior change, mostly in that time in soap opera format and health related behaviors. Albert Bandura's theory of social learning provided main theoretical basis to these interventions. The key problem related to development is in this case the lack of information. First generation E-E dramas explore how best and most accurately to convey messages and promoting individual behavioral change with the help of entertainment. This kind of interventions assumes that one preferred message can be transmitted to the audience and understood accordingly (Tuft, 2001: 13).

Second generation E-E - bridging of paradigms19: while still growing out of the historical roots of E-E, that is, social marketing, individual behavior change and social learning theory, the second generation developed in the mid and late 1990's introduced new theoretical and methodological perspectives as social change agendas began to emerge, increasing attention towards structural elements. Participatory communication theories became relevant, although in an instrumental manner. Audiences can be involved in different stages of the intervention, such as a formative research process. At the end they are the agents of changes, whether in their communities or in partnership with other institutions.

Third generation E-E - empowerment and structural change20: initiatives of this approach focus on problem identification, social critique and articulation of debate, challenging power relations and advocating social change. Deficit or lack of information is no more the key problem, but the structural inequality. Individual behavioral change is not excluded, but it goes further. Solutions are sought by strengthening people's ability to identify the problems in every day life, and their ability to act collectively as well as individually upon them. That is why 'empowerment' is the keyword of this generation. This perspective is framed in a deeper critique of communication theories, moving beyond the classic dichotomies diffusion vs. participation.

Tuft asserts that "whereas the second generation E-E marks a more interdisciplinary and inclusive furthering of the strategies known from the first generation E-E, there is now a growing voice of critique, marking the emergence of a fundamentally different way of approaching E-E as a communication practice. It is an approach which is in line with some of the post-colonial critiques of the dominating paradigms of

18 For a detailed account on this kind of interventions, see Nariman's (1993) study on Miguel Sabido's work. See also Sabido (2004).
19 For a detailed account on this kind of interventions, see Tuft (2001).
20 For a detailed account on this kind of interventions, see Rodriguez (2005)
development” (Tufte, 2005: 164). According to the same author, first generation E-E interventions, fixed in Singhal and Rogers definition above, are based on a functionalist approach - "speaking of creating changes on the bases of a media exposure and making alterations occur on a system level” (Tufte, 2001:12). This characteristic aligns this generation with a transmission model and a publicity model of communication that, in addition to this, demonstrate limitations in understanding how the audiences make sense of the media texts they are exposed to (Tufte, 2001: 25).

The main difference between the approaches is how they understand that a social change process is catalyzed. In the case of first generation E-E programs, the change is driven by an agent that targets a specific audience. In the case of the third, the change process is catalyzed by the community itself, or by members of the community. So there is “a recognition of the need to move beyond information-driven solutions and towards communication-driven solutions, beyond logos alone to mythos as well, that is: beyond reason and towards emotion, not in an either-or dualism, but in integrated strategies where learning and awareness-raising is not just about conveying information but about involving people in changing society” (Tufte, 2005: 172). Audiences are not passive consumers of messages, but active participants in the communication process.

As it can be inferred, not only conceptions of communication are diverse among these three generations. Accordingly, notions of education, audience, change and entertainment are different in each case (Tufte, 2005: 167). The shift in the notion of education applied to these different E-E generations requires special attention.

4.2. FROM BANKING MODEL TO LIBERATING PEDAGOGY

"All educative action entails a communicative process” (Kaplún, 1998: 12). This sentence became a commonplace for many communicators in Latin America from 1970's on, and much of it is debt to Paulo Freire’s work. The conception was rooted in the idea that every message, whether it was conveyed in a mass media or not, seeks a goal: from the maintenance of the status quo to the struggle for liberation. Thus, educative and communicative models are interrelated.

Quoting Díaz Bordenave, the Uruguayan pedagogue Mario Kaplún establishes three models of education: the one that puts the emphasis on contents; the one that puts the emphasis on effects; and the one that puts the emphasis on the process (Kaplún, 1998: 18).

The first one corresponds to traditional education, based on the transmission of knowledge and values from a generation to other, from the teacher to the pupil, from the educated elite to the ignorant mass. Its communicative corresponding is a model based on the monologue, that is: the communicator who "knows", delivering his/her message from his/her own vision, with his/her own contents, to an audience who "don't know" and whose unique role is to be a receiver of this information. Kaplún points out that "as
we keep on depositing digested information and ideas into our receivers’ minds, although the contents of our messages are liberating and progressive, we will be tributaries of an authoritarian, vertical and unidirectional communication” (Kaplún, 1998: 27).

One could draw a parallelism between the second model of education proposed by Bordenave and Kaplún, called manipulator, and first generation and some second generation E-E interventions. It was born during the Second World War as a contestation to the banking model above. Its main objective was to condition the pupils to adopt the behaviours and ideas, previously planned by the educator. In its communicative corresponding, “the communicator is a kind of architect of human conduct, whose function is to lead and persuade population to adopt determinate ways of thinking, feeling and acting, that allow them to increase production and productivity and raise their standard of living” (Ramsay, quoted in Kaplún: 32). Kaplún lists the apparent "goodness" of the model: it questions the traditional model; it gives much importance to motivation; it is an active method because proposes actions; it suggests a communication with feedback; it proposes as main goal the "change of behaviour"; and it looks after evaluating the result of the actions” (Kaplún, 1998: 30). In some applications of this model, participation is stressed by educators. Kaplún argues that it is just a “pseudo-participation: the contents and goals are previously defined and programmed by educators. The pupils just “participate” carrying them out” (Kaplún, 1998: 38). This model looks for audience feedback, but according to Kaplún, just to modify its content in the case receiver has not adopted the new behaviour or value. Some authors even consider there is no communication if receivers do not adopt them21.

These two models are exogenous, since they are alien to the addressee: the pupil is seen as an object of the educative process. This is the main difference with the third model, endogenous, which gives priority to the process of transformation lead by individuals and communities. The interest here is the dialectic interaction between people and their reality, the development of their intellectual capacities and their social conscience raised through a process of action-reflection-action. This model, which owes its main guidelines to Paulo Freire’s liberating pedagogy, is based on the active participation of the subject into the educative process, and educates for the participation in society. The education is not individual, but collective; the axis is not the teacher anymore, but the subject/group. The use of audiovisual resources may be important, not to reinforce contents but to stimulate discussion, dialogue, reflection and participation. The pupil takes the word to name and, thus, transform the world.

Although Freire himself "had no deep understanding of, or interest in, the mass media” (Tufte, 2005:169)”, his influence on the evolution of the field of communication for development has been crucial (Richards, 2001: 3). Freire’s dialogical pedagogy is meant to be, along with UNESCO debates in the 1970s, one of the main approaches that feed participatory communication theory (Servaes and Malikhao, 2005:95). Participatory communication is defined as “a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process

21 Kaplún quotes an eloquent paragraph by Ramsay: “For example, when through our educative campaign we propose peasant to adopt a new chemical product to combat a determinate plague, the peasant may accept the proposal or deny it. If he accepts it, there is communication. If there is not a change, if we do not get the desired answer in front the stimulus used, we can consider communication was a vain attempt. Even more radically, we should argue that, technically, there were not communication” (Kaplún, 1998: 41).
of dialogue between people, groups, and institutions that enables people, both individually and collectively, to realize their full potential and be engaged in their own welfare” (Singhal, 2004: 379). Endogenous and participatory development that points to the empowerment of the oppressed is on the nucleus of this approach.

New trends in the area of development and communication are revisiting the figure of Paulo Freire, whether to highlight ideas of empowerment and dialogue in E-E interventions or to stress his legacy on participatory development practice. According to Maria Celeste Cádiz (Cádiz, 2005: 147-149), five interrelated attributes or qualifiers of Freire’s dialogue are in place in order to employ participatory approaches in development:

1) Communication between equals: teacher and student, expert and user, communicator and audience, sender and receiver, interchange roles in a mutually beneficial two-way interaction.

2) Problem-posing: Freire’s model assumes conflict as a generator force. Dialogue draws from people’s experiences, knowledges and thought-provoking questions related to them. Development communicator becomes a facilitator of social change capitalizing on human learning at the individual level and in community. Educative process is not artificially imposed from outside the community.

3) Praxis, a cycle of action and reflection: education and communication are seen as a permanent process where theory and practice are highly integrated, all from their own experience and their social practice.

4) Conscientizing: that is, a process of advancing critical consciousness. “In a dialogue, development partners, as deliberate, construing, and goal-seeking participants, grow in understanding human, social and development processes. In this process, participants increase their willingness to take risks. They become a party to or stakeholders of social change, based on a conscious decision to engage in such change, uncomfortable as conditions brought about by change may be, and based on a deeper understanding of their realities” (Cádiz, 2005: 149).

