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Applied Theatre as an Alternative Strategy to Empower Moroccan Women Prisoners

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents; a special feeling of gratitude is dedicated to my father Youssef AMRANI JAI and my mother Nouzha NACHIT whose encouragement is unlimited. To my husband and children: Kamal, Aymane, Mahdi, and Rania who have supported me in all respects during my academic years. I also love to dedicate this work to my sisters and their children: Ibtissam, Amina, and Kaoutar for their unremitting assistance and everlasting love.

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Abstract

The topic of women's empowerment has occupied an important place in Western and Arab societies; the issue has gained attention on the part of human rights organizations and civil society components that are interested in the rights of women, their decent living, freedom, dignity, and independence. Several conventions, partnerships, and strategies have been adopted at the international and national levels to realize women's empowerment on multiple levels for a sustainable development. This thesis focuses on an alternative artistic strategy which has not benefited from investigations by researchers, and generally consists on recruiting a new genre of theater known by "Applied Theater" especially "Prison Theater" to empower women prisoners in the Moroccan context.

The issue has been addressed from two angles: theoretical and practical. Theoretically, the thesis determined the main concepts and theories of "Applied Theater" and "empowerment". At the practical level, a fieldwork was carried out about Prison Theater and its impact on Moroccan prisoners. To collect and analyze the data, different quantitative and qualitative research instruments were used to answer five research questions. The questionnaire was used to find the extent to which Applied Theater is practiced, and to determine the different genres of Applied Theatre that are performed in Morocco. Two Moroccan theatrical artists were interviewed to reveal if their experiences respect the general framework of Applied Theater. The interview was also used to present the importance of employing "Applied Theater" in general and "Prison Theater" in particular as an alternative strategy to empower Moroccan female detainees. The narrative interview was employed with four prisoners who shared their experiences of Prison Theater and its effects on their social, psychological, and economic life; these accounts were the subject of a narrative and thematic analysis.

The analysis of the data revealed that the inmates were able to invest what they learned in the experience of "Prison Theater" at the personal, social, and economic levels. The findings demonstrated that "Prison Theater" is an artistic practice based on the idea of participation and creation of social change among detainees, and it is a means to directly identify their intellectual, psychological and political problems. This typology of theater has the potential to combine aesthetic pleasure and effectiveness in creating change socially and economically; it can also be adopted as an alternative strategy with regard to empowerment issues.

Key words: Applied Theater, Prison Theatre, female detainees, empowerment, reintegration

مقتضب

احتل موضوع تمكين المرأة مكانة مهمة في المجتمعات الغربية والعربية المعاصرة. وقد حظيت هذه القضية باهتمام منظمات حقوق الإنسان ومكونات المجتمع المدني المهتمة بحقوق المرأة وأوضاعها الاجتماعية وحريتها وكرامتها واستقلالها. وقد تم اعتماد العديد من الاتفاقيات، والشراكات، والاستراتيجيات السياسية والاجتماعية على المستويين الدولي والوطني لتحقيق تمكين المرأة على مستويات متعددة.

ينصب اهتمام هذه الأطروحة على إستراتيجية فنية بديلة وظفت من أجل التمكين، لكنها لم تحظى بالدراسة من قبل الباحثين، و تتمثل في توظيف نوع جديد من المسرح يعرف ب "المسرح التطبيقي". وقد تم التركيز على شكل خاص من هذا المسرح هو "مسرح السجن" قصد إبراز دوره في تحقيق تمكين النساء السجينات في السياق المغربي.

تمت معالجة الموضوع من زاويتين: نظرية و عملية. فمن الناحية النظرية، حددت الأطروحة المفاهيم والنظريات الرئيسية "للمسرح التطبيقي" و "التمكين". وعلى المستوى العملي، تم القيام بعمل ميداني حول مسرح السجن وأثره على السجينات المغربيات. وفي هذا الصدد، تم اعتماد أدوات بحث كمية ونوعية مختلفة للإجابة على خمسة أسئلة بحثية، حيث تم استخدام الاستبيان لرصد واقع المسرح التطبيقي، وتحديد الأنواع المختلفة من المسرح التطبيقي التي تتم ممارستها في المغرب. كما تمت مقابلة فنانين مسرحيين مغربيين للكشف عما إذا كانت تجاربهما تحترم الإطار العام للمسرح التطبيقي. كما تم استخدام المقابلة لتقويم أهمية توظيف "المسرح التطبيقي" بشكل عام، و "مسرح السجن" بشكل خاص، كإستراتيجية بديلة لتمكين السجينات المغربيات. وقد تم استخدام المقابلة مع أربع سجينات قدمن من خلالها محكيات سردن فيها تجاربهن في مسرح السجن وتأثيراته على حياتهن الاجتماعية والنفسية والاقتصادية. وهي المحكيات التي أخضعناها لتحليل سردي وموضوعاتي.

كشفت الدراسة الميدانية أن النزليات استطعن استثمار ما تعلمنه في "مسرح السجن" في تغيير شخصياتهن و مساراتهن على المستويات النفسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية. واستخلصنا كذلك أن "مسرح السجن" ممارسة فنية تقوم على فكرة المشاركة وخلق التغيير الاجتماعي للسجناء، و وسيلة للتعرف المباشر على قضاياهن الفكرية والنفسية والاجتماعية والسياسية، وأن هذا النوع من المسرح لديه القدرة على الجمع بين المتعة الجمالية والفعالية في خلق التغيير في الأفكار والسلوكات والمسارات. لذا، يمكن اعتماده كإستراتيجية بديلة فيما يتعلق بقضايا تمكين المرأة.

الكلمات الرئيسية: المسرح التطبيقي، مسرح السجن، السجينات، التمكين، إعادة الإدماج

Résumé

Le thème de l'autonomisation des femmes a occupé une place importante dans les sociétés occidentales et arabes contemporaines; la question a attiré l'attention des organisations de défense des droits de l'homme et des composantes de la société civile qui s'intéressent aux droits des femmes, à leur vie sociale, et à leur liberté, dignité et indépendance. Plusieurs conventions, partenariats et stratégies politiques et sociales ont été adoptés aux niveaux international et national pour réaliser l'autonomisation des femmes à plusieurs niveaux.

Cette thèse se concentre sur une stratégie artistique alternative qui n'a pas bénéficié des investigations des chercheurs, et consiste généralement à recruter un nouveau genre de théâtre qui est le "Théâtre Appliqué" notamment le "Théâtre de Prison" pour autonomiser les détenues dans le contexte marocain.

Le sujet a été abordé sous deux angles: théorique et pratique. Théoriquement, la thèse a déterminé les principaux concepts et théories du «Théâtre Appliqué» et de «l'Autonomisation». Sur le plan pratique, un travail de terrain a été mené à propos du théâtre de prison et son impact sur les détenues marocaines. On a choisi de mener une recherche quantitative et qualitative pour répondre à cinq questions de recherche. Le questionnaire a été utilisé pour déterminer dans quelle mesure le théâtre appliqué est pratiqué et pour découvrir aussi les différents genres de théâtre appliqué qui sont joués au Maroc. Deux artistes théâtraux marocains ont été interviewés pour révéler si leurs expériences respectent le cadre général du théâtre appliqué. L'interview a également été utilisée pour présenter l'importance d'employer le «théâtre appliqué» en général, et le «théâtre de prison» en particulier, comme stratégie alternative pour autonomiser les détenues marocaines. L'interview avec les quatre détenues a abouti à des récits à travers lesquels elles ont partagés leurs expériences en prison, ainsi que les effets bénéfiques du théâtre sur leurs vies privée et sociale ; ces récits ont fait l'objet d'une analyse narrative et thématique.

L'analyse des données a révélé que les détenues ont pu investir ce qu'elles ont appris dans l'expérience du «Théâtre de Prison» aux niveaux personnel, social, et économique. Les résultats ont aussi démontré que le «Théâtre de Prison» est une pratique artistique basée sur l'idée de participation et de création de changement social chez les détenues, et c'est un moyen d'identifier directement leurs problèmes intellectuels, psychologiques et politiques. Ce genre de théâtre a le potentiel de combiner plaisir esthétique et efficacité pour créer un changement social et économique; il peut également être adopté comme stratégie alternative en ce qui concerne les questions d'autonomisation.

Mots clés: théâtre appliqué, théâtre de prison, détenues, l'autonomisation, la réintégration

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

APALD	: Authority for Parity and Fight against All Forms of Discrimination
AT	: Applied Theatre
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
C HCP	: Haut Commissariat au Plan / High Commission for Planning
FT	: Forum Theatre
GEM	: Gender Equality in Morocco
HCETSR	: Higher Council for Education, Training, and Scientific Research
HRWO	: Human Rights Watch Organization
ICPS	: International Center for Performance Studies
ICT	: Information Communication Technology
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
MCA	: Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad
MSWFSD	: Ministry of solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development
MT	: Museum Theatre
NCHR	: National Council for Human Rights
NI	: Narrative Inquiry
NSPVW	: National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women
PT	: Popular Theatre
PT	: Prison Theatre
RAMED	: Regime d'Assistance Medicale/ Medical Assistance Regime
RT	: Reminiscence Theatre
TIE	: Theatre in Education
TFSC	: Theatre for Social Change
THE	: Theatre in Health Education
TO	: Theatre of the Oppressed
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	: United Nations Fund for Population (UNFPA)
USAID	: The US Agency for International Development
WESD	: Women Empowerment and Sustainable Development

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Introduction

The present study is motivated by my great interest in women's issues. As a woman, the researcher has been questioning the conditions, challenges, and the main concerns of Moroccan women in all walks of life. As the love to women studies has grown stronger, the researcher has attempted to find a cross line that puts three variables horizontally together: women, theatre, and applied studies. The researcher argues that Applied Theatre is a vital organ which can encompass a verity of practices that concern women and other aspects of human life. Therefore, "Applied Theatre as an Alternative Strategy to Empower Moroccan Women Prisoners" is proposed as a title for this Ph. D. dissertation.

The choice of this topic was an outcome of the researcher's readings of Amrani's (2001) "Stripping off the Veil: Women's Performances of the Veil from Street to Stage" which provides a detailed analysis of issues such as gender problematic, early history of Moroccan theatre, women's transgression, the use of theatre to liberate women's bodies and voices, women's invisibility in Moroccan theatre, the connection between nation and women's emancipation, to list just a few. The author used feminism as a literary criticism to interpret the veil and the manifestations of patriarchy in theatre. It attempted to encourage researchers to examine feminist theatre criticism as well as women's theatre which she considers "still male-centered in the mapping of Moroccan cultural landscape" (Amrani, 2001: 315). This inspired me to work on Applied Theatre in the Moroccan context in relation to women's empowerment adopting a gender based approach and socio-cultural feminism in the analysis.

The Moroccan University has significantly contributed to bridging the fissure between the university and civil society. Currently, the Ministry of Higher Education in Morocco encourages more scientific research on projects with socio-economic outcomes. The present study, accordingly, is a social research which addresses the needs of grassroots people, specifically female prisoners and defines their priorities. Consequently, the thesis

aims at exploring the use of Applied Theatre as an Alternative Strategy to Empower Moroccan Women Prisoners. It attempts to scrutinize the extent to which theatre could be used as a tool to empower individuals' and groups alike.

Practitioners, theorists, educators, and activists in the field of theatre have made fundamental changes in its forms and come up with new typologies; they have managed to institute a new theatrical art with novel aesthetic functions that could go in parallel with the different social and political perspectives. Theatre activists have put theatre nearer to issues related to oppressed, marginalized, and excluded groups like the case of female prisoners.

Theatre has become a social practice that can contribute to the growth and development of every society. It has turned into a practice that co-operate with the range of initiatives undertaken by GOs, NGOs, and community services to maintain social change and development of human life in general and female prisoners' life standards in particular.

The wellbeing of female detainees is an important matter that attracts the attention of many agents, operators, and scholars across the globe. In Morocco, however, these women are less studied and underrepresented. Therefore, it has become urgent to think about alternative approaches that reconsider the wellbeing, safety, reintegration, and empowerment of this marginalized category.

Undoubtedly, female detainees in Morocco need a special platform to change their cultural, political, and socio-economic status quo. The Arab world in general is governed by patriarchal regular norms which makes of women in general subordinate docile bodies and objects while it makes of female prisoners a stigma and source of disgrace. Accordingly, the unequal treatment of women in male-dominated societies deepens the situation of disparity and injustice especially among female detainees.

Female detainees in Morocco have undergone different forms of discrimination, marginalization, and exclusion; therefore, it has become a pre-requisite to encourage creative and critical women' empowerment initiatives and projects to better their situation. Gender inequalities are still highly present among female prisoners; it is suggested to alternatively address the phenomenon of their social stigmatization from an artistic canon and find possible ways to reduce their marginalization and exclusion.

Theatre is an educational therapeutic device that must be accessible by all citizens, even prisoners. It is a medium that can provide alternative strategies to female detainees' empowerment. I opt for a Prison Theatre per se because it contributes to the empowerment of these women and contributes as well to the improvement of the relationship between these women and other groups of the community.

Moreover, Theatre is a powerful mediator of public opinion; it generates ideological representations, cultural perspectives, social values, and or stereotypes. This study, accordingly, seeks to unfold the way female detainees are depicted in Moroccan theatre; the role they are assigned and their status outside text and stage in real-life experiences.

This research is, accordingly, conducted to study the status quo of Moroccan theatre and see whether Prison Theatre as a typology of Applied Theatre can meet the social interests of Moroccan female former detainees particularly. In this dissertation, the defy lies in the fact that it focuses on non-traditional theatre by trespassing the conventional objectives of mainstream theatre. It also attempts to examine project-based theatrical scripts and performances that are engendered by means of debate within a specific Moroccan community on issues that namely concern female prisoners.

The rationale behind the use of Applied Theatre (AT) as a strategy to empower women is attributed to different reasons. AT is a medium through which messages can be “the

most efficaciously transmitted” (Bhattacharya, 2013:7); messages are directly conveyed from people with lived experiences. It is, furthermore, “more than entertainment, a complete emotional experience” (op. cit., 2013: 7); it is a practice where thoughts and feelings are directly shared among members of the group. Additionally, it is a theatre that takes inspiration from the life of the people or the community itself (Erven 2001, Mda 1993). Moreover, AT enables community members to reflect critically and analyze crises using a problem-solving approach. Therefore, the use of meta-cognitive skills like: problem-solving, critical-thinking, and logical reasoning enable members of the community to work collectively to create change. Above all, the effectiveness of this form of theatre lies in its power to use socio-cultural techniques to make of the interests of the community its center of attention and interest.

According to Shuchi (2015), AT as a genre of theatre affords an exceptional policy to “critically deliberate, discuss and debate the identified issues in a lively and entertaining way, thereby leading to the process of community based decision-making and collaborative action” (p. 217). It is, indeed, a collaborative action as it involves facilitators, participants, and community members who work together on a specific crisis for a determined decision.

Applied Theatre, in this regard, is viewed as a creative art form with social, political, and ethical meticulousness. It is an artistic and creative practice that is equipped with tools that allow the authentic projection of the irregularities and social scars of Moroccan female detainees. Prison Theatre attempts to motivate different operators to directly interact with incarcerated people and try to find possible strategies to reintegrate and empower them.

The choice of studying issues of Moroccan female prisoners is not arbitrary. The choice is made because theatre is meant to be a breathing space where women can “cry out their problems, their preoccupations, a third space of resistance against all forms of oppression, and marginalization” (Amrani, 2001: 142). Theatre is, in fact, a room where

female detainees can deconstruct taboos, be heard, and seen; it is an opportunity for them to release their bodies and reflections from cultural imprisonment and social slavery.

The effectiveness of AT in creating change among marginalized and excluded groups has been the subject of numerous studies; however, these studies were mostly conducted in the Western milieu. In the Moroccan context, the area of AT research is relatively new. No piece of research is undertaken to investigate the state of AT combining the study of its implementation and the assessment of its effectiveness on women's empowerment, precisely female prisoners. Accordingly, this dissertation aims to comprehensively explore the manifestation of AT in the Moroccan socio-cultural scene.

The aim in this study is to shift AT from an international context to a local setting. In fact, this study is an attempt to considerably contribute to the body of literature and enrich the theoretical and practical frame of reference for further research in the field. It tries to bring awareness to its readers of the existence of this genre of theatre practices whose goal is the betterment of women's situation as a group among the marginalized. Besides, this research, to some extent, is useful to establish effective connections between the theatre and the sector of economy, taking into consideration both the community and the marginalized segments. The findings of this study are significantly needed in order to promote AT projects in the country by providing suggestions and recommendations for stakeholders including theater practitioners, educators, civil society members, and policy makers regarding the integration and development of AT projects with social change objectives.

Finally, this dissertation seeks to offer an entryway for future researchers interested in theatre studies in general and AT in particular to expand on this field of research and challenge the existing practices. Moreover, the study at hand is a challenge to reveal the extent to which AT can make huge transformations in performing women issues; an attempt is made in this dissertation to reveal manifestations of women's empowerment through the

channel of art to create social change. It also examines the concept of women's empowerment as a foundational element in a theory of social change. Specifically, the study seeks to answer five main research questions:

- RQ1: To what extent is AT practiced in the Moroccan context?

Null Hypothesis: Applied Theatre is not yet practiced in the Moroccan context

Alternative Hypothesis: Applied Theatre is practiced in Morocco.

- RQ2: What genres of AT do Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform?

Null Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not perform all genres of AT.

Alternative Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre stakeholders manage to perform all forms of AT.

- RQ3: To what extent do the forms performed by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of AT?

Null Hypothesis: The theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not respect the general frame of AT.

Alternative Hypothesis: The theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of AT.

- RQ 4: To what extent do Moroccan theatre practitioners use AT in general and Prison Theatre in particular as a strategy to empower female prisoners?

Null Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre practitioners do not use Prison Theatre strategies to empower female prisoners.

Alternative Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre practitioners use Prison Theatre strategies to empower female prisoners.

- RQ 5: To what extent does female ex-detainees' empowerment manifest during their incarceration and after their release?

Null Hypothesis: Female ex-detainees' empowerment does not manifest neither during their incarceration nor after their release.

Alternative Hypothesis: Female ex-detainees' empowerment manifests during their incarceration and after their release.

The first research questions one and two are explored through a questionnaire. This instrument is employed to collect quantitative data related the manifestations and genres of AT in Morocco. The motivation behind choosing a questionnaire as a research instrument is to get an insider perspective on what is being studied. Importantly, as a self-reporting data collection instrument, questionnaires provide data from the respondents who can convey their thoughts in words through questions and answers. The other research questions are answered using qualitative instruments, including structured interviews and narrative interviews.

This dissertation is made up of an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. The introduction sketches the context of the study, its rationale, significance, purpose, research questions and the underlying hypotheses, research methodology, and thesis template. The first chapter explores the conceptual and theoretical framework of AT while the second outlines the conceptual and theoretical framework of empowerment in addition to its implications in the Moroccan context. The methodological design of this research is presented in chapter three; it outlines the research design and the research methodology adopted. Chapter four presents the results of the study through quantitative analysis and interpretation aiming at describing and analyzing the data gathered by means of questionnaires while chapter five and

six provide thematic analysis to the interviews. The three last chapters are devoted to analyzing and discussing the results in light of the study's research questions and hypotheses. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the findings of the investigation and the implications of the study. It also outlines the limitations and suggestions for further research.

Chapter One: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of Applied Theatre

Introduction

Theatre is consensually defined as a complex art that cannot be understood by everybody. It is a practice that addresses and provokes the thoughts of intellectuals and other groups; it is an artistic form that is different and involves a number of arts like acting, dancing, singing, directing, writing, etc. Ubersfeld (1999) assumes that theatre is an “active and creative participation of many people” (p. 4). In other words, theatre is a group’s engagement in a performance using creative and artistic techniques. Thus, it is not a work that could be practiced by one person alone; there must be a number of participants who take part in the performance.

There is no theatre without the presence of both performers and spectators. Theatre is considered to be difficult for the reason that “its fulfillment is reached only at the instant when its collective spectator becomes an audience for whom a unifying principle can be presupposed with all that is implied by way of shared credulity” (Ubersfeld,1999: 4). That is to say, a theatrical performance is accomplished only when both the audience and the performers co-interact on certain concerns, beliefs, and attitudes; it is “the production – reproduction of human actions” as Ubersfeld (1999: 4) puts it.

In view of that, theatre is the largest space in which human actions are reproduced on stage. Similarly, theatre stands as a medium by which certain social inconsistencies could be prepared to be accepted. Ubersfeld (1999) further explains that theatre is a “means by which social contradictions could be reconciled” (p, 4). In simple words, it indirectly settles social anxieties in a creative artistic and aesthetic way.

Theatre is considered to be an intricate art in the sense that it does not directly convey the meaning and the theatrical message which remains open to different interpretations. According to Ubersfeld (1999), theatre is an art that mesmerizes because “neither meaning nor the function are clear, a participation that requires analysis” (p. 4). The author assumes that theatre calls for a distinct participation in which both the meaning(s) and the function(s) are ambiguous and consequently need further interpretation and deep critical reflection.

Theatre, according to Ubersfeld (1999), has a double function in the sense that it is associated with enjoyment and reflection. The spreading view is that theatre is an art that a spectator finds entertaining. The beauty of assimilating this type of art, however, does not end up at the level of watching but it goes further. The spectator goes beyond the theatrical scenes and critically engages in the analysis of the conveyed message/s. For that reason, theatre is thought to be an art for intellectuals who do not take things for granted and can question things.

According to Magnat (2002), theatre is believed to be “more a process than an object” (p. 152). It is an artistry form that has a purpose. Thus, it is a process more than being an object which cannot accomplish its mission without engaging in a series of actions. Moreover, Feral and Bermingham (2002) assume that theatre is too closely related to real life; it tends to make of the daily life practices a subject of performance. In the same way, the authors argue that theatre is conceived of as a “live form of art that deals with human presence, that of the actor and of the spectator, and thus with relationship” (p. 162). It is a lively animated art that takes into consideration the presence of the performer and the spectator. The performer acts and the spectators follow the performance and interpret the events of the theatrical scenes later on. Thus, stage-related theatricality is characterized by the use of special language and the imposition of its regulations. Stage, the authors continue,

“must speak its own language and impose its own laws” (p. 105). The surface meaning of the language used on stage could be easily understood on the part of the viewers; however, for further analysis and interpretation, the spectators need to have critical tools to go deeper in order to understand the intended meaning.

Ubersfeld (1999) assumes that “one can understand a play without understanding its national or local allusions or without grasping a particular complex or outdated cultural codes” (p, 14). The law of theatre, however, requires further interpretations from the stand point of the spectators. In the same vein, theatre for Feral & Bermingham (2002) is a “confrontation” rather than a “meeting” (p. 157). For further elaboration, it is an intellectual art where the performer and spectator do not only meet but they are confronted with realities, ideologies, and conceptions. Consequently, theatre is a unique art; its uniqueness resides in the fact that it is a “collective phenomenon that requires a particular quality of presence and perception from performers and spectators alike” (Feral & Bermingham, 2002: 162). Theatre does not require a physical presence; it rather needs individuals with intellectual abilities.

The actor and the spectator psychologically and physically participate in the theatrical event. Ubersfeld (1999), for instance, posits that the “individual psyche invests itself within a collective relationship” (p. 31). The psychology of the participants in the scene influences the process of conceiving the theatrical events. Physically, both the actor and spectator construct a new identity which is different than their reality. Moreover, Ubersfeld (1999) proclaims that “theatre has the status of dream: an imaginary construction whose spectators know that it is radically removed from the sphere of their daily existence” (p. 24). The spreading view is that, theatre stands as an opportunity where spectators escape from their real life existence and build for themselves new conceptions about the world. Thus, theatre is the place where there is a radical shift from reality to fiction.

Theatre has been for so long a building where people express their daily life interests and anxieties. It is a place that influentially shapes thoughts and views. It has played a momentous role in society as it provides a “relatively safe way of talking back to power” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 7). Theatre is the safest place where political concerns, especially, could be addressed and social anxieties could be reduced. The stage has been used by and for people to share their stories, experiences, sufferings, and concerns. It is by nature an “aesthetic and emotional outlet allows for potential catharsis, a safe way for citizens to express their concerns, criticisms and frustration to each other and to society at large” (op cit., 2009: 7). It is where people can exteriorize their dissatisfaction about the daily concerns in an artistry form aiming at realizing a sort of “Catharsis”. According to Carlson (1993) catharsis is a “beneficial, uplifting experience whether psychological, moral, intellectual or some combination of these” (p.18, 19) that could be realized at a certain point.

Aspects of life are changing and it is not surprising that theatre is also making major transformations. Thakur (2013) assumes that theatre is “changing, improving and modifying itself to the needs of the changing situation and become relevant in society” (p. 2). Theatre as a form of art is equipping itself with appropriate instruments to meet the needs of its communities and participate in social development. It has an advanced effectual social role especially when it comes to issues that deal with “conflict resolution, cultural identification, community development, social control, social protest, spreading mass awareness in different social issues to the grass root people” (op. cit., 2013:1). It can be a mirror that reflects a wide range of dilemmas and anxieties. It is a channel via which theatre practitioners attempt to fix problems in a critical and artistic manner. Thakur (2013), in this vein, asserts that “in every corner of the development world theatre is approved as an effectual element for social change as well as behavioral change” (p.2). Theatre, thus, has proved to be an effective remedy which can be used to address social and behavioral problems.

It is a fact that theatre is an art and a process that is amusing and entertaining at the same time. Applied Theatre which is the subject of investigation in this study, however, trespasses enjoyment and attempts to realize further functions and implications.

Applied Theatre is an artistic form with social, political, and ethical responsibility. It is, indeed, a form of art that is equipped with tools that permit the real projection of the irregularities and social scars of the community. It is a podium that motivates its contributors to interact with the community and try to find possible strategies of social change. It has become, therefore, primordial for theatre theorists, and practitioners to reconsider the functions of theatre and step toward change through new forms of theatre.

The history of theatre reveals that many of the theories are based on the perception of change; theorists deconstruct previous assumptions to construct their own visions. Bertolt Brecht, for instance, has constructed the theory of epic theatre and deconstructed the Aristotelian theory. According to Squiers (2012), Brecht has focused on the vital roles that theatre could play in order to change the situation towards the better. Inspired by the Marxist theory and the dialectic ideas it conveys, he has given much consideration to the educational and provocative function that a theatre must display.

Practitioners, theorists, educators, and activists have made radical changes in the field of theatre; they have managed to establish new forms of theatre with aesthetic functions that could go in parallel with other social and political perspectives. Theorists have put theatre closer to issues related to social strata including women, the marginalized, the excluded, the elderly, the sick, the imprisoned, and others. Theatre, consequently, has turned from a self-contained art into a social practice that is engaged and integrated in the growth and development of society. It has become able to co-operate with the various initiatives that can be undertaken by Governmental and Non- governmental Organizations, and community services to sustain social change and development.

As a result, Applied Theatre (AT) has emerged as a theatrical practice that has established its own conceptions, forms, and dimensions. This research is an attempt to address AT related issues that help in creating change among Moroccan female detainees who suffer from stigmatization. The following section answers the questions below:

- How did this type of theatre emerge?
- What are its historic turning points?
- What are its cognitive, intellectual, and aesthetic backgrounds?
- What are its different typologies?
- What are its founding concepts as a practice that has its own conceptions regarding production and reception?
- What are the different perspectives that dominate the pluralism of its practice?
- What is its kinship with issues of social development?
- What is its effectiveness in addressing issues that concern society?
- How different is it from conventional theatre?
- How does the West theorize about this art in the Western theatrical experience?
- What are the extensions of this form of art in the Moroccan theatrical experience?

Section One: Definitions of Concepts and Related Issues

The spread of AT is closely related to the socio political changes that the 20th century encountered and to the new way of shaping views. Globalization, political movements, neo-liberalism, consumerism, technological development, feminism, to cite but a few, are factors that have massively contributed to the deliverance of such form of art.

1. General Background of Applied Theatre

1.1. The Early History of Applied Theatre

According to Prendergast & Saxton (2009), there are two authorities who are concerned to be early pioneers of AT: Alfred Jarry (1873–1907) and Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874–1940). They are viewed as fathers of AT because they managed to create a theatre of their own; a theatre that “challenged received-ideas of performance” (p. 8). They created theatre forms that are pro and unprecedented. By the mid of the 20th century, however, there was a huge remarkable change in the relationship built between the performers, spectators and the characteristics of a performance as well.

In fact, Prendergast & Saxton (2009) assume that the year “1968 has become for theatre historians, theorists and practitioners the dividing line between the traditional and the new theatre” (p. 8). It is in the 70’s that a new form of theatre emerged and manifested its specificities as a newly established artistic form. Theatre in the early 70’s noticed a radical change that affected theatre conceptions and perceptions.

Authorities in the field of theatre studies gained critical insights into the criteria of a new theatre that can meet the needs of societies. They, accordingly, called for a theatre of a collective participation. Stakeholders in the stream aimed at establishing a new form of theatre without any rapture with all the constituents of the daily life including social, political, artistic, economic, legal, psychological, and other life aspects.

Being aware of the fact that mainstream theatre could not create a pure space for embracing all those above mentioned features, it was significant to think of an alternative form of theatre which is authentic, collective, real, direct, and non-fictional. It was, therefore, appealing to think about a theatre that is beyond Brecht’s conceptions. Boal (1979) argues that “in Brecht’s plays, however, the unbridgeable gulf between stage and audience remains

(...) it is the dramatist or the actor who criticizes, not the audience” (p. xix). Therefore, AT appeared as an artistry form of “political and psychological liberation of direct rather than represented action, which would place the spectator no longer in an alienated and underdeveloped situation”(Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 10). New artistic forms have come into existence, with a mature vision of liberation. To this end, a new theatrical practice has manifested itself and “operates on the cutting edge between performing arts and socio-cultural intervention” (Erven, 2011: 1).

1.2. Conceptions and Perceptions of Applied Theatre

The first questions that a person may raise when hearing the term AT are: what is it? And how is it different from mainstream theatre? In order to address the first question, it can be said that the concept is a problematized issue with dissimilar meanings, that is why Nicholson (2005) defines it as “a set of interdisciplinary and hybrid practices” (p. 2). Various disciplines intersect and pave the way toward a practice that is amalgamated socially, politically, and culturally.

AT has been given different terms as a substitute including grassroots theatre, social theatre, political theatre, radical theatre and many other variations (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). However, AT is the term that has come into view as “the umbrella under which all of these prior terms and practices are embraced” (op .cit. 2009:7). It is a “very capacious portmanteau term” as acknowledged by Gieseckam (2006: 91) and many other experts in the field of theatre studies like Nicholson (2005), Taylor (2003), Taylor (2006), etc.

AT is a genre of theatre practice that could take place in different areas and fields. It could be found in Theatre for Education; Popular Theatre; Theatre of the Oppressed (TO); Theatre for Health Education (THE); Theatre for Development (TfD); Prison Theatre; Community-based Theatre; Museum Theatre; Reminiscence Theatre, as expressed in

Prendergast & Saxton (2009). In this research, there is a tendency to use the form of Theatre for Social Change and Prison Theatre which aim at creating opportunities of empowerment.

AT also draws on research in different disciplines including “philosophy and the social sciences, notably cultural studies, cultural geography, education, psychology, sociology and anthropology, as well as contributing to research in drama, theatre and performance studies” (Nicholson, 2005: 2). Therefore, AT could be seen as a hybrid practice which is not pure and limited to one area or discipline. Thus, it is a multidimensional presentation that could be approached from different perspectives.