5) Five values: Freire states that the true dialogue happens in a context of five overriding values: love, humility, hope, faith in development partner’s capability and critical thinking.

In the field of E-E, taking into account Freire’s thesis supposes to think about how to conceive audiences: as either passive recipients or active participants in the communication process (Tufte, 2005; Singhal, 2004). According to Tufte (2005), “Freire’s conscientização (consciousness-raising) could be utilized to secure community involvement in E-E strategies. This pathway -if followed consequently- offers means through which E-E interventions can be connected to the questions of power, inequality and human rights”, which are the principles guiding the third generation E-E interventions (Tufte, 2005: 168). In this generation, solutions are sought by strengthening people’s ability to identify the problems in everyday life, and their ability to act - collectively and individually - upon them. Therefore, the social change process is catalysed not as a response to an external stimulus, but from within, by the community itself. As Kaplún (1998: 50) notes, this model also promotes behaviour change, but not associated to a mechanical
conditioning of conducts.

Following Tufte (2005), it can be found out that, although the same genres are being used, the three approaches to E-E have different views on development, communication and social change.

(De-)constructing the field of entertainment-education

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Source: Tufte (2005: 173)
4.3. THEATRE AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED.

Do you want to hear me until the end? This is not a drama... it's a farce, though it doesn't alike. If we come to the end, the same as always will happen: you will stand up to clap your hands and we will come out to salute and will be accomplices of this farce, of your farce. Then you will come back home and everything will be the same. You will be so corrupted, so hypocrites and so bullshit as always, but you will have your conscience calmed down, because you are modern; because you applauded hard a rough left-wing play, very rough, man! You are disappointed with this world, but there is no exit, you can not change it, you have to accept the rules of the play. But you are not guilty, because you still can drop tears for the revolution that could not be. You are impostors, sons of a bitch who deserve my most profound contempt. For more than a year I have been your buffoon! I am ashamed for not have had the courage to do this before, fuck! I don't want to be your accomplice! Come on, let the farce goes on! But from now on, don't count on me!22

In the same way as E-E interventions carry an implied model of education, communication and development, different expressions of theatre related to social change (popular theatre, theatre in education, community theatre, etc.), sometimes referred to the general term of 'theatre for development', put the emphasis in different conceptions of what the function of theatre should be.

Epskamp (2006) uses the term 'participatory theatre' as a common denominator for them. In all these forms: "1) performances or workshops aim at the exchange of ideas between actors/facilitators and the audience; 2) the content of the performances is directly related to the living environment of the targeted audience; 3) the themes interwoven in the storyline of the performances are problem-oriented and of directed relevance to the community; 4) the audience is motivated to interact in a direct manner during or after the performance with the actors/facilitators" (Epskamp, 2006: 11).

Theatre for Development is considered "a developmental intervention tool to be used within the context of non-formal education and/or development support communication to support processes of social change" (Epskamp, 2006:9). As it can be detected in this definition, the range of performances that could be called 'theatre for development' is broad. In fact, according to Kamlongera (2005), development of this kind of theatre, spread from the African liberating processes in the 1970's, is debt to three factors: 1) the colonial attempts to improve Africans through drama; 2) a recognition on the part of colonialists that some positive aspects of behaviour could be extruded from indigenous performances, and 3) the African's own reaction to these colonial attempts at developing their culture (Kamlongera, 2005: 436). Epskamp recommends differentiating between Theatre for Development understood as a product and as a process oriented tool. In the first case, the parallelism with diffusion model of development communication is clear. The main goal of this message-oriented theatre is to inform people about some development related

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issues and to persuade them to change their behaviour (Epskamp, 2006: 51). This does not mean there is no participation. Two-way communication is enabled through discussion and learning. But, as in the manipulative model of education, participation is seen as an exogenous process. In the second case, Theatre for Development is seen as "a range of theatrical practices and participatory methods to engage marginalised members of communities in a dialogical process aimed at enhancing awareness of political and social issues, building up social cohesion and stimulating the participation, awareness and organisational strength of groups and communities" (Epskamp, 2006: 43). Here the contribution of Augusto Boal's theatre of the oppressed is essential.

From the 1970's, Boal's techniques have been implemented and reinvented worldwide in diverse contexts: from therapy to activism, legislation, health, ethics, cultural studies, performance art, and feminism (Babbage, 2004; Schutzman and Cohen-Cruz, 2006). According to Schutzman and Cohen-Cruz, Theatre of the Oppressed "is, at its core, already a synthesis of what has become divided, packaged, and consumed, mostly in the academy, as separate and discrete bodies of disciplinary knowledge" (Schutzman and Cohen-Cruz, 2006: 2). Theatre of the Oppressed techniques, which are inspired on Freirean principles of dialogue, interaction, problem-posing, reflection, and conscientization, point to the activation of the spectators to take control of situations, rather than passively allowing things to happen to them. As Freire broke the hierarchical divide between teacher and student, Boal did so between performers and audience, raising the figure of the "spect-actor". As Freire asserted there is no apolitical education, Boal outlines that all theatrical systems are necessarily political (Babbage, 2004: 39), that is: any kind of theatre aims to provoke a determinate impact on the audience. In fact, Boal's discussions on the nature of poetics and its relation to the audience have lots of points in common with debates on Entertainment-Education. According to Martin (2006), Theatre of the Oppressed poetics are most properly seen as precisely a "theory of the audience, of what a public in attendance can do to 'decolonize the mind'" (Martin: 2006, 27).

Aristotelian drama is put into question by Boal since its coercive system of intimidation points to the purgation of all antisocial elements through freeing emotions of fear and compassion in a catharsis-aimed process (Boal, 2001:46). Boal argues that the emotional involvement of the audience was required to achieve political objectives of Greek power structures. In the 1920's and 1930's, Bertold Brecht developed a radically opposed theatre. To struggle against capitalism by the strengthening of political awareness, a critical distance of the audience was needed. With the epic techniques, Brecht wants to create an alienation effect (Epskamp, 2006:13). He does not deny emotions per se. What Brecht refuses is the "emotional orgies" born out of ignorance stimulated by idealistic works. In opposition to it, the materialistic poetics, which have the obligation to show how the world can be transformed, place the emphasis on understanding. Brecht wants the theatrical spectacle to be the beginning of action (Boal, 2001: 106). Boal agrees in the question of emotions, adding that the spectator who consistently indulges in such escapist pleasures becomes content to live vicariously. Moreover, Boal argues that by losing himself/herself in the dramatic action, the spectator adopts its values, as well as its emotions, as her/him own. Thus, lessons drawn from a fictitious universe are imposed upon the spectator's social reality. He/She
awakes from a kind of hypnotic experience having absorbed its messages, but without awareness of the ways in which he/she has been acted upon (Babbage, 2004: 43). This has an unquestionable echo in debates on ethical issues in E-E interventions.

As Babbage highlights, both Boal and Brecht share an underlying aim: ”to enable spectators to know the reality of their own social situation and of the dramatic action simultaneously” (Babbage, 2004: 42). But while the ideal Brechtian spectator is able to engage with and disengage from that action principally at the level of conscious mental process, Boal adds to this the level of physical intervention. Through participatory intervention of the audience in the creation and development of the performance, Theatre of the Oppressed becomes ”a form of rehearsal theatre designed for people who want to learn ways of fighting against oppression in their daily lives. The theatrical act by itself is a conscious intervention, a rehearsal for social action based on a collective analysis of shared problems of oppression” (Singhal, 385).

Understood as a set of techniques, Theatre of the Oppressed covers four main figures: Image Theatre, Invisible Theatre, Legislative Theatre and Forum Theatre.

In IMAGE THEATRE, exercises point to consciousness raising about how one’s body structure embodies an ideology. Participants are challenged to move to an ideal image, always from a concrete prevailing reality. The possible options are discussed and redefined. By avoiding the idiom of language, communicative problems associated with denotative and connotative meanings, and encoding and decoding losses, are overcome (Singhal, 2004: 386).

INVISIBLE THEATRE is developed in non-theatrical scenarios. Here the goal is to capture the attention of viewers who do not know they are watching a planned performance. As Singhal sums up, ”Boal knew that while people ordinarily do not want to get involved, they are always looking from the corner of the eye. By seeing a public ‘spectacle’, people are forced to think about it. The onlookers almost always side with the oppressed, not the oppressor” (Singhal, 2004: 389).