The performance does not occur in conventional settings. That is to say, it is a show that is performed “in non-traditional settings and/or with marginalized communities” (Thompson & Jackson, 2006: 92). It puts focus on specific groups from the communities (also referred to in the literature as ‘the marginalized’) who give their performance in any space that is not a building of theatre.

The participants involved in AT could be any person belonging to marginalized groups; it could be single mothers, refugees, teenagers, low-achievers, women in difficulties, lesbians, etc. In sum, AT is a relatively new artistic form; its activists use interdisciplinary techniques for development. Its supporters work professionally to make marginalized communities meet their basic needs and rights. AT, hence, has become a buzzword in the theatrical discourse and has proven to be an interactive artistic work par excellence. The concept, according to Warstat (2017), is used as “a sort of catch-all term for theatre projects with explicit political, pedagogical, or therapeutic intensions” (p. 2). For the author, AT has straightforward intentions and deals with multi-dimensional issues seeking impact by the end. Ackroyd (2007) assumes that it is a distinctive art that has “specific intention, participation and operate beyond conventional theatre spaces” (p. 7). It widely differs from mainstream

theatre in the sense that it is an activist form of art that has missions of social change and basically operates in non-conventional theatre spaces.

AT has its own practitioners and activists; Nicholson (2005), for instance, presumes that it is “something undertaken by those who wish to touch the lives of others” (p. 166). Activists of this form of art believe that it is obligatory to go deeper in problematic situations in order to grasp its details and assimilate the status quo properly.

It is challenging to find appropriate educational strategies to deal with issues that concern development especially at the level of gender relationships. AT, however, is empowered by “a strong sense of aesthetic education and is usually centered on structured scenarios presented by teams of teaching artist facilitators” (Kovacs, 2014: 398). Facilitators opt for aesthetically adequate tactics to flexibly co-interact with the participants and build up appropriate channels to realize the potential social-development of the oppressed and the marginalized.

Gjaerum (2013), moreover, argues that the field of AT is a “heterogeneous group of practitioners and researchers who do not always agree on the terms they use” (p. 351). It is a notion with various facets and praxis. Scholars have different backgrounds; they, therefore, come up with diverse definitions. This artistic form is known by its dynamism and ability to perform and engage marginalized people, frequently in non-traditional community spaces to participate in converting their own lives (Thompson & Schechner, 2004). It is an art that embraces excluded groups in an attempt to reintegrate them within the society. According to Warstat (2017), AT has turned out to be “a rather extensive type of theatre” (p. 5). For further elaboration, it is a novel artistic practice that tackles problematic issues including what is social, political, economic, cultural, psychological, etc.

It is worth mentioning that “many who write on applied theatre – such as Nicholson, O’Toole, Taylor and many more – are from educational backgrounds” (Ackroyd, 2007: 6). It is an instructive and teaching tool that is used for the benefit of marginalized people. To interpret it differently, AT is a “means of educating young people in the processes of building a better tomorrow” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 143). The use of theatrical forms to achieve such intentions as “to inform, to unify, to instruct or to raise awareness is not new; it is the term of applied drama and theatre which is new” (Kovacs, 2014: 396). Importantly, social change is the major concern of AT’ advocates. Nicholson (2005) further describes AT as “discursive practice (...) motivated by the desire to make difference to the lives of others” (p. 16). That is, it is an art form that heavily relies upon a discourse that seeks change among communities that are made to be inferior and stigmatized.

1.3. Objectives of Applied Theatre

AT has a wide range of purposes; this newly established form of art makes of different concerns a matter of discussion and debate. It aims at investigating social, political, and/or cultural issues in an artistry manner to provoke the thoughts of a target group. It manages to form a space for dispute in non-traditional settings. According to Thompson (2003), AT as an intervention practice is different than other theatrical forms. The author believes that “much applied theatre in its ‘intentional’ form creates a practice that seeks to debate vital issues and see those concerns transformed into new stories or within unfamiliar settings” (p. 200). In sum, AT’ advocates encourage more transformative actions to create social change.

Applied Theatre as a practice brings into play selective tools and mechanisms with which change could be created. Differently put, “it is a way to provide people with a means to work their way through difficult transitory periods as an aid in seeing them safely into a new

place or time” (Thompson, 2003: 202). According to Prendergast & Saxton (2009), AT is an artistry intervention that could intrinsically influence “political reality” and facilitate the interaction between the community and the target group.

1.4. Main Contributors in an Applied Theatre Performance

The theatrical intervention is not done in an arbitrary manner; Prendergast & Saxton (2009) claim that there are three main contributors that help in the realization of the performance; “an outside organization, an outside agency commission, or a facilitator or theatre company” (p. 12). The final artistic product is an outcome of collective work; it is not the effort of one group but a team work endeavor.

1.4.1. The Outside Organization

The organization is an ensemble of different skilled and unskilled facilitators who try to elicit information from the target group and use them in the process of the theatre performance. Therefore, “the needs expressed by the community become the themes explored through theatre processes and presented back to the community as a theatre piece” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009:12). The organization is a general assembly of individuals who participate in data gathering; they attempt to collect appropriate and useful information that could be used to develop the quality of the performance.

1.4.2. The Agency Commission

The agency commission, in turn, focuses on the main objectives that a piece of theatre may accomplish after the performance. It addresses determined issues that have namely educational purposes (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). Members of the commission examine the impact of the performance on the participants and the community. The main role

of this agency is to scrutinize the success of the play by setting specific objectives that must be achieved by the end of the project.

1.4.3. The Facilitator

Importantly, a ‘facilitator or theatre company’ focuses mainly on the psychological and emotional aspects of the group. Concerning the company, for an effective community-based theatre project to be realized and in order to celebrate aspects of the community there is much focus on the psychological/emotional health of that group (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). AT examines numerous issues that concern the human life. In this respect, Nicholson (2005) assumes that among the topics that AT addresses are those related to active citizenship and democratic practice. The facilitator needs to assist the participants along the run.

The facilitator has an effective role to display; s/he spends much time within the community and the participants. For Prendergast & Saxton (2009), the facilitator has to build up a trusting space where stories and opinions can be shared without constraints and fear. It is necessary for the facilitator to be a careful listener with high analytical and critical skills. The process requires also the readiness to open dialogue and establish democratic forums with communities taking into consideration power relationships, Prendergast & Saxton (op. cit.).

2. Principals Contributing to the Effectiveness of Applied Theatre

2.1. A New Horizon of Participation

Mainstream theatre has set clear cut rules for its audience; therefore, it is not shocking to hear or read about the passivity and submissiveness of the audience of traditional theatre. Advocates of classical theatre oblige their audience to be obedient and compliant. Prendergast & Saxton (2009), for instance, presuppose that the audiences of conventional theatre are asked to come on time and turn their cell phones off, to talk neither with each

other, nor with the actors. If a spectator talks with a performer, s/he “will probably be escorted out of the premises for misconduct” (Paulus, 2006: 334). They are also forbidden from eating and or drinking. They sit in front of the stage which promotes passivity, hinders interaction, and obstructs movement. They are put in inferior position than the actors; the position of both actors and audiences is significant as it symbolizes: preference versus aversion, powerfulness versus powerlessness, superiority versus inferiority, etc. Still, the audiences sit in darkness and actors are given much importance by making the stage lit. All in all, the audiences in conventional theatre are pieces of furniture-like; they are there to give a round of applause to the performance by the end. In actual fact, Paulus (2006) acknowledges that the audience of traditional theatre is expected to “quietly receive the event, only making noise at solicited moments” (p. 334).

The role of an audience, however, has immensely changed with the emergence of AT. The docile body turns into an interactive member that heavily contributes to the making-process of the play. The performers no longer need people to appreciate the performance; they, rather, need individuals with critical reflections and active integration. Paulus (2006) further proclaims that it has become indispensable to “wake up the audience, create freedom for the audience, break all the rules of audience etiquette, and position the audience as a collaborator” (p. 335). The audiences, accordingly, play a crucial role especially when AT performances are concerned.

Applied Theatre has proven to be a ‘participatory’ theatre form in which many people are involved in the topic and the theatrical performance. The audiences need to be put at the central position and not to be overlooked; they have become participants, collaborators, and partners. Paulus (2006), additionally, argues that to spotlight on the relationship between the audience and performance is a must because “the heart of the theatre is what happens between the performer and spectator” (p. 335). The value of the audience should be re-

considered and, the author continues, “it is now the audience’s turn to take the stage” (p.345). The stage is no more made for the performers solely; it is a space that should be shared between the facilitators, participants, and audience alike.

Prentki & Preston (2009) argue that the primary principle of AT is to permit participants find out their inherent capacities “for play, for imagination, for creativity, and for relating to others by exploring the self in the other and the other in the self” (p. 93). The role of the facilitator is not limited to facilitate acting; it goes beyond and necessitates searching for the hidden abilities of the purposefully made-silent minorities. To this end, an AT work entails “participation for liberation” (p.148).

It is not easy to change theatre norms for the sake of creating change among communities. It is an added value when passive audiences turn out to be productive, collaborative, and interactive participants. It is a step forward to make the stage an adequate place to talk about the daily confrontations of vulnerable communities.

Prendergast & Saxton (2009) assume that “we must honor the culture, rituals and characteristics of their context in order to enhance the flow of meaning” (p. 189). A society that is able to change normative assumptions is worth admiring and congratulating. The audiences need to be glorified because they are the core of the performance and “their feedback needs to be constantly encouraged and not seen as something that only happens at appropriate or safe moments” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 190). The feedback of the audience stands as an alternative strategy to develop the content of the performance and or discussion.

2.2. The Inspiring Community

Importantly, AT’s advocates are known for their ability to work not only with audiences, but also with “local community who are central to their practice, especially when

members of that community become resources for the information upon which the work is based and may also be performers in the project” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 190). Supporters of AT work in corporation with groups who actively participate in the making of an appropriate data base that is useful for the performance. To this end, it is central to reinforce community joint ventures and partnerships that can only be effectively built through “taking time to build relationships and communicative networks” (Maiter, et al, 2008: 306). The performers should always aim at establishing good relationships with communities and open the mediums of communication to get updated.

Thakur (2013) acknowledges that the effectiveness of the performance strongly relies upon the active “participation of local people, the use of local languages and dialect and addressing local problems increase the acceptability of theatre” (p. 5). The integration of local participants and the use of a dialect that is easily understood on the part of both participants and facilitators help in the construction of discourse that effectively addresses the anxiety of the marginalized community in an artistic way.

The facilitators must be very careful and cautious in the way they proceed the developmental issues, especially those of stigmatized communities. Thakur (op. cit.), further assumes that the fact of presenting the performance “in a form of edutainment gives a new insight to the community members and enhance the possibility of discussion” (p.5). Broadly, issues that concern development should be presented in a double-faced way: educating and entertaining to open up discussion with community members and to get further information.

2.3. Reconsidering the Role of Donors

Sympathizers and activists in the field of AT are responsively conscious of the role that a donor could display in developing the process of the performance. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) suppose that “often, in addition to building a relationship with the community,

there will be a partnership with a funding body, donor organization or institution” (p. 190). The practitioners ought to consider the contribution of the benefactors as they help in the funding of the work/ project. There are institutions and organizations that collaborate financially for the well-being of stigmatized minorities.

It is vital to consider the quality of interaction between the members involved in the performance. In other words, it is appealing to measure the extent to which the facilitators, community members (audience/ participants), and donors actively integrate themselves to set a presentative performance. Moreover, it is necessary to ensure the eminence of relationship built between members of the play as well as power relations.

The funding body is aware of the importance of the financial backing; however, financial support does not come from without; the funding body contributes only if promises of change are made. Ackroyd (2007) in this context affirms that “by stepping into applied, we are more vulnerable to demands for outcomes, the funding comes with the promise of change” (p. 5).

2.4. The Integral Participation of the Audience

According to Prendergast & Saxton (2009), the audience could participate “verbally and, in some cases, physically with the performance and their presence may be acknowledged by the performers before, during and/or afterwards” (p. 21). That is, the spectators are involved in the making process of the performance at any stage. Their participation is welcomed and acknowledged. O’Toole (1976) presupposes that the participation of the audience is “integral” (p. 104).

This integral participation of the audience has an effect over the performance; it gives the show a quality end product. Additionally, in a mainstream theatre, the audience is given the opportunity to watch the performance and then leave the setting by the end

postponing the discussion and analysis for an unknown time. In AT performance, however, the spectators are given a room where they can express their feelings and attitudes towards the theatrical scenes. For O'Toole (1976), as long as there is an "extrinsic" participation of the audience (p. 88); there is more space created for them to share and respond to the issues and events disclosed in the play. The real integration of the audience can never happen without the on-going technical efforts of the facilitator.

2.5. Forms of Theatre: A Deeper Insight

2.5.1. Representational Theatre

In order to have an understanding of AT, it is primordial to grasp the fact that there are two distinctive forms of theatre: representational and presentational. A representational theatre has its own tools and techniques. It characterizes individuals, and settings including time and place that are distinctive from the "contemporary reality" as suggested by (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 12). That is, a representational theatre has its own standards which help in the making of a new "fictional and hypothetical onstage world" represented by performers who are deliberately veiled with imaginary masks, (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 12).

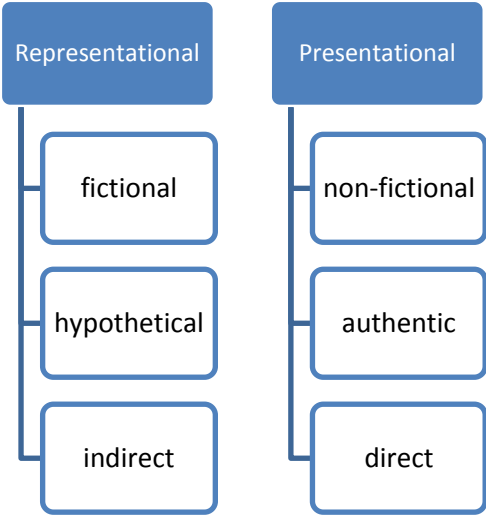
2.5.2. Presentational Theatre

On the other hand, presentational theatre is an artistic form that has its aims and methods; it puts much concentration on performing a non-fictional theatrical piece. It also helps in the presentation of "authentic contemporary reality" (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 12). To elucidate, the performer in an AT piece presents a real character living the experience not representing it. The actor enables the audience to be close to the details presented and the manifestations of the performance in general. However, a presentational piece is not all the time portrayed; it is "the most often manifests in applied theatre practice" (op. cit., 2009: 13).

According to Beckerman (1990), there are apparent distinctive features of representational and presentational performance. A theatrical presentation is any form of theatre in which a “direct presentation” is employed, (p. 110). The performer explicitly “acknowledges the presence of the audience and presents the show making that acknowledgement explicit” Beckerman (op. cit.). On the contrary, in the ‘indirect’ presentation (representation), the actor hypothetically does not ‘admit’ the presence of the audience through the use of fictional tools.

To this end, the following hierarchical figure summarizes the disparities between representational and presentational forms.

Figure 1 : A Summary of the Main Differences between Presentational and Representational Theatre



In sum, theatre forms vary from representational and presentational. AT as a practice advocates the use of a presentational performance that is explicit, direct, authentic, and non-fictional. Throughout these criteria, AT acknowledges the presence of its audience in a direct manner.

3. Major Sub-categories of Applied Theatre

Applied Theatre is an art with a duty to execute; its primary mission is to reassert or to undermine socio-political norms. Different are the sub-categories of AT; we can name Theatre in Education, Popular Theatre, Theatre of the Oppressed, Forum Theatre, Theatre for Health Education, Theatre for Development, Prison Theatre, Community-based Theatre, Museum Theatre, Reminiscence theatre, etc. Each form differs than the other in terms of its content, strategies, assessment, and purpose.

Prendergast & Saxton (2009) assume that Reminiscence Theatre, Community-based Theatre and Museum Theatre have common characteristics. They are most often celebrations of remembrance and history. These forms of theatre are commemorations of historical events that need to be remembered and glorified. On the contrary, Theatre of the Oppressed, Popular Theatre, Theatre in Education, Theatre for Health Education and Theatre for Development take place in order to promote change and undermine the status quo. Still, Prison Theatre has educational purposes; its main objective is to be reflective and/or rehabilitative. All in all, the most important function of this form of theatre, according to Prendergast & Saxton (2009) is to wake up the audience to its rights and responsibilities.

3.1. Theatre in Education (TIE)

TIE is a theatre form that is developed in 1960s mainly in England. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) suggest that it is one of the major significant roots of AT practice, mutually with political/popular theatre. Like other forms of theatre, it hugely depends on the physical, emotional and intellectual contribution of the participants. Hennessy (1998) further proclaims that it is a learning experience activity that is socially-oriented in which the audience and actors.

This type of theatre requires the use of a wide range of theatre forms and exercises in institutions, schools, universities, and other educational places. TIE aims at provoking the thoughts of students; it seeks to open dialogue across the educational spaces and raise awareness among students regarding community issues (Burgoyne, et.al, 2008) and Davis, 2014). On the whole, TIE entails the use of different educational tactics, strategies, exercises, and forms to address concerns of cultural diversity, identity, power, difference, and acceptance. Accordingly, Theatre in Education' teachers should create contexts to engage their students in conversations about social change and sustainable development.

3.2. Popular Theatre (PT)

Popular theatre is generally referred to as grassroots theatre. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) argue that it has a long history; it is a theatre form that has been created to address the apprehensions and lives of ordinary people. It usually deals with mythologies and folk tales that have flourished worldwide. It is popular because it tries to engage the whole community, not a specific group based on its gender, class, or education.

According to Butterwick & Selman (2003), Popular Theatre is a “creative approach to analyzing, naming, and acting on problems and working creatively with conflict” (p. 8). To put it differently, it is a creative art that intends to elevate the critical awareness of its participants and audiences; it also enables them to take actions and try to find possible solutions to their problems.

3.3. Theatre of the Oppressed (TO)

Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) is a genre of art that is developed by Augusto Boal in order to respond to the social and political disorder. Boal's theatre is based on the breaking down of the fourth wall between actor and audience; it hugely depends on the encouragement

and involvement of the audience. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) suggest that Boal's theatre works with disenfranchised communities who are deprived of their rights and privileges; these communities include: deprived groups and unskilled participants who are helped to discover their own lives, sufferings, difficulties, and socio-political oppressions. Boal plans to convert the spectator into an actor which he called the "spect-actor". Theatre, for him, is a method in which different strategies are used to create discussions toward social change and more self-expression.

Boal suggests a theatre that is different; he introduces performances that do not provide answers for the audience's anxieties. He claims that theatre offers resources which can be used in order to examine all paths of life. For him, the theatrical forms are undoubtedly a "rehearsal for revolution" (Boal, 2001: 141). Oppressed people need to have a platform where they can suggest, share, and present the solution as well as resolution. Stage, therefore, is a medium to test and witness the solutions in action.

3.4. Forum Theatre (FT)

In talking about when Forum Theatre was born Boal (2001) says:

"I was unable to understand what a spectator was saying to me when she wanted us to improvise her thoughts, and I invited her to come up on stage and show, herself, what she had in mind. I invited her to enact her thoughts, instead of just speaking them" (p.309).

Boal assumes that the reaction of one of his spectators plays a great role in the appearance of what is referred to as Forum Theatre. This form of theatre takes place as a means and an effective strategy for the audience to take part on stage and to speak their own ideas. Boal as a raconteur makes the story of that audience very known through his frequent

narration of the event. Dwyer (2004) acknowledges that Forum Theatre is the most widely used technique from the Theatre of the Oppressed; this technique would have never taken place without the intervention of a special spectator. To reiterate briefly, the story is about a woman among the audience who is “a very large, powerful woman—built like one of those Japanese “sumo” fighters” Dwyer (op. cit., 2004:199). That spectator has strongly berated Boal for not coaching his performers to try her own suggestion as a way to solve a problematic situation between a husband and wife. The woman, luckily, had not stopped there and tried to see the actress playing the role of the wife which resulted, accordingly, to meeting Boal for discussion and alternative suggestions.

Briefly, FT, as a technique, is still in “its infancy, and much research and experimentation will be required before this new form reaches its full maturity” (Boal, 2005: 253). Differently put, it is a technique that is still at the phase of examination; experts in the field of theatre are trying to find appropriate strategies and ways of working to develop this technique.

Technically, the play in a FT is presented two times. According to Prendergast & Saxton (2009), the play at the first time is presented directly and during the second time around, the audience (spect-actor) has an occasion to recognize any scene of oppression with a depressing ending and have it re-played. During the re-playing, the spect-actor is welcomed to stop the scene at any stage replacing the protagonist with another person who may express the idea in a different and effective way. They further acknowledge that the problematic scene can be repeated with a number of spect-actor interventions until a pleasurable scene is realized and an agreed upon solution is reached. Therefore, the main intention of FT is not only to offer a space for discussion and reflection but also as a practice for real action toward real change.

3.5. Theatre in Health Education (THE)

Theatre in Health Education (THE) has become an educational tool that emerged in the 80's and 90's in response to the crisis of the spread of AIDS at that time. Bury, Popple & Barker (1998) presuppose that THE is a recent practice that combines two different disciplines: theatre in education and health education. The initiative of THE is introduced to address issues of the safety and well-being of humanity.

Prendergast & Saxton (2009) see that it was neither effective nor relevant to talk about the hazards of unsafe sex using traditional methods; it was, therefore, primordial to think about an alternative way to communicate ideas about the problematic situation and to inform people using new techniques. For that reason, THE emerged as an entertaining strategy to educate the audiences more about the importance of safe sex practices and other health issues. Some of these issues include “disability awareness (visible and invisible), drug abuse, child abuse, effective parenting, mental health, elder abuse, safe driving, sex education, safe/clean water, head injuries awareness, workplace safety and organ donation” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 87).

Ball (1994) assumes that practitioners of THE and TIE have seven characteristics in common; they both require affective and cognitive involvement, use active learning, try to explore attitudes and values, entail role-taking; highlight self-empowerment; consider the aspect of being a human, and involve a community dimension. THE often addresses thorny topics which are to some extent not ethical to talk about in public and it is of paramount importance to opt for appropriate techniques to address the issue. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) assume that it is obligatory to take into account the complexity of the topic and to be careful about the theatrical device to use in order to address the issue utilizing signs, symbols, and metaphors to guarantee the safety and security of both facilitators and participants alike.

It is encouraged to use “puppetry, mask, simulated video game, traditional cultural entertainment forms” (p.89) in order to provide the audiences with a greater protection.

3.6. Theatre for Development (TfD)

Theatre for Development (TfD) is a theatrical practice that is known especially in developing countries. For Prendergast & Saxton (2009), TfD is generally seen as a powerful educational tool for audiences struggling namely with illiteracy, poverty, corruption, etc. It is a creative form that is enlightening, instructive and edifying; it focuses more on verbal and interactive methods of performance.

Chinyowa (2007) argues that TFD aims at questioning and cross-examining the structures of fixed reality so as to “un-fix” them, (p. 37). It also tries to challenge the dominant ideology and to re-order the received unities of setting and character to create change in developing communities. This genre of theatre has a mission to fulfill; Odhiambo (2001) assumes that TfD needs “to alter and transform attitudes, habits and behaviors that are oppressive in nature and that come between a community and its imaginations towards development” (p. 86). Simply put, the main role of TFD has a transformative and developing nature. It seeks to change attitudes, habits, and oppressive behavior in order to enable the oppressed communities to develop themselves.

3.7. Prison Theatre (PT)

On the larger scale, theatre has proved to be an instructive tool that is used for different objectives. It is an instrument that manifests itself in schools, institutions, health centers, streets, neighborhoods, as well as in prisons and rehabilitative centers.

Theatre in the context of prison provides “inmates with an emotional and exceptional escape from the environmental constraints of prison life” (Shailor, 2010: 8). It is an

opportunity for prisoners to overcome the reality of not enjoying freedom through theatre praxis. In brief, it is a practical setting where both facilitators and participants can discover and convey multiple aspects of “what is meant to be human” (Shailor, 2010: 8)

PT and other forms of art develop the lives of inmates worldwide. According to Shailor (2010), the practice of theatre is a technique that affords prisoners with mechanics to determine and unfold their own thoughts. It is, indeed, an effective tool that allows the prisoners to voice out their opinions and to experience life with a “sense of personal freedom and capacity” (p.8). In other words, prison theatre is a window that enables those imprisoned to enjoy their personalized freedom in an artistic way.

Through the artistic self-expressions, creativity, and self-discovery, the inmates are helped to gain a sense of “renewed hope in themselves and their future” (op. cit., 2010, 8). Therefore, it has become a responsibility to think about theatrical programs with well-defined objectives, procedures, implementation strategies, results and assessment methods that can support the correctional duty and guarantee the successfulness of the mission. PT is another form of art that neither commemorates history nor does it attempt to change the social and political status quo. On the contrary, this form of art has an educational and rehabilitative purpose. It aims at empowering the imprisoned as well as waking up their consciousness of rights and responsibilities.

In a nutshell, the overall mission of PT initiatives’ is to make a change in the lives of prisoners as well as “humanize the culture of corrections” (op. cit., 2010: 8)). It is needed to double the efforts in order to address issues such as identity, self-expression, freedom, community, and creativity. The theatrical proposals should provide the prisoners with more opportunities where they can develop their self- awareness, human side, and moral imagination.

3.8. Community-based Theatre (CBT)

“Grassroots theatre”, “local theatre”, “ensemble theatre”, “people’s theatre” are alternatives that are interchangeably used with CBT (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). Backers of this genre of theatre work on stories that have specific characteristics; they focus on performances that are “celebratory or critical, or a combination of both” (p. 135)

This genre of theatre habitually engages a group of community members who collectively investigate and present a performance-based on a shared concern. Participants in the Community based Theatre performance need to make sure that the reflection and attitudes of participants, at large, are expressed and represented in the performance (op. cit., 2009: 135). Advocates of this form of art believe that it is a theatre that challenges accepted convictions and beliefs; every member in the group, therefore, works to establish community actions that can contribute in social change.

It is, however, challenging to work intimately with a specific community group to work closely with members of the community has an anthropological nature and stipulates living with that community for a period of time. It is a field work that can last for months or years. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) proclaim that it takes the participants’ months with a community in order to discover information that are hidden like: secret stories, rituals, traditions, customs and other cultural practices.

CBT supporters aim at bringing communities together. They make of issues of “racism, class divisions, loss of heritage” and other concerns their primary anxieties (Prendergast & Saxton,2009: 136). This form of theatre enables communities to share and reflect upon their own histories, experiences, and circumstances. In short, all CBT’ practitioners should appreciate the notion of ‘community’ and address issues that concern community in a strategic manner to create change.

3.9. Museum Theatre (MT)

Museum Theatre (MT) is not about the replication and duplication of the past; it is about questioning history in an artistic way. Jackson & Kidd (2007) presuppose that MT is about “enlivening, providing insights into, and indeed posing questions about, the subject-matter of a museum exhibition” (p. 2). It is about engaging the visitors through turning them into active audiences. It is a communicative process in which the curiosity of the visitors/ audience must be raised. Supporters of MT believe that this genre of theatre aims at connecting visitors with their personal lives and apprehensions in the here and now (op. cit., 2007: 2). Therefore, the learners (participants) should be put at the center of the experience. Importantly still, Hughes, Jackson & Kidd (2007) assume that MT is about “the use of theatre and theatrical techniques as a means of mediating knowledge and understanding in the context of museum education” (p. 680). Differently put, it is a theatrical technique that is used as an intermediary between actors working at the museum and the visitors/ audiences to convey an educational message.

In sum, MT, like any AT form, faces many challenges and obstacles. One of its common challenges is to turn the casual museum visitor into either an audience or participatory role, (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). MT audiences are accidental audiences because they are not frequently coming to a museum for a theatre practice. Another challenge lies in the fact that it is a life-long learning process; actors should conduct a lot of research regarding the historical concerns that are target of performance. One more challenge is the obligation of repeating the scenarios and monologues several times every day (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). Therefore, the responses of the visitors as audiences and or as participants are positive as long as there is effective training as argued by Davies (2004).

3.10. Reminiscence Theatre (RT)

Reminiscence was relatively a new idea in the early 1980s and the fact of talking about the past was something evitable and not encouraged. However, RT project develops dramaturgically as a form of political AT that “can be created within a performative paradigm” (Gjærum, 2013: 239). It is a form of art that aims at “improving the lives of real people using artistic techniques” (Schweitzer, 2007: 7).

This genre of art uses TIE techniques and strategies. The performances, based on the memories and reminisces, are basically performed in non-theatre buildings. The space should be accepted and comfortable for the participants. RT is used to “generate the recall of memories and experiences of the elderly” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 169). The stories include memories that are enjoyable and exciting; they are technically and aesthetically developed to engage the elderly in the performance (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). Promoters of RT believe that the past is not a property of old people solely; memories are, accordingly, shared as a problem solving strategy in the present. Besides, reminiscence is a stimulation of self-esteem and self-worth; it is a pleasurable activity for older people (Schweitzer, 2007).

As it is a new theatrical form, RT supporters assume that “all those involved had much to learn, experimenting by trial and error” (op. cit., 2007:40). Differently put, it is a form of art that is in its infancy and needs artistic attempts, examinations and experimentations to be fully-fledged.

To gather stories from old people is scientifically oriented; RT is, therefore, a research-based performance. According to Schweitzer (2007), there are two main research techniques that can be used in order to gather stories from older people for reminiscence theatre: the one to one interview and the group discussion and it is needed to record the sessions.

The value of reminiscence theatre is that it uses theatre to put the stories of the elderly into performances that provide meaning and authentication. RT is an inspiration and motivation to promote “reconnection and respect for the past through the conversations that ensue after the performance” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 170).

To conclude, Applied Theatre is an umbrella term under which many forms of theater take place including Theatre in Education, Popular Theatre, Theatre of the Oppressed, Forum Theatre, Theatre for Health Education, Theatre for Development, Prison Theatre, Community-based Theatre, Museum Theatre, and Reminiscence Theatre. Every theatre form of the above stated ones has its own characteristics, features, techniques, assessment, and mission.

Some theatre forms like Reminiscence Theatre, Community-based Theatre and Museum Theatre have some characteristics in common. The performance-makers collaborate in providing a genre of art that above all honor and venerate historical events in an artistic manner. Other forms of theatre, however, aim at creating change at the socio-political level; these theatre forms comprise: Theatre of the Oppressed, Popular Theatre, Theatre in Education, Theatre for Health Education, and Theatre for Development/ Theatre for Social Change.

4. Characteristics of the Performer and the Audience in Applied Theatre

Performance has been a constituent which is of paramount importance in AT. In order for a performance to take place, different people should cooperate to build up the work. The performers in the majority of AT projects rang “from highly skilled professionals to community participants with little or no experience” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 20). Hence, it is not a prerequisite for a performer in AT work to be a professionally skilled artist.

4.1. Characteristics of the Performer

Applied Theatre is meant to be an artistic collaborative interaction between the facilitator, the participant, and the audience. Members of the performance participate in the building of the artistic work and collaborate to guarantee social change.

Professional actors are required to be flexible and compliant. That is, they should be “adaptable to ever-changing conditions” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 20). They should master the different artistic skills ranging from acting, singing, to dancing. A professional actor in AT is an individual able to integrate himself/ herself in the different processes of the play-building.

According to Prendergast & Saxton (2013), professional actors are referred to by as ‘facilitators’ or ‘practitioners’. A facilitator/ practitioner is a “name given to a theatre/drama artist who most often comes from outside the locations into which he or she enters to work, often in partnership with non-government organizations, businesses, social agencies or institutions” (xii). A majority of participants in AT projects are not skillful artistically. However, all the actors are activists who have common concerns and interests.

Facilitators, therefore, have to take care of the group as well as to teach “necessary performance skills” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 20). That is, skillful actors are obliged to help those participants with no or less knowledge on theatre practice. They must also support them to learn the way to engage in the different processes of the presentation. Thus, the facilitators and participants alike develop a high esteem, motivation, and self-admiration through their collective work.

Worth mentioning here is that it is the stage which provides the participants with opportunities to disclose their realities without anxiety; the stage also helps the participants to cross the already made social and cultural borders. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) affirm that

“by participating in building and/or performing a fictional or parallel world, audiences (and players) gain the kind of distance that sets them free from their own bodies, specific situations and lives” (p. 191) . The stage allows the participants along with the facilitators to talk about unspoken and hidden issues.

4.2. Characteristics of the Audience

As far as the audiences of AT are concerned, they are groups of people interested in the issue tackled in the play. Those performances “are most often played in spaces that are not usually defined as theatre buildings” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 16). They are performed in non- conventional settings and the audience is supposed to attend and participate in the theatrical scene. The performance tries to find social connections among members of the community especially those in difficulties to make a “difference in the human life span” (Taylor, 2006: 9). It could be inferred that an AT work gives voice to the voiceless and attempts to integrate different people to cover a human dilemma.

The spectators of theatre are of different interests and objectives. Every theatre has its own viewers and interests. There are two illustrious types of audiences as suggested by (Schechner, 2003: 220); they are “accidental and integral”.

4.2.1. The Accidental Audience

According to the author, an accidental audience is “a group of people who, individually or in small clusters, go to the theater – the performances are publically advertised and open to all” (op. cit., 2003: 220). It is an individual or a number of people who go to watch a performance that is open to all. He proclaims that an accidental audience pays more attention than integral audience for specific reasons. He argues that the accidental audience “chooses to attend”; moreover, “its members attend as individuals or in small clusters so that

large crowd action is unlikely – each spectator or small group is a stranger among strangers” (Schechner, 2003, 221). The fact of being a strange member among a huge crowd is a motivating factor to pay attention to the tiny details of the performance. That is to say, the attention paid by the accidental audience is closer than that by an integral audience.

4.2.2. The Integral Audience

An integral audience, however, refers to an individual or a group of people who “come because they have to or because the event is of special significance to them” (op. cit., 2003: 220). Integral audiences, for instance, may include the relatives, friends, or acquaintances of the participants or the facilitators. This is based on the belief that those who know one another are more likely to be involved with and support each other. This type of audience is characterized by the social relationships built between them and members of the performance.

Additionally, an integral audience “often knows what’s going on – and not paying attention to it all is a way of showing off that knowledge” (op. cit., 2003: 220). The fact of having prior knowledge on the content of the performance makes the integral audience shows less or no attention to the performance. Importantly, even the duration of the theatrical piece can hinder the degree of attention because “sometimes the duration of a performance is so long that it isn’t possible to pay attention throughout” (Schechner, 2003: 222).

In brief, the objectives of the audience vary according to their interests; an accidental audience, for example, comes “to see the show” out of choice, whilst an integral audience is “necessary to accomplish the work of the show” (op. cit., 2003:220). In other words, some performances are never accomplished without the primordial presence of its integral audience while the attendance of accidental audiences is voluntary and optional.

In sum, the “behavior of people as spectators differs greatly depending on whether these individuals comprise an integral or accidental audience” (Schechner, 2003:221). The difference between these two types of audiences lies in the fact that an accidental audience goes to see the show out of desire and choice and the attendants and spectators are strange for them; therefore, much attention is paid. Nonetheless, an integral audience is part of the show and knows well what is going on as events and themes; to this end, less attention is paid. More importantly still, the length of the performance affects the attention of the audience.

Section Two: Theoretical Framework of Applied Theatre

1. Theoretical Conceptions

Applied Theatre (AT) is a practice that is open to dealing with different issues from a wide range of perspectives. Therefore, it is difficult to confirm that there is a special theory that frames AT praxis. However, there are ‘theorists’ who have influenced theatre practitioners and make them believe in the foundation of a new form of theatre that can intervene socially, politically, and economically. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) presuppose that “there are three writers whose theory and practice are of particular interest as we explore the antecedents of AT: Armand Gatti, John O’Toole and Augusto Boal” (p. 10). In this respect, the following sub-sections will demonstrate the conceptions of those theoreticians.

1.1. Armand Gatti’s Conception

Theatre is not only a form of amusement, it is also a “stimulation of action: a force designated to liberate audiences from established notions, enabling them, thereby, to acquire new insights and meaningful experiences” (knapp, 1969: 57). Armand Gatti, is a revolutionary dramatist, who has “entirely rejected almost all established ideas and conventions of the theatre, replacing them with a highly original technique in order to create personal, positive and powerful dramatic spectacles” (knapp, 1969: 407). For this

revolutionary theatre artist, theatre had a special purpose; it should permit “the disinherited classes” to generate a theatre that reflected their interests “not through performances for them but with them” (op. cit., 1969: 407).

Like Artaud, Gatti aims at liberating theatre from the classical dependence of “sequential time” and aims at establishing a “rationally conceived time sequences” (Knapp, 1969: 407). Gatti considers himself as a “catalyst of the creative powers of the people of the community” (Knowles, 1989: 202). Differently put, he considered himself as a medium that could help people who cannot express their interests and social life struggling; he was the voice of his community.

Gatti wants to establish new notions of theatre in which the performer can act in past, present, and future through the use of “flash time” technique (Knapp, 1970: 59). For him, the audience and the actors need to express themselves on an equal basis. The theatrical piece, therefore, is viewed as podium for discussion and negotiation; it is more than an artistry work. It paves the way to opening a room for thought-sharing and self-disclosure.

Gatti tries hard to “provoke audiences to react viscerally and emotionally by assaulting their senses, thereby, forcing them to participate in his spectacles; the aim of course is to alter the audiences’ point of view” (Knapp, 1976: 407). The world for him is a stage-like; it should not be “circumscribed or falsified with stock and unrealistic characters or with a paralyzing destructivism” (op. cit., 1976: 409). Theatre, according to Gatti, should be presentative not representative.

1.2. O’Toole’s and Boal’s Conceptions

The effectiveness of theatre has gone through much debate and discussion on the part of theatre practitioners. O’Toole, for example, is one of the first practitioners who call for new strategies of theatre. He, therefore, sets new objectives and techniques of theatre as a practice.

O'Toole (1976) assumes that diverse tactics that can be used in order to have an effectual show at the end process. The most efficient technique which he advocates is the "integral participation" (p. 88) of the audience. For him, it is a privilege to make the audience directly integrated in the show. Their participation is an added value to the quality of the play as it gives more charm and creativeness. Accordingly, the author presupposes that the integral participation of the audience is a strategy that is "worth exploring in more depth and more frequently" (O'Toole, 1976:97). The audience's integral participation for both O' Toole and Boal has a different meaning than the one developed by Schechner (2003).

1.3. Boal's Conception

The new approachable strategy of integrating the audience in the theatrical performance has been an unprecedented technique in AT studies. Boal was inspired by Freire's work in the sense that much of the ideas of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* were used by Boal to develop *Theatre of the Oppressed*. Boal was also inspired by O'Toole's visions; therefore, he borrowed the concept, technique, and implication in his own theatre practice 'Forum Theatre'. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) assume that the fact of involving the audience in the performance "before, during or after the performance, and sometimes all three (...) is a consistent characteristic of all forms of applied theatre" (P.11). To this end, it is a prerequisite to give the audience a room of their own to interact with the participants and make the voiceless voiced out.

Generally speaking, AT is a phenomenon that is artistic and that has its own characteristics. These characteristics are summarized by Prendergast & Saxton (2009) as follows:

1. Center the attention on several perspectives.
2. Ignore time sequence.

3. Keep the ending open for discussion and debate.
4. More use of body language, images, and movement with less use of words.
5. More dependence on polished improvisation.
6. Use of theatre as a means to reflect on walks of life.
7. Use of theatre to raise awareness among groups.
8. Use of theatre to generate social change.
9. Work on local issues.
10. Integrate the audience in the process (p. 11)

As shown above, there are copious standards that characterize AT. The most important ones are its reliance on movement, images, and polished improvisation in the process of their collective portrayal of actual life, aiming at making a change through an ending that is open to question and discussion. The power of AT stands in the active integration of its audience in the making of action/s. Jackson (1993) assumes that the integration of the audience is not important only in plays; it is an effective way of stimulation in classroom too. The author posits that the “more you move towards the notion of audience participation, the more you move towards the traditional participatory lesson, being held in a classroom” (p. 137).

There is an assortment of economic, social, and political factors that affect the wave of AT and motivate theatre practitioners and theorists to think about new standards and strategies of theatre. The end of the twentieth century has known a huge number of events which affected not only theatre but other sectors as well. Creative thoughts were influenced by the “fall of the Berlin Wall, feminism, globalism, the Space Race, chaos and complexity theory, and the rise of the individual ready to question authority and ask “Who holds the power?” and “By what right?” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 11). Theatre practitioners,

educationalists, and critics develop a new alertness about the specificities and characteristics of new forms of theatre that are beyond the traditional frame; they consequently put the pillars of an AT that serves the humanity, community, and its development.

2. The Pillars of Applied Theatre

Applied Theatre is a systematic practice whose practitioners and advocates put many considerations on a esthetics, ethics, and assessment.

2.1. The Renewed Aesthetic

Along with the significance of participation, ‘aesthetics’ is a key principle in A T. The interest of aesthetics is not new but renewed. In other words, the beauty and quality of an artistic work has taken for so long too much consideration; however, the issue of aesthetics has recently gained further attention. Aesthetics is a quality matter which AT advocates cannot for any reason trespass. It is a fact that “the aesthetics has been marginalized in the critical debate” (Prentki & Preston, 2009:19). Differently interpreted, most of the attention is given to the theatrical performance and its poetics. Therefore, it has become a preliminary to consider aesthetics and it is high time to give value to its importance. However, we still need a “reminder of the importance of aesthetics in the field of applied theatre” (Haseman & Winston, 2010: 474). It is, indeed, an issue with much significance in the effectiveness of the work and without aesthetics; AT cannot be “soothing” as affirmed by Gjaerum (2014: 358). Therefore, O’Toole (2004) argues that aesthetics is a multi-dimensional issue that is “morally neutral and so we have to be careful how we use it” (p. 12).It needs to be tackled with much caution.

In general, AT or what is referred to as Theatre for Social Change “does not have a unique aesthetic but, like other forms of applied and political theatre seeks cultural forms of expression” (Thoronton, 2012: 5). Its aesthetics are distinct because its sympathizers opt for

newly formed ways of expressing woes and sufferings. Accordingly, AT aesthetics gain its power through drawing on “an outsider narrative, telling stories that are often hidden or ignored” (Thornton, 2012, 5). The story is neither told by a playwright nor presented on the part of an actor; it is narrated by concerned minorities. The performance is an opportunity whereby the hidden is uncovered, the ignored becomes important, and the unspoken is told.

To Prendergast & Saxton (2009), aesthetics refer to the verity of “qualities of an artistic work” (p. 25), which could be identified within an artistic performance. The manifestations of aesthetics are part of the quality of the work. Haseman & Winston (2010) assume that “aesthetic knowledge had its own value and contributed to understanding based on rational knowledge” (p. 466). In other words, aesthetics help in understanding the depth of the artistic work and go beyond words. It is a tool to raise people’s awareness about the most important messages and meanings. Moreover, the concept is redefined “to connect beauty to the sensory as distinct from the conceptual” (Haseman & Winston, 2010). Simply put, aesthetics is about beauty and sensory; it is consciousness and sensation not conceptualization.

For further elaboration, Kant (1987) argues that aesthetic is linked with the sensory. He assumes that “aesthetic judging is directly referred to the feeling of pleasure and displeasure” (p. 53). It concerns how people feel about a specific action, image, discourse, scene, etc. Importantly, Abbs (1987) presupposes that aesthetic is “a mode of sensuous knowing that is essential for the life and development of consciousness; aesthetic response is inevitably, through its sensory and physical operations, cognitive in nature” (p. 53). In other words, aesthetics help in the maturity of people’s consciousness to produce an appropriate understanding of the content.

The main interest of an AT work is “achieving an emancipator or life-changing impacts with participants and audiences” (Haseman & Winston, 2010: 467). To free the

participants and audiences from bondage is challenging; however, aesthetics help in the creation of the notions of dis/interestedness; it also helps in determining value judgments regarding the performance and the problems it addresses.

The appreciation of a piece work is a big concern in AT. According to Kant (1987), the existence of an object has implication. Accordingly, the aesthetic is “directly related to how the object appears to our senses the way it is” (p. 204); the appearance of the object, therefore, may lead to the development of an interest and pleasure regarding the work performed. However, Berleant (1994) claims that to show disinterestedness requires concentration on “intrinsic value, the perceptual and immediate” (p. 249). Differently put, there are diverse aspects like the subject, concerns, and personality which are given more consideration to achieve a certain level of interestedness. To this end, the object and subject are meaningful tools that penetrate either interestedness or disinterestedness.

However, to determine whether a piece work is ‘good’ or not still necessitates many reflections. In fact, artists need to think twice about the way to tackle the most important question of aesthetics, which is: “how good is this work? A framework is required that neither abandons principles of aesthetic judgment nor surrenders to pre-critical universals” (Jackson, 1993: 88). The aesthetic judgment is debatable; therefore, there must be specific measures to take into account while addressing the qualities and aesthetics of AT work.

An effective theatrical piece of work is the one in which the audience employs his/her senses and feelings to draw certain conclusions and implications about the performance. Gjaerum (2013) affirms that it is important to focus on the aesthetic dimensions within AT in order to develop a theatre that stimulates and motivates the spectators to take turns in the theatrical performance. Jackson (1999) assumes that “aesthetic dimension must form an integral part of any serious evaluation” (p. 51); aesthetics is, indeed, a component that should not be disregarded.

2.2. Second Thoughts for Ethics

Ethics are considered to be a significant impact factor that could reshape the work at large. Ethics have been a topic of discussion among a number of scholars, critics, academicians, and others. The issue in the field of AT is not a concern of less value compared to other fields. It has taken a wide periphery of thinking on the part of authorities and stakeholders. Many experts in the field of AT like Mienczakowski (2009), Prentki & Preston (2009), Saldaña (1998/ 2005), and Thompson (2009) have examined this issue of ethics. There has been much talk about the effectiveness of caring about ethical issues. Every scholar sees issues of ethics from the corner that fits his/ her interests and background. Therefore, it is primordial to mention that ethical reflections in practice are “not so clear-cut” (Bishop, 2014).

The first ethical issue to discuss is ‘justice’, which has been introduced by Mienczakowski (2009). Justice is a moral imperative that is applied at the global scale. According to Shapiro & Gross (2008), justice is concerned to be the group of “laws, rights and policies that can be applied universally” (p. 21). These commonly shared constitutional rights and concerns help in spreading democracy, social equity and equality among human beings across the world regardless of their age, race, gender, origin, etc. It depends on a number of deeply rooted values like “fairness, equity and respect for liberty” (Bishop, 2014: 67).

Regarding the value of ethics in AT, it is essential to note that there are different issues that are measured and dealt with ethically. Still, Bishop (2014) confirms that “risk assessment, participant recruitment, the concept of ‘power over’ which addresses whether researchers are in a position of authority over participants, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality” are issues that are tackled with justice as an ethical protocol, (p. 67). However, justice is not the only imperative that could lead to an effective art form. Accordingly, Thompson, (2009) dealt with another moral imperative which might affect the significance of an artistic work. As a specialist in the field of AT, the author deals with the

usefulness of a critical imperative or what he refers to as political of AT. He further emphasizes that many of the practitioners of AT “offer support to particular people, it is inherent in the work that they are simultaneously making a statement about the treatment of all people belonging to that community” (Bishop, 2014:68). An AT piece of work puts its practitioners in front of other people with different backgrounds and interests; consequently, it is indispensable to have appropriate conducts with diverse members of the community.

Treating people on an equal basis is an important ethical contemplation that is taken into account on the part of AT practitioners. Thompson (2009) asserts that “in working in a prison with inmates John and Jane, must simultaneously be making the claim that all prisoners deserve, at minimum, humane treatment” (p. 169). For him, people are of equal rights; therefore, they are worthy of equal treatment. He, further, proclaims that “the artist working on a project with disabled colleagues must be making a statement about the rights of all disabled people” (op. cit., 2009). To conclude, people need to be treated equally and by the same token.

Critique and justice may overlap in meanings. Yet, there is a huge difference between these two variables. Bishop (2014) proclaims that “the ethic of critique in contrast with justice - targets inconsistencies inherent in laws and policies” (p. 68). That is, critical/political imperative tends to face and challenge the discrepancies and irregularities that exist in laws and political agendas. He asserts that this approachable ethic of critical measurement “challenges the status quo and questions oppression and social inequities through analysis of class, race and/or gender” (op .cit., 2014: 68). The application of such ethic in AT work may help in “redefining privilege, power, culture, language and justice as well as providing the language of empowerment, transformations and possibilities” (Bishop, 2014: 68). Advocates of this ethic use an analysis that serves activism per se and questions power seeking empowerment.

In any AT work, the practitioners need to be ethical in addressing the topic matter. They are required to give much consideration to questions of critique. Practitioners have to question the artistic work. They need to raise questions like: what is the context of the work in relation to the political frame? What are the main discourses used in the theatrical experience: personal, political, or cultural? What is the importance of telling people's stories? How can deep critical thinking participate in the cultivation of liberation? (Bishop, 2014: 68). These critical questions pave the way towards the production of an effective artistic experience that can make change. The fact of questioning the broader contexts including cultural, political, social, and or personal is essential in understanding the core problem and find appropriate strategies to deal with it artistically. Furthermore, it is needed to find out the usefulness of narrating the stories of participants rather than telling them at random.

Still, there are other ethical considerations to take into account while tackling issues related to humankind. It is challenging to deal with social, political, and cultural complexities without ethical protocols. Saldaña (1998, 2005) argues that it is requisite to use a human approach to have a successful art form. A performance never takes place without people who can build good relationships and act on stage as a unified body not as single individuals. In order to accomplish this level of amalgamation, participants and facilitators alike need to care about each other. In this sense, the moral imperative of care is epitomized. Bishop (2014) presupposes that care is “emotional and takes a human approach, core values are concern, nurture and connection along with deeper conceptions of loyalty, trust and empowerment” (p. 69). Members of the performance are empowered only if human values like care, trust, and loyalty are spread among them. AT practitioners need supportive and encouraging tools to develop accommodating relationships.

Saldaña (1998, 2005) further assumes that Collaboration among the group should have its own characteristics and features. He assumes that the artistic assembly is supposed to

work together in a truthful and empowering way by protecting participant permissions, pre-interviewing them for mutual rapport, keeping them informed through sharing drafts of play scripts and video recordings of rehearsals, and listening to their feedback on scripts and staging ideas (Bishop, 2014). The application of communicative approaches while preparing the performance leads unquestionably to prolific and creative results. The artistic body should act as a team and create appropriate work conditions to make progress. Care and trust are crucial moral imperatives that help in the empowerment of members of the work; they also help in the integration of participants along the run. Participants need to have a room of their own where they can express their crisis and intricacies liberally and without constraints. This room is felt opened only when they are treated ethically.

It is important to note that ethical protocols do not concern participants solely; they concern the audience alike. Bishop (2014) assumes that Saldaña's ethical questions are important to consider on the part of the playwright. Two main questions should be asked: "What is our ethical responsibility towards our audiences? And what is the audience's ethical responsibility towards the production?"(p. 70); these are two questions that are deep in significance as they confirm the idea that ethical considerations are concerns that both the audience and participants need to think about. The author also believes that the audiences have to be ethical towards the reaction towards the creative work too; the main responsibility of the actors is to tell the audience about the play in an artistic way taking into account that the play could have scenes that are unexpected by the audiences or dialogues that are irregular to them. The audience, accordingly, may have different thoughts, feelings and reactions which the playwright cannot control. It is ethical for the audience to be responsible in taking reactions towards personal experiences. Bishop (2014) assumes that Saldaña (1998), however, comes to the conclusion that "ethics are not always in harmony" (p. 70).

Saldaña (1998) supports his argument by his own experience when he conducted a longitudinal research on Barry, a ‘pseudonym’ he used to talk about a participant in one of his plays that concern theatre for children. The play where Barry has acted is a research-oriented art; it takes place after a “fieldwork progressed on a part-time basis from Barry's tenth through twelfth grade years and consisted of periodic interviews, participant observation of classes, rehearsals and performances, plus interviews with Barry's mother and two of his theatre teachers” (Saldaña, 1998: 182). The playwright used different data collection techniques to gather an appropriate material to use in the production of his artistic work. He assumes that the quotes of the participants are “extracted verbatim from the transcripts of 12 separate, one-on-one interviews (...) from approximately 40 hours of participant observation have been revised slightly for clarity” (p.185). It is shown that the playwright has ethically gone through the selection of the verbatim.

The playwright considers the play to be generally a success as it contains winning scenes that are about a “talented young man with a positive attitude, value, and belief system, with the exception of one scene about Barry's drug use in adolescence” (Saldaña, 1998: 186). He, however, argues that every audience brings his or her own experiences to this work and, therefore, interprets the performance text differently. The audiences have dissimilar backgrounds; they, thus, generate different elucidations and reactions.

One spectator, for instance, has been emotionally-charged and expressed her attitude towards the performance speculating: “if that had been my son on stage, I would have felt horrified at the violation of privacy” (op. cit., 1998:190). The viewer demonstrates that she was not aware of the process of the play and assessed it without any prior knowledge. The producer, however, tried to convince the woman that he has ethically treated his performers and gone through the play with a technical tactic to engage the audience emotionally via real participants.

More importantly still, other ethical considerations should be highlighted; Bishop (2014) notes that ‘profession’ is an aspect that theatre producers need to consider. This worthy imperative is a must to be aware of. The aspect of profession emphasizes that any artist should not “let ethical assumptions obscure the drive towards robust artistic work” (p. 70) It is relatively normal for any artist to develop critical artistic questions and some ethical propositions regarding an artistic work; these queries, however needn’t darken and affect neither the work nor the rapport between its members. On the contrary, ethical reflections and critical thoughts should brighten the work and help participants and facilitators alike avoid vagueness.

It is ethically important to emotionally engage in the project and give value to art. Members of the theatrical text and or performance could develop their competencies as a single body at the wider context only if they generate “insight, curiosity, debate and an imaginative openness to ‘changing things for the better” (op. cit., 2014: 70). It is the responsibility of all the contributors to create change through incessant cooperative work to guarantee an art form that is effective and sharpened up.

The professional side makes itself clearer when the artist questionnaires determined and well defined questions. Bishop (2014) takes as fact that an AT practitioner is a person who does a research- based theater to make change. In order to make change happen, s/he needs to raise queries like: how is the play being valued? How can I be faithful to the artistic and scientific presentation of data, without sacrificing one for the other? How can use theatre for research purposes? These questions are noteworthy and help the artist develop a consciousness about the value of the art form s/he is working on.

Prentki & Preston (2009), conversely, see ethicality from another dimension. They believe that it is fundamental to morally integrate in the work. It is an engagement that is beyond the physical involvement. The moral integration enables the artists to elucidate their

placement in the work and guarantee suitable choices that fit their interests, potentials, and objectives. If the artist is morally occupied in the process, s/he can echo appropriate thoughts to create change by the end. It is, moreover, the moral attachment that paves the way towards the identification of the problems and the critical attempts to solve them in a creative artistic way.

The choice of moral integrity over other ethics permits the artists to “analyze, judge and determine why they choose a particular ethic and course of action” (Bishop, 2014:71). Members of the artistic project could go deeper in their interpretations and value judgments. This moral imperative highlights a number of core values; they are: “self-reflection, self-inquiry, commitment to the best interest of others, inner freedom and transcendence to make right choices” (op. cit., 2014: 71). Every member cares about the team and freely voices out his/ her thoughts for the common good. In this regard, any practitioner who takes the moral integration into account needs to consider the following questions: “why am I making the choices that I am making? Why am I choosing to (re) present the data the way that I do? For whose benefit? For what purposes?” (op. cit., 2014: 72). In a nutshell, to consider the message, the way it is verbalized, the people addressed, and the objectives are the main concerns that a practitioner need to ethically consider.

For a research-oriented theatre to take place, the practitioner should center his/her attention to different facets such as the ethics of research, the form of art, the choice of role, the representativeness of data in the performance, and the relationship between members of the performance and audience. If these conditions are considered with alliance and combined efforts, the endeavor will lead to a successful piece of art.

In sum, the issue of ethics is seen from different angles according to the background of the researcher who is working on a research-oriented piece of theatre. Moreover, the context of the study makes the practitioner opt for an ethic over the other. It is true that the

above mentioned ethics harmonize and complement each other; they are interwoven and interlinked. However, the practitioner sometimes finds it difficult to consider all the ethical issues at once. S/he, therefore, chooses what could give the work an added value, preserve confidentiality, and protection of participants. To this end, it is not an obligation for the practitioner to use a specific moral imperative, it is a choice. Yet, it is an obligation for stakeholders to reflect on this concern and find out further ethical imperatives that are special for research-based theatre; it is an obligation to believe that the prioritizing of the aesthetic over ethics would not be acceptable in an AT context(Cohen-Cruz,2005: xx).

2.3. Assessment: A Difficult Birth in Applied Theatre

Assessment is an important issue in different fields in general and in AT in particular. It is a fact that practitioners of AT manage to work with a verity of participants with dissimilar social, economic, and or political problems; however, they can never assimilate the validity of their work unless they measure its success. Measuring the success of the work requires collecting information about the participant's knowledge, skills, abilities, performance, and impact. This process of collecting data is what is referred to in AT as 'assessment'. Ackroyd (2000) argues that "There is a crying need for evaluation of applied theatre" (p. 7).

2.3.1. Assessment of the Impact

The most thought-provoking element for AT practitioners is the assessment of impact; there is a huge debate about strategies and tactics to assess the effect of the work. Etherton & Prentki (2006: 139) argue that it is challenging to find out clear cut strategies dealing with the assessment of an AT performance. Balfour (2009) also assumes that it is difficult to assess AT because "what applied does is not always linear, rational and conclusive in its outcomes, but often more messy, incomplete, complex and tentative" (p. 357). For

Etherton & Prentki (2006), the contexts in which the facilitators work are diverse; the impacts as well are varied; the facilitators along with other operators give much consideration to “what may constitute impact in particular contexts and what might be the most effective ways of assessing it” (p.357). That is, to measure the impact, it is important to take into account the context and the different methods that are used to reach a specific outcome.

Any AT contributor aims at making momentous changes. For them, the role of theatre goes beyond pleasure solely. A performance must meet specific goals and theatre, for them, has different objectives. Etherton & Prentki (2006) assume that a convenient theatrical piece “can bring about positive social change; build relationships and help to develop sustainable communities; can help to heal the psychological scars of conflict” (p. 142). The power of an AT performance lies in the fact that various dimensions are considered namely the facilitator, the participant, and the relationship between them. The objectives are also various as they range from personal, psychological, political, to social. The practitioners tend to affect the society through considering theatre as a medium for remedy and therapy. The final artistic product is concerned to be, for them, “a powerful voice for change; and can be used in striving for social justice” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006:143). The stage is a sacred place where the voiceless can be heard, where the unspoken is articulated, and where the untold is narrated.

Advocates of Theatre for Social Change assume that “many practitioners of applied theatre see themselves as the facilitators or supporters of the self-development of communities, groups and individuals” (op. cit., 2006: 141). They consider themselves effective agents who can create change through their motivation by “a powerful desire to use their art to affect social and personal change; change that may not coincide with the desires of the community in which their process is located” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006:143).

In other words, practitioners participate in the process with determined objectives without subjectivity and without seeking personal gains; on the contrary, they seek an adjustment of the situation they are working on. This new form of drama demonstrates that theatre is a “therapeutic model where participants who are socially excluded in one way or another are put through a process aimed at making them more able to resume a place in ‘normal’ society” (op .cit., 2006: 149). The broad-spectrum’ aim is to integrate marginalized individuals in society providing them with mechanisms and alternative strategies of reintegration.

It is proven that many people are denied human rights and needs across the world; AT practitioner’s work with individuals, groups, or communities who suffer from stigmatization and marginalization. The most important aspects to assess, however, are needs and impact. Etherton & Prentki (2006) presuppose that most of the interferences that have been done so far tackle the issue of “basic human needs”; thus, it has become necessary to assess “whether needs had been met and what the impact of meeting them had been” (p. 141). Communities differ from each other; what might be the needs of a community in the North might not be the same needs of a community in the South. The basic needs are supposed to be identified and measured; later then, it is important to assess the impact of these needs if they are met.

Supporters of the newly formed drama have developed a critical framework that helps in processing a work in a distinctive professional way. Every theatrical work has its own objectives; yet, a practitioner of AT has determined goals. For an AT contributor, the purpose of the performance “seeks to make an impact outside of this tradition. What that impact might be is what is problematic, and how it might eventually be measured is something new and quite difficult” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 142). It is imperative to identify the problem and measure it, using adequate strategies that are not traditional.

The objectives of AT cannot be limited; among the most widespread oriented goals of this form of art is its ability “to increase the confidence of participants who frequently assert that their confidence was indeed boosted by being engaged in a process which enabled them to explore aspects of themselves through the mask of the other” (op. cit., 2006:145). The involvement of the participants with a low self-esteem creates for them a platform where they can boost up their self-esteem and help them regain their self-confidence.

There are three distinctive impacts that AT enthusiasts attempt to assess: short term impact, medium term impact, and long term impact. The short term impact can be measured psychologically. Etherton & Prentki (2006) presuppose that the “careful selection of a marginalized ‘target’ is likely to yield immediate results in terms of instant impact upon the psyches of participants” (p. 145). Differently put, the appropriate assortment of participants make it easy to assess their psychological progress along the artistic process. Both medium and long term impacts are problematic to measure, as they are time taking and post-performance impacts. This impact concerns the social and financial empowerment of the participants. To this end, impact assessment involves the general “result which provokes change, regardless of the stated aims of the project or program” (op. cit., 2006: 147). In other words, the effectiveness of the artistic work can be assessed through the changes it generates.

Strangely enough, it is complicated to assess the social impact; however, it is unproblematic to examine the extent to which awareness of rights has been lifted and how responsiveness has led to material changes, including: access to education, interaction with other members of the community, etc. In fact, “the process of self-empowerment is not bound to a time-line but, like change itself, is without a beginning, middle and end” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 148). It is undemanding to assess and judge whether the participants have become aware of their basic human rights. It is easy to do because participants either take decisions of change and involvement or do not unfortunately. However, “it is much rarer for

any assessment to be made about whether the marginal group has made any impact upon attitudes or behavior in so-called mainstream society” (op. cit., 2006: 149). It is exceptional to assess the impact of the participants on a specific community.

The issue of change is not only the interest of AT’ activists, but it is also the curiosity of NGOs as well. However, both AT supporters and NGOs process change in different ways. According to Etherton & Prentki (2006) NGOs progressively deal with issues related to change by “enabling those who are powerless to begin to define strategies for long term political transformations through strengthened civil society structures” (p. 149). That is, the process of change is characterized by self-made and personalized techniques to make change happen among powerless individuals or communities with the help of civil society. However, the responsibility of the participants differs from that of the NGOs; they try to “find effective strategies for making the voices of those who are economically or socially excluded heard and also listened to” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 149). It is essential for them to find out alternative methods to improve the situation of those people whose rights are infringed because of a political or economic system.