LEGISLATIVE THEATRE brings us to Rio de Janeiro in the early 1990’s, where Boal worked for the City Council. He developed a technique to make new laws attending population demands expressed through debate and participation on stage. Boal remembers: ”Out of these activities many legislative proposals came to my office. We had what we called the metabolising cell, which was a group of actors and also lawyers. They would transform all the suggestions into proposals for new laws. I would present those proposals in the chamber like any other legislator. But the proposals for legislation would come not out of my head, but from the people” (Boal, quoted in Singhal, 2004: 389).

FORUM THEATRE is probably the most practised of all Theatre of the Oppressed techniques. In a Forum Theatre play, an oppressed or a group or community of oppressed enact an action trying to overcome the oppression they suffer in their daily lives. They have the will to fight, but always there are one or more
obstacles that they cannot avoid. When the play is over, the Joker invites spectators to replace the main character at any point in any scene where they think an alternative action would have lead to a solution. Then, the scene is repeated with the intervention of different spectators. The result: a dialogue about that particular oppression, an examination of alternatives, and a revolutionary rehearsal for real solutions. Forum Theater provides, Singhal (2004) states, “a way to examine all possible paths, serving as a rehearsal for practice. In so doing, it evokes the desire on part of spect-actors to practice in reality the act that they rehearsed in theatre” (Singhal, 2004: 387).

According to Boal, a Forum Theatre performance has always to introduce a doubt, not a certainty. More important than reaching a good solution it is to provoke a good debate. "The debate, the conflict of ideas, dialectics, the argumentation and the reply, all stimulate heat up, enrich, prepare the spectator to act in her/his real life. Thus, when the model is not urgent, that is, when it is not about going out of the show and directly act over reality, it is not necessary to find a solution, what is necessary is to look for it" (Boal, 2001b: 398). All spectators are considered participants. Following Boal, "all of them know they can stop a scene and give their opinion. Thus, if they choose not to say anything, this election is participation yet (Boal, 2001b: 417)".

Some authors see participation as an authoritarian practice. According to George (1995), most theatre artists believe “it is a manipulative system in which the actors, who always wield immense power, have control over the ‘means of production’, in spite of the illusion of popular control. Artists in the U.S. who originated those forms of theatre gave them up precisely because they realized they were oppressing rather than liberating audiences” (George, 1995: 44). In fact, as Babbage points out, “for many spectators, the phrase ‘audience participation’ suggests the very opposite of freedom; it is not passivity so much as fear -of failure and ridicule- which has taught them to avoid the front row. After all, if spectators have learnt from past experience that invitations to participate are manipulative or tokenistic, suspicion is entirely justified” (Babbage, 2004: 41).

Davis and O'Sullivan (2000) are concerned that Theatre of the Oppressed techniques may encourage individualistic responses that are insufficiently analysed from a class perspective. For them, Forum Theatre may stimulate feelings of self-empowerment in participants who make seemingly effective interventions, but for these to remain at the level of transitory and largely personal experience. This would diverge from Freire's principles, for whom liberation is only meaningful when it becomes a social act: "The shift from radical social transformation to individual liberation, as witnessed particularly in he Rainbaw of Desire techniques, has been marked by an increase in the use of the term 'empowerment'

23 In Forum Theatre the Joker is a kind of master of ceremonies. His functions are to set up the rules of the event to the spectators, to facilitate the replacements, and to sum up the essence of each solution proposed in the interventions. The Joker must not be tied to an allegiance to any one performer, spectator, solution proposed or interpretation of the events, that is why is called as the wild card. According to Boal (2001b), Joker should not get conclusions that are not evident; has to question always his/her own conclusions; does not decide anything by his/her own; and has to forward doubts to audience so they can decide (Boal, 2001b: 401). However, the power to ask for solutions to audience makes him/her a decisive figure to analyze the nature of spectators participation in the search for solutions. As Salverson highlights, “the questions asked by the Joker, both inside the workshop and during the performance, shape the range of the experiences and ideas generated. The Joker usually asks What is your experience of hurt?, which is followed by questions about cause and effect: ‘Who did what to whom? How can you fight back? Who can help you? The discussion reduces itself to injury and blame, and claims complex analysis that move the personal into the political- the dynamic relationship between psychological, social, and political factors- are rarely fulfilled” (Salverson, 2006: 148).
rather than the ofticed ‘rehearsal for revolution’. Freire is particularly concerned about the word ‘empowerment’, arguing that it will not be enough to achieve radical and political social transformation. He believes that liberation is a social act. He does not believe in self-liberation or personal self-empowerment, arguing that if you feel yourself free and if this feeling is not a social feeling - i.e., enabling you to use your recent freedom to help others to be free by transforming the totality of society - then "you are exercising and individualist attitude towards empowerment or freedom!" (Davis and O'Sullivan, 2001: 93). Davis and O'Sullivan believe Brecht was closer to Freire in his rejection of empowerment as an individual or psychological phenomenon. For them, especially last Boal's works are almost exclusively focused "on the protagonist and the realization of his/her individual wants/needs/desires in isolation of his/her social and material objective reality [...] The individual is temporarily endowed with the feeling of being empowered to survive and cope with capitalism" (Davis and O'Sullivan, 2001: 25). In this way of acting, they argue, Boal splits theory from practice. However, as Babbage (2004) outlines, Boal states that individual experiences of oppression and attempts to fight back should be examined beyond their immediate context. Theatre of the Oppressed proceeds from the phenomenon toward the law (Babbage, 2004: 64), what Boal calls "ascesis".

In Davis and O'Sullivan's critical article there is also a mention to Boal's contradictory position in relation to moralizing entertainment: "Boal criticizes the moralizing and exemplary nature of medieval theatre and even modern Hollywood films, where the good are rewarded and the bad punished; but in some senses his own theatre has a similar exemplary nature, and thus runs the risk of being accused of helping people to work more efficiently within the system. [...] The nature of Forum Theatre covertly attempts to suggest that there are acceptable and unacceptable codes of behaviour (the oppressor's consciously or unconsciously being labelled as wrong). So far as Theatre of the Oppressed continues to suggest acceptable/unacceptable codes of behaviour, it is contributing to the orthodoxy in perpetuating and developing a grossly unjust, dehumanizing capitalist system" (Davis and O'Sullivan, 2001: 294).

4.4. THE CASE OF AMINA’S LOOKING FOR A JOB

My heart is calmed, because I told what is happening. We have passed the testimony to the audience.

Amina El Hilali

Amina's looking for a job emerges from a need to make visible a particular oppression, the oppression suffered by Amina in her will to find a decent job. Here, testimony becomes a relevant word. The transformation of what had previously been considered private, non-public, and non-political as matters of public concern, issues of justice and sites of power is, according to Cohen-Cruz (2001), seminal to Theatre of the Oppressed (Cohen-Cruz, 2001:102): "Through stories that emphasize oppression, people
see such occurrences as struggles in social context rather than as personal limitations: the larger inequalities that underlie their personal experiences rise to the surface” (Cohen-Cruz, 2001: 104). That is why Theatre of the Oppressed stories, and especially stories in Forum Theatre are always unresolved, because it is expected that spect-actors intervene with possible solutions, as they find others suffering the same oppression. As testimony produces social discourse, political action and personal therapy are intertwined.

The transition from a personal space to a public and political one was intensively lived by Amina during the different performances of the play. According to Jordi Forcadas (2008), the director and Joker of the play, "Amina always told her son there are millions of oppressions around us. After seeing this theatre deals with oppressions, she said to him: 'I can report lots of things'. She experienced it as a very intimate process, but she did not notice the social projection the problem had. Acting to a women’s collective from Casal d'Infants del Raval24, she realized she was taking a step forward many other Arabian women, because of cultural reasons or because they are not in their country, would not take. She realized that the play was mobilizing and that she was becoming a referent for this group” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). Thus, Amina got empowered as she was conscious of his role as a woman who made visible a marginalised collective. As Banks (2006) underlines, Forum Theatre is fundamentally "about troubling and dismantling fixed identities and creating paradigm shifts in the ontology of the acting subject [...]. In and through performance, the so-called oppressed gains agency and uses deconstruction of a narrative of oppression as an exercise of empowerment” (Banks, 2006: 189). Particularly in this case, it seems a very relevant issue, since Amina fights against an oppression nourished by stereotypes and processes of otherness rooted in Spanish culture, as I reflected on in chapters 2 and 3.

Participation of spectators onto stage is focused on trying to reverse through action a situation where oppression is present25. However, in the case of Amina's looking for a job, according to its director, Jordi Forcadas, the play questioned the Forum Theatre formula: "This play leaves you with a feeling of desolation and impotence. Many people can not find a solution. They see such a structural problem that is not easy to resolve it” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

One thing I considered specially interesting was the way action onto stage was activated. Since I believe the "fear of the front row” is always present, even in plays where a complicity between audience and the issues at stake seems evident, analysing the role of the Joker to spark a dialogue that lead to action would give me clues about Forum Theatre formula and its possibilities to become a rehearsal of revolution.