Scholars in the field of AT believe that working with people who suffer from stigmatization and inequity requires having a socio- cultural and political maturity to make social transformation occur. Facilitators work for a defined aim which is ‘change’. Etherton & Prentki (2006) assume that facilitators are supposed to “recognize impact in relation to what we are expecting to find or trying to achieve” (p. 149). Alternatively stated, the impact is deeply related with the outcome. Accordingly, it is a must for the participants to be straightforward regarding their target object.

2.3.2. Assessment of the Role of the Facilitator

Inequalities are part of many systems and victimhood is the outcome of denying people their rights. The victims, with whom facilitators interact and function, are groups of people “who have been ‘structurally adjusted’ to suit an economic system that denies them the possibility of achieving their rights as human beings” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 150). The belittled individuals are structurally dominated; their agency and freedom are denied by the spreading ideologies of the system. The main role, thus, of the facilitators is to follow the progress of the participants towards change. The mission does not stop at the level of the performance; it goes further; Etherton & Prentki (2006) argue that it is a need if not a must “to find out what they still remember of that experience and how it might have changed anything in the ways they are living their impoverished adult lives” (p. 152). Interpreted another way, it is a precondition for the facilitators to follow the development of the participants and to measure the impact of the artistic experience on their post-performance daily life.

2.3.3. Assessment of the Quality of the Dialogue

It is imperative to assess the quality of the dialogue built between the facilitators and participants. This step is important as it signifies the success or failure of the experience. In order to construct an effectual discourse between members of the artistic work both participants and facilitators ought to co-ordinate harmonically for a “potentially productive dialogue” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 150). In a similar vein, the facilitators might have their own ways of tackling their problems; while the facilitators opt for other strategies to deal with the dilemma. However, “both parties are at least contained within one frame of co-intentionality” (op. cit., 2006: 150). The active interaction between the facilitators and participants helps in creating opportunities to shape an effective discourse that can meet the needs of both participants and facilitators.

Applied Theatre is a new form of art against a dictator political system that produces discrepancy, inequality, injustice, and discrimination among people. It is by definition a political movement because it is about “interventions that attempt to make changes in power relations among individuals and within societies” (Etherton & Prentki, 2006: 150). It is a direct interference with people who suffer from stigmatization and denouncement because of the regime; it aims at questioning power and agency. The main characteristic of AT supporters is their belief in change.

2.3.4. Assessment of the Objectives

Still, it is worth noting that the impact of the arty work is linked with pre-planned objectives to make change happen. Accordingly, the facilitators should be “transparent about their intentions, about the ‘baggage’ they bring with them into the work” (op. cit., 2006: 150). Facilitators are supposed to be honest and not to contradict themselves regarding their aims; they need to be well oriented in order to reach a “developing analysis which itself may be a prelude to a discernable, sustained impact” (op. cit., 2006: 150). On the contrary, “if the facilitator attempts to manipulate the process or elide contradiction, it is likely that ownership of the process will become confused, the purpose fudged and the impact dissipated” (op.cit., 2006: 150). The positive and effective impact is realized only if the facilitators address the issue with a socio-political maturity and underlined objectives.

Broadly speaking, AT is characterized by the use of “context-driven and centrally concerned” strategies of assessment, (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 42). Hence, assessment in AT gives much consideration to “what is being interpreted rather than how it is being done [in the recognition that] it is not possible to prove the success of AT performances quantitatively” (Saxton & Miller, 2006: 134, 135). In order to measure the performance’s success, it is important first to think about qualitative approaches.

To conclude, there are different variables to be assessed in the process of AT making. Prendergast & Saxton (2009: 188) argue that it is essential for AT advocates to be equipped with the needed tools to assimilate the significance of the work, the main criteria the facilitator uses to judge the effectiveness of the work, the implications of short-term results, the language or variety used among the group, and the efficacy of the language in making the results clear. It is primordial to consider these questions to assess the work adequately. The what, where, when, how, why, and other questions are important concerns for assessors to reach a positive impact. Still, through the use of a context-fitting assessment, the maturity of the field of AT will increase. However, if no assessment strategies and techniques are used, the field will always remain vulnerable and weak.

2.4. Concerns in Applied Theatre: Issue, Language, and End

The work of AT is characterized by reflecting on a number of aspects. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) presume that the process of the performance is different from the one of mainstream theatre. The practitioners believe that it is a prerequisite to consider a variety of variables including: issue, language, and the end.

2.4.1. The Issue

The issues that AT addresses are various; however, “issues of local importance that may or may not be transferable to other communities” are commonly agreed upon to be concerns of debate and performance (Kovács, 2014: 13). Issues of marginalized communities which are not dealt with before or overlooked for a specific reason are dealt with in AT. Alarming matters captivate the attention of the activists which motivate them to examine the dilemmas of these minorities with a research -oriented approach. Barnes & Coetzee (2014), in this regard, argue that “theatre and the arts are a vital means for community’s to make

sense of their lives” (p. XIX). The stage is a welcoming place for the community to debate subject matters that concern them.

2.4.2. The Language

The language, as well, is a problematic issue in the AT debate. What language or dialect to use is not an easy decision that could be taken by the activists; yet, advocates of this form of theatre agree on the convenience of the use of the local language. Practitioners artistically deal with local problems; therefore, it is recommended to use the local language to ease communication between facilitators, participants, and local community.

2.4.3. The Ending

Kovács (2014) asserts that supporters of AT have to center their interest on aspects that may contribute either to the success or the failure of the artistic work. He thinks that the endings should remain open for questioning; the performance of a theatre AT must pave the way toward a post-performance discussion via its open ending. The author further acknowledges that a performance of the newly established theatre is distinguished by “less reliance on words, more exploration of movement and image as theatre language, greater reliance on polished improvisation” (p.13). The interactive theatre relies heavily on body language, improvisation, movement, images and with less use of words. Bharucha (2011) raises critical questions to raise awareness on the importance of the ending. She asked “When the play ends, what remains? When the play ends, what begins?” (p. 366). Applied Theatre is not about images, it is about the controversial issues activists tackle to create possibilities of change among the oppressed and the stigmatized.

3. Process and Models Adopted in an Applied Theatre Project

3.1. Process in an AT Project

An effective performance is assessed according to its impact, as much as the impact is high; the artistic work proves to be effective. Shuchi (2015) suggests that the process of play making goes through four major phases; these are identification, familiarization, initiation, and participatory action. Each phase is characterized by having its own procedure, strategy, and techniques.

3.1.1. Identification

In order to identify the problems faced by the participants, focus groups, interviews, observations, questionnaires, etc. could be used as research techniques. The educational level could limit the contribution of the participants in identifying the problems; therefore, it is needed to minimize the communication barriers through the use of the native language of the participants. The purpose behind this phase is to identify the thematic issues, the basic needs that should be met, and the main objectives of the performance. Shuchi (2015) argues that the process should be preceded with much care since the starting point in order to have a positive impact. She further assumes that it is advisable to record the participants and community members instead of circulating handouts.

Furthermore, the issue under examination is most of the time sensitive; therefore, it is compulsory to treat it ethically and with much worry. Shuchi (2015) proclaims that the treatment of the issue is very sensitive and can affect the development of the work. To elaborate, the author says: “any attempt to radicalize the issue could have led to decline in participation and ultimate failure of the effort and study” (p.220). The success or failure of the process of the investigation relies heavily upon the strategies used to make the participants

integrate themselves within the group. In sum, the identification process is run by activists who need to be knowledgeable about the issue and prove to be sociable people who can interact and communicate with the participants without constraints.

3.1.2. Familiarization

Familiarization is a process in which the data gathered are analyzed. The phase is generally distinguished by the familiarization of the participants; it is about making them aware of theatre functions, forms, and skills like street plays, storytelling, puppet shows, *el Halka*, etc. The main role of the facilitators at this stage is to make the participants able and convinced to act roles. Shuchi (2015) argues that the facilitator is in charge of attracting, engaging, and convincing the participants to take roles as well. For her, the participants must “deliberate and co-act in the upcoming events related to, their physical, emotional and educational well-being” (p.220). Participants, furthermore, need to be continuously encouraged to talk about the different forms of oppression they encounter, problems, and needs. It is, also, important to understand from them their perceptions about their roles in life. Shuchi (2015) proclaims that the participants should share their views, thought, and opinions while social activists should record.

3.1.3. Initiation

First of all, participants need to feel relaxed and stress-free regarding the setting; the location should be fitting for the process of initiation to take place. The process is about involving the participants in “script-writing and rehearsing the presentation of the play” (Shuchi, 2015:221). Facilitators at this technical stage have to be professionally equipped to encourage the participants to wisely deal with their common problems. It is, indeed, a practice that is time-taking and provocative at the same time as it encourages involvement in decision making. The script has to enclose narrations that are purely lived experiences; the participants

are supposed to be encouraged to talk about issues that concern issues like prejudices and stereotypes, dependency and subordination, in addition to anxieties and superstition,(Shuchi, 2015: 221). The participants as a subject of the study have to take the initiative and share aspects of their lives, subjugation, and oppression. It is worth mentioning that the improvisation of the script is supported by the facilitators who string the thoughts of the participants meaningfully to make them amusing and provocative at the same time.

3.1.4. Participatory Action

The process, according to Shuchi (2015), involves staging the experience by both facilitators and participants trying to find possible solutions for the problems dealt with in the process. During the performance, the participants attempt to transfer the “conflict and remorse about their roles and conditions in the family and society to the characters they played on stage” (op. cit., 2015: 222). The opportunity of taking the stage enables the participants to liberally voice out their sufferings and portray their social stigma and reality. Performing stands as a therapeutic aid for the participants as it decreases “tension and anger without directly addressing any one or group of their family members” (op. cit., 2015: 222). The performance is followed by a discussion which involves the facilitators, participants, civil society, psychiatrists, sociologists, and other experts who can find possible ways to empower the participants.

Applied Theatre does not only have its own exclusive process; its activists also adopt certain models. These models include community-based model, curriculum model, transfer model, and interview model. Each of these models is used for a specific purpose.

3.2. Models Adopted in an Applied Theatre Projects

In Applied Theatre, the interaction between actor, participant, spectator, and facilitator diverge according to the four above mentioned models. Every AT project has its own intentions and objectives. Therefore, each project designates an adequate model that could meet its interests. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) suggest that community-based model, curriculum model are commonly occupied with integral audiences whereas transfer model, and interview model can integrate both integral and accidental audience.

3.2.1. Community-based Model

This model is a theatrical form that is created out of the continuous efforts of the community participants. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) see Community-based model as a piece of theatre that addresses the community primarily and an integral audience secondly. It is a process that is, according to Ellis (2000), supported and backed up by activists who attempt to run out “community conversations” (p. 91). The outsider theatre participants build up a communicative archway with the community.

3.2.2. Curriculum Model

To Prendergast & Saxton (2009), a curriculum model is a theatrical play that is built and scripted for educational objectives. Highly experienced and experts in the field of education who are part of theatre studies departments participate in generating an artistic performance that is going to be presented in the community for educational purposes. The audience involved in this model is generally an integral one.

3.2.3. Transfer Model

A performance that is aesthetically, ethically, and poetically successful is an endeavor that is not easy; an effective performance requires a collaborative work and support

on the part of a variety of interventionists. Success usually has an objective that trespasses location; a triumphant performance, therefore, can be “transferred to and adapted by a skilled acting troupe to be performed for a more accidental audience” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 22). A local theatrical performance may confirm its success by the fame it gets; success, therefore, makes of the performance a work with remarkable considerations. Successful presentations with effective impacts are suggested to be performed outside the location.

3.2.4. Interview Model

An interview is a research instrument that AT’ practitioners heavily rely on. It is a research technique without which the performance is hopeless to be realized. It is a model that requires “inviting interviewees into the rehearsal process to evaluate the authenticity of the transcribed interviews into dramatic forms” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 23). This model is commonly based on post-performance responses of the interviewees throughout community conversations.

Importantly, AT’ theorists and practitioners have made radical changes in the different features of theatre. The following sub-section provides detailed information about the most important revolutionized aspects.

4. Major Changes in an Applied Theatre Project

Early pioneers of AT have thought of creating a radical change in the specificities of this form of art for the sake of meeting the needs of society. To create change among communities, practitioners have set new conceptions for a performance to take place. These conceptions include facilitation, scripting, play building, new roles of playwrights, implication of time, role of the funding body, and space as major building blocks.

4.1. The Gift of Facilitation

Facilitation is a process that involves the physical and mental presence of a facilitator who is defined by Prendergast & Saxton (2009) as a “multi disciplinarian who must know about theatre and how it works as well as being equipped with an understanding of teaching and learning” (p. 17). The facilitator is a skillful person who is knowledgeable about the teaching and learning strategies that could be used to ease the learning of theatre practices on the part of the participants. S/he, also, needs to be acquainted with characteristics of the community s/he is working with. Moreover, Prendergast & Saxton (2009) maintain that an AT facilitator needs to be very responsive to the culture of the group of people for which the AT piece is to be played, as there are many culturally varied practices of audience response.

Many are the alternatives of the word facilitator. These include teaching artist, director, co-creator, artistic assistant, Joker (Boal’s term) among others (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). They are technical words that could be used interchangeably to make reference to the artistically professional individual who can ease the process of the project. A facilitator, in this regard, must master the talent of “dramaturge, director, improvisational actor, drama therapist, political philosopher, rhetorician, talk show host and stand-up comic” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 23). Therefore, it is of paramount importance for a facilitator to be a poly-disciplinarian to fit for the responsibility.

It is advisable also for the facilitator to study the particularities of the target community such as problems, daily life confrontations, social relationships, hardships, etc. Getting sufficient information about the target community affects the triumph of the theatrical work positively. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) presuppose that “there are all-too common instances of AT projects being led by facilitators with insufficient knowledge and experience that result in experiences of little impact or value for anyone, either for those involved or

those attending” (p. 17). To this end, the amount of knowledge that a participant gets could either have a positive or a negative impact on both performers and audiences.

The professional artist embodied in the facilitator shows high quality skills in working with marginalized and subordinate communities. S/he manages to “explore ideas and tackle topics of interest or concern to the members of that group” (Thornton, 2012: 6); the catalyst, also, attempts to develop the professional profile and skills of the participants using a “variety of pedagogical and methodological approaches” (op. cit., 2012: 6).

The role of the facilitator is not limited to teaching the preliminaries of theatre practices; the main roles involve the ability to “sense and serve the needs of the audience” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 17). The facilitator, in this respect, has to be equipped with the scientific mechanisms that could be used to feel and examine the basic human needs the vulnerable community still requires to meet. The artistic assistant is in a position to craft opportunities of self-disclosure; s/he “must create a safe container for individual self-expression” (op. cit., 2009: 17). The catalyst is judged to be a ‘co-creator’ as s/he in coordination with the participants and audiences create context-based performances.

The artist assistant is in charge of the ‘technical’ and artistic continuation of the scenes. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) argue that a facilitator needs to “manage the segueing among performance of scenes, spect-actor interventions, processing the results of dramatic ideas from the audience, and direct communication with the audience” (p. 17). It is recommended that a professional director should go beyond the theatrical aesthetics and poetics; s/he is required to keep up the smoothness of the performance, establish good relationships between members of the artistic work, ascertain appropriate communicative skills that could help in breaking down distance between stage and audience, and examine the impact value of the performance.

For effective facilitation to take place, the facilitator must be a good listener and an excellent message transmitter. Communication skills require appropriate training and experience (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). Differently put, having effective communication mechanisms does not come by chance and it needs continuous efforts. Efficient communicators are the outcome of years of practice and confrontations. Therefore, the participants are more likely to learn better and become high-achievers if they are led by facilitators with appropriate communication proficiency.

It is worth mentioning that, the efficacy of a facilitator entails much training. Those who prove to be efficient in easing the participation are either students or teachers of theatre studies department who are acquainted with education theories, approaches, and techniques. The facilitator has “close kinship with good pedagogical praxis” which enables him/her to know “how to do something, know why it is appropriate, when it needs to be done and how to do it in the most effective way” (Prendergast& Saxton, 2009: 18). The artist assistant needs to have a pedagogical insight regarding how to do things with words and justify the made-choices in an effective way.

The director or what is referred to as the ‘artist assistant’ necessitates enjoying a high degree of maturity. S/he must recognize the power that a participant could exercise over the realization of the performance. The facilitator, accordingly, is a skillful person who is conscious that both actors and spectators know about the subject being investigated, while the facilitator “holds the aesthetic knowledge of the theatre form” (op. cit., 2009: 18). In a nutshell, for an effective artistic work to take place, the participant is required to grasp the idea that one hand can never give a standing ovation.

It is, therefore, a prerequisite to believe in the competencies of other members of the group who complement each other. Thompson & Schechner (2004) argue that “both facilitator and participant must enter into a mutual learning process” (p. 13); no one of them

can work without the support and the knowledge of the other. In sum, “knowledge is produced through interaction with others” (Nicholson, 2005: 39); without interaction and participation, the process of knowledge transmission remains incomplete. Thompson (2003), additionally, asserts that it is not only the facilitator that holds the balance of power; power is also held on the part of “individual participants, supporting staff, or the context itself can influence, or silence the voice” (p. 31). No one is over the other; every member contributes with the possible competencies, knowledge, and skills.

To conclude, AT process should be characterized by an effective facilitation that must be “inclusive, creative challenging, empowering, responsive and developmental” (Thornton, 2012: 7). The facilitator’s challenge is to bring members of the performance and the community together and bridge dissimilarities and irregularities. Thornton (2012) presupposes that through the facilitator, Applied Theatre can bring people together, bond difference, reconcile divisions and shatter stereotypes.

4.2. A Glance on Writing the Script

Writing is an artistic practice that cannot be done by individuals who lack creative, critical, and reflective engagement (Vettraino & Linds, 2015). It is obligatory to be a meta-cognitively skilled person in order to write a theatrical script in an AT practice. The script-writer(s) should manifest skills of critical-thinking, logical-reasoning, risk-taking, and problem-solving. Oddey (2013) asserts that the information used in the script is gathered by the technique of interview, observation, note-taking, and sometimes tape-recorded.

Applied Theatre differs from traditional theatre even in scripting. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) acknowledge that mainstream theatre is characterized by its centeredness on the interpretation of a pre-written script; AT, conversely, engages both “the generation and the interpretation of a theatre piece that in performance may or may not be scripted in the

traditional manner” (p.7). An AT script, therefore, involves two basic processes: generating the script at the first level and interpreting it later on.

According to Prentki (2015), the scripting is a journey of note-taking; it is a process that includes “both individual and group/community development from within, through rehearsal, collective scripting, performance and interactive engagement with spectators, and subsequent long-term ongoing collaboration with those spectator communities” (p. 43). Accordingly, scripting is an on-going cooperation process between: facilitators, participants, and audience. However, the artistic directors play a major role in the production of the final script. Prendergast & Saxton (2009) acknowledge that the artist assistant “took on the task of editing and shaping the resulting material, scripting it for later rehearsals” (p. 138).

The process of AT is a partnership between people “for whom the content is significant and applied theatre facilitators, dramaturges and/or playwrights who have both competencies and experience” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 18). Different members are involved in the artistic work including: facilitators, participants, community audience, etc. who should cooperate in order to produce a well written piece of theatre. The roles are distributed in a way that makes each member contribute with his/ her expertise to build up the play. The dramaturge is in charge of assembling the data and shape the script. The role of the dramaturge can be exercised on the part of the facilitator, however. The facilitator is confirmed to be a person who is familiar with “the discipline and theory of aesthetic strategies and understands how to use them within a pedagogy of practice” (op. cit., 2009: 18). The amount of knowledge that a facilitator has allowed him/ her eases the practice of theatre.

The script is based on the narratives of the participants, and the notes taken from the interviewees and observed population. The narratives are not put into practice in the scrip directly. Scripting is a process that needs writing and rewriting with much care. Vettraino & Linds (2015) maintain that “the narratives of individual stop moments are written and

rewritten” (p. 160). The script must end up as a form that “invites new possible ways of being in the world” (Vettraino & Linds, 2015: 160). Scripting requires critical and creative reflections to catch up and captivate the souls of writers, spectators, and or readers.

4.3. Playbuilding as a Collective Creation

Playbuilding is a process that concerns the creation of meaning and involves the intervention of different members. Diverse are the alternatives of playbuilding; Prendergast & Saxton (2009) suggest that the concept could be interchangeably used with “collective creation or devising” (p.18). The concept has a worthy significance in the field of AT studies.

The concept of ‘collective creation’ is recent to some extent; it appeared in late 20th century theatre practice (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009). It is understood to be as the “creation of an original play based on documents or living research by a group of skilled performers’ often working with a director and/or dramaturge” (op. cit., 2009: 18). It is, indeed, a group commitment process of making meaning through the use of research techniques of data gathering.

Devising, however, is a technical word that is used to refer to the “gestation phase of the theatre making process” (op. cit., 2009: 18). It is concerned to be the general collective developmental stages of the building up of the play. The British/European term refers to “the first of a number of stages leading to some kind of performance outcome” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 18). The process is characterized by determined objectives that should be met by the end.

In this context, Oddey (2013) assumes that *devising* is a spontaneous process of practicing theatre. The phases of play building are distinguished by the intervention of a number of individuals who engage themselves physically, emotionally, and practically. It is a process that is marked by the value of sharing thoughts, experiences, and expertise. Thus,

devising is not an individual endeavor; it is, in fact, a collective attempt to form ideas that could create change and have positive impact as an upshot.

Bray (1991) has also made pertinent discussions on the play building process. For him, the procedure involves the participation of “playwright, performer, director, composer, technician, designer, critic” (p. 1). Each of the contributors is introduced to new skills, creative thoughts, co-operative engagement, and after all the pleasure of team work. Therefore, Oddey (2013) portrays devising as a creation that “has emerged from and been generated by a group of people working in collaboration” (p.1).

The interaction between the members of the group is noteworthy; Oddey (2013), in this perspective approves that interaction is the “starting point or stimulus chosen” (p.24) as it helps members of the group to “absorb the source material, respond to it, and then generate a method of working appropriate to the initial aims of the company and project” (op. cit., 2013: 24). Effective interaction is the baseline towards a valuable and effective work. The group members are required to develop a “sense of group cooperation, affiliation and unity at the same time” (op. cit., 2013: 24). It is a fact that the group demonstrates difference regarding personality traits; yet, they need to collaboratively work with each other and to identify themselves within the group.

Oddey (2013) affirms that all the contributors must be open to each other, able to build and develop key values like honesty, trust, and diplomacy. The intercession varies according to the roles assigned; respect and trust, however, empowers the group at large and enables them to express their thoughts and provide constructive criticism that will sustain the development of the work.

For further elaboration, Oddey (2013) suggests that devising is an opportunity for the participants to make “sense of themselves within their own cultural and social context,

investigating, integrating, and transforming their personal experiences, dreams, research, improvisation, and experimentation” (p. 1). The process provides the group members with contexts in which they manage to form ideas and share their contemplations. It is an artistic journey via which all members are given the chance to transform their lives, reflections, prospective, and experiences. In sum, devising is a storm of spontaneous formation of ideas that can be adapted and adopted as well.

As a conclusion, the concept of ‘playbuilding’ is a process that is beyond collective creation; it is an endeavor to develop a performance with evident and visible effects. The process, however, encounters some difficulties. Prior (2005) declares that group playbuilding face obstacles of sharing meanings. Each member has his/her own background; the delivery of meanings is relative and it is an impossibility to agree on the ideas, reflections, and content. Different are the aspects that are taken into consideration in the process of playbuilding: the issue, participants, data, time, space, funding body, critics, reflections, and the impact.

4.4. Disempowering the Playwright and the Director

There is a hierarchical relationship of playwright and director in the grassroots theatre. Oddey (2013) acknowledges that devised theatre, however, is an alternative to the mainstream theatre that “focuses on the interpretation of the playwright's text by a director, culminating in a performance which is realized through a production process (within a prescribed period of time and means)” (p. 4) in the building of the play. The process of playbuilding in AT is not an exclave to the roles of the director and the playwright; it is creative realization of different members who collectively work in the production of the performance. The team believes in the value of democracy as it is approved by Oddey (2013) who validates the idea that the way members of the group operate, is “organized structurally” (p. 8) in that each individual identifies his/her own roles and responsibilities.

4.5. The Implication of Time

The notion of time is very important in the process of playbuilding. Oddey (2013) asserts that devising theatre requires “decisions about the organization and structuring of time” (p. 14), the time allocated to the making of the play needs to be taken into consideration. There are plays that are finalized in weeks, while there are others which take months of preparation. Above all, time is not only a variable in the making of the artistic product; it is also a component that affects the “administration of the product, publicity, company business, and evaluating the work” Oddey (op. cit., 2013: 14).

4.6. Funding as a Backing

The playbuilding of any project of AT is funded by an NGO or a specific artistic company that works for social development. The financial budget is deeply related to the time needed for the realization of the creative work. Oddey (2013) assumes that a budget for a devised performance is “inextricably linked to decisions about time” (p. 14). The amount of money that is used to finance a project is determined according to the time needed for the arty process. Oddey (2013), furthermore, assumes that each company decides how money is spent in relation to “the intended theatrical product, with the flexibility of re-distributing costs arising out of changes and decisions made during the devising process” (p. 16). The financial support is given for technical, artistic, and social purposes; the members of the performance, however, should not for any reason use the money to meet personal needs.

4.7. Space as a Location of Performance

The space where an AT performance is played is hugely different from a space where a traditional theatre performance is acted. Oddey (2013) asserts that the choice of a

space is of much significance. The group considers the location as a “part of the developing process” (p. 17). Mainstream theatre relies on the director and playwright who dominate the process by giving orders to the performers and decor-makers. Space, nevertheless, is a collective decision that is based on a number of considerations to be taken into account in terms of the relationship between actors and spectator as well as all other steps in whole process.

To sum up, it can be inferred that there is a huge difference between the performance in mainstream theatre and the performance in Applied Theatre. First, in mainstream theatre, the interaction between audiences and performers is passive in the sense that it does not create any sort of interaction. In AT, however, there is an active interaction between the performers and the spectators who also take turns in the performance. This indicates that AT had added the dimension of interactivity and integrity to make it a vivid platform where the target group can express their dis/satisfaction. AT has become a tool that can be used to express the sufferings, conflicts, and daily problems of the oppressed and the marginalized.

In fact, AT forms work to meet specific intentions; they are not performances for entertainment; they are, rather, performances for edutainment and change. Therefore, AT practices aim at meeting the needs of people for the purpose of creating change among community members. The common features among Applied Theatre sub-categories can be summed up in the following two points. To begin with, the performance members are cooperative and collectively work toward the same objective. Moreover, advocates of AT encourage the audience to take participatory actions; the audience is an active participant who can enrich the different phases of the project by unexpected realities. AT, in this perspective, is a practice that motivates members of the community to voice out their opinions, share their

experiences, and create a knowledge that might be used to find solutions. To this end, it is a novel activist art that deconstruct the notion of spectator to construct the concept of spect-actor. It is, in fact, a theatre that is research-based in which the participants present plays with real verbatim with the language of the target community.

Chapter Two: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of Empowerment

Introduction

The struggle by women to improve their welfare is a fight back that cuts across all walks of life; it is a form of movement that continues to bring women together regardless of their different backgrounds. Women all over the world, according to Cornwall & Edwards (2014), are governed by patriarchal rules and seen but only from a man's angle. Yet, women have challenged all forms of patriarchy namely subordination, dependence, objectification, discrimination, and other aspects.

It is, therefore, not surprising that women continue to resist in order to take their fair share when it comes to the government leadership position and even in the corporate world where getting into leadership position has been highly problematic. Another factor that has contributed to sidelining women is the fact that a lot of issues are judged from a man's point of view. In this regard, a woman's silence and marginalization is attributed to various reasons; women are made to be unheard and unseen because of "the socialization process, starting from the upbringing and the education the little girl receives within her family, following the androcentric textbooks and methods she learns in schools, and experiencing subordination at work outside home" (Amrani, 2001: 107).

Cornwall & Edwards (2014) confirm that women's sharp retort against faces of discrimination has driven them to be seen as deviant and creatures out of the ordinary by the system run by men, for men, and to men. Accordingly, women's deconstruction of the social discriminating norms is perceived to be a threat menacing the status quo of the society at large.

Gender sensitization, feminism and women empowerment are ideologies born out as a reaction to face men's dominance and patriarchal ideology. Amrani (2001) argues that "to disrupt the male's hegemony and deconstruct its repressive phallogocentric culture, the French feminists urge women to create their own language that writes their own bodies, and not remain silent" (p. 107). To be seen and heard, women have to confront the dominance of patriarchal ideology. As an aftermath to keep improving the conditions of women, the ideology of gender, feminism, and women empowerment have been taking the center stage to manage handling the current skewed system.

Theories of feminism and empowerment are very important and useful in facilitating the intervention of decision makers in social work. Those theories provide people who are concerned with social development with the needed "knowledge, values and skills most likely to promote human rights and social justice" (Turner & Maschi, 2015: 151). The theories and approaches that concern empowerment allow social workers to implement appropriate tools, mechanisms, and strategies to make the situation of women and other marginalized individuals a better one. To change the world where we live entails changing our views on priorities and perspectives. In this context, Karl (1995) argues that women's empowerment is based on changing unequal balance of decision-making power and control in the relationships of men and women. Therefore, women's empowerment cannot be achieved without women's direct integration in decision making processes and the creation of development programs and projects which aim at sustainable development.

In the past three decades, empowerment was a buzzword in women and gender studies, politics, economics, sociology, psychology, and many other disciplines. So, what is meant by empowerment? What are its dimensions? What are its levels? What are its techniques and strategies? How can we assess empowerment? How can we use theatre as a strategy of empowerment? And how can we put empowerment into practice?

This chapter focuses on two main aspects; empowerment and its relevance to women in difficulties. Women in difficulties include those women in rural areas, illiterate women, single mothers, divorced women, stigmatized women, women in the informal sector, the elderly women, women having cancer, and other groups.

Section One: Conceptual Framework of Empowerment

1. Towards a Lucid Definition

Women's empowerment has been an important topic for international agencies, policy makers, governments and civil society; therefore, different analytical and operational definitions are suggested. Empowerment as a concept refers to a number of perspectives and practices. Gutiérrez (1999) assumes that the notion has been applied to mark out both “process and outcomes which have been attached to individuals, families, communities, and societies” (p. 3).

1.1. Empowerment as a Concept

Empowerment as a theme has been discussed in social work since three decades at least. According to Beck (1983), the concept stands to be the grounding of social work and an indispensable pillar of feminist theory because it involves a number of “attacks on subordination of every description—psychic, physical, cultural, legal, political, economic, and technological” (Simon, 1990: 28).

As a method of practice, the notion of empowerment is relatively recent. As a result, it has gained much attention and has been defined from different perspectives. Parsons (1991), for instance, believes that empowerment is a process of gaining power, developing power, taking or seizing power, or facilitating or enabling power. Still, Simon (1990) claims that empowerment is a “reflexive activity, a process capable of being initiated and sustained only by (those) who seek power or self-determination” (p. 32).

1.2. Empowerment as a Process

In the last few decades, there was much debate on whether empowerment should be seen as a theory or a process (Carr, 2003; Carroll, 2004). According to Turner & Maschi (2015), many authorities consider empowerment as a process which begins by being aware of the nature of the “oppression one is experiencing followed by an increase in awareness and consciousness—and for some, personal and/or familial/community transformation” (p. 152). It is a process that commences with the recognition of the oppressive system, change-making, and resistance.

Solomon (1976) also describes the concept as a process in which individuals are engaged to trim down the powerlessness that has been created by socio-cultural and political variables. The author further proclaims that the procedure is characterized by the identification of the power blocks that intensify the problem. For her, the course of action involves the implementation of developmental strategies to reduce the effects of both direct and indirect power barriers. She confirms that it is compulsory to deal with the different variables that hinder the problem solving process.

1.3. Empowerment as an Approach

Lee (2001) believes that the empowerment approach is technically “neither a formal theory nor a model of practice”; it is rather “a variety of conceptually coherent social work approaches and frameworks for practice” (p. 32). Therefore, empowerment is best defined as a theoretical structure that helps individuals take more control over their lives (Al Maseb & Julia, 2007). It is, in other words, a hypothetical structure that enables marginalized, stigmatized, and oppressed people to better direct the course of their lives. Moreover, Mancoske & Hunzeker (1990), in this context, claim that empowerment practice is better defined as “using interventions which enable those with whom we interact to be more in

control of the interactions in exchanges” (p. 14, 15). That is, oppressed and vulnerable communities are provided with tools which can help them better interact within society.

Social workers are supposed to strengthen their efforts to “prevent and eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, sexual orientation, age, religion, natural origin, marital status, political belief, mental or physical handicap, or any other preference” (Lee, 2001: 45). In this view, it is primordial to ensure that all persons “have access to the resources, services and opportunities that they require” (op. cit., 2001, 45). Human beings are equal in rights and they need to have access to the same resources and services on an equal basis.

The empowerment approach helps people who undergo oppression in empowering themselves on three interrelated levels: the personal, the interpersonal, and the political. Lee (2001) presupposes that there is “generic knowledge that helps us know about all levels and there is knowledge that is particular to each level” (p. 50). It is basic to meet the needs of stigmatized people in the process of their empowerment; therefore, it is essential to get the adequate knowledge and tools which could be useful in promoting the skills needed to face the ups and downs of those people. This approach is believed to have seven foci:

1. A historical sight of oppression; it is needed to be knowledgeable about the adopted social policy related to oppressed individuals.
2. An ecological view, it is the knowledge about power, abuse, inequalities, cognitive and behavioral learning, and environmental issues.
3. Gordon (1978) assumes that an “eth-class perspective” should not be overlooked. This standpoint does polish the knowledge about racism, classism, class structure, and effects of poverty. It includes also different devices which could be used to cope with victimization, oppression and marginalization as suggested by Lum (2004), Logan (1990), and Freeman (1990).

4. In the same vein, Green (1999) emphasizes the importance of cultural/multicultural perspective. For him, it is primordial to help stigmatized groups keep and commemorate their cultural heritage. Those people should appreciate cultural diversity and accept multiculturalism.
5. Still, the feminist perspective is also highlighted to be considered. It puts much stress on the oppression of women, power, subordination, dominance, and other aspects.
6. A global perspective is highly emphasized. It addresses issues of social inclusion, education, welfare, ethnicity, job opportunity, powerlessness, exclusion, rehabilitation, poverty, and many other universal issues.
7. Another important perspective is suggested; it is the critical standpoint. Freire (1973 a, b) assumes that forms of oppression should be analyzed and criticized to develop appropriate strategies that can link the oppressed people with their entire environment and create social change by the end.

In sum, to meet the needs of marginalized and excluded people is a prerequisite in the process of their empowerment; for that reason, it is mandatory to approach the issue conveniently. It is desirable to consider the following significant foci. First, it is needed to have a deep understanding of the time line of oppression in order to be able to critically analyze the process and find the adequate strategies to create social change among marginalized groups. Additionally, the use of a feminist approach is highly recommended as it helps in examining issues of dominance, marginalization, and stigmatization. It is also needed to find fitting methods to help the marginalized groups appreciate cultural diversity; in this perspective, having knowledge of environmental, social, political, and cultural issues is necessary.

2. Levels of Empowerment

Empowerment has three main interconnected dimensions. These are summarized by Lee (2001) in the following:

- 1- The development of a more positive and strong sense of self admiration
- 2- The building of knowledge and readiness to develop more aptitude to understand the socio- political realities of one's entire environment.
- 3- The farming of resources and strategies, or more functional competence, for the achievement of developmental goals, (p. 34).

Empowerment as a practice is discussed on three distinguished levels which are: the personal, the interpersonal, and the political (Gutiérrez & Lewis, 1999).

2.1. The Personal Level

The personal level is the most significant level in empowerment; it deals with the oppression of stigmatized and marginalized, and exploited groups. There are a lot of obstacles that block and limit life choices and personal empowerment. Therefore, oppressed minorities should strengthen themselves on their own and fight forms of oppression through team work. Freire (1973), Gutiérrez (1990), Kieffer (1984), and Parsons (1991) argue that women develop feelings of inner power and see themselves as effective as men. Women start to consider themselves capable of identifying their own powerfulness and show readiness to develop other levels of empowerment to correct discrimination. Lee (2001) considers group connection and collective action natural and imperative to help individuals empower themselves.

2.2. The Interpersonal Level

There are a lot of constraints that hinder women and other groups from living in social peace, including poverty, joblessness, violence, homelessness, and many other dilemmas. Therefore, it has become urgent for women, especially, to develop skills and mechanisms like problem solving and logical thinking to fight oppression and powerlessness. Lee (2001) presupposes that power is defined in interpersonal terms as “the ability to influence others to attain desired resources and goals” (p. 52) which will affect their interpersonal relations and lifelong development (for further details see: Gutiérrez, Oh, & Gillmore, 1997; Hirayama & Hirayama, 1985). Political empowerment, however, is basically performed when the personal and interpersonal levels reach their maturity. It is consisted of both “social action and social change” (Gutiérrez & Lewis, 1999: 12). In short, gaining a positive sense of self-admiration, having knowledge that concerns socio-political realities, and having the ability to influence others are features of personal and interpersonal empowerment.

2.3. The Political Level

The political level of empowerment puts more interest in conveying power to members of the society to create change. In sum, empowerment seeks to increase the personal, interpersonal and political power of stigmatized, oppressed and marginalized individuals and groups to band together as communities and take action to develop their situations (Freire, 1973; Gutierrez, 1990). Oppression can be defined as a political problem that requires a political intervention to find a solution. Thus, stigmatized people should develop knowledge about oppression and some possible skills needed to influence political decisions. Lee (2001) argues that “through collectivity people draw the strength they need to empower themselves and attain actualized, unique personhood and social responsibility” (p. 52). The fact of joining groups who are aware of issues of oppression enables stigmatized

people in general to achieve a level of political awareness, motivation, and the ability to complete the empowerment process (op. cit., 2001).

Empowerment helps individuals change their contemporary situation into better. Social change, true democracy, equity, equality, and other rights will never take place without the development of the three levels of empowerment including the personal, the interpersonal, and the political to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

3. The Problematic of Women's Empowerment

Throughout history, women have been oppressed and discriminated against for the simple reason that they are dissimilar to men. Feminist authorities across the globe such as DeBeauvoir (1957), Collins (1991), Crenshaw (1991), Carr (2003), Grosz (2010), Kemp and Brandwein (2010) and many others have stressed the importance of revisiting the social, political and economic systems and probing the effects of oppression, domination, power, and powerlessness prevailing in societies. Simply put, communities are shaped by a number of structures that are socio- political and economic at the same time; societies are marked by the commonness of power and domination and those variables cannot be scrutinized without the direct examination of subjection and oppression at the same time especially when gender inequality is concerned. The following sub-section presents some of the factors that can affect the process of empowerment; it includes: the social, political, economic, and psychological factors.

3.1. The Social Factor

Women often have very limited choices to make and their opportunities are also limited; they are even the most disempowered group (Alsop, Bertelsen, and Holland, 2005). Because they are women, they suffer from societal disparities, oppression, and dominance; therefore, feminist theory emphasizes the idea that women should have equal access to all

forms of power. Feminism and empowerment, in this regard, are theories which contain approaches that help women understand how they are oppressed and dominated. Those theories often inspire women to “engage in efforts to bring about broader social change” (Turner & Maschi, 2015: 152). Social workers are supposed to strengthen their efforts to “prevent and eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, sexual orientation, age, religion, natural origin, marital status, political belief, mental or physical handicap, or any other preference” (Lee, 2001: 45). In this view, the social worker should act to make sure that all persons have access to the resources, services they need. In brief, approaches of feminism and empowerment are in a better position to approach the problematic of oppression and domination; women are more inspired through those approaches and can better explain the system of oppression and the strategies of resilience.

3.2. The Political Factor

Authorities, scholars, instructors, coaches, and social workers especially in the field of feminism give more confidence to women and support them to get their power back, express their anxiety, appreciate their own worth, develop their self-esteem, and build their own self-confidence. Lee (2001) affirms that empowerment helps stigmatized individuals and groups “gain relative mastery over their affairs or remain constantly reacting; they may develop resilience, ego strengths, assertiveness, self-healing, mutual-aid networks, activism, and other coping devices” (p. 30). Through the process of empowerment, oppressed groups might develop new skills and gain some control over their destiny. In the same vein, Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland (2005) assume that empowerment is positively associated with “achievements in other spheres of development, including growth, poverty alleviation, and the realization of human rights” (p. 2).

Women continue to resist in order to take their fair share when it comes to government leadership positions and even in the corporate world where getting into leadership positions has been highly problematic. Another factor that has contributed to sidelining women is the fact that a lot of issues are judged from a man's point of view. In this vein, a woman's silence and marginalization is attributed to various reasons; women are made to be unheard and unseen because of the political system and "the socialization process, starting from the upbringing and the education the little girl receives within her family, following the androcentric textbooks and methods she learns in schools, and experiencing subordination at work outside home" (Amrani, 2001: 107).

3.3. The Economic Factor

Women's involvement in economic, social, cultural, and political life has become a central issue in our modern life. It has become fundamental for women to partake in the majority of events that could shape their lives. Gender inequality has affected the international development; York (1998) assumes that "women—who comprise the majority of the poor, who constitute more than half the world's population, and who do two thirds of the labor—make only one-tenth of the money and own only one-hundredth of the property" (p. 23). The obstacles and challenges which women face on a daily basis play a leading role in the emergence of the different movements, associations, originations, and other institutions which reconsider the current situation of women worldwide. Therefore, there is nowadays a vibrant debate among scholars about the importance of promoting a greater "awareness of and intentionality toward gender equity and women's participation and empowerment" (Ball, 2019: 5).

3.4. The Psychological Factor

Although education and employment can empower women, the role of culture and psychology cannot be denied. Women empowerment is a multi-dimensional issue that attracts the attention of scholars and researchers from different fields and disciplines. Great efforts are dedicated to study and interpret economic empowerment paying less attention, unfortunately, to the psychological perspective.

Women have been sidelined and neglected because of culture, patriarchy, socialization and other factors. Patriarchal norms, gender disparity, and marginalization hold back women's empowerment plans. Gholipour, et. al. (2010) assume that social standards and norms may limit women's empowerment; there are some cultural and social constraints that directly influence the access of women to education and income. In a number of contexts, these norms "permit women to earn money without retaining control over it or gaining any position in the family or society, in these situations men are the ultimate beneficiaries of women empowerment" (Gholipour, et. al., 2010:58). Differently put, the husbands, fathers, or brothers of some women might deprive them from their salary; therefore, these women become the primary beneficiaries of empowerment. According to Davis and Watson (2000), well-educated and job-holder women suffer more and live in worse conditions compared to none educated and housekeeper women in some societies. Educated and employed women could not gain necessary freedom and empowerment in some circumstances.

Many scholars have acknowledged the importance of psychological empowerment and view it as being more effective than the economic one, including Thomas & Velthouse (1990) and Spreitzer (1995, 1996). Studies demonstrate that for an effective empowerment to take place, there are some psychological states to consider. Gholipour, et. al. (2010) confirm that there are six dimensions of psychological empowerment which are: impact and self-

determination, being meaningful, Professional growth, independence and decision-making, self-actualization and competence, and Trust.

Women need to promote a number of skills and abilities in order to face life challenges. The empowerment of women is a process in which different factors affect the social and economic participation of women. If a woman is not psychologically prepared, empowerment will be an impossible outcome.

Impact and self-determination are models which women should develop to have an influence over outcomes in one's work, family, and community at large. An individual's behavior influences social interactions. Spreitzer (1995) thinks that every person, a man or a woman, must have the occasion to exert influence in order to have an impact on outcomes, processes, and results. Still, Self-determination is the internal need to control the environment, according to Conger & Kanungo (1988). In the context of women's empowerment, it refers to the "need to choose, to initiate and regulate actions or to choose the process and work behaviors at work" Gholipour, et al (2010: 60). In simple words, it is the ability to make choice without being influenced by any person or circumstance.

Moreover, positive feelings towards the quality of work, initiated by women, are primordial and impact the process of empowerment. Women need to feel that they are doing something that is valuable and worthy. The fact of evaluating the work based on their "own values" encourage women to continue their struggle and develop other skills to increase the efficiency of the work (Gholipour, et. al., 2010: 60).

Professional growth is another dimension which gains much attention in economic studies. It is the personal development in jobs and professions. Women in their work place should invest in professionalism because professional women are more empowered than women with average capacities. Gholipour, et. al. (2010) presuppose that empowered women

enjoy more professional growth in their career as employees or managers when their work is acknowledged to be professional.

Importantly, the independence of women and their ability to take decisions is the core of empowerment. Empowered women are considered to be those individuals who manage to take decisions on their own. Therefore, sidelined women need to be empowered psychologically so as to overcome subordination and make remarkable transfer actions to be more independent and take decisions by themselves.

Still, self-actualization and competence are qualities that ease the empowerment process. In order to make adequate choices in personal and professional life, women's confidence and capacity should be developed. Women, according to Gholipour, et. al. (2010), have to feel that they are competent to "engage in the behaviors required by the organization or family" (p. 60). Competence is a worth that is developed through formal training or education (Forrester, 1995). Women, in this regard, are empowered through positive instructions and professional training, their confidence and self-efficacy is promoted and their empowerment is realized accordingly.

Another criterion that influences the process of women empowerment is trust. Willis (1999) argues that we cannot "empower women, but we can create an environment in which they can empower themselves" (p. 73). In this vein, trust creates an "atmosphere for empowerment and grows in such an atmosphere" Gholipouret. al. (2010: 60). Empowerment is an outcome that is born and grows in an atmosphere built on the principle of trust. Solidarity and team spirit are the nucleus of empowerment; these social variables boost trust among individuals and groups and contribute in the realization of their empowerment.

To conclude, empowerment is not a program or software that can be installed; it is, rather, a process in which different communicative and humanistic approaches are used.

There are basic qualifications and requirements that encourage motivating practices in women's personal and professional life. A woman's journey needs to be marked by the attainment of various qualities that are psychological par excellence. A women's realization of her worth, rights, and independence enable her to change different dilemmas surrounding her. They do not only need knowledge, skills, and an income but they also need self-belief and self-reliance in order to make judicious life choices.

Section Two: The Implications of Empowerment in the Moroccan Context

In order to have a true democracy with equal gender participation in all spheres of life including decision making and equal participation in public sphere, efforts should be intensified to change women's conditions at the largest scale. Women's participation is needed more than ever as it is the only way to "make society more responsive to the needs of all people" (Karl, 1995: 1). Differently put, the fact of promoting the status of women will ameliorate the economic and social development of countries.

1. Women's Empowerment in Morocco

His Majesty the king Mohammed VI has continuously highlighted the importance of developing the current situation of Moroccan women:

"The achievement of social justice and regional equality hinges on the success of social policies to combat poverty, exclusion and marginalization. It is also contingent on the expansion of the middle class, the promotion of gender equality, special emphasis being put on rural areas as well as remote, mountainous and isolated zones, and on the development of an advanced social charter"(extract from the speech of the opening

of the legislative year 2011, Royaume du Maroc Chambre des Représentants, 2011).

The king clearly emphasizes the imperative inclusion of women in all the domains through finding appropriate policies to women's sustainable development. His majesty's continuous support for women's rights, along with the demands from women's movement over three decades, has resulted in a number of legal reforms that are introduced to support women's rights.

1.1. Strategies of Empowerment

In the 70s, issues of women were basically treated from a socio-cultural perspective instead of being considered as an issue that is important for the development of the country. However, women in public life, as a concern, "was not completely ignored during this time, but it was not until the 1980s that a change in approach to the topic was evident" (UNDP, 2011: 14).

Women's participation in politics and business, according to Balamoune-Lutz (2016) remains low in many countries. Thus, women's empowerment and gender parity have become mandatory goals in the post 2015 development agenda of development. After decades of unsuccessful development approaches, empowerment as a participatory perspective takes place as a paradigm of development in the Moroccan context. It has become, accordingly, a prerequisite for the Moroccan government to deal with developmental challenges and comprise them into the national strategies to promote the situation of women.

In order to implement and preserve the main aims and objectives of the Moroccan constitution, the state, in this regard, has developed strategic plans to realize gender equality and parity as they generate poverty and exclusion. Issues of women have received much attention on the part of authorities and stakeholders from different backgrounds with an

emphasis on reconsidering the conditions of women. Therefore, many national and international conventions are signed, many reports are written, many measures are taken, and many strategies are thought about and realized to sustain women's development and improve their situation.

In this perspective, the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) drew up a detailed report in July 2015 on the condition of gender equality and parity in Morocco. The NCHR has always devoted much care to the importance of the issue of women in the country. The report, accordingly, provided a thematic analysis of the position of gender equality and parity, preserving and implementing the aims and objectives of the constitution "ten years after reforming the Family Code, four years after the Constitution and 20 years after the Beijing Platform for Action" (NCHR, 2015: 1).

The NCHR report addressed post-constitution legislative reform; and highlighted the efforts done by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Authority for Parity and Fight against all Forms of Discrimination (APALD) to eliminate violence against women as well as the Organic Law No. 02.12 (2012) to promote the representation of women. The report, furthermore, devoted a section to the different anti-discrimination measures developed to achieve equality and parity. It dealt with issues of child marriage, legal *Wilaya* (guardianship) of mothers over their minor children, divorce for irreconcilable differences (*Shiqaq*) and its advantages, the unequal inheritance legislation, and women's right to pass their nationality to their children (art. 6)(NCHR, 2015: 2).

Regarding Women's access to justice, women, especially poor ones, face difficulties in accessing the judiciary system. It was, therefore, significant to establish family departments and special units with qualified professionals and experts in the courts to facilitate access to this service for women and children (art. 6) (NCHR, 2015: 2).

The report also contained a section entitled “impunity and legitimacy: gender-based violence and stereotypes” (art. 6), (NCHR, 2015: 2). It included different efforts, plans, and initiatives used to fight gender-based violence. For the National Council for Human Rights, violence against women is attributed to the deficiency of the judiciary system. In this respect, the National Questionnaire on the Prevalence of Violence against Women (NSPVW) demonstrated that the acts of violence that are liable to be punished by law are hardly ever reported. Additionally, the present legal framework is still characterized by many shortcomings (NCHR, 2015: 4).

Violence against women is an observable fact that is manifested because of other reasons like school curricula, media, and the reproduction of gender stereotypes. These impact factors are, unfortunately, “less feminized and often tend to favor moral and patriarchal values at the expense of the strict and fair implementation of the law” (op. cit., 2015: 4.).

1.2. Recommendations for Empowerment

Importantly, the NCHR’ report of the year 2005 suggests specific recommendations to support the condition of women; these are as follows:

- Enact in accordance with the standards of the constitution and specificities of the international conventions
- Reconsider the law, define discrimination, and punish it.
- Create the Authority for Parity and Fight against All Forms of Discrimination to guide, monitor and assess the laws and public policies,
- Establish the Advisory Council for Family and Children to defend the rights of all family members.

- Adjust the Family Code in order to give women equal rights in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution and Article 16 of CEDAW.
- Extend the services of family solidarity fund to support even children born out of the institution of marriage.
- Give women the equal right to pass their nationality to their foreign spouses.
- Commend and approve a law on violence against women that takes into consideration the standards of international conventions (NCHR, 2015: 4, 5).

2. Gender Equality and Parity

Gender equality and fairness are principles that are not overlooked on the part of the government. Therefore, the (2016) report of the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development (MSWFSD) acknowledges that women's conditions need to be developed; women should be empowered through giving them legal status as active participants who can partake in the development of the country. In Chapter nineteen, for instance, the Constitution clearly brings to light that "equality between genders in all the various civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights and freedoms" enable the state to realize the principle of parity (MSWFSD, 2016).

His majesty, king Mohamed VI launched the National Human Development Initiative (NHDI) in harmony with a participatory approach in order to deal with the social problems. This led to the declaration of a number of proposals. So as to implement the suggested recommendations to support women's rights according to the new constitution, a government plan for equality labeled 'Icram' has been developed, MSWFSD Report (2016:10). 'Icram' is a governmental plan (2012-2016) and (2017- 2021) initiated by MSWFSD; it aims at supporting women's rights and ensuring gender equality.

The reforms launched by Morocco under the leadership of His Majesty the King Mohammed VI, have enabled the country to step forward toward strengthening the foundations of fair and sustainable human development.

2.1. The Effect of Moroccan Family Code

Importantly, the Moroccan Family Code has become a significant cross road in increasing gender equality. A number of articles of the constitution such as Article 4, 19, 20, and 51 were modified and updated to turn the conditions of women into better (MSWFSD, 2016: 11).

The application of the Family Code has led to increasing the number of marriage documentations from 236.574 marriages in 2004 to 306.533 in 2013 as well as decreasing the rate of early marriage (underage marriages conducted in 2014 did not exceed 10.71% of the total marriage contacts) (MSWFSD, 2016: 12, 13). For divorcees, a number of measures have been taken to reconsider their conditions; therefore, the Family Solidarity Fund was activated to protect both divorced women and their children from impoverishment. In October 2015, 7,465 divorcees benefitted from the fund for a total of 68,516 million (op. cit., 2016: 12, 13).

2.2. The National Strategies and Plans to Reduce Inequalities between Sexes

The report of MSWFSD (op. cit., 44, 45, 46) confirms that Moroccan governmental institutions have developed an integrated national policy in order to trim down unfairness and disparities between sexes. The national strategies developed in this respect include:

- The national strategy to combat violence against women in 2002
- Executive action plans in 2004
- The National Strategy for equity and equality between men and women
- Participatory assessment in October 2008 for gender-specific objectives.

- The approval of a government plan in 2003 for equality towards parity 2012-2016
- The National Strategy to promote women: institutionalization and dissemination of the principles of equity and equality, combating all forms of discrimination against women, upgrading the education and training system on the basis of equity and equality; promoting fair and equal access to health services; upgrading basic infrastructures to improve the living conditions of women and girls; social and economic empowerment of women; equal and equitable access to administrative, political and economic decision-making positions; achieving equal opportunity between men and women on the job market.
- The National Strategy “Digital Morocco” (2013) which aims at encouraging women entrepreneurs, especially in micro-enterprises, to use Information Communication Technology (ICT) in order to improve their productivity.
- The National Strategy for Migration and Asylum, which aims at integrating both immigrant women and female refugees into girls’ training programs, health programs, media and outreach programs, and the adoption of special programs to help immigrant and refugee women (victims of abuse and human trafficking) benefit from partnership with associations and NGOs.
- The National Strategy for Sustainable Development to attain the national vision of development in 2020.
- The new strategic vision for educational reform for 2015-2030 in order to create a new school model based on the foundations of fairness, equal opportunity, and quality for all.
- The national program for environmental rehabilitation of village schools.
- The higher education and scientific research strategy to ensure justice and equality in access to higher education for 2013-2016.

- The new national strategy for vocational training for 2021 to ensure access for both male and female citizens to vocational training.
- The Integrated National Youth Strategy (2015-2030) to ensure universal participation of young people, both male and female, in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.
- The strategic medium-term work plan for the institutionalization of gender equality.

Other institutional mechanisms have been also created to promote the situation of women in Morocco. The main aim of these institutions is to preserve women's rights at the national and international level.

2.3. Institutional Mechanisms to Develop the Status of Women

At the national level, many governmental institutions are established to advance the status of women, protect, and promote their rights. The institutional mechanisms include, according to the MSWFSD report (2016: 48, 49, 50), the following:

- Different government structures in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Health, The National Mutual Aid, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and the Ministry of Planning.
- A women's commission was created in 2007 within the Directorate of International Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, called the "Integration of Women in Development" unit.
- State Secretariat for Social, Family and Children's Welfare was created in 1998; then, its name changed to the Ministry Delegate for women and family care, childhood and the integration of handicapped individuals in 2000; then it turned into the State Secretariat in charge of Family, Children and Persons with disabilities in 2002, the State Secretariat in charge of Family, Solidarity and Social Work in 2004, and the

Ministry of Social Development, Family and Solidarity in 2007, and it finally took its current name: the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development in 2012.

- An administrative structure was created to be in charge for women's issues: the Women's Directorate, vested by the Ministry and in cooperation with other administrative structures and government sectors.
- The Ministerial Committee for the Governmental Plan for Equality was created in July 2013 under the chairmanship of the Head of Government.
- The Joint Technical Committee between Ministries was created in 2013 to follow the execution of the government's plan for equality.
- The Social Pole Gender Commission is created in April 2014 to integrate a gender approach in all programs and initiatives associated with the work of the Social Pole.
- The Tripartite Leadership Committee and its thematic working groups were established in 2006 in order to pursue the performance of the national strategy to combat violence against women.
- Care units for women and children victims of violence were instituted in 2007 to combat violence against women.
- The Moroccan Center for Information, Documentation and Studies related to Women began its work in 2004 to conduct, publish research and studies, and evaluate Moroccan women's conditions; however it has stopped operating since 2008.
- -The National Observatory committee was created in 2014 to improve women's image in the media.
- The National Observatory on Violence against Women was established in 2014.

- The Center of Excellence in Gender was created in 2012 in partnership with the UN Women’s Commission to sustain research and government policy in the area of gender responsive budgeting.
- The Observatory for Gender in Public Service was instituted in 2010 to integrate the principle of gender equality in civil service.
- The Support Fund was created in 2008 to encourage and strengthen women’s representation in politics.
- The Support Fund for Social Cohesion was created in 2012 to endorse social cohesion and fight poverty and fragility.
- The “For her” Security Fund was launched in March 2013 to empower women and encourage them run businesses and profit from loans.
- The Fund for Rural and Mountainous areas Development, created under the Finance Act of 1994, which was renamed under Chapter 20 of the Finance Act of 2012. The fund is created to help rustic areas attain human development and economic rehabilitation.

Accordingly, it is obvious that the Moroccan government has established numerous institutional mechanisms to deal with women’s issues in different domains and develop their status in the Moroccan context. The following sub-section provides a presentation of the various institutional mechanisms created in order to protect human rights.

2.4. Institutional Mechanisms to Protect Human Rights

Regarding the institutional mechanisms which were created to protect women’s human rights and freedoms and sustain development at different levels (MSWFSD, 2016: 52, 53) listed a number of institutions which aim at defending women’s rights, these institutions are:

- The National Council for Human Rights, which was founded in 1990 in order to ensure the protection of human rights.
- The Economic, Social and Environmental Council which began its work in February 2011.
- The Advisory Council for family and childhood was created to pursue the status of family and children.
- The Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad (CCME) was founded in 2007 and contributed to shaping public policies that allow Moroccans living abroad to maintain their rights.
- The High Authority of Audiovisual Communication was founded in 2002 to ensure respect for opinion and the right to information in the audio-visual field.
- The Competitively Council in charge of ensuring transparency and fairness in economic relations.
- The National Commission for integrity and preventing corruption was created to contribute to ethics and morality in public life.
- The Supreme Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research.
- The Advisory Council on Youth and Associative improve the situation of young people, develop their creativity, and motivate them to engage in national life.

In brief, the protection of human rights has been an important responsibility that is realized in Morocco thanks to a number of institutional mechanisms. Still, the uplifting of women's status has been also a major concern in a variety of international partnerships.

Along with the realization of institutional mechanisms, the state has signed a number of partnership agreements to advance the situation of women in Morocco. In this perspective, the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development signed a partnership agreement with the UN Women on April 23, 2014. According to report issued by MSWFSD

(2016), the partnership aims at supporting “the institutionalization and standardization of the main beliefs of justice and equality between sexes” (p. 70).

To conclude, there are different variables and initiatives that affect the level of gender equality in Morocco. To explain, the reform in the Moroccan family code in addition to the different strategies used to reduce gender inequalities and the establishment of a variety of institutional mechanisms to develop the status of women and protect human rights, as well as the international partnerships are all impetuses that aim at realizing gender parity.

Importantly, the empowerment of rural women forms an issue that will be examined in the subsequent sub-section. The sub-section will cover aspects related to different projects, cooperatives, and traditional manufacturing.

3. The Empowerment of Rural Women

Different are the action plans that have been adopted by the government in order to guarantee the financial independence of rural women. Women, in the country sides, have suffered from different faces of subordination, marginalization, and stigmatization. As a reaction, the Ministry of Agriculture has set measures to reconsider the frightening situation of women, especially those in the peripheries. The ministry has, accordingly, established solidarity projects that fall under the second pillar of the Green Morocco Plan Support Program (African Development Bank, 2012).

The results achieved between 2011 and 2015 are summarized in 47 projects. Rural women’ beneficiaries reached the estimated number of 7.806 or 47%. The government has also sustained approximately 1.779 women’s cooperative under the Green Morocco plan, which includes 32.126 members (MSWFSD, 2016: 30).

3.1. Projects of Promotion

The Moroccan government has struggled to create projects that generate an income. Specifically, 16 projects have been accomplished in the agenda of the Millennium Challenge program for 1230 rural women. Moreover, 30 projects have been realized under the sponsorship of the Arab Organization for Agricultural Development, directed to support 300 rural women. More than that, 15 projects were launched in collaboration with the European Commission of the composition and Agriculture in the period between 2012 and 2015 in favor of 796 beneficiaries, (MSWFSD, 2016: 30).

3.2. The Cooperative Initiative

The cooperative model, however, is considered to be the most appropriate and effective way to empower women, especially rural ones. The model is judged 'efficient' as it aims at improving "the social, economic and position of women and her place in society alongside men" (MSWFSD, 2016).

Taking into account the effectiveness of the cooperative model, the number of cooperatives has reached the number of 2280 in 2015, with 37 960 members and a capital of MAD 17,012,212. 987 cooperatives are in traditional industries, followed by the agriculture sector (763), Argan (274) and food products (170). From a regional perspective, Souss-Massa-Draa region occupies the lead with 389 women's cooperatives followed by Laayoune-Boujdour-Sakia El Hamra (375 cooperatives) and Guelmim- Smara (228 cooperatives)" (MSWFSD, 2016: 30, 31).

3.3. Traditional Manufacturing

In terms of traditional manufacturing, many craft houses have been created to improve the lifestyle and living conditions of women. In this regard, 3.650 women are

currently working in these houses in carpets, and sewing, and embroidery. 839 women's cooperative for traditional manufacturing were created at the end of 2014 with 34.877 members and 15 trademarks have been created for the benefit of craftswomen (MSWFSD, 2016). That is, craft houses and cooperatives have taken place in order to contribute to the improvement of women's capabilities. Without those cooperatives, rural women would have never got the chance to take responsibility for "management and governance of public associations and to participate in decision-making" (MSWFSD, 2016: 31).

Equal access to different services has always been a desirable goal; the Moroccan government has made significant attempts to ensure gender equality in terms of access to health services and education. The next sections provide information about the diverse attempts made to achieve equality in service-access.

4. Equal Access to Health Care Services, Education, and other Resources

In the Maghrib regions, in general, the status of women has improved since the early 1960s. Sadiqi (2008) affirms that "the health standards for the entire population have increased, access to school has been democratized, paid work has been generalized, an increasing number of women are participating in the political arena, and the domain of religion has become more accessible to women"(p. 451). Women's condition has shifted from a state of stagnation to improvement in many aspects, including health, education, political participation, etc.