Here is the transcription of all the debate sparked after the performance of the play.

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24 Catalan NGO that works at the core of Raval, one of the poorest districts in Barcelona, with a high percent of immigrants, most of them from Morocco.
25 Montse Forcadas, co-director of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom, ponders the idea of action: “Before anyone comes up to the stage, there should be a clear action, not a clear idea of what the problem is. It is not about a person who says 'the problem is about genre, or machismo'. The question is to sum all the concrete actions that give an answer to the issue at stake. Then you can support the action with ideology, but most important are ideas, and ideas should not be dramatized” (Montse Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).
Jordi Forcadas, the Joker, comes onto the stage and raises a question: "Is this a tragedy or a drama?"
People seem to prefer drama.

JOKER: "A drama? Because tragedies are like that: Gods sent to us a mission and we could never change it. Could this situation be changed?"

P0: Sure. It is not fair. They treat them like animals.

JOKER: Yes, it is not, but there are lots of people who make a living from that, earning a 5000 euros per month salary. Are we going to tolerate it? What can we do against people like Pepi\textsuperscript{26}, who are creating the new slavery? Is this the price we immigrants have to pay to live in this city? Do you think this is fair?
P1: But this is not only about immigrants. I think there are miserable salaries that are drawing people to poverty.

JOKER: That is, that this could be happening to anyone else, not only immigrants... But she [Amina] has other disadvantages: the control of language. And she is a woman...
P2: I think Pepi does not have a security in her ostentatious life...
P3: But this is not only about Pepi, all we are involved in this situation.
P2: But he asked for Pepi.

JOKER: Ok. But, for example, at the INEM\textsuperscript{27}: could its structure be changed? What can we do to make INEM work well?
P4: I think we the "populace" can not do anything. It is the responsibility of those who are above.

JOKER: So, do you think this play should be attended by those who employ people?
P5: I do not agree. We voted for those who are above. They did those trash contracts and we shut up.
P3: But what can we do? Going out to the streets and protest with violence?
P5: I do not talk about violence, but about conscience. I know the difficulties of my son at the INEM, but not those of Amina. And when my son comes from INEM, I feel guilty about his situation, because, voting for determinate people, I allowed them to do those things. All we are responsible and we can't say we can't do anything. All of we are society. And the man at INEM is one of us, don't forget it. And if he were here, he would probably say 'it is not possible to do anything', and it is not true. Just if he treated people better... ."

JOKER: I would like those women to explain to us what they are talking about... What do you think about it? Is this happening to everyone?
P5: To most of all.

JOKER: And do you think this is right?
P5: No, it is not.

JOKER: And what could we do?
P6: When it is time to vote: boycott.

JOKER: This is happening more to immigrants, because they have no permissions. And we often ignore their rights.
P7: I do not agree with boycott. I come from France and when we did it, the left won.
P8: I think mentality in our society should be changed. We all are actually bourgeois, so it should be a question of all of us, not only of the ones we elect, also the people above. It is our mentality what we should change....

JOKER: Ok. This is not the easiest play to work on, but what this kind of theatre tries is that you come onto the stage in a moment where you believe things could have changed. Has anyone an idea about the moment where we can struggle to change things? [silence from people]. At the INEM, with Pepi... which is Amina's mistake?
P9: Accepting the job. She should have gone with his son to read the contract.
P10: That's it!

JOKER: She should have gone with his son to read the contract. Can you?

\textsuperscript{26} Pepi is the extremely kind woman who cheats her, imposing other conditions than those agreed by signing an illegal contract.

\textsuperscript{27} National Institute of Employement.
P10: No, I can't.
JOKER: If not, we can't change things. I want you to come to help her.
P1: All starts from solidarity.
JOKER: From solidarity. I ask the person who has the idea to help us. An applause for her.

The scene where Pepi cheats Amina is repeated. Amina feels confident next to her new friend. Altogether, they unmask Pepi's false kindness. The spectator introduces herself as a lawyer. She asks Pepi to check out the contract. Then, she warns Amina the contract is not valid: she will lose money if she signs it. But Amina does not care, she really needs the job. The tension is interrupted by another spectator from the audience, claiming to denounce Pepi. The Joker stops the scene and asks the spectator to also come onto the stage. Acting as a judge, he warns Pepi the contract is illegal and that she could be denounced. Finally, Pepi decides to leave the scene.

Once the scene is finished, Amina asks participants about her "real" problem. She needs her employers to pay her, but, alone, she has not enough power to put pressure on them. Silence.

The Joker asks the audience about Pepi's reaction:

P1: Cowardly, she wanted to scape.
JOKER: What else? Did the scene work out?
P2: They did it very well.
P3: Amina lost the job.
JOKER: But at least, she will not work for a month for free.
Spectator1: Losing money...
JOKER: In the other case, she would have been working for a month...
Spectator1: Losing money, she has to pay the bleach and travelling costs.
JOKER: However, Amina is right. This is not an immediate solution to find a job. But, we say it again: this is not only about Amina. There are a lot of people in the same situation. And that is Amina's great value, she is telling it to all of you.
P4: Pepi is not real. Because Pepi does not ride a Jaguar. Usually, the person who controls Pepi will not watch her. The problem is not who you will vote for, because I do not notice much difference between PP, Iniciativa and PSOE\textsuperscript{28}. The problem is that all of us are too individualists. No lawyer will go with Amina.
Participant1: I think cooperation is the unique solution.
P4: But I am Catalan, I speak Catalan and I have studied. I cleaned stairs and they always paid me a misery. The problem is that, now, our enemy is our workmate. I was one of the workers fired from SEAT\textsuperscript{29} and the workmates were not joined.
Participant1: All of we try to survive. And when you try to survive you can do things that are contrary to your principles. If you do not feel supported, you do not know how you will react. I am not Catalan and I had problems with Catalan language...
JOKER: So, cooperation... I think there are lawyers who want to help Amina. Last day we played Amina's looking for job for SOS Racisme and they have an advice service. Comisiones Obreras\textsuperscript{30}, too. They helped me with an illegal dismissal. The problem is that we do not know these resources. I agree on the question of cooperation.
Participant1: The problem is to have time to find these resources...

\textsuperscript{28} Spanish and Catalan Political Parties.
\textsuperscript{29} SEAT is a Spanish automobile manufacturer, now a wholly own subsidiary of the German Volkswagen Group.
\textsuperscript{30} One of the two main Spanish unions.
Ayoub: If anyone wants to go with Amina on Monday...
JOKER: Ok. We must leave the room. Anything else? This is a play where is not easy to find a solution. In Theatre, we usually want to come back home happier. But this theatre does not have this objective. This is not about the good overcoming the bad, this is not an American film. This is reality. And we have to leave with a desire to change the situation and this play can help to do it.

One could argue that interventions of the Joker are “too decisive” in the meaning making process of the Forum. Sometimes (especially at the beginning, probably to spark the debate), he makes closed-ended questions that admit just one answer: “Are we going to tolerate it?”, “Do you think this is fair?”. Some other, he points to the things that should be changed to find a solution: “For example, at the INEM: could its structure be changed?”

As it will be noted in the chapter 5.2., the Theatre of the Oppressed students would have liked to see the Joker not as a social avenging, but as a more invisible figure that allowed “the raising of other more ambiguous responses” from the audience. They argued the issue at stake (oppression at work) is too complex to be tackled from simplistic points of view (for example, from binary selections oppressors/oppressed, good/bad, etc.). According to Jordi Forcadas, the role of the Joker is to “conduct de debate and avoid the dispersion” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). When I asked him about how much neutral the Joker should be, he answered: “The Joker can not be neutral. It is necessary to have ethical basis guiding your actions. Some people do not agree with it. We work hard on the question. What I try is that people answer questions, actions and suggestions of the audience onto the stage, even if they are magical or counterproductive. In Amina’s looking for a job, you could find out unfeasible proposals, but it is onto stage where spectators realize if they are good or not” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

Most people who participated trying to overcome the oppression acted in the scene where Amina is contracted by Pepi. They did it as lawyers who warned Amina to deny Pepi’s offer. But, as Ayoub El Hilali (Ayoub El Hilali, personal communication, 2008), one of Amina’s sons, outlines, “they did not understand that Amina needed the job. At the end, many people did not find the solution, because it was a kind of ‘If I do not get the job, I will starve to death, and Amina does not understand that if do not work because at the end of the month they will not pay the salary’” (Ayoub El Hilali, personal communication, 2008). Jordi Forcadas outlines: ”They always told her to keep dignity and she answered she needed a dish of soap, and this is very Brechtian: how can you ask people for human solidarity if you have to eat next day? The Forum stayed in front of a crossroad. If the actors were professionals making hypothesis, the analysis would have been less pragmatic” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