Gender disparity in Morocco is an issue that is manifested in social, economic and political discourse. The National Charter for Human Rights(NCHR) confirms in its report of the year 2015 that Moroccan women are neglected and less looked after by the country's endeavors in education/training, health, employment, access to resources and decision-making compared to their male counter parts. Yet, a number of measures have been taken to achieve

equality and parity in economic, social and cultural rights. The country has made remarkable efforts to improve the conditions of women.

4.1. Access to Health Care Services

In terms of health care access, the Ministry of Health affirmed in the 2009' National Questionnaire of the Population and Family Health that women have enjoyed better access to health services. In this regard, statistics show that the contraceptive frequency rate (67.4%) is higher compared to previous years. Additionally, maternal mortality has decreased by 50.7% compared to 2003-2004, according to the national demographic questionnaire (2009-2010) (NCHR, 2015).

Regarding access to health care services, Morocco has made notable progress in the field of health care for women. The Moroccan Constitution namely Chapter 31 validates the fact that all the Moroccan citizens “benefit equally from the right to treatment, health care, social protection, health coverage and solidarity” (MSWFSD, 2016: 16). The state has made it clear that women in rural areas need an urgent creation of motherhood clinics and maternity services. Significantly, the government is encouraging the conception of a space for awareness and sensitization in addition to the development of mechanisms to improve “health indicators like child vaccination, surveillance during pregnancy, childbirth under medical surveillance, and reducing pregnancy risks and mortality” (MSWFSD, 2016: 16). To this end, Morocco has managed to decrease the maternal mortality by three quarters between 1990 and 2015, according to the same source.

Moreover, a huge number of vulnerable and marginalized categories, including women, have benefited from the medical assistance system RAMED. Those people have benefited from free access to centers of medical care and treatment. Statistics demonstrate that until January of the year 2016, more than 3.49 million families have been registered and

benefited from the system, (MSWFSD, 2016: 16.). In addition, Morocco has attained national coverage by units providing health care for women and children victims of violence.

Women with disabilities including elderly women, pregnant women, children accompanying their mothers, and prisoners with mental illness have benefited from a framework program for prisoners' psychiatric support since 2016. They have also profited from educational programs, (op. cit., 2016: 18).

Still, further initiatives have taken place to improve the situation of Moroccan women under the judicious leadership of His Majesty the King Mohammed VI and with coordination with other partners. The state, in this respect, has implemented measures to achieve sustainable development and social fairness among the community members.

4.2. Access to Education

In terms of education, King Mohammed VI has also contended that equal access to education between males and females is an obligation. For his majesty, education is an indispensable human right that contributes in both social and human development.

Many efforts are made to reform the Moroccan educational system in order to guarantee gender parity and enable girls to access all levels of education without sex favoritism. The report of MSWFSD (2016: 14) confirms that the percentage of girls' enrolment has been marked with a noticeable augmentation. At the national level, the number of enrollment to primary education has increased from 96.3% in (2010-2011) to 98.5% in (2014-2015) whereas the proportion of girls' enrolment to secondary education has augmented from 73.5% to 86.7%.

4.2.1. The Strategic Vision of the Educational Reform (2015-2030)

The government has also designed a strategic vision for educational reform 2015-2030. This vision is developed to include the principle of gender equality, equity, quality, and development in all axes (HCETSR, 2015).

In sum, to fight illiteracy, Morocco has been making noteworthy efforts to eradicate illiteracy among youth, rural women, female prisoners, and other beneficiaries. The country has also been trying to find suitable approaches to reduce the number of drop outs and increase the level of literacy even in remote areas.

4.2.2. Rehabilitation of Rural Schools

Importantly, the conditions of rural schools have been reconsidered. In this respect, the national program for environmental rehabilitation of rural schools is designed to “provide essential facilities such as drinking water and sanitation, and promote education in environment and sustainable development with 17,000 rural schools”, (MSWFSD, 2016: 33). Specifically, 231 rural schools in 28 provinces got environmental rehabilitation in 2014 at the estimated cost of 11.5 million Dirhams; these schools were equipped with special toilets for girls, boys, and children with special needs. The action plan of the program, moreover, aims at “providing adequate gender sensitive environments for the implementation of the sustainable development plan for 2030” (MSWFSD, 2016: 34).

Morocco has continuously tried to set up reforms that can contribute to political, economic, and social human development. The country has put more focus on the principles of equal opportunity, fairness and social integrity aiming at reducing disparities among men and women. It has also aimed at setting up values of democracy, human rights, and social peace among its citizens (MSWFSD, 2016: 35).

5. Women's Political and Administrative Empowerment

According to Alami (2006), the participation of women in politics has been a major concern for studies; while the issue of women in the public administration has recently begun to seize the consideration of researchers. In the 1970s, however, writers expressed different explanations to account for the presence of women in the lower administrative levels of the hierarchy and their complexity in accessing decision-making positions (Imanssar, 1978: 132).

Morocco's preparation for the 4th United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing at the very beginnings of the 1990s increased interest and curiosity in the topic and led to further scientific research. The 1990s was marked by the first national endeavors "to engage in the process of democratization" United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2011: 14). Researchers in the social sciences became more and more engaged in the subject.

5.1. The Political Level

Different measures have been taken by the kingdom of Morocco to empower women at the administrative and political levels. At the political level, Morocco has aimed at increasing the number of women in the political sector to meet the international standards at the national and/ or local representation. The country, therefore, has adopted legislative and legal policy; the Constitution of 2011, for example, allowed for the opportunity of implementing "positive discrimination" (MSWFSD, 2016: 24). In this regard, Morocco has made constant attempts at the level of electoral laws, and serious decisions have been taken to review the involvement of women in the political life. Consequently, the elections of November 2011 were marked by the augmentation of the number of seats won by women. In this context, women "won 67 seats in the House of Representatives, and during the period when the report was prepared, two women chaired political parties and there are six female ministers" (op. cit., 2016: 25).

Women in most MENA region are denied the opportunity to have an influence over parliamentary debates, laws, and political agendas (Sarah & Mona, 2008; Swiss, Fallon & Burgos, 2012). In terms of political participation of women in the Moroccan context especially in the councils of territorial communes, the status of women has also undergone some sort of improvement. In the communal and regional elections of September 4th, 2015, for instance, women represented 21.94% of total nominations in communal elections, and 38.64 % in regional elections (MSWFSD, 2016: 25).

Statistics demonstrate that the regulatory Law No. 34.15 affected the election of council members of territorial communes, and the communal elections on September 4th, 2015. Thanks to this law, women managed to get 255 seats out of 678 in the regional councils, or 38%, and in the collective councils, women got 6,673 seats out 31,000, or 22%, a figure which has doubled compared with the 2009 elections. Regarding the House of Councilors, the percentage of the seats got by women knew a noticeable increase as women got 14 seats out of 120, or 12%, a percentage that was only 2.2% within the previous composition of the House of Councilors, (MSWFSD, 2016: 25)

Importantly, the year 2015 was characterized by the suggestion of an organizational law (No.34.15) on local collectivities to modify the method of election's nomination. The government recommended the use of "a single nomination list that includes two parts: one that includes the names of male and female candidates, and one with only female candidates" (op. cit., 2016: 41). Additionally, a gender approach was considered in the three regulatory laws which were issued in 2015 and accepted by the houses of parliament. Moreover, the text of the Organic Law No. 29.11 recommends political parties to fulfill the proportion of a third for women at the national and regional levels, with an aim of achieving equality between men and women.

5.2. The Administrative Level

At the administrative level, the number of women in the public service sectors is increasing. At the end of May 2015, the percentage of females in public office was almost 39.4% compared to the year 2002 in which the percentage was 34%. Still, women's presence is advanced in the sectors of education, health, solidarity, family, and other social developmental services. Compared to their male counterparts', women's representation in access to decision-making centers is relatively moving slowly (from 10% in 2001 to 16, 4% in 2014 to 19% in 2016) (MSWFSD, 2016).

According to the report of MSWFSD (2016), the percentage of women in top responsibility positions reached the following proportions in 2016: 16% (General Secretaries) 17% (Director) and 14% (General Inspector) 21% as a (general engineer) and 33% as (an architect)". Regarding the ratio of women for appointments in public and vocational institutions, and universities, it is 50% as head of an institution, 3% as Dean, 11% as Director, and 11% as General Director. Concerning foreign diplomatic missions, the number of women in senior positions of responsibility got to 27.78% distributed as follows: 14.63% Ambassador, 6.54% second Ambassador and 8.77%.General Consul.

The World Bank (2012) asserts that most MENA countries, including Morocco, have made worthy improvement in bridging gender gaps especially in education and health outcomes; however, these investments in human development have not yet achieved higher proportions of female participation in economic and political life. To this end, more attempts should be done to improve the political, economic, and administrative participation of women in the MENA region in general and in Morocco in particular to promote gender equality and societal well-being.

6. The Combat against Discrimination and Violence

Morocco has taken important measures to fight violence against women. Both the government and civil society collaborate to challenge violence forms faced by Moroccan women. In this framework, the state has adopted the “National Strategy to combat gender-based violence in 2002, and a National Plan to activate its requirements in 2004” (MSWFSD, 2016: 18).

In December 2012, ten years after the launch of the National Strategy to Combat Gender Based Violence (2002), the government in cooperation with the civil society decided to assess the effectiveness of the strategy. The evaluation resulted in suggesting the application of a gender approach to develop fitting mechanisms to address violence against women through the intensification of the knowledge system. Accordingly, “the institutional information system for violence against women was developed, starting in 2007 as an institutional mechanism to collect various recorded data and information on women and girls victims of violence” (op. cit., 2016: 18). The system has encouraged the urgent collaboration with other institutions at both the national and regional levels including: “institutional reception cells within the courts, hospitals, national security centers and the Royal Gendarmerie” (op. cit., 2016: 18). To this end, the government has become aware of the urgent need to collaborate with other partners and therefore signed a protocol of cooperation in October 2014 with the Ministry of Health, the Royal Gendarmerie and National Security, in addition to the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development.

The Moroccan government has created centers to support women victims of violence; it has reinforced its effort and sponsored multi-serviceable spaces to look after those women. The government, therefore, has managed to offer 40 multi-functional spaces for women, which are local social structures offering a number of services to women in difficult

situations, including shelters for women victims of violence, as well as legal guidance services, and psychological and social support (MSWFSD, 2016).

The ministry has, furthermore, developed a joint project with centers for listening, guidance and legal and psychological assistance for women victims of violence. In this respect, different partnerships were confirmed and realized. Specifically, 45 listening centers were signed in 2015 for the amount of 34,377, 422 Dirhams to improve the situation of women who faced violence (MSWFSD, 2016).

Still, Morocco drafted an invoice and presented it to the Government Council in 2013 to reduce the ratio of violence against women. The demand was approved on March 17th, 2016 and transferred to parliament on April 4th, 2016. Moreover, the United Nations Fund for Population (UNFP) signed two partnership agreements with the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family, and Social Development. It aims at promoting equality and fighting gender-based violence (MSWFSD, 2016: 70).

According to the MWSFSD report (2016) a further step has been taken to fight violence against women in Morocco; it involves the implementation of TAMKIN program 2008-2012 as well as the adaptation of a participatory approach with civil society.

6.1. International Anti-Discrimination Conventions

The Moroccan constitution highlights the importance of the equal treatment of men and women; therefore, the government has immensely struggled to fight against the diverse forms of discrimination. Chapter 19 of the 2011's constitution, in this context, demonstrates that every “man and woman enjoy, equality, the rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character” (William, 2012: 8). Men and women, on an equal basis, are provided equal opportunities to overcome structures of discrimination and marginalization to decrease disparity among women. In nutshell, the

Moroccan government emphasizes the imperative need of the attainment of parity between men and women in a number of rights.

To overcome the manifestations of discrimination, the civil society including governmental and nongovernmental organization strengthen their efforts to fight the obstacles and challenges that women meet in their everyday life. A number of international conventions are signed to promote and emphasize women's human rights.

In this context, the Moroccan government outlined the Optional Protocol III that concerns the "Convention on the Rights of the Child on the procedures for lodging complaints in 2012" (MSWFSD, 2016: 35). Moreover, in May 2014, it signed three agreements with the European Council "regarding the personal relations of children, exercising of their rights, protection from exploitation and sexual abuse" (op. cit., 2016: 35).

Importantly still, Morocco has also drafted the Optional Protocol for other reasons; it was outlined to "prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children" (op. cit., 2016: 36). Other protocols were highlighted namely the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 2012, and the Protocol to the International Convention against Torture in 2014 (MSWFSD, 2016). Morocco, furthermore, signed the Optional Protocol to "the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women which was approved by parliament in July 2015" along with the accession to the Convention "CEDAW" (MSWFSD, 2016: 36).

Regarding the cooperation and interaction with UN human rights system, Morocco has encouraged the production of appropriate mechanisms to be updated about the procedures, and recommendations that the UN organization declares. Moreover, constructive dialogues with the UN made it possible for Morocco to have an idea about universal periodic

observations, reviews, and reports. Morocco, therefore, has made noticeable efforts concerning human rights in general including those of women, (op. cit., 2016: 36).

Due to its interests in women's empowerment, Morocco has benefited a lot from the UN's recommendations. Thus, the kingdom has worked on the preparation of an action plan that implements the general recommendations and approvals suggested by the UN, especially those related to indicators of the Millennium Development Goals, (MSWFSD, 2016: 36). Moreover, access to the international standards of human rights enables Morocco to encounter a representative advancement. The structural reforms and implementation of the foundations of democracy and human rights principles were the starting points toward the typical progress that Morocco has witnessed. Differently put, the efforts made by the government have paid off; the European Union, in this framework, has acknowledged the steps forward made by Morocco and documented the country as a "Partner for Democracy at the Council of Europe" (MSWFSD, 2016: 37).

The Council of Europe in cooperation with Morocco drafted a plan that focuses on the democratization and realization of human rights. The cooperation aims at attaining equality between men and women, and combating violence against women under the teamwork of "Priorities 2012/2014 to Morocco in the framework of cooperation with neighboring countries" (op. cit., 2016: 37).

Importantly, Morocco has always hoped for an effective partnership with the United States. Hence, under the leadership of his Majesty the King Mohammed VI, Morocco has built up a strategic dialogue to reinforce and strengthen the relationship of the two countries. A number of significant agreements that concern chief priorities were triggered during the last ten years, (op. cit., 2016: 37).

6.2. National Fight against Forms of Discrimination and Violence

The Moroccan legislative system has given much importance to the development of women's status. The government has re-evaluated the constitution and introduced further institutional reforms to institutionalize the endorsement of women's rights and fight forms of discrimination and violence.

First of all, the implementation of the Family Code has led to a number of merits, including "an increase in documented marriages, a higher ratio of stable marriages, and stabilization of the rate of polygamy, in addition to an increase in conciliation between the couple" (MSWFSD, 2016: 37).

Moreover, Morocco outlined an Act on combating violence against women in 2013. The law aims at guaranteeing the prevention of women from all forms of violence by "developing conceptual framework for the phenomenon and creating and institutionalizing care, reception and guidance mechanisms for female victims of violence" (op. cit., 2016: 37).

Morocco has adopted law no. 103-13 on fighting violence against women which was suggested in 2013 and approved on February 14, 2018 by the House of Representatives, Human Rights Watch Organization (2018). The bill suggests that violence against women is defined as "any act based on gender discrimination that entails physical, psychological, sexual, or economic harm to a woman (HRWO, 2018). Besides, the new law "criminalizes some forms of domestic violence, establishes prevention measures, and provides new protections for survivors" (MSWFSD, 2016: 2). In sum, the country puts forward measures to put an end to violence and suggests mechanisms of protection to victims of violence; it has also proposed strategies to improve women's access to justice services.

The Moroccan government is aware of the importance of establishing pillars to achieve equality and empower women. Within this framework, the Moroccan constitution

highlights issues of parity in a number of articles, namely 19 and 164, (MSWFSD, 2016). The kingdom has also outlined a draft act that fights disparity and encourages gender equality; the act highlights strategies to combat forms of discrimination and favoritism against women. The government, furthermore, has nominated an anti- discrimination commission during the Government Council held on March 19, 2015 to work on issues of gender fairness and parity. The commission aims at defending and protecting the rights of women at the economic, social, and environmental levels. The Commission's functions include "monitoring violations and tracing Discrimination against Women, as well as preparing observations and reports to the government and the concerned authorities about the adequacy of national legislation with the international conventions drafted by Morocco" (MSWFSD, 2016: 38).

It is noteworthy to mention that even the Penal Code that concerns victims of rape was reconsidered. In this perspective, decision- makers call for equitable legislations that protect the human rights of women. Therefore, in early 2014, "the Parliament unanimously agreed to amend Chapter 475 of the Criminal Code relating to the marriage of underage rape victims" (MSWFSD, 2016: 38). The code has suppressed the right of the rapist to marry the victim. It has also called for prosecution instead. It has, furthermore, extended the prison sentences from one to five years in the case of kidnapping a minor without a sexual relationship (MSWFSD, 2016: 38).

Moreover, a number of articles in the Penal Code, including 494, 495 and 496 were deleted in 2013. The reform aims at ensuring "comprehensive and effective criminal protection for women" to enable them enjoy their fundamental rights with dignity, (MSWFSD, 2016: 38).

Importantly still, an Audiovisual Communication Law 77.03 was introduced; the bill was drafted in May 2014. It aims at obliging "audiovisual communication operators to work on promoting the culture of gender equality and contribute to the fight against discrimination

and negative stereotypes based on gender” (MSWFSD, 2016: 39). It also encourages the “prevention of advertising which includes the abuse of women, or promotes inferiority or discrimination of either gender” (MSWFSD, 2016). The government resorted to audiovisual communication as a means to fight discrimination, disparity, and stereotypes against women.

The case of female domestic workers was not neglected; the bill 19.12, therefore, comes to reassess the conditions of household workers. It aimed at eradicating and criminalizing the phenomenon of girls less than 16 years of age working as maids. It also tried to “regulate the employer-employee relationship for this category towards ensuring their social protection, economic and social rights” (MSWFSD, 2016: 39).

Other laws are drafted to guarantee equal treatment of men and women; the urgent need to promote human rights, especially of people with special needs or disabilities, pushed the government to plan a Framework law “during a government council in June 2014 and a Ministerial Council on October 2014” (MSWFSD, 2016: 39). The law intended to provide a frame to defend and endorse the rights of persons with disabilities. It was drafted as a “response to the objectives of institutional and social actors in this area” (MSWFSD, 2016: 39). Article 3, for instance, “stipulates non-discrimination and equality between males and females in a state of disability”; while Article 20 improves “the rights of persons in a state of disability” to guarantee the fortification of all persons with disabilities, and suggest measures of protection from all forms of violence for women with special needs, (MSWFSD, 2016: 39).

Summary

It is a fact that the reforms, partnerships, and strategies have widened women’s scope in both private and public spheres; however, women’s status is largely defined by gender hierarchies, see in this context: Guessous (2000), Bessis (2007), Naciri (2002), Ait-Hammou (2004) and Shaaban (1991). Women, especially, in the Maghrib regions are still dominated by

men and controlled by the patriarchal system. Many of the Arab countries are governed by a patriarchal system and dominated by male-centred ideologies, Mernissi & Lakeland (1988), Belarbi (1993), Sadiqi & Ennaji (2006).

The continuous efforts of the Moroccan state are of great value in improving the situation of women. Yet, it is undeniable that there are obstacles that still hinder women's empowerment; those constraints are considered as sustainable development challenges. It has become imperative to empower women and achieve gender equality using alternative strategies. In this regard, other developmental programs could be created and used to support the national policies. Programs and projects with social change objectives need to be encouraged and funded.

I shall argue that theatre as a tool for social development could be alternatively used with the other national strategies to support women in Morocco. Theatre could be used as an official platform to discuss and deliberate women's social issues, difficulties, obstacles, challenge, and suggest possible solutions to empower them. This form of art is going to be examined in this study as a proposal which can create new dynamic between officials, authorities, civil society, creative artists, female prisoners, etc. Theatre can institute new horizons that can break the hierarchy of power and put people from different backgrounds together. It could be used a data producer which can influence decision makers to generate gender policies with a view of meeting the needs of women.

The present work is an attempt to approve or refute the hypothesis that theatre could prove its effectiveness and approachability in bridging the gap between the government, decision makers, civil society, artists, and the community at large to empower ex-female detainees and to realize gender equality and parity. So, what genre of theatre could be used to empower women? How can it be empowering? What are its main procedures of

empowerment? How does it function? Who are its main participants? Who are responsible for funding it? And other questions will be explored in the present study.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

Conducting a scientific research requires the adoption of a determined research methodology. The knowledge of research methodology, approaches and techniques are very important to be mastered on the part of the researcher in order to be able to scientifically answer the research questions and test the validity and reliability of the study.

The focus of this chapter is to provide the reader with a general idea about the most important steps taken during this study. It introduces the research methodology used to collect and analyze data to test if Applied Theatre namely Prison Theatre helps in women's empowerment in Morocco. This chapter is generally about describing the sampling procedure and the target setting making a clear statement of the type of the research design and the approach used. It also outlines in detail the measures taken to ensure validity and reliability during the construction and administration of the data collection instruments. It contains also a description of research participants and the process of data coding and analysis.

1. Research Design

Research design is considered to be the structure of the scientific study. Kothari (2004) defines it as “the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data” (p. 31). Differently put, research design is the logic that associates the research questions with the data collection and analysis methods. It must at least contain: a clear statement of the research problem, the main procedures and techniques used to gather information, the population of the study, and the methods used in processing and analyzing data, Kothari(2004). This study

employs three different instruments for collecting data, namely questionnaire, structured interview, and narrative interviews.

This study used a mixed method research as it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data. It, however, puts much interest on the qualitative data in the data collection procedure and analysis. The combination of these methods provides a better understanding to the research problems.

The adopted research method is defined as a “research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study” (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007: 4). Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been adopted in this study to complement each other. The qualitative method, though it helps in collecting very detailed and in depth data, its sample remains small in comparison to quantitative method; it, furthermore, answers research questions that are not answered in the questionnaire. Moreover, the use of a quantitative method can lead to generalization as the sample is larger and it also answers specific research questions addressed in the study.

The rationale behind conducting a mixed method research study is attributed to different reasons. The use of a combination of research approaches provides a “more complete and comprehensive picture of the study” (Doyle, Brady, & Byrne, 2009: 178). Furthermore, the first phase of the research has specific findings that require explanation and some other unexpected findings need further enlightenment. Therefore, we have employed other research techniques to ensure validity. More importantly, to minimize the weaknesses of the primarily used method, it was primordial to use another research method (Creswell, 2015a). This study is conducted to answer both quantitative and qualitative research questions; thus, two research methods were employed.

2. Research Methodology

This study is descriptive in nature. Kothari (2004) presupposes that the main purpose of descriptive research is to provide a “description of the state of affairs as it exists at present (p. 2). In this regard, this study describes four main aspects. It first describes the extent to which Applied Theatre is manifested in the Moroccan context. It also describes the main genres of Applied Theatre that Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform. The study, furthermore, describes the extent to which those artistic forms respect the general frame of an Applied Theatre practice in Morocco. It provides also a detailed description on the way Moroccan female prisoners are empowered through PT, specifically Prison Theatre (PT).

Therefore, a questionnaire, a structured interview, and narrative interview, as specific techniques of data collection, were used to address the following research questions:

- RQ1: To what extent is AT practiced in the Moroccan context?

Null Hypothesis: Applied Theatre is not yet practiced in the Moroccan context

Alternative Hypothesis: Applied Theatre is practiced in Morocco.

- RQ2: What genres of AT do Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform?

Null Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not perform all genres of AT.

Alternative Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre stakeholders manage to perform all forms of AT.

- RQ3: To what extent do the forms performed by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of AT?

Null Hypothesis: The theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not respect the general frame of AT.

Alternative Hypothesis 1: The theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of AT.

- RQ 4: To what extent do Moroccan theatre practitioners use AT in general and Prison Theatre in particular as a strategy to empower female prisoners?

Null Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre practitioners do not use Prison Theatre strategies to empower female prisoners.

Alternative Hypothesis: Moroccan theatre practitioners use Prison Theatre strategies to empower female prisoners.

- RQ 5: To what extent does female ex-detainees' empowerment manifest during their incarceration and after their release?

Null Hypothesis: Female ex-detainees' empowerment does not manifest neither during their incarceration nor after their release.

Alternative Hypothesis: Female ex-detainees' empowerment manifests during their incarceration and after their release.

In sum, because of the nature of this investigation, one data resource does not seem sufficient and many of the initial results should be further explained through the use of another research method. Consequently, the use of a qualitative technique is significant to enhance the primary used method, the quantitative one.

2.1. Approach Used

The first stage of the study was a quantitative exploration of the state of Applied Theatre (AT) in Morocco. For this objective, questionnaires with clear, brief and unambiguous questions were administered with a large sample of people interested in

Moroccan theatre in general and PT in particular. The sample of this study includes respondents from different parts of Morocco namely Agadir, Tangiers, Fes, Ait Melloul, Inzeguan, Ouarzazat, and Errachidia. The questionnaire is used to answer the first two research questions which are: To what extent is Applied Theatre manifest in the Moroccan context? And what genres of Applied Theatre do Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform?

In parallel with the quantitative approach, a qualitative one was also adopted. Accordingly, a Structured Interview was designed to answer the following research question: To what extent do Prison Theatre projects respect the general frame of an Applied Theatre practice? And how do Moroccan theatre practitioners use AT in general and PT in particular as a strategy to empower Moroccan female prisoners? The structured interview was conducted with two activists in the field of PT. They are: Rachid AMAHJOUR and Rachid Ali EL AADOUANI. This research instrument was used to elicit information about the interviewee's personal information, the background of their projects, its structure, process and operationalization, the projects' creative aspects, the participants, process of women's empowerment, assessment, and measurement.

Additionally, a Narrative Interview as a qualitative research instrument of data collection, was employed to gather data that can help in demonstrating the extent to which female ex-detainees' empowerment manifests during and after their incarceration. This research instrument "encourages and stimulates an interviewee (who in NI is called an 'informant') to tell a story about some significant event in their life and social context" Jovchelovitch & Bauer (2000: 4). The NI was used with four informants N. E, M. M, Z. B, and B. S (only initials are used for confidentiality purposes) to elicit information about the different stages of their life cycle: before, while and after their imprisonment.

2.2. Sample Population

Rugg (2007) affirms that with “research involving human subjects, you have to decide what type of people to use and how many of them to use” (p. p 67, 68). Therefore, sampling is an important phase in research. It is, according to Kumar (2011), “the process of selecting a few (a sample) from a bigger group (the sampling population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group” (p.177). Thus, the diversity of the population in terms of background, profession, and intellectual level would make the investigation colossal. Therefore, it was vital to limit the population from which a sample for the study is drawn. In this context, the specific sample of this research was the attendants of the conferences organized during Festivals, Theatre Association’ members and acquaintances interested in theatre. The sample involves also activists in the field of PT and ex-female detainees.

Access to the sample was feasible in that the researcher was herself either a participant or an attendant in those conferences. Not only participants and assistants of the conferences were part of the sample, but other theater practitioners were involved in the sample as well; they were the researcher’s ex-students in the Master Program: Artistic and Aesthetic Education at ENS Meknes, Moulay Ismail University and friends belonging to the Free Theatre Association for Culture and Art and Fes Laboratory Association for Performance’ Arts. Still, other colleagues and friends urge their students and acquaintances to participate in the study by answering the items of the questionnaire. The sampling method opted for in this study is non-probability sampling; particularly ‘Convenience sampling’ or what is generally referred to as ‘availability sampling’ and ‘snowball sampling’.

Convenience sampling concerns a sample “that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility” (Bryman, 2012: 203). This technique of sampling was used because it allows the researcher to collect the needed data from a “first to hand” population who is conventionally available to participate in the study, Kothari (2004) and Denscombe (2007) since the researcher was available too in those conferences. Still, snowball sampling is also used as a non-probability sampling technique. The researcher, in this context, asks few participants to identify other individuals who could be a part of the sample. It is then a method which begins small and finishes larger. Neuman (2014) assumes that snowball sampling is a “nonrandom sample in which the researcher begins with one case and then, based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again” (p. 274). This technique is used because it is the “easiest way to produce something close to a list of the whole population when no existing list is available” (Elder, 2009: 8). That is, the interpersonal relations and the social network of the researcher impacted the size of the sample and helped in gaining a representative sample of the population by the end. Table 1 provides more details about the sample of the study.

Table 1 : Sampling Techniques

Sampling Method	Sampling Technique	Population	Representative Sample
Non probability sampling	Convenience sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Agadir International Festival of University Theatre in its 20th session from 25 to 28 April, 2015 -Tangiers International Festival for Performative Arts in its 11th session by the International Center for Performance Studies from 30th April to 5th May, 2015 -Tangiers International Festival of University Theatre: Memory and Theatre organized by the International Center for Performance Studies from 29th to 31st October, 2015 -The International Festival of Performance Arts, Inzeguan- Ait Melloul. The first session from 5th to 7th May, 2017 - Free Theatre Association for Culture and Art, Fes in November 13th, 2018 - Fes Professional Association for Performance Arts, Fes in November 27th, 2018 - The 11thOuarzazat Amanay International Festival from 27th to 31st March, 2019 -The International Conference of Arts Performance in Agadir between 23th to 29th June, 2019 -The 5th International Conference of Madness in Philosophy, Literature, and Arts in Errachidia 14/15 November, 2019 	158
Non probability sampling	Snow ball sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Experts in Moroccan theater (facilitators) -Female participants in AT 	2 4

A number of 158 respondents from different conferences taking place during the festivals and conferences mentioned earlier and other members of Theatre Associations in Fes were approached to respond to a quantitative questionnaire on the manifestations of Applied Theatre in the Moroccan context as well as its different genres available in Morocco.

At the international level, Applied Theatre is a tool that is used to make change; it is spreading and found in different domains including business, tourism, education, health, politics, etc. Conversely, in Morocco, this genre of art is very new and it was mentioned for the first and last time in an academic context in November 25th, 2017 by Warstat in his speech on Creating Contact and Friction: Applied Theatre and Aesthetics, Theatre Forms in Motion, in an International conference entitled: Symposium in Hommage to Christel Weiler and Mohammed Behjaji, organized by the International Center for Performance Studies (ICPS) in Tangier. Yet, the manifestations of this form of theatre are limited to some experiences in the Moroccan context. For that reason, to examine the significance of Applied Theatre in empowering Moroccan women, the researcher targets 2 respondents who are experts in the field of Prison Theatre via a structured interview as a qualitative research technique. To intensify and deepen the study, four female participants who had participated in a Prison Theatre project were also interviewed using a narrative interview.

In sum, the choice of the sample is an important decision in the process of the research. It needs to be well selected to be representative and appropriate to the nature of the research and the research questions addressed. It is worth noting that both convenience and snow ball sampling have provided the relevant data that could be used to answer the research questions. The snowball sample has eased contact with Moroccan theatre practitioners and facilitators who had tried to empower women through artistic projects in prison institutions. It also has made it trouble-free to meet participants in PT projects.

2.3. Research Setting and Participants

This study was conducted in different settings because of the nature of the research, the questions, and the sample. Basically, it is a three phase research. The first part of this investigation took place in seven Theatre Festivals and conferences in diverse cities of Morocco and in different periods. The setting involves also two Theatre Associations in Fes: the Free Theatre Association for Culture and Art for Amateur and Fes Professional Association for Performance Arts for professional.

The data gathered by means of questionnaire were collected during the period between April 25th, 2015 and November 14th, 2019. The questionnaire mainly targeted people fascinated by the field of theatre in a number of International and National Festival in, Agadir, Tangiers, Fes, Ait Melloul, Inzeguan, Ouarzazat, Errachidia, and Theatre Association members in Fes.