One of the performances was attended by SOS Racisme technicians and they encouraged Amina to denounce Pepi and to seek legal support in organizations like theirs. As Jordi Forcadas points out, “they encouraged a lot, saying ‘yes, there is a solution’. They clearly knew what the role of immigrants is. They have sympathy with the whole story, as Boal said, because they are really affected collectives. It is not

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31 Look also at the beginning of the debate, when someone from the audience argue that “this is not only about Pepi” and a woman replies: “But he [the Joker], asked for Pepi.”
only about 'understanding', but 'being in'” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

According to Jordi Forcadas, on the one hand, the play left the audience with a sense of desolation, because the problems showed are too structural and complex to find a satisfactory solution. "There was the risk of offering magic solutions without knowing their implications. There were moments where changes will come from the oppressors right-hand, for example, from those who work at the INEM, who do not have enough power to decide and show their solidarity with Amina. There was a change, but it was not an essential one. When participants warned Amina about possible Pepis, I think the play worked as awareness-raising theatre, in the sense 'look, be careful when you get a job in a services company'. It seemed this task of informing collectives could help more people” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). This can be noticed also in the debates sparked after the performance of the play: people told about their particular experiences and oppressions they, or their relatives, suffered at work, resulting a catalogue of "things one should avoid at work”.

On the other hand, the complexity of the problem enabled participants to spark a debate around a supposed normality and the social theories and practices that support it, going beyond Amina's particular case. "What is showed is a set of prevailing ideologies. For example, when some people said 'come back to your country' or 'everyone has to live situations like that'... these commentaries sparked the debate. 'Why? If this is happening... why? 'If you can see it, what could be changed?' That is, it worked out fine to make an in depth analysis on some prevailing theories everyone believe as naturals. Normality was being questioned” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). In the performance transcribed, narratives of solidarity among workers and social responsibility of individual actions are raised, what demonstrates that Theatre of the Oppress is a valid formula to move from the phenomenon toward the law, as Babbage suggested before (Babbage, 2004: 64). All interventions talk about personal experiences, but point to the widening of the explanations about the causes and consequences of the oppression at work.

The heterogeneity of the audience also helped, according to Jordi Forcadas, to set a rich debate up on the issue. "People who came from Andalusia many years ago said: ‘This is the same situation we found and you have to grin and bear it’, or ‘I tried to help immigrants, but…’; with a sense of bitterness. There is a distancing from Amina's problem, and a lot of prejudices. With this first and second generation of immigrants the debate was very interesting. ‘Ok, you lived the same situation. But who is getting benefit from these processes?’ That people thought about whether these processes are unavoidable or not sparked very interesting debates” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

The play was also performed to specific targets. In prisons, "Amina's looking for a job shocked the Arabian men. There were signs of empowerment taking place among them after seeing this woman saying those kind of things with such a great value. For them, it was a bridge to their culture where people take the initiative. I think they were the collective that got more of the performance. It was shocking to see how they treated me before and after attending the play” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).
At the light of Jordi Forcadá’s words, one could note that among the audience different processes of meaning-making were taking place according to the audience targeted. Amina became an example of value for Arabian men and women. As people who experienced discrimination, they saw Amina as someone who fights for her rights and who do not give up in a context of oppression in a foreign country. In the case of prisoners, the divide of genre was overcome. Instead, culture and identity became the axis around which a sense of community of the oppressed was set. Beyond the plot and the evidences of discrimination shared by Amina and the audience, one can guess how much Amina’s appearance (specially, the symbolism of its veil) contributed to strengthen this process of identification.

However, the same way Amina’s look could reinforce the sense of identification among Arabian audience, it also could stress feelings of otherness in the case of first and second wave of immigrants coming form other Spanish regions. They recognized the oppression suffered by Amina as the same they had to bear, but, as Jordi Forcadá pointed out, their response as “survivors” of the oppression was not emphatic in the search of solutions. I do not have enough elements to answer why (in the DVD recorded there were no interventions by Spanish immigrants), but reasons of these attitudes should be analysed taking into account the historical roots of stereotyping and the double otherness studies mentioned in chapter 2 and chapter 3.

Besides analysing moments were meaning making processes are taking place, a focus on efficacy is needed in order to determine the scope of the social change searched. Although in Theatre of the Oppressed the emphasis put in the process “may distract” the attention paid to the results of the product, it is necessary to move beyond the play and analyse, as in any entertainment-education strategy, the effects produced. Since, according to Boal, all theatre has its political outcome, to set how we measure change becomes unavoidable. As Parker-Fuller argues, “to neglect our research obligations to measure the efficacy we claim is folly” (Parker-Fuller, quoted in Rodríguez et al., 2006: 231).
5. MEASURING EFFECTS

5.1. THE QUESTION OF EFFECTS IN AMINA'S LOOKING FOR A JOB

Some of Boal’s considerations can be considered discouraging by those who seek an answer about the efficacy of his techniques. For example, when comparing Theatre of the Oppressed to a key, he argues: "The key does not open the door. It is he or she who, with the help of the key, opens the door" (Boal, quoted in Babbage, 2004: 33). Theatre of the Oppressed does not claim to provide answers or solve problems, but it is understood as a rehearsal for revolution. The Forum method stimulates energy for change, an energy that oppressed should be able to apply in their real lives. Since, according to Babbage, we do not have any security that the empowerment lived on the stage will be applied beyond a theatrical context (Babbage, 2004: 62), we need tools to gather information that approaches us to an answer.

Babbage (2004) asks herself how can the results of a TO piece be assessed. Taking into account the number of people who had the opportunity to witness it? The percentage of people that came onto the stage? The number of people who said their word during the Forum? Maybe counting the people who changed behavior afterwards? According to her, this kind of approach would be beset with problems of quantification, but "even if it could be produced, it would not reveal whether Forum itself ‘works’, but only how far it made an impact with those people, at that time, in that place. Its more productive to ask in what circumstances, under what conditions, the techniques work best” (Babbage, 2004: 33).

According to the director of the play, Jordi Forcadas, Amina’s looking for a job worked, first of all, as Amina herself changed: "I think there was a personal empowerment when she noticed the impact her testimony provoked: she learned how to speak, how to face the situations, and the problems at work were resolved". About the improvement of labour conditions, he assumes "it is not a great social change, but an improvement of standards of living of those who suffer problems at work. Sometimes I think [Forum Theatre] does not work to change great things, but it works to improve standards of living and we must appreciate it" (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). In one occasion, a lawyer who attended the play, accompanied Amina to visit her employers. And it worked. They gave her money back. This is the only example registered of how action onto stage became a practical rehearsal of revolution in Amina's looking for a job.

At a collective level, Forcadas conceives the evaluation as a difficult task: "What you expect is that people adopt in their lives the same attitude they showed in the Forum, using this kind of tools. But how can you know it from everyone?” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). Moreover, Jordi Forcadas asserts that sometimes people act according to socially accepted discourses.

When I asked if Forum Theatre is only the spark of a social process, he quickly answered "No, it is not. Following Freire, we must be and go with them, especially with affected collectives [...]. You can know people's sensations left by the Forum. In Amina’s looking for a job case, people left furious, and I prefer
this rather than a cathartic feeling like 'Ok, the good overcame'. But, as at some point we wondered it, although it could not be possible, this feeling left by the Forum would require a follow-up mechanism. For example, activating professional training to look for jobs. Even the play could be launched as a support material” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

Thus, Amina’s looking for a job could be conceived not only as a Forum Theatre play were participation is activated as a rehearsal of revolution in search of a behavior change in "real life”, but also as a close-ended product that can help people with problems at work through the visualization of the positive values of a particular case. So, the play would be conceived as an E-E intervention that moves from a motivational to an informational range: it understands that the question at stake embraces such a structural and complex problem that the play must address both behavior change through participatory action and conscious raising through the exposure to relevant messages\textsuperscript{32}. In this case, the range of points to focus on the assessment should be broadened.

Since the Mexican Miguel Sabido formulated the basic elements of E-E strategy in the 1970s, many scholars have been interested in the effects research studies. The most relevant studies appeared in the mid-1980s and 1990s. Most of them were focused on rational and cognitive explanations of effects. Bandura’s social learning theory was without doubt at the core of those discussions. According to Bandura, an individual learns behavior changes by observing and imitating the overt behavior of other individuals, who serve as models. Two motivational influences are specified by Bandura: vicarious motivation, that is, behavior change as a cost-beneficial decision for the individual; and attentional involvement, using emotional appeals to sustain parasocial interaction between the audience and the role model. The change depends on four factors: outcome expectations, aspirations, perceived impediments and self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is "an individual’s perception of his or her capability to deal effectively with a situation and a sense of perceived control over a situation” (Bandura, quoted in Singhal and Rogers, 2002: 150). Social change requires also individuals and collectives believe they can organize and execute courses of action required to achieve collectives goals. This is called collective efficacy.

From then on, many communication theories have said their word in the debate on how social change happens\textsuperscript{33}. What seems common among contemporary researches is, on the one hand the raising interest on affective and entertainment aspects of the strategy, and, on the other, the focus put in the evaluation of instigated changes at a community level.

The prevalence of collective efficacy concept, the need to approach community level changes and the importance of peer to peer conversations as catalysts of social change fit in with third generation E-E

\textsuperscript{32} Jordi Forcadas comments on this: “Our sociologist believed that, according to the nature of the problem and the way it was introduced, Amina’s looking for a job was a conscious and awareness raising play that should be addressed to all collectives involved: enterprises, the INEM, etc. […] We must clearly think if plays follow these goals or not. You can be playing with Forums without much sense and this goes against Forum. To me, a good awareness raising play may be as mobilizing as a Forum Theatre piece. But, the chance people are able to come onto the stage and act is very empowering” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

\textsuperscript{33} Singhal and Rogers (2004: asalik)) quote the following: the elaboration likelihood model; audience involvement; dramatic theories; social constructivism; uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, knowledge-gap, cultivation analysis and diffusion of innovations; and Haberma’s theory of communicative action.
strategy, and particularly with Forum Theatre objectives, as both focus on problem identification, social critique and articulation of debate, challenging power relations and advocating social change. Albert Bandura’s concepts of self and collective efficacy could help to assess how involvement in *Amina’s looking for a job* could lead to action, since both performance and vicarious experience are stimulated. Performance experience refers to the ability to control one’s behavior as a direct result of one’s efforts and actions in the world, while vicarious experience refers to the ability to control one’s behavior as a consequence of the observations one makes about the actions of others as well as the results of those actions (Rodríguez, 2006: 239).

*Amina’s looking for a job* lacked any kind of evaluation process nor follow-up mechanism. According to Jordi Forcadas it was just a question of time and resources: "We are going at a high speed and different projects demand great efforts from us. In a unique Forum I cannot do it, but in a one or two year process, I can assess if there is a behavior change. To gather quantitative data is very difficult. Moreover, in this case we lacked a network, because this is very transversal. I can not do legislative theatre without a lawyer who teaches me about laws. Alone we can not achieve these objectives. Moreover, we need training in some issues (laws, gender, etc.")” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

So, is the play losing part of its potential to change reality because of lack of evaluation and follow-up mechanisms? Jordi Forcadas answers: "In this case I think so. It is necessary to give information about rights. I do not know if people, alone, will look after their labor rights. That is why I believe we should go with them, but this is a circle. After each project, the empowered collective have two options: to, somehow, multiply the experience of Theatre of the Oppressed through training and activation of other groups; or, once empowered, to follow the way of Amina’s son, who is now an actor and works for a film. There is where I found myself in a crossroad” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008).

To elaborate more on potentials of the play, I thought it would be useful to contrast Jordi Forcada’s opinions with the help of Theatre of the Oppressed students. Their double condition as practitioners of Forum Theatre technique and as spectators of *Amina’s looking for a job* would allow me to gather new points of view, mainly on the reception and production processes.

**5.2. THREE THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED STUDENTS SPEAK**

On 26th January 2009 I met three Theatre of the Oppressed students at the Forn de Teatre Pa’Tothom to gather their opinions about *Amina’s looking for a job*. First of all, I asked them to individually list the positive effects the play could provoke. These were their answers:
Student #1:
- Awareness raising through action, transcending the level of reason that usually excludes emotions. (1.1)
- Raising of a feeling of membership. To assume you are not alone gives you more self-confidence and motivation for the struggle. (1.2)
- Introduction of the problems through the entertainment and the play. (1.3)
- Raising of ideas to carry them out. (1.4)
- Empowerment of the oppressed. The discrimination at work is resolved through the struggle. People without self-esteem are not habilitated for the fight. (1.5)

Student #2:
- Giving the oppressed a place in society and culture. (2.1)
- Weaving nets between people through self-esteem raising of the oppressed. (2.2)
- Structuring of ideas. It prepares you for the struggle. (2.3)
- Internalizing the struggle. (2.4)
- Exercising the practice of listening to other opinions. (2.5)

Student #3:
- Visualization of the problem. I am not alone, I can do it. (3.1)
- Self-censorship in the case of empathy with oppressors. (3.2)
- It makes you think about the problem. (3.3)
- De-stereotyping of Arabian woman role in society. The veil as a symbol of struggle. (3.4)

The next question to the students was to think about the things they believed could multiply the effects of the play. The points should be classified under “before the play”, “during the play” and “after the play” sections. In this case the answers were collective.

WHAT COULD BE DONE BEFORE THE PLAY

- To contact with immigrant associations to add different elements to the play. Situations could be more complex, adding for example the experiences of "illegal" immigrants. A.1
- To contact with other collectives involved in the story. For example: public administration and INEM functionaries. A.2
- To contact with economics students and enterprises promoting corporative social response. A.3
- To complement the synopsis of the play with statistics on macroeconomy, unemployment, etc. to warn people this is not an isolated case. A.4
WHAT COULD BE DONE DURING THE PLAY

- To promote participation among a diversified audience (immigrants, students, employers, the people who take the decisions…). B.1
- To redesign the scenography. So many stops to change the scenario break the rhythm of the play. B.2
- To diminish Joker’s role. Joker should not be seen as a social avenging to allow the raising of other more ambiguous responses. B.3
- To extend the time spent on Forum moment. B.4

WHAT COULD BE DONE AFTER THE PLAY

- Follow-up actions with professionals who can help people to improve their situation. C.1
- To create public information points on immigration and civic rights. C.2
- To create a web site to visualize formal complaints, share experiences, discuss, etc. C.3

Reviewing the individual answers on the question of effects, it can be found out that most of them refer to two axis: “information driven” and “individual change”. Many of the effects are the result of making visible a social problem through the conveying of information (for example: 1.1, 1.3, 1.4, 3.1, 3.3). Some of them point to the action during and after an awareness raising process (1.1, 1.4, 2.3, 3.2). Some other stay in a mental process of recognition of a reality ignored (2.1, 2.4, 3.1, 3.4). The rest of the answers, which are minority, go beyond the individual reception process, taking into account the need to create and stimulate “communities” to tackle the problem with more probabilities of success: listening to other opinions, strengthening the feeling of membership, or weaving nets to fight the oppression (1.2, 2.2, 2.5). This balance may stress Jordi Forcadas’ opinion, according to which *Amina’s looking for a job* could be conceived as an awareness-raising play, as gives useful information about discrimination and oppression at work. The Theatre of the Oppressed students also put more emphasis in this conception, which seems to be closer to first and second generation E-E, as lack of information is the main problem and individuals are seen as agents of change.

Things that according to the students could improve and multiply the effects of the play point, on the one hand, to broaden the scope of the audience to promote social change among the institutions and sectors that make decisions, and, on the other, to enrich the story of Amina with other narratives on the situation of discrimination suffered by immigrants at work that may complement it from other perspectives (A.1, A.2, A.3, B1). Moreover, the role of Joker and the limitations of time to debate (B.3, B.4) are seen as determinant to spark an in-depth discussion on the complexity of the problem at stake. As oppression at work is a complex phenomenon involving many people and institutions, that audience have this information present to see beyond Amina’s case is required (A.4). The follow-up mechanisms proposed
combine solutions to provide information to individuals to solve their "particular oppressions" (C.1, C.2) and meeting points where oppressed can share their experiences to find out a solution and mutual help (C.3).

The last point with the students was to debate on concrete tools to assess the effects Amina's looking for a job could provoke. Here is a transcription of what I consider the most interesting moment of the conversation34.