A three pages questionnaire was administered to 300 individuals at the entrance door of the conferences place and Theatre Associations (Appendix 1). Worth noting that the questionnaires were hand-delivered in the conferences and associations mentioned. The respondents were asked to return the questionnaires by the end of the panels when leaving the conference hall or leave the questionnaires on their chairs if possible. For ethical considerations, the confidentiality of the data was maintained and the respondents' names were not part of the items. More details are provided in table 2 below.

Table 2: Questionnaire Research Settings

Name of the Festival/ Conference and Associations	City	Number of Distributed Questionnaires
Agadir International Festival of University Theatre in its 20th session from 25 to 28 April, 2015	Agadir	20
Tangiers International Festival for Performative Arts in its 11 th session by the International Center for Performance Studies from 30 th April to 5 th May, 2015	Tangiers	20
Tangiers International Festival of University Theatre: Memory and Theatre organized by the International Center for Performance Studies from 29 th to 31 st October, 2015	Tangiers	13
The International Festival of Performance Arts, Inzeguan- Ait Melloul. The first session from 5 th to 7 th May, 2017	Ait Melloul and Inzeguan	15
Free Theatre Association for Culture and Art, Fes in November 13 th , 2018	Fes	17
Fes Professional Association for Performance Arts, Fes in November 27 th , 2018	Fes	19
Ouarzazat Amanay International Festival for Theatre in its 11 th session from 27 th to 31 st March, 2019	Ouarzazat	16
The International Conference of Arts Performance in Agadir between 23 th to 29 th June, 2019	Agadir	20
The 5 th International Conference of Madness in Philosophy, Literature, and Arts in Errachidia 14/15 November, 2019	Errachidia	18

The researcher also used a detailed and in-depth structured interview with two Moroccan Applied Theatre practitioners from Tangier and Rabat (Appendix 2). The respondents of questionnaire were informed about the general aim of the study at the very beginning. Most of the variables coming up from the respondents' answers were employed and analyzed to provide and ensure validity.

The data gathered by means of a structured interview were given by Rachid Amahjour and Rachid Ali El Aadouani, two activists in the field of PT.

The interview with Rachid Amahjour took place in Tangiers, in the hall of Andalusia hotel on July 20th, 2017. The hotel is known for its conference room where many of the International Conferences of the ICPS have been organized and it is the place where I first met Mr. Amahjour as a participant at the international conference of Alternative Dramaturgies of the Millennium on July 1st, 2014. The interview lasted for 2 hours.

The meeting and the interview with Rachid Ali El Aadouani occurred in Rabat, exactly in the cafeteria of the ISADAC (Institute Supérieur d'Art Dramatique et d'Animation Culturelle/ Superior Institute of Dramatic Art and Cultural Animation). In a rainy day of February 6th, 2019, a 2 hours -data -collection meeting had been realized and important data were gathered.

Importantly, a narrative interview was used also as a data collecting technique with four ex-female detainees who participated in a Prison Theatre based project. The NIs were conducted from February to May 2019. The respondents were motivated to tell stories about their experiences in interviews which lasted between 75 minutes to 90 minutes.

Four released participants in the project of "*M'bark W Messaaoud*" were asked to participate in the study by providing narratives about their three life stages: before and during incarceration, and after their release. They were Z. B, N. E, M. M, B. S (for anonymity only initials are used). The choice to interview only four female participants out of seven was not randomly made. They were chosen to contribute and enrich the study with their narratives which include also an important part of their lives that is observable and reflects the major changes in their life standards after their release. Table 3 provides more details about the participants.

Table 3: Interviewees' Profile

Initial of the Interviewee	M. M	Z. B	N. E	B. S
Gender	woman	Woman	Woman	Woman
Age	27	25	20	21
Area	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Current city of Living	Marrakech	El Ouidane village	Oujeda	Welad Hriz, El Mbarkiyin
Educational Level	Primary Education	Primary Education	Primary Education	Secondary Education
Marital Status	Married	Divorced	Single	Single
Profession	Home-business (jewelry)	Traditional oven Owner	Fish cleaning shop	Livestock project
Crime	Covring up a crime and hiding a quantity of drugs	Participation in a rape- crime	Robbery and unjustified carrying of weapons	Stealing a gold bracelet
Prison Sentence	3 years	5 years	18 months	8 months
Contribution	Participant	Participant	Participant	Participant

The NI' respondents were met individually in different cities of Morocco from February to May 2019. The first interviewee was N. E; the NI took place on February 27th in Marrakesh. The whole process occurred exactly in a café in *El Fena* Square from 15 p. m to 16 p. m. The second NI was with M. M on March 5th in Marrakesh too. The interviewee accommodated me in her house as she had a health issue which prevented her from meeting me out; the meeting lasted for about 75 minutes of continuous talk from 15 p. m to 16:15 p. m. The third interviewee was Z. B whom the researcher met on April 8th in Tangier; our NI happened in an open space near *Sour El Maaguazin* (a cultural place in the city of Tangiers)

and it lasted 1 hour and a half (from 10 a. m to 11: 30 a. m) as the respondents had much to share. B. S was the last interviewee to collect data from by means of a NI. The meeting took place in Casablanca on May 22nd, exactly at a café at the Oasis railway station (the nearest place to the respondent) and it lasted 1 hour (from 16 p. m to 17 p. m).

To conclude, the narrative interviews with the four respondents provided rich data. The meetings could not have been realized without the help of El Aadouani (the facilitator of *M'bark W Messaaoud*), the theatrical piece in which the four informants participated in during their incarceration and after their release.

2.4. Pilot Study

In order to test the effectiveness of the questionnaire, a number of questions are provided by (De Vaus, 1985: 83) as a simple check list to be considered. Below are some of the suggested questions:

- 1- Is the language simple? Researchers should not use technical or jargon words in order to help the respondents understand the questions.
- 2- Can the questions be shortened? It is advisable to use short questions.
- 3- Is the question double barreled? It is not desirable to ask two questions at a time.
- 4- Is the question leading?
- 5- Is the question negative? For De Vaus negative questions are misleading.
- 6- Do the respondents have the necessary knowledge? It is pleasing to start by filter questions to check if the respondents have the needed knowledge.
- 7- Will the words have the same meaning for everyone? It is necessary not to use confusing words and terms.
- 8- Is the question ambiguous? The use of clear questions is important.

- 9- With sensitive topics, have you used direct or indirect questions? De Vaus advises researchers to use indirect questions when addressing sensitive issues.
- 10- Is the frame of reference for the question clear enough? Respondents need to have detailed options in choice.
- 11- Does the question artificially create opinions? With sensitive issues, the respondents need to have 'don't know' and 'prefer not to say' as an option.

In addition to taking the above listed questions into consideration, we have also conducted a piloting study as a pre- testing element of the questionnaire and interview before the actual collection of data. The pilot study is simply defined as “a small study to test research protocols, data collection instruments, sample recruitment strategies, and other research techniques in preparation for a larger study” (Hassan, Schattner, & Mazza, 2006: 71).

The questionnaire was administered one month (March, 2015) before the operational functioning of the study to a piloting population of 30 respondents who are comparable to members of the population. The piloting population includes University teachers in the Department of Arabic Studies belonging to Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University, Faculty of letters and Humanities, Dhar El Mehraz, Fes and theatre practitioners at the café of La Comedie, downtown Fes city, which is known for attracting a number of international and national playwrights, actresses, actors, creative artists, researchers in the field of theatre, etc.

Pilot respondents were administered the questionnaires in the same manner as it was supposed to be administered to the actual participants of the study. Respondents were requested to answer the questions, identify the main ambiguities and difficult questions, comment on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the questions, give feedback on the clarity of the language, as well as to present some suggestions and/or recommendations to have a clear and a well-structured version of the questionnaire instrument.

Importantly, a teacher and researcher in the field of theatre, who is not a participant in this study, was also interviewed in order to test whether the questions of both the structured interview and the narrative interview are well structured, relevant, and understandable.

After the implementation of the pilot study, some significant and necessary adjustments were made in the layout and content of the questionnaire and interviews with the help of the supervisor to prevent any misunderstanding. The changes included raising new questions and removing others, making questions clearer and more reasonable to the respondents, and changing the length of the questionnaire, structured interview, and narrative interview.

Finally, the questionnaires along with the structured and narrative interview guides were written in the Arabic language because they are supposed to address a population that is not familiar with the English language. The instruments were afterward submitted to a teacher of Arabic to study the questions and stop at the major linguistic problems and modify the structure and style when necessary. The decision to conduct a pilot study is, indeed, essential and effective as it helps in ensuring the feasibility of the instruments by guaranteeing that questions are correct, clear, short, understandable, and appropriate to the context of the study.

3. Data Coding, Analysis, and Representation

To present a sophisticated, scientific, and accepted analysis, it was important to identify the appropriate approach that can be used to analyze the quantitative and qualitative data.

So that we could address the research questions and test the hypotheses stated in the introduction, this section describes the measures taken to code, analyze, and interpret both quantitative and qualitative data collected by means of questionnaire, structured interview, and narrative interview.

3.1. Questionnaire

The data analysis of a questionnaire is an important step in social research in general. It is the process which gives value to the quality of the study. Aiming at achieving the main objective of the present study, a number of steps were followed. Initially, a statistical program was selected to be used so as to analyze the data; it was the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

SPSS was preferred over R, Python, STATA, and other software programs because it is the one usually used in the social sciences. Moreover, SPSS is a proficient and an inclusive questionnaire research platform which provides straightforward numerical findings. We subsequently created a data file in SPSS, coded the data, entered and saved them in the platform, checked, edited, and saved the final version to have reliable tables and graphs that can be used in the section of analysis.

To analyze descriptive quantitative categorical data in SPSS; descriptive data stands for the data used to “present information in a convenient, usable, and understandable form (...) aimed primarily at describing the data” (Ho, 2006: 1), while categorical data is “the data that represents different categories, rather than a scale” (Greasley, 2007: 7), the researcher went through two main measurements: she first described the frequencies and analyzed the cross tabulations between them to gain more information about the variables and have a clear understanding of the frequency distributions of the categorical variables.

3.2. Structured Interview

The data gathered by means of a formal and structured interview (SI) in which the questions were asked in a standardized manner were subject to a qualitative analysis following the recommendations of (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The SI was used to understand

the world of Prison Theatre from the point of view of the interviewees. It was also employed to unfold the meaning of their experience and its implications.

The whole process of analysis began with the data transcription; I afterward organized the overall script in broad categories. Some information were later on “discarded” (a concept suggested by Wolcott, 1994) as a way to reduce the data into important themes through a process of condensing the codes to easily find over-arching themes that could form the subject of analysis.

3.3. Narrative Interview

The narrative stories were analyzed thematically after being heard and chronologically shaped as the respondents used to talk about their experiences and their lives without following a time sequence (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). A thematic analysis was chosen as a strategy for analyzing narratives because different themes were explored and identified.

A thematic analysis of stories collected by means of the narrative interview was adopted. The researcher first tried to decrease the data by transcribing the recorded interviews taking into account the general aims of the study. To construct the coding frame, the researcher started by producing a qualitative text composed of passages that were paraphrased into summary sentences. The qualitative text is a restructuring of the stories into a frame that makes sense; the process is generally referred to as “restorying” (Creswell & Poth, 2016: 115).

The summary sentences were paraphrased and reduced to have relevant keywords. The researcher, consequently, had three drafts. The first contained the transcription; the second enclosed the first paraphrased and summarized lessening; while the last draft controlled the keywords only.

Once the text was coded, the final product was written. It precisely included thematic analysis of the interviews supported and illustrated by testimonies from the original tape recorded narratives.

4. Ensuring Validity and Reliability

This section deals with the main issues that concern validity and reliability as common terms discussed in both quantitative and qualitative research.

4.1. Validity and Reliability of the Questionnaire

Validity simply answers if the data collection instrument used in the study measures what it was intended to measure. Joppe (2000), in this regard, defines validity in quantitative research as a measurement process which “determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are” (p.1). Differently put, validity is about the extent to which the research instrument is appropriate to meet the research objectives. Validity, accordingly, refers to the extent to which the questionnaire measures what it claims to measure to meet the objectives of the research.

The researcher should take care of the content itself (face validity). In this regard, the sections of the questionnaire contain nominal close ended questions that were derived from the conceptions of Ackroyd (2007), Etherton & Prentki (2006), Nicholson (2005), and Prendergast & Saxton (2009, 2013) to make sure that the instrument’s items are representative and appropriate to measure the extent to which Applied Theatre manifests in the Moroccan context and to measure also the genres of AT prevailing in Morocco. Once face validity is ensured, construct validity needs to be established. At the level of the construct, the researcher has been concerned with the extent to which there is coherence and correlation between the items of the instrument. Differently put, construct validity measures “convergent validity” (Garson, 2013: 8). To ensure both face and construct validity, a teacher of theatre and

performance studies was consulted to assess the extent to which the instrument's items match its objectives and to see whether the different items of the instruments cohere well.

Reliability, however, designates the stability and consistency of a measure. Joppe (2000), for instance, defines the concept of reliability as “the extent to which results are consistent over time” (p. 1). That is, results should be stable and similar if the questionnaire or any other research instrument used in quantitative research is re-administered. Golafshani (2003), in this vein, asserts that “a high degree of stability indicates a high degree of reliability” (p. 599). Other ways put, the more the results are stable and consistent, the more reliable they are. To ensure reliability, the results of the questionnaire used in the present investigation have not happened by chance and they are free from unpredictable errors, including poor conditions of administration, lack of understanding of the items on the part of the respondents, lack of clear question structure, etc.

4.2. Validity and Reliability of the Interviews

Reliability and Validity are issues that have been described differently in qualitative research. Many of the advocates of qualitative research like: Lincoln & Guba (1985), Eisner (1991), Lather (1991, 1993), Wolcott (1990, 1994), Angen (2000), Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle (2001), Richardson & St. Pierre (2005), and Creswell & Poth (2016) believe that the validity measures applied in quantitative research are not pertinent to qualitative research. In this vein, the concept of validity in qualitative research refers to “the extent to which the data is plausible, credible and trustworthy; and thus can be defended when challenged” (Bashir, Afzal, & Azeem, 2008: 35). It is a responsibility to ensure the reasonability, credibility, honesty, and consistency of the results generated by means of using qualitative research instruments.

Validity and reliability are not tackled unconnectedly in qualitative research; they are on the contrary dealt with co-relationally as one entity to measure the trustworthiness and reliability of the results gathered by qualitative research instruments. Since Patton (2001) asserts that reliability is an outcome of the validity in a study, it is significant to cover basically the issue of validity. To establish validity and trustworthiness, this research employs a method of “triangulation” suggested by Lincoln & Guba (1985) in terms of two major aspects: data sources, and methods. The data were collected from different sources including activists in the field of PT and ex-female detainees who participated in PT projects and who provided different opinions, perceptions, and experiences. Moreover, two qualitative research instruments were used to collect the data: SI and NI. The data were subsequently analyzed according to consistent themes to establish the general findings of the study.

Summary

In this chapter, the researcher dealt with the research design of the study, the research methodology, and the data collection techniques used to gather the data. We have also discussed the approaches used, the procedures of selecting the sample, the research setting and participants as well as the pilot study. Data coding and analysis steps have been also elaborated in this chapter with the purpose of elucidating the different processes of the present research. Issues of validity and reliability have been also addressed respectively.

The following chapters describe the findings of the questionnaire, the structured interview, and the narrative interview. They will include the questionnaire’s data description and discussion, the analysis and discussion of the data gathered through structured interview, and finally the analysis of the data gathered by means of the narrative interview.

Chapter Four: Questionnaire's Data Description and Discussion

One of the objectives of this doctoral dissertation is to investigate the extent to which Applied Theatre (AT) is practiced in the Moroccan context. It also aims at examining the variety of AT genres Moroccan theater practitioners managed to accumulate in the last ten years. We hypothesize that Applied Theatre is either not yet practiced or practiced in the Moroccan context. The examiner also hypothesizes that Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not perform all genres of AT or they manage to perform all forms of AT. Prendergast & Saxton (2009: VI) affirm that AT is a field that is relatively new and the range of its practice is “vast; it happens all over the world as part of a grassroots’ movement involved in social change and community reflection”. Prior (2016) also confirms that “AT has continued to particularly capture the special attention of educationally or socially-focussed academics rather than performance theorists per se” (p. 40). As discussed in the review of the literature, AT enjoys a very important status; it is integrated in curricula, used in different domains, and practiced in many countries like England, Canada, France, Spain, Lebanon, Israel, Germany, Palestine, the United States, and other countries. However, it is still unknown or poorly implemented in Morocco. In this study, therefore, the purpose is to examine and evaluate the extent to which Applied Theatre is manifested in the Moroccan theatrical and socio-cultural scene.

With the obvious global interest in AT practice, this chapter attempts to describe and discuss gathered by means of the questionnaire to see if AT is known as a concept, practiced in Morocco or not, and what genres are performed. It essentially aims at providing a classification and analysis of the data gathered through the questionnaire. The overall objective is to answer the research questions in a clear, convenient, and controllable manner. Thus, the chapter presents the findings of the questionnaire administered with respondents interested in Moroccan theatre in general and Applied Theatre in particular. The organization

of the data presentation and analysis will be as follows. The researcher will first present a demographic description of the respondents' profile; the researcher will, subsequently provide a statistical analysis of the main questionnaire's items. The results of the questionnaire will be presented in the form of tables and figures to provide a comprehensive and clear understanding to the data.

Generally, aspects like gender, age, educational level, profession, theatrical status, and genre of theatrical practice of the respondents may, to some extent, influence the understanding of AT as a practice as these factors may also create differences in classifying theatrical practices and understanding its categories. In this respect, the following section will provide basic comprehensive information about the background of the respondents.

1. Description of Respondents

The present section provides a meticulous synopsis of the background information of the respondents who participated in this study by filling in the questionnaire before discussing the core data meant to study the prevalence of AT and its different genres in the Moroccan context. The section will also provide details on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

First of all, a three-page paper-based questionnaire written in Arabic was distributed to 300 participants in theatre associations, conferences and festivals to ensure a greater scope of representativeness among the population. The data collection process started in April 2015 and finished in November 2019 by collecting a return rate of 216 questionnaires.

Table 4 : Questionnaires and Return Rate

Questionnaires	Administered Questionnaires	Number of Returned Questionnaires	Number of Unreturned Questionnaires
Number	300	216	84

Percentage	100%	72.0%	28.0%
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Table 4 contains numerical data about the questionnaire. The total number of the administered questionnaires was 300 as said before. Unfortunately, the return rate was 216 questionnaires. That is to say, 28.0% did not give back the instrument; they candidly asserted that they do not have any idea about the concept let alone its manifestations. They apologized for not being able to help in the research under investigation. The return rate, however, constituted a majority of 72.0%.

The collected questionnaires were subsequently categorized according to valid questionnaires or non-valid ones.

Respondents' Returned Questionnaires

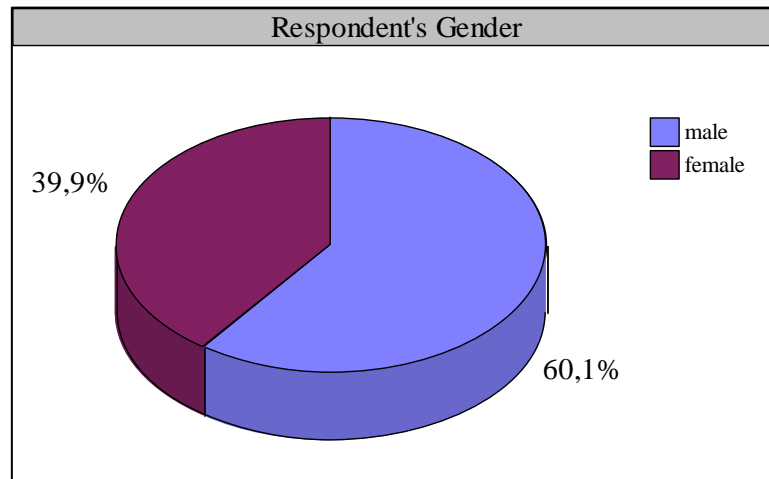
Table 5: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Valid and non-valid Questionnaires

Returned Questionnaires	Number of Returned Questionnaires	Valid Questionnaires	Non-valid Questionnaires
Frequency	216	158	58
Percentage	100	73.1%	26.9%

Out of 216 returned questionnaires, some members of the sample submitted the questionnaires without completing its items (26.9%, N= 58); their responses were accordingly discarded as the questionnaires provide non-valid data. Accordingly, 158 valid questionnaires (73.1%) are used to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses.

1.1. Gender

Figure 2 : Distribution of Percentage for Respondents' Gender



The first question that the respondents were asked is to identify their gender. As figure 2 shows, the number of female respondents was 36 with the frequency of (39.9%), while the number of male participants was 95 with the frequency of (60.1%). This shows that the number of male respondents tends to be higher than that of females which might reflect that theatre tends to be male favorite or might indicate that theatre in Morocco is still male-centered.

1.2. Age

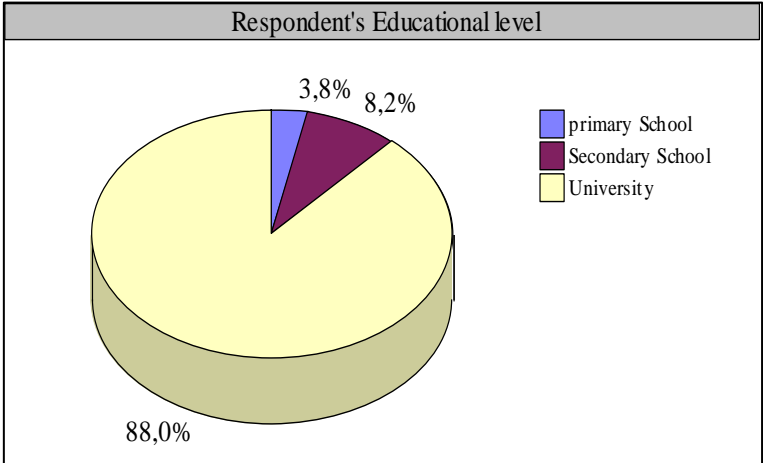
Table 6: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Under 20	9	5.7%
Between 20 and 40	133	84.2%
Above 40	16	10,1%
Total	158	100%

Table 6 presents the age of the respondents. As shown in the table, the age groups were divided into 3 main categories: under 20, between 20 and 40, and above 40. The age group between 20 and 40 formed the most dominant category with a percentage of 84.2% (N= 133) of the overall participants. Respondents aged above 40 constituted a percentage of 10.1% (N= 16). However, only 5.7% (N= 9) of the respondents were under the age of 20. The data retrieved from the questionnaires reveal that younger people are more active, concerned, and interested in theatre at least in the different theatre associations, conferences, and festivals I gathered data from.

1.3. Educational Level

Figure 3: Distribution of Percentage for Respondents' Educational Level



In addition to gender and age, the respondents were also asked to identify their educational level. From figure 2, it is apparent that the respondents' educational level varies according to three classifications. Most of the respondents of this study have studied at the university; these form a ratio of 88.0%. Hence, respondents with a university level made the most dominant group of respondents with (N=139), followed by a minority of respondents with a secondary school level (8.2%, N=13), and others with a primary school level (3.8%, N=6). Taking into account the statistical data, the researcher can surmise that a high

proportion of the respondents of this study have a higher educational level and they tend to favor theatre studies as expressed in the data provided.

1.4. Profession

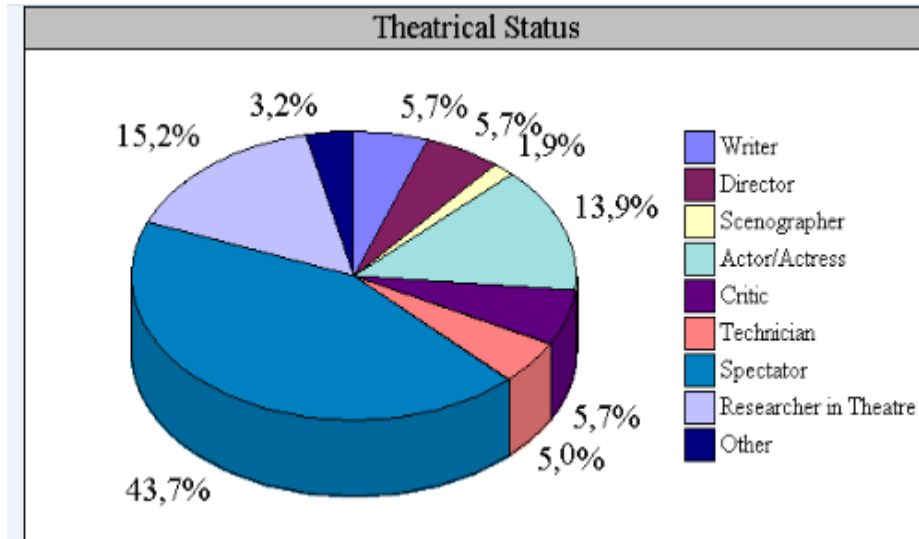
Table 7: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents’ Profession

Profession	Frequency	Percentage
University Student	93	58.9%
Employee in Public sector	29	18.4%
Employee in private Sector	6	3.8%
Employee in Informal Sector	16	10.0%
Unemployed	14	8.9%
Total	158	100%

As indicated in table 7, the respondents have different professions. With dissimilar fractions; they identified themselves as students, employees in public sector, private sector, and informal sector. Some others also identified themselves as unemployed with a percentage of (8.9%). The results displayed in the table indicate that the majority of the respondents (58.9%, N=93) are university students interested in theatre studies, research, and activities. Moreover, out of the 158 informants targeted in this questionnaire (29, N=18.4%) are employees in the public sector. Other respondents with a proportion of 10.0% (N= 16) confirmed that they work in the informal sector and they are fascinated by theatre. Unemployed respondents also participated in this study; (8.9%, N=14) of jobless people take part in this investigation. Other employees in private sector filled in 6 questionnaires with the ratio of 3.8%. The statistical results demonstrate that people with different backgrounds provide a rich data about the topic examined in this study.

1.5. Theatrical Status

Figure 4: Distribution of Percentage for Respondents' Theatrical Status



It is apparent from this figure that the respondents of the questionnaire have different theatrical statuses. 43.0% (N=68) are theatre spectators and 15.2% (N= 24) are researchers in the field of theatre. Other respondents identified themselves as actors and actresses with the ratio of 14.6% (N=23). The respondents involved also 9 writers, 9 stage directors, and 9 critics with the percentage of 5.7% for each category. The figure portrays also that 5.0% (N=8) are technicians in theatre. 5 respondents (3.2%) did not, unfortunately, identify their theatrical status. It is, also, apparent that the lowest category concerned scenographers as they represented only 1.9% (N= 3). The most interesting aspect of this graph is the variety of theatrical statuses the respondents have which will enrich the study with representative categorical data.

1.5.1. Respondents' Genre of Theatrical Practice

Table 8: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for the Respondents' Genre of Theatrical Practice

Genre of Theatrical Practice	Frequency	Percentage
Amateur	96	60.8%
Professional	62	39.2%
Total	158	100%

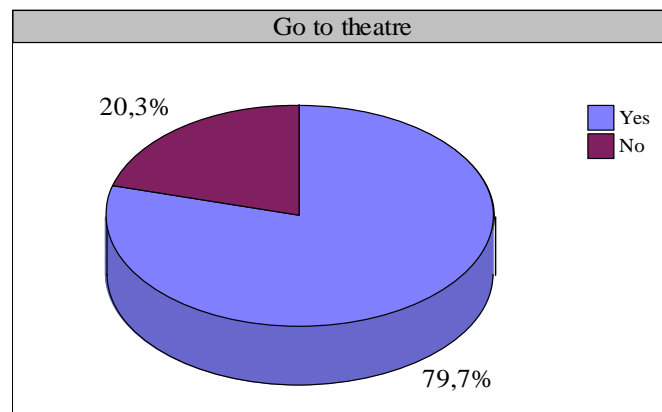
Table 8 shows that two categories of respondents who contributed to the completion of the present study: amateurs and professionals. In this vein, the statistics show that a majority of 60.8% (N= 96) are amateurs while 39.2% (N=62) are professional theatre practitioners. The diversity in terms of the genre of theatrical practice is an important factor in divulging a mixture of dissimilar answers.

1.6. Interest in Theatre

The following section describes the respondents' interest in theatre in general. The first yes or no filter question was: do you go to theatre? The aim of the question was to find out if the respondents go to theatre sittings to see theatrical performances.

1.6.1. Respondents' Visit to Theatre Buildings

Figure 5 : Distribution of Percentage for Respondents' Visit to Theatre Buildings



From the data presented in Figure 5, it is evident that the number of the respondents who visit theatre buildings is higher than that of the respondents who do not. A majority of 79.7% (N= 126) disclose that they go to theatres to watch theatrical performances while 20.3% (N=32) expressed that they are interested in theatre but they do not go to theatres as spectators, critics, researchers, or performers.

The respondents who attend theatre shows were also asked about the frequency of visiting theatre buildings to see the extent to which they are concerned with theatre in general.

1.6.2. Respondents' Frequency of Theatre Visiting

Table 9: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Regularity of Theatre Visiting

Respondents' Frequency of Theatre Visiting	Frequency	Percentage
Weekly	22	17.5%
Monthly	17	13.5%
During Festivals	61	48.4%
Others	26	20.6%
Total	126	100%

As the table indicates, a number of 61 participants out of 126 (48.4%) visit theatre buildings during festivals. 20.6% (N= 26) conveyed that they visit theatre buildings just by chance. However, a minority of 17.5% (N=22) weekly attend performances in traditional theatre settings while the lowest minority monthly go to see theatrical performances with the ratio of 13.5% (N=17).

To confirm interest in theatre, the respondents were asked if they read theatrical texts or not and how many times they do so.

1.6.3. Respondents' Reading of Theatrical Texts

Figure 6: Distribution of Percentage for Respondents' Reading of Theatrical Texts

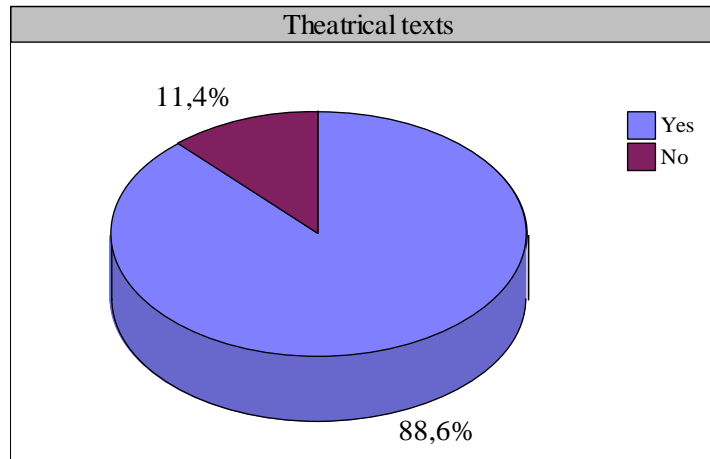


Figure 6 shows that the vast majority (88.6%, N=140) of participants who responded to this questionnaire read theatrical texts while a small portion of respondents do not favor reading theatrical texts; they form a minority of 11.4% (N= 18).

The respondents concerned with reading theatrical texts were subsequently asked about the regularity of their readings.