S1: A web site could be created to gather opinions.
S2: Yes, but most immigrants do not have access to the internet. The audience could meet again three months after the play. Then we could see how many people were mobilized. Also we could interview the people who participated. Which aspects of the play do they remember? This could give us some clues about what can mobilize them.
S3: Did they try it or did they just fail? Did they apply something to their lives?
S2: We could carry out some surveys...
S1: I am thinking of something that gathered which feelings left the play immediately after. Something simple, with colors...
S2: When they left the theatre, we could apply it. After three months, we could seek what kind of behavior change happened. Then, the web site...
S3: But these people should be hyper-motivated to enter into this circle...
S1: But the point is that you have a group of advisors working constantly on it.
S3: To assess this kind of things is the most difficult. We tried it once... but how can you assess the impact?
S1: You can work with teenagers for a year. And you can not see if something will have an impact on them in the future. Until something happens to them and you can say "this is how he resolved the problem". To evaluate social change... sometimes you watch numbers and to me the truth is that...
S2: We could carry out some focus groups with immigrants and non immigrants. But the results will not be definitive. Changes do not happen immediately. There are people who change your point of view and this is not from a moment on. Many years pass by and then you remember that teacher...
S3: How could we measure the impact of a teacher when you are ten years old?
S2: Maybe at twenty you say "nothing". And at thirty you can say "something".
S3: I thought about this question before. But at the end I chose not to worry about it. How can we measure the impact? I know there is an impact, but I can not assess it and waste all my energies assessing it. It is clear to me that, although my position is very comfortable, if all we participated doing things without assessing their impact, we would change many things however. How can you assess how many consciences you are awaking?
ME: For example, through interviews...
S3: Ok. But this is very expensive... with enough economic resources and time you can do anything... interviews, surveys...

34 My underlines.
It is possible to easily find out in this passage some distrust on gathering information about effects through the use of social research techniques. Assigning economical resources to seek concrete data that assess the experience is perceived as a secondary and irrelevant question. Social change is understood as a perceived body, but it is not possible (even unnecessary) to determine why he/she moves like that and which is his/her heart beat frequency. There is ignorance on the kind of assessment it could be carried out. When some techniques are proposed, the distrust is set. There is also distrust on gathering quantitative data, as it is considered to be outside the world of "the social". This may be inspired by the weight of the concept of "process" inherited from Freirean pedagogy to the detriment of "result" and "product". However, there is a recognition that change depends on complex individual processes, linked to experiences where what was learned in the past is proved.

The perceptions of Theatre of the Oppressed students about efficacy fit with Babbage points of view quoted above: it is clear that, with economical resources, an assessment could be implemented, but there is no certainty about what kind of techniques should be applied. As Babbage, they also believe that it depends on personal circumstances and particular conditions, what is considered almost impossible to measure. As in the second generation E-E an external agency in partnership with communities are seen as the catalysts of change, whose notion is shaped by individual behavioural, social norms and structural conditions. The stress on the individual also put the experience closer to the first generation E-E frame of analysis.

The distrust and ignorance on assessing the impact on social change of Theatre of the Oppressed plays crash with the clarity with which E-E promoters have developed methodologies of evaluation from the 70's on.
6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The absence of any kind of assessment does not allow me to make many assumptions about the contribution of Amina's looking for a job to social change. However, through fieldwork I could gather enough information to list some of the clues that can frame the answers to the research questions.

6.1. ABOUT AMINA IS LOOKING FOR A JOB AND ITS INCIDENCE ON SOCIAL CHANGE

Whose empowerment? As it has been reviewed, empowerment is the key word of third generation E-E interventions. Who got empowered thanks to Amina's looking for a job?

At the end of this research I do not have enough elements to state Amina is actually empowered. According to Jordi Forcadas, the director of the play, and guided by Amina's self-confidence, I could say "yes, she is empowered", but obviously, to categorically state it more research would be needed. During the interview, Amina told me she was planning another play, this time about discrimination of immigrants at healthcare centers. When I was leaving, Ayoub told me about another project: creating a web site with information on Hilali's daily life, forums to discuss about immigrants problems, etc. I believe after the process, Amina and Hilali's felt themselves as a spokesfamily of a reality that is not visible in mass media. If empowerment can be measured according to enthusiasm, new initiatives and self-esteem, I should say "yes, this family is empowered".

According to Jordi Forcadas, also the collective of Arab women who attended the play was empowered, as they saw they also could face the oppressors. This statement, however, is only based on momentary perception. Nothing can guarantee to us these people really faced them.

Taking into account the data gathered, one may think Amina's looking for a job could not provoke change at a collective level. Forum Theatre stimulated feelings of self-empowerment especially in El Hilali's family, but no other radical transformation was sparked. We have no proofs. According to Davis and O'Sullivan, "the individual is temporarily endowed with the feeling of being empowered to survive and cope with capitalism" (Davis and O'Sullivan, 2001: 295). It is something I cannot state in the case of Amina. Nor can I state if anyone who attended the play was able to face a similar oppression afterwards. According to the data collected, what can be said is that there were a clear identification of the collectives oppressed (specially immigrant women and prisoners) with Amina and her story. This process of identification led them to a recovering of self-esteem, as they saw that oppression could be faced in many ways. As Boal's theoretical texts show, and according to Forcadas' and Theatre of the Oppressed students' opinions, the assumption that change is up to individual and collective will and the decision to struggle are the first steps to fight the oppression and the injustice.

Looking for evaluation. People in charge of Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom and Theatre of the Oppressed students understand evaluation as a mechanical and expensive tool that does not guarantee usefulness
and relevant outcomes. The issue at stake (discrimination and oppression at work) is viewed as "too complex" to be analyzed, and "the social" as a liquid concept which is impossible to engage in a rational manner. Moment of action is considered to be the moment of evaluation. This tells us about some kind of distrust in the organization on the possibilities of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The absence of an evaluation process did not allow them/us to learn about the real potentials of the play to promote social change. The lack of follow-up actions reduced the impact of the experience at a collective level.

Decades of E-E interventions can throw some light upon how to best measure effects in Theatre of the Oppressed practices. Mass media-centered experiences show that designing your intervention taking seriously into account what kind of effects are expected to provoke and how they will be measured, can multiply the social change potential of E-E interventions. Some Bandura's concepts, as self and collective efficacy, seem to be worth for the analysis of the main purpose in Theatre of the Oppressed: the strengthening of people's determination to face oppressions. However, a more in-depth debate on Forum Theatre effects research should be raised. Questions as who measures change and what range of effects should be analyzed are unavoidable.

**Problem identification and articulation of debate.** *Amina is looking for a job* showed that heterogeneity among the audience was a good condition to spark debates on civic rights and identity in Catalonia, even when spectators did not identify closely with the main character. This was the case of discussions among first and second generation immigrants in Catalonia. It is not a secondary question, since future Catalan development depends, in a great deal, on how the question of civic rights, tolerance and coexistence is faced, as it was noted in the introductory chapter of this project work.

Another achievement of the play is the subversion of Arab women stereotypes, that depict them as passive, submissive and illiterate subjects. As one of the Theatre of the Oppressed students pointed out, even the veil, often categorized in Spanish media as "the symbol over which a polarization between a democratic, progressive and modern Occident where equity between sexes prevails and a dictatorial, underdeveloped and traditional Orient based on women oppression, is built" (Reigada, 2004: 13), could be turned into a symbol of struggle and liberation.

I believe all this was possible as audience, in their analysis and dialogues, could go further beyond Amina's particular experience to identify the oppression as a question of human rights. Through debate, people identified the problem as a common denominator in Catalonia, independent of nationalities. Of course, they also agreed it was a complex problem that could not be resolved in a Forum Theatre.

**Two ways of conceiving the play.** As follow-up mechanisms and analysis of the audience behavior change were far from Forn de Teatre PaTothom wills and possibilities, at some point of the interview, I asked director Jordi Forcadas what a difference could the play make if it were conceived and performed *à la* Brecht. He answered that it is always necessary to have a clear idea of the nature of the play. For him, "a
good awareness raising aimed play could be as useful as Forum Theatre to mobilize people, but the moment of action makes the difference, because it empowers people” (Jordi Forcadas, personal communication, 2008). I think that taking into account its nature (the complexity of the oppression described, the range of actors implied in it, the diverse and complex ways of tackling the issue, the need of more information about labour rights, etc.), Amina is looking for a job could be conceived not only as a Forum Theatre play to be performed for a diversified audience, but as a broadcasted product aimed at awareness raising on labour discrimination and racism. This would mean to understand the play as a tool to be used in different circumstances according to the goals proposed.

However, I believe it is necessary to determine the scale of the social change pursued before deciding to use participatory approaches in E-E. As Storey an Jacobson state: “Certain kinds of social change require the involvement of large-scale organizations including bureaucratic institutions. In the case of some health programs where lives are in the balance (for example, HIV/AIDS or maternal mortality prevention), the time required for small scale, intensively participatory approaches becomes a questionable luxury” (Storey and Jacobson, 2004: 418).

6.2. ABOUT FORUM THEATRE, PARTICIPATORY COMMUNICATION AND E-E

Forum Theatre naturally fits in with third generation E-E, as it focuses on problem identification, articulation of debate and social critique, and points to the challenging of power relations. Boal’s techniques show how by introducing participatory approaches in the design and production stages of social change interventions, E-E can go further in its attempt to promote a more sustainable and efficient development. Here are some points that help fixing the arguments:

Forum Theatre, E-E and the Pro-social Content Dilemma. In 1990, Brown and Singhal set four main ethical dilemmas for Pro-social Television. First of all was the pro-social content dilemma, that is, how to distinguish pro-social from anti-social content. At the heart of this dilemma is “who decide for whom, what is prosocial and what is not” (Brown and Singhal, 1990: 273). The discussion was centered in the tension between pro-social and anti-social governmental and commercial beliefs and desires. I think it is possible to go further in the debate and discuss the ethical content dilemma comparing Theater of the Oppressed (as a participatory approach to E-E) to other mass-media oriented E-E interventions, specially from first and second generation, according to a close/open-ended frame.

For example, in the case of a soap opera aimed at modifying audience behavior in a “B” country. Someone decides ”X” behavior change is the best for the audience and designs a vehicle to conduct his/her close-ended message. We are in hands of a human behavior architect35. Communication only works when people

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35 I do not want to mean audience is passive in a E-E intervention reception process. I align with cultural studies and Martin-Barbero theory of mediations, according to which, construction of meaning is crossed by different trajectories coming from different spaces of mediation: daily life and family, social temporality and cultural competence.
exposed to the soap-opera change their behavior. In Forum Theatre: 1) The content comes from the direct experience of the oppressed and 2) Close-ended solutions are not provided, but open-ended ways to face the oppression as a result of the dialogue among the audience. In Forum Theatre, message and content can be challenged through participation onto stage.

**Learning through action-reflection-action.** All E-E interventions aim at changing overt behavior, also Forum Theatre. In one of the ends of the line connecting both disciplines, the problem at stake is the lack of information, which is resolved through the massive diffusion of positive messages. The change is promoted by external agents. In the other, structural inequalities and power relations are at the core of the diagnosis, and change is catalyzed by the community itself.

People's participation in communicative processes for social change should not be analysed only under the perspective of ethics and coherence between communication and development models. It is also a question of efficacy. According to Kaplún (1998), "only participating, being involved, investigating, making questions and searching answers, questioning things and questioning themselves, people reach knowledge. You really learn from what you live, what you recreate and what you reinvent, and not just what you simply read and listen" (Kaplún, 1998: 51). This argument has even been quantified. According to Lanzel, Roth and Niggeman (quoted in Kaplún, 1998: 215), an adult assimilates a 20% of what he/she listens to; a 30% of what he/she observes; a 50% of what he/she listens to and observes; a 70% of what he/she expresses; and a 90% of what he/she elaborates.

Forum Theatre enables to spark a Freirean process of action-reflection-action by examining all possible paths, trying out ideas, discussing and verifying them in theatrical practice. *Conscientizar* is at the core of the strategy. In *Amina's looking for a job*, audience started from their personal experience to debate on oppression at work, relating it to Amina's case and then to a wider analysis on social discrimination in Catalonia. As its director, Jordi Forcadals, stated, no action proposed was rejected before enacting it onto stage. It was afterwards that alternatives were discussed among the audience. At least in one occasion, one of these alternatives was put into practice in "real life" to solve Amina's problems with her employers.

**Participatory Communication, a synergistic satisfier.** According to Max-Neef (1994), differences between cultures and development models are originated in the choice of satisfiers of the nine basic needs all human beings have (subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, entertainment, creation, identity and freedom). Satisfiers as exile may fulfill the need of protection, but at the same time makes impossible the fulfillment of affection, participation, identity and freedom needs. These are destructive satisfiers. There are other kinds of satisfiers: pseudo-satisfiers, inhibitors, singulars and synergistic. Synergistic satisfiers not only satisfy a particular need, but at the same time stimulate the fulfillment of others. A good example: powdered milk or breast-feeding? Which one is the synergistic

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56 A good example is provided at the end of each "product". For example, in the case of television dramas or soap-operas usually an epilogue is introduced. Its function is to reinforce the values and positive roles promoted. In Forum Theatre, there is no epilogue, but a discussion about the issues at stake among audience and participation on stage with few limitations.

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satisfier? People's engagement in communication processes may satisfy the need of understanding, but also those of participation, identity, creation, entertainment and freedom (De Miguel: 2006). Forum Theatre is a good example of it. In Amina's looking for a job case, specially these needs were at the core. A process of action-reflection-action on identity and freedom was stimulated, all in an environment where creativity and entertainment allowed a more comfortable and truthful discussion on harsh topics.

From delegated distributive democracy to conversational democracies. According to Montañés (2004), what degrades a democratic system is its lack of conversational density (Montañés, 2004: 361). In a delegated democracy, a few decide how to proceed while others enjoy or suffer the implemented plans, programs and projects. Some know, others are object of knowledge. Some extract information (technicians) from others (population), and others draw up plans or give the directives to be followed in the plan design (politicians). So as people have the chance and capacity to formulate problems and to suggest solutions, it is needed that people produce knowledge, formulate suggestions, take decisions, manage and evaluate what is produced. Conversational participation is needed. That is, to create spaces and moments where people can interchange and create new common meanings. A Forum Theatre play does not resolve by itself the question of conversational democracy, but I am sure it promotes the culture of dialogue, tolerance, participation and compromise necessary to, some day, achieve it.

In Amina's looking for a job, people freely decided to participate or not, without any kind of restriction, in a discussion on how to tackle a particular oppression. Some opinions may have not liked to part of the audience, but there was always the chance to discuss them with arguments. Oppression at work was not understood as a social problem that only required the opinions of technicians and experts. The same people who suffered the oppression, personally or indirectly, analysed and identified the key problems, formulate alternatives and took decisions. As one of the Theatre of the Oppressed students pointed out, the play helped, among other things, to "exercise the practice of listening to other opinions".

A question of emphasis, beyond dualisms. To promote communication for development policies from a participatory approach should not mean that other ways of understanding communication applied to development must be rejected. Following Kaplún (1998), "educative communication has to take care of contents and results [not only processes]. Propaganda, slogans, symbols, collective and massive expression, the emotional element, within their fair limits, have their legitimate and necessary space in people's communicative and organizational practice. As long as they do not drown out the process" (Kaplún, 1998: 44). According to Kaplún, putting the emphasis on the dialogue and the interaction of participants does not mean to disregard information-driven solutions. The point is whether they answer to a necessity of people to go forward in their process of inquiring or not (Kaplún, 1998: 55). Communication for development pendulum of theories points now to the superseding of either-or dualisms between modernization theories and confrontative participatory alternative models. Integrated strategies that take the best of both are needed to effectively involve people, specially from the poorest sectors, in changing society. Participatory approaches in E-E (which may include not only small-scaled Theatre of the Oppressed interventions, but also participation in content design and production of mass media-oriented...
Another development for another communication. Coherence between E-E and development models should be stimulated. According to Ramirez and Quarry (2009), for many years communicators have looked at communication as the key to change bad practices in development: “Too often, we in the development community think of communication as merely a component that helps deliver the desired outcome or even worse, a component that simply promotes the end result (ie. public relations and marketing). So the question of whether good communication comes before good development or vice versa is essentially irrelevant. The very question highlights the misconception of the role of communication” (Ramirez and Quarry, 2009). However, for them, time has proved that decisions-makers know enough about participatory communication to reject it, due to the implications it has on development policies design. Maybe we should focus first in development models. “We have been firmly convinced that an infusion of good communication would enhance development when all the time what we really needed to confront is a change in development [...] Good development breeds good communication; it invites our common communication sense”. This good development, according to Ramirez Quarry, would have much of the five core principles of the ‘Another Development’ proposed by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation of Sweden in the 80’s: needs-oriented; endogenous; self-reliant; ecologically sound; and based on structural transformation.

What kind of “good communication” could Another Development breed? I am sure it would have much of the Communication For Social Change premises pointed by Gumucio (Gumucio, retrieved on June/4/2007):

- Sustainability of social change is assured when individuals and communities take control of process and communicative contents.
- Horizontal communication must amplify voices from the poorest sectors and keep owning of communication processes and local contents as axis.
- Communities must be agents of their own change and communication.
- Instead of emphasizing information and knowledge transfer from external agents, dialogue, debate and negotiation must be promoted within community.
- Results of the process must go beyond individual behaviors, taking into account social norms, current policies, culture and context of development.
- Dialogue and participation aim at strengthening of cultural identity, self-confidence, compromise, word owning and community.
- Cyclical processes of interactions departing from the knowledge shared by the community and from collective action are promoted, rejecting linear processes of information transfer to individual receivers.

As it has been analyzed in this project work, Forum Theatre technique points to this direction.
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