1.6.4. Respondents' Frequency of Reading Theatrical Texts

Table 10: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Regularity of Reading Theatrical Texts

Regularity of Reading Theatrical Texts	Frequency	Percentage
Rarely	29	20.7%
Sometimes	68	48.6%
Always	43	30.7%
Total	140	100%

As shown in table 10, a number of respondents sometimes read theatrical texts with a percentage of 48.6% (N=68). Others always do the readings of theatre-based texts forming a proportion of 30.7% (N=43). The table reveals that only 29 respondents out of the total of 140 rarely go through texts that concern theatre with a portion of 20.7%.

The respondents were asked to identify the types of theatrical texts and studies they are interested in. The question included three options: Moroccan, Arab, or western theatrical texts and studies.

1.6.5. Respondents' Reading Interests

Table 11: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Reading Interest

Type of Theatrical Texts and Studies	Frequency	Percentage
Moroccan	25	17.86%
Arab	96	68.57%
Western	19	13.57%
Total	140	100%

96 out of the 140 respondents who confirmed that they read theatrical texts (68.57%), respondents showed interest and eagerness in reading studies and theatrical texts that concern Arab theatre, 25 respondents (17.86%) preferred to read texts and studies on Moroccan Theatre, while a very small number of respondents expressed that they are more interested in reading texts and studies that are western.

The overall data emanating from the first section of the questionnaire attempted to examine the demographic information of the respondents. The aim was to demonstrate how well the respondents are interested in theater studies and performances.

The second set of questions in the questionnaire was designed to examine the extent to which the applicants are interested in Applied Theatre, and how much they know about it as a concept and as a manifestation. In this regard, the following section attempts to answer the second research questions: To what extent is AT manifested in the Moroccan context? And what genres of AT do Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform?

2. Interest in Applied Theatre

To commence this sub-section, the respondents answered questions designed to determine their familiarity with the concept of Applied Theatre. They received at first the following question: Have you ever heard of “Applied Theatre”? The respondents were also requested to specify where they heard the concept if they are acquainted with it.

2.1. Familiarity with the Concept of Applied Theatre

Table 12: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents’ Familiarity with the Concept of AT

Familiarity with the Concept of Applied Theater	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	77	48.7%
No	81	51.3%
Total	158	100%

Table 12 confirms that the majority of the respondents (51.3%, N=81) affirmed that they have not heard about the concept. Other respondents (48.7%, N=77) stated that they are acquainted with the concept.

In order to examine the source of their familiarity with the concept, the respondents were asked to indicate how they got acquainted with the conception. Different answers were suggested.

2.2. Source of Familiarity with AT

Table 13: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Source of Familiarity with AT

Source of Familiarity with AT	Frequency	Percentage
Academic Training	22	28.5%
Personal Development	13	16.9%
Books or Articles	15	19.5%
Seminars or Conferences	6	7.8%
Through a Friend	21	27.3%
Other	0	0.0%
Total	77	100%

The findings of this table give more details about the source of the knowledge that concerns the concept under examination. As mentioned before, 77 respondents expressed their familiarity with the concept of AT. 28.5% (N=22), these asserted that their knowledge about the conception is gained through academic trainings and classes. Nearly the same proportion (N= 21, 27.3%) validated that they heard about AT from a friend. Other respondents with a ratio of 19.5% (N=15) confirmed that they got to know about the concept from readings of books and articles. Roughly, the same number of respondents (N= 13, 16.9%) declared that it is through personal development, that they knew about it, while a minority of 7.8% (N= 6) heard about the term AT in conferences and Seminars.

To elicit more information about the respondents' knowledge of AT, other questions were asked. The respondents were requested to identify if they saw any theatre performance outside the traditional theatre hall. As mentioned in the review of the literature, an AT performance is a theatrical practice that is done out of the context of a theatre building.

Ackroyd (2007), in this regard, assumes that AT is a distinguishing art that operates “beyond conventional theatre spaces” (p. 7), while Thompson (2003: 200) asserts that it is an art that is practiced “within unfamiliar settings”. The respondents, in this respect, provided different answers.

2.3. Spectatorship beyond Traditional Theatre Building

Table 14: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents’ Spectatorship

Spectatorship beyond Conventional Theatre	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	137	86.7%
No	21	13.3%
Total	158	100%

As evidently exposed, the majority of respondents 86.7% (N=137) emphasized that they see performances in non-traditional settings. However, a small proportion (N= 21) declared that they have never seen theatre-based performances beyond conventional theatre settings, which indicates that only a minority of the respondents (13.3%) are not aware of the concept and the space where an AT performance is practiced.

The majority of respondents (N= 137) who stressed seeing performances beyond theatre traditional building specified, subsequently, the different settings where they saw the performances.

3. Insights on Other Settings of Performances

Table 15: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Place of Seeing the Performances

Place of Performance	Frequency	Percentage
Street	41	30.0%
School	37	27.0%
Medical Center	19	13.9%
Welfare Institution	11	8.0%
Prison	25	18.2%
Other	4	2.9%
Total	137	100%

Oddey (2013) asserts that the choice of a space is of much consideration and it is a “part of the developing process” (p. 17). The settings’ examination is an important variable; therefore, the respondents who confirmed seeing performances in settings rather than traditional theatre buildings were demanded to identify the exact place/s where they saw those performances. 30.0% (N=41) out of a total of 137 respondents, revealed that many of the performances were seen in streets; that is, they are familiar with manifestations of Street Theatre as a social setting where applied performances are practiced in front of a huge active and participatory audience. Another proportion (N= 37, 27.0%) asserted that they saw some performances in schools in the form of Theatre in Education (TIE), which is a sub-category of AT too. Still, a majority of 18.2% (N=25) attended performances in Moroccan prisons which expresses that they are specialists who facilitate or co-facilitate a Prison Theatre project. In the same vein, 13.9% (N=19) declared that they saw theatrical performances in medical

centers; these performances are part of either Theatre in Health Education (THE) or Theatre in Education (TIE) in which entertaining strategies are used to communicate issues that concern the wellbeing and security of the community. 11 respondents (8.0%) confirmed that their attendance of theatrical performances was in welfare institutions. Their confirmation signifies the prevalence of Popular Theatre (PT) and Community based Theatre (CBT) that try to connect the entire community, not a specific group with the objective of identifying and acting on the major problems and conflicts. However, a minority of 2.9% (N=4) averred that they saw some performances in other places rather than conventional theatre but they did not specify where exactly.

The data represented earlier indicate that though only 77 respondents (48.7%) acknowledged having heard about the concept of AT; the ratio increased to 86.7% (N=137) of respondents who are aware of different sub-categories of AT, including: Street Theatre (ST), Theatre in Education (TIE), Theatre in Health Education (THE), Popular Theatre (PT), Community based Theatre (CBT), Prison Theatre (PT), and other unspecified sub-categories. The augmentation of the percentage is a valid signifier that the concept of AT is still in its infancy and has not reached its fame and maturity although its manifestations are diverse in Morocco.

The topic of the performances was also examined and the respondents reported different answers. The following table displays data about the diverse topics dealt with in the performances seen by the informants.

3.1. Identification of the Performances' Topics

Table 16: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Identification of the Performances' Topics

Topic of the Performances	Frequency	Percentage
Topic Related to Daily Life	22	20.8%
Social Topics	31	29.2%
Political Topics	19	18.0%
Humanitarian Topics	11	10.3%
Educational Topics	17	16.0%
Other Topics	6	5.7%
Total	106	100%

According to Thakur (2013), theatre is an instrument of social analysis which can make a profound impression among the audience. The performers make of issues that concern the human race a major interest in their presentation; they shock the audience by daily themes that are unspoken about. The audience, accordingly, is invited to liberate their thoughts and co-participate in the different processes.

Thornton (2012) presupposes that through AT, the facilitator can “bring people together, bridge difference, heal divisions and shatter stereotypes; that it can help to build community” (p. 7). From a general basis, the needs expressed by members of the society become “the themes explored through theatre processes and presented back to the community as a theatre piece” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2002:12). The topics that have been kept virgin and not spoken about have become a priority of analysis and deliberation in AT. The general topics are generated from people, presented by people with lived experiences, to people with same conflicts.

Table 16 describes the frequency and percentage of the variant topics disclosed in the performances seen by the subjects. It reveals that 31 of the respondents (29.2%) presupposed that the seen-performances were characterized by the discussion of social themes that include issues like poverty, divorce, illiteracy, unemployment, rape, violence, harassment, etc. A proportion of the respondents (N= 22, 20.8%) confirmed attending performances in which daily life topics were discussed; the topics include issues like: public opinion, personal decision making, family issues, school problems, etc. Political topics have been also reported as issues manifested in some performances; in this vein, 19 participants (18.0%) assumed watching plays in which political matters are debated. Issues like: quota, gender equality in politics, political parties, elections, decision-making, to cite but a few were subject matters discussed on Moroccan stages. Still a minority of respondents (N=17, 16.0%) claimed that several educational topics were dominating in the theatrical experiences they saw like extra hours, curriculum, reform, memos, drop outs, education in rural areas, and others. Importantly, a minority of 10.3% (N= 11) acknowledged that humanitarian topics like moral treatment and equality-based conduct were governing the scenes and post discussions of the performances they attended. However, 6 respondents (5.7%) asserted watching performances with a plurality and diversity of topics that include health concerns, cultural-based discrimination, technology evolution, the problem of cooperatives, etc.

3.2. Aspects of Attraction

To gain more insights about the performances they have seen, the respondents were asked to state what attracted them more in those performances. They had to choose between space, participants, audience, topic, or other variables. The following table provides data about the respondents' choices.

Table 17: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Aspects of Attraction

Aspects of Attraction	Frequency	Percentage
Space	37	27.0%
Participants	30	21.9%
Audience	23	16.8%
Topic	42	30.7%
Other	5	3.6%
Total	137	100%

Different aspects attracted the attention of the respondents while seeing the performances which took place in non-traditional settings. A majority of 30.7% (N=42) were attracted by the topic/s divulged in the scenes. The topics generally tackle a majority of “interests and concerns of the members of the group” (Thoronton, 2012: 6). Based on the settings discussed earlier, the topics include: democratic practice, active citizenship, empowerment, discrimination and racism, injustice, inequality, and other concerns.

A number of 37 (27.0%) confirmed that they were attracted by the space where the performance is presented. The respondents confirmed true that they were mesmerized by the performances that are operated “beyond conventional theatre spaces” as revealed in the review of the literature (Ackroyd, 2007: 7). They might be fascinated by the setting that puts “the spectator no longer in an alienated and underdeveloped situation” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 10). A space that provides marginalized people with contexts of awareness raising, sensitization, and resistance is a space of non-fictional collective human action.

Another proportion of 21.9% (N= 21.9%) expressed that they were enthralled by the participants of those performances. It is a fact that the performers “rang from highly skilled professionals to community participants with little or no experience” (Prendergast & Saxton,

2009:20). The mixture of performers gives the theatrical scenes variation in terms of the topics disclosed, the aesthetic measures, the quality of performance, the level of freedom on stage, originality and authenticity, etc.

Importantly, a percentage of 16.8% (N= 23) asserted that the audience is the variable that attracts them more than any other aspect. The integral participation of the audience liberates them from traditionally accepted notions and they start to have new experiences through the direct participation of the audience. Paulus (2006) assumes that it has become crucial to “wake up the audience, create freedom for the audience, break all the rules of audience etiquette, and position the audience as a collaborator” (p. 335). Having both the audience and the actors expressing themselves on an equal basis in the same theatrical practice is a new experience in Morocco that encourages thought-sharing. Knapp (1976), in this regard, believes that it is needed in today’s theatre to provoke “audiences to react viscerally and emotionally by assaulting their senses, thereby, forcing them to participate in his spectacles” (p. 407). Involving the audience in theatrical performances is a major characteristic of an AT practice. Paulus (2006) and Knapp (1976), accordingly, confirm that audience’s liberated active participation is worthy of attention as it is a participatory action that is new in the realm of theatre.

A minority of respondents 3.6% (N= 5), though, declared that other features attracted their awareness in those performances; they, nevertheless, did not explain those features. The major features which can be striking in any AT-based performance are language, themes, time, play-building, the role of the community and donors, and other aspects discussed in the review of the literature. Because many of the respondents are not aware of AT as a concept, they are not conscious about its main features as well. In the same vein, the reason behind not identifying the main concerns that attract the respondents more might be attributed to the fact

that the field of AT is still new in the Moroccan context and less research is conducted on its major concerns.

As stated before in the review of the literature, the participation of the audience in any AT practice is a prerequisite. Therefore, the respondents were kindly requested to identify if the audience participated in the performances they saw or not.

3.3. The Audience's Participation

The respondents were also demanded to identify the frequency of the audiences' participation in the theatrical performances they saw.

Table 18: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Reply on the Audiences Participation

Audience's Participation	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	106	77.4%
No	31	22.6%
Total	137	100%

Table 18 gives statistical data about the frequency and percentage of the audiences' participation in the performances that the respondents of this study saw. As clearly shown, the majority of the informants 77.4% (N= 106) expressed that the audience did participate in the performances they attended. However, a minority of the respondents (N= 31, 22.6%) revealed that the audience did not participate in the theatrical scene.

3.4. Categorization of the Audience's Participation

The respondents were afterward asked to specify the nature of the audience's participation to have an idea about its diverse forms.

Table 19: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents' Categorization of the Audience's Participation

Nature of the Audience's Participation	Frequency	Percentage
Contribute in the Presentation of the Performance	29	27.3%
Participate in Acting	12	11.3%
Make Comments and Reactions during the Presentation	27	25.5%
Contribute to the Discussion after the Presentation	36	34.0%
Other	2	1.9%
Total	106	100%

The role the audience plays in an AT practice is different than that of the audience of mainstream theatre. The audience in AT can verbally and physically participate “before, during and/or afterwards” (Prendergast & Saxton, 2009: 21). Their presence is not optional; it is compulsory and “integral”, according to O’Toole (1976: 104).

AT is a field that puts communication between different social classes a possibility and responsibility. It is a framework that examines and reduces the communicative gaps between unequal members of the society. It is, thus, pertinent to support “members of marginalized, victimized and disadvantaged groups who lack access to equal privileges and opportunities” (Barnes & Coetzee, 2014: 6). That is to say, it is a platform of discussion where people share their traumatic experiences and disclose topics that are nightmarish for them.

The integral participation of the audience of the performances seen by the respondents is also examined. Out of 137 respondents, a majority of 106 (77.4%) acknowledged seeing performances characterized by the participation of the audience. The

highest proportion (N= 36, 34.0) confirmed that the audience contributed to the discussion when the play ends. Other respondents (N= 29, 27.3%) attended performances where the audience directly participated in the presentation of the performance. Importantly, a number of 27 respondents (25.5%) asserted seeing performances where the audience's contribution was restricted to comments-making and questions-raising after the presentation. While, others (N= 12, 11.3%) affirmed that the main role of the audience in the shows they saw was to act with the main participants. Yet, a minority of 1.9% (N= 2) expressed that the audience had other roles which were not specified in the questionnaires.

The data demonstrates that the audience of an AT performance are allowed to participate in the different phases of the theatrical performance. Unlike the audience of conventional theatre, AT audiences are permitted to participate before, while, and after the end of the show. The results clearly show that the spectators are given opportunities to communicate their feelings, attitudes, apprehensions, problems, and other aspects. Indeed, since there is an integral participation of the audience, there is more chance for them to speak out about their thoughts.

Nevertheless, the integration of the audience can never take place without the continuous efforts of the facilitator and co-facilitators. That is, the audience's participation is recommended and it is the professionalism of the facilitator which guarantees the smoothness of the performance through establishing good relationships between the participants and the audience. It is the mission and responsibility of the facilitator to break down the distance between stage and audience to guarantee variation in terms of participation, themes, and possible solutions.

Finally, the last question in the questionnaire was designed to examine the exact way the respondents were informed about the performances. Respondents were invited to determine the main source of information. Different sources were reported.

3.5. Means of knowing about the Performances

To know how the respondents get informed about the setting of the performances, they were asked to identify the means of knowing about the theatrical plays.

Table 20: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage for Respondents Means of Knowing about the Performances

Source of Information	Frequency	Percentage
Advertisements	5	3.7%
Social Media	28	20.4%
Friends	42	30.7%
Invitations	53	38.7%
By Chance	3	2.2%
Other	6	4.3%
Total	137	100%

Table 20 clearly displays numerical data about the different means through which the respondents knew about the theatrical shows. The majority of the respondents (N= 53, 38.7%) assumed that via invitations they learned about the time and setting of the performance. A number of 42 respondents (30.7%) claimed that they were informed about the shows from close friends working in Applied Theatre experiences. One more category of the respondents (N= 28, 20.4%) acknowledged the role of social media in communicating news on theatrical events; they confirmed that through social media platforms they were able to know about the time and place of those artistic projects. Additionally, 4.3% of the respondents revealed that they got the information from other unidentified sources, while 3.7% (N= 5) expressed that advertising is a medium that helped them to be acquainted with information on the performances. Still, 2.2% of the respondents (N= 3) revealed that they saw the performances just by virtue of chance.

Summary

Overall, the questionnaire findings showed that AT is practiced in Morocco, but the concept is still unknown among scholars, researchers, and students in the field of theatre. The 51.3%, non-randomly selected respondents acknowledged that the concept is unfamiliar though they later on expressed seeing performances that are AT practices in a wide range of settings rather than conventional theatre.

The results revealed that the manifestations of AT are diverse. A number of performances that were seen by the respondents prove the prevalence of different sub-categories of AT, like: Street Theater, Theatre for Social Change, Prison Theatre, Theatre in Education, Theatre for Health education, Popular Theatre, Community based Theatre, etc.

On the whole, questionnaire data tried to raise several issues of relevance to Applied Theatre in Morocco. It attempted to provide a comprehensive idea about its practiced sub-categories, settings, topics, audience's participation, and advertising. The following is a summary of the main outcomes from the questionnaire:

- The concept of AT is still new and unexamined in the Moroccan context.
- The concentration on reading studies about Arab theatre and Moroccan theatre affect the scope of knowledge of Moroccans interested in theatre.
- Different sub-categories of AT are performed in a plurality of settings.
- A wide range of topics are staged and discussed thanks to AT.
- The audience is no longer passive in Moroccan theatre; they can take turn, discuss, share their thoughts, and take participatory actions.
- There is a poor advertising regarding the experiences of AT.

It can be said that Applied Theatre practices have not gained their fame in Morocco because less efforts are done in publicity. Moroccan activists in this newly established art put

much concentration on the projects not their exposure as they work more on the outcomes and objectives. Moroccan researchers, scholars, and stakeholders are relatively unaware of the conception and manifestation of AT because of a number of reasons which include also media hype and publicity. Additionally, AT is not yet a topic of scientific research in Morocco which impacts the prevalence of this ‘idealistic and magical’ art.

The following chapter attempts to answer the third research question, which is to what extent do the forms performed by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of Applied Theatre? The researcher has hypothesized the following: first, theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders do not respect the general frame of AT; second, the theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders respect the general frame of AT; third, the theatrical forms practiced by Moroccan theatre stakeholders partially respect the general frame of AT.

The same chapter also aims at examining the extent to which Moroccan theatre practitioners use AT in general and Prison Theatre in particular as a strategy to empower female prisoners? The researcher hypothesizes that Moroccan theatre practitioners do not use Prison Theatre strategies to empower female prisoners or they use these strategies to empower female detainees.

As an attempt to answer these questions, a structured interview was used with two Prison Theatre’ Activists: Rachid AMAHJOUR through analyzing the project of *Telfa* and Rachid Ali EL AADOUANI through examining the experience of *M'bark W Messaaoud*.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the Structured Interviews

Introduction

This dissertation is a projection to two innovative programs that are part of Moroccan Applied Theatre. It attempts to study those artistic experiences and give insights into their role on women's empowerment at the social, psychological, and economic levels. The research attempts to portray the functions of AT in increasing women's social, psychological, and economic change. It also tries to pave the way to develop a model which is applicable to other contexts and appropriate with other vulnerable female groups.

The study offers a prospect to explore the effective impact of Prison Theatre, as a sub-category of Applied Theatre, in the improvement of the lives of women in difficult situations (prisoners). It aims at demonstrating the way PT activists re-establish trust among female participants; it also seeks to reveal original ways to build up good relationships with detainees and raise their awareness to help them deal with conflicts, manage crises, heal their scars, and make their own decisions.

This chapter is dedicated to answer the following questions: to what extent do those PT projects respect the general frame of an AT practice? And how do Moroccan theatre practitioners use AT (PT precisely) as a strategy to empower Moroccan female detainees indoor and outdoor the prison? These two questions are addressed by means of structured interviews. The interviewees concerned in this chapter are: Rachid AMAHJOUR (the facilitator of a fifteenth month PT project in Tangier), and Rachid Ali EL AADOUANI (the facilitator of a twelve months PT project in different Moroccan prisons).

Prison Theatre refers to theatre based practices within the institution of prison. It is an alternative correctional program used to directly network and interact with prisoners. It is a genre of theatre that is partly similar to other theatre practices that serve the wellbeing of

particular social categories. It is a sub-category of Applied Theatre which is widely used and acknowledged. Zhang (2017) argues that the practice of theatre in prisons is not a new artistic phenomenon; it dated back to 1789 before even the coining of the term “Prison Theatre” (p. 295). That is, the operational functioning of theatre in prisons manifested itself long time ago before the use of the concept among scholars, stakeholders, authorities, activists, etc.

Mc Avinchey (2011) and Balfour (2004), in this regard, assume that theatre based performances and projects within the institution of prison have been practiced in different countries in the world, including the USA, Lebanon, Italy, Russia, the UK, Israel, and other countries. The development and spread of PT mirrors its efficacy in finding solutions to some problems that the target detainees suffer from. That is why many of the researchers and scholars in the field of theatre, including Warr (1998), Laub & Sampson (2001), and McNeil (2012) affirm that PT is well equipped with strategies which can promote rehabilitation and empowerment in its wider context mainly the personal, social, moral, and judicial.

PT is an artistic activity with a “clear methodological approach” used to shape a different opinion about reality, Lifelong Learning Programme (N. D, p. 2). This form of art is not practiced to entertain detainees; on the contrary, it is an educational and correctional policy used to encourage motivation and develop self-acceptance among prison-dwellers. Advocates of this form of theatre aim at transforming the prison from a penal institution to a cultural and learning space. This conversion can never take place without the direct networking with “internal operators, local institutions, schools, universities and other local, national and international subjects” Lifelong Learning Programme (N. D, p. 2). Differently put, having an effective PT project entails the collaboration of a variety of operators to enhance the prisoner-prisoner and prisoner-officer relationship as well as decrease the isolation of prisoners from their own community.

Along with being a bridge connecting the world of liberty and captivity, theatre in prisons stands as a connector between prison officers and prisoners. It is a medium that bridges the communicative gaps between these two different operators within detention and correctional centers. PT has captivated the attention of Moroccan scholars also; Amahjour (2014), in this context, assumed that PT is enriched with plenty of creative ways to deconstruct power relationships and bring people together as human beings. It is, furthermore, a “sophisticated approach towards the inclusion of prisoners and a way to achieve their reintegration”, (p.16) (my translation). In simple words, PT is a medium that enables prisoners gain more self-control, self-esteem and self-confidence; it also boosts mutual-trust and develops the skills of prisoners through engaging them in social activities with other collaborators.

Amahjour (2014) firmly argued that theater in general and PT in specific is qualified with practical tools to deal with issues that concern human beings. For him, it is a “field for dissecting human relations; it is a space to defend human rights, a way to challenge moral and human values, and a space to learn about features of humanity”, (p. 16) (my translation).

The interviewee thought that theatre makes it possible to better understand human relationships; it also permits people, in the context of prison, to know a lot about their human rights and the possible ways to defend them. In brief, Theatre is a flexible art used to address universal human and moral values that serve humanity. It also has a noble mission; it directly penetrates painful details that prisoners cannot avoid thinking of.

To this end, the inclusion of theater in prison institutions is highly required; it provides essential opportunities for “spiritual nourishment and helps in developing feelings and emotions”(Amahjour, 2014: 16) (My translation). It amplifies the individual’s chance to develop positive thoughts within themselves and towards others. The practice of PT permits the reintegration of prisoners; it allows them to have a high spirit, refined mindset and

civilized interactions, (Amahjour, 2014). In a nutshell, theatre could be efficient in helping detainees become good citizens who can participate in the wellbeing of their country after serving their sentence.

It is wrong to say, however, that only prisoners need to practice theatre in prison; prison staff also should take part in the majority of PT activities. It is a necessity to live out theatre inside Moroccan prisons on the part of the administrative staff and the prisoners on an equal basis to see things from a different point of view and to have a mutual understanding. Amahjour (2014), in this vein, assumed that “prison staff and inmates equally need theatrical trainings; detainees, however, require more practice to improve their competencies so that they can meet the standards of the job market and achieve full integration after their release” (p. 16) (my translation). Theatre is a practice that concerns all people behind the barriers of prisons.

The fact of putting prisoners, officers, and administrators together in the same practice cannot be easily achieved without joined forces; a process of sensitization and awareness-raising is desirable especially in developing and under developed countries. Still, more consideration should be given to inmates in order to ease their reintegration in society. In view of this, a “collaborative and cooperative approach should be usefully empowered by Ministers and/or Departments rather than to rely on personal sensitivity of the single person” Life Long Programme (N. D, p. 5). Preparing prisoners for a professional career is a process of unbroken efforts, continuous reinforcement and constant remedial work; it is a course of action which requires a partnership between external and internal contributors, including civil society, G.Os, N.G.Os, scholars, sponsors, etc.

Many people have to collaborate in the sensitization, awareness-raising and empowerment of Moroccan prisoners. Stakeholders and activists in this genre of AT have to cooperate in order to help prisoners overcome their weaknesses; they should strengthen their

forces to tutor detainees values including altruism, tolerance, acceptance, equity, equality, justice, love, peace, and other universal values through the medium of theatre.

Importantly, the interviewee asserted that theatre is “well equipped with effective methods and approaches to switch prisons into small communities representing the society at large with its norms, standards, rules and roles”. He continued explaining that theatre is “empowering and can have incredible and magical effects on inmates”. As far as the interviewee is concerned, the change that theatre creates could be seen in prisons “during incarceration and outside bars in the interaction with community members”. Thereby, it has become primordial to reinforce efforts to change prisons from institutions of punishment to places of rehabilitation, empowerment and education.

Theater has enormous strategies and methods to deal with problematic issues and consolidate human relations whatever their complexities are. For Amahjour, it is “an essential instrument for research and a huge potential for cultural animation and entertainment, as it is a tool for education and enlightenment” (2014: 17) (my translation). It is a wide space where awareness is raised, issues are debated, problems are disclosed and solutions are suggested. The prison is no longer a place for punishment and deprivation; it has turned into a learning space where edutainment (education and entertainment) takes place to increase the reintegration of inmates.

This genre of theater proves efficient in building a linkage between two completely different worlds: the world where people enjoy freedom and the world where others are deprived from liberty. It enables people from outside to operationally function inside the prison and backwards. It, also, allows individuals from inside the prison to speak out their minds and be visible in the outside world. Accordingly, PT should have its own value and worth in the Moroccan cultural scene. It is an appreciated and encouraged art which should not be seen, to my mind, as inferior to other forms of theatre.

The Moroccan government has launched a number of rehabilitation programs to maintain human dignity and improve the life standards of Moroccan prisoners. Many initiatives have been taken to address the prisoner's reintegration and empowerment issues by Mohammed VI Foundation for the Reintegration of Detainees, General Delegation of Prison Administration and Reintegration, the National Council for Human Rights, and many other institutions.

However, accessing to Moroccan prisons to have an artistic project is not an easy endeavor as one may think. The correctional institution has its policies which prevent outsiders, (people out of prison who are not detainees, prisoner's relatives, prison' officers), to act and conduct research within Moroccan prisons. Moreover, to practice theatre with prisoners is a procedure which requires the affiliation of different structures, governmental and non-governmental. The experiences under investigation are limited to two main promising projects namely *Telfa* (to mean lost), a pure female text, under the direction of Rachid AMAHJOUR in Tangier's prison, and *M' bark w Messaaoud* (to mean congratulations and felicitations), a performance with a partial participation of female prisoners, under the direction of Rachid EL AADOUANI in different Moroccan prisons.

Disappointingly, no corresponding statistical questionnaire or research are found on theatre-based activities at prisons in Morocco and very little has been written on this issue. There might be other theatre based projects in Moroccan prisons; unfortunately, they are kept in the dark corner of research. What might be found, however, on this theme deals mainly with two initiatives: Amahjour (2011) and El Aadouani (2018). Apparently, PT is a new socially-oriented practice in the Moroccan context that has recently manifested itself in the cultural scene.

One of the pioneers of Prison Theatre in Morocco is Rachid AMAHJOUR, a teacher at the Institute of Fine Arts in Tetouan. He believes that prisoners need to be given a second

thought and a second opportunity. For him, any prisoner is a human being after all who needs encouragement, empowerment, rehabilitation, and reintegration. Amahjour argued that, unfortunately, many Moroccans “refuse to empower prisoners in artistic and cultural animation because they are criminals” (Amahjour, 2014: 11) (my translation). He, on the contrary, thought that artistic activities can have better effects on the prisoners’ improvement at diverse levels: personal, interpersonal, psychological, political, etc.

PT stands as one of the initiatives aiming at the socio-economic empowerment of prisoners; it proves to be a new strategy of rehabilitation and reintegration in Morocco which attempts to better the lives of prisoners inside and outside the walls of punitive institutions. This scientific investigation examines the effect of prison theatre on female participants; I have interviewed both activists who took part in PT’ projects and female ex-detainees who benefited from PT as an original artistic empowering process.

PT, in Morocco, has made it possible to bridge the gap between prisoners and the outside world. It manages to make of prisons small scale versions representing community. El Aadouani affirmed that PT “enables prisoners to be heard, seen, and open dialogue with people outside the penal institution and enjoy human rights” (El Aadouani). It is, for him, a strategy used to improve the quality of life and relationships between individuals inside and outside the prison.

Both Amahjour and El Aadouani firmly argued that “despite the effectiveness of PT, it is hard for Moroccan artists to work on projects with rehabilitation and re-socialization objectives”. To demonstrate, the process of prisoners’ rehabilitation requires a serious commitment on the part of different operators including the staff of the penal institution, local establishments, activists, artists, non-governmental organizations, civil society, international stakeholders, etc.

To conclude, the shift of some Moroccan prisons from a penal institute to a cultural place has created more opportunities for prisoners to benefit from artistic and cultural activities. El Aadouani asserted that “the engagement of prisoners in Arts in general and theatre in specific decreases the prisoners’ isolation and their exclusion is reduced”. Thanks to Applied Theatre, namely Prison Theatre, a prison is no longer viewed as a space of deprivation and even prisoners are no longer seen as perilous and unsafe individuals who are good for nothing. On the contrary, they are seen as precious resources who can participate in the effective social change.

Section One: Analysis of the Project of *Telfa* by Rachid AMAHJOUR

To reiterate, this study attempts to examine two Moroccan PT projects by divulging the main changes they have brought into the lives of Moroccan female inmates per se during their incarceration and after their release. The following section is designed to analyze Amahjour’s project, *Telfa*.

Rashid Amahjour, 60 years old, is a university teacher. He is a writer and a professional stage-director interested in cultural, social, and political issues. He works on projects that concern marginal and excluded social groups. He started working with the oppressed long time ago with “*Al Ihyae Association*” in Tangier. Applied Theater is, for him, an artistic practice with social and political dimensions. Receiving institutional and personal training in the Theater of the Oppressed, gave him the audacity to work with the prison population in Tangier. His training contributed to developing his own competencies at the artistic and creative levels to reach professionalism in working with vulnerable groups.

The interviewee believed that “theater is an outsider art in Morocco, and it is still living its early stages and has not yet reached its maturity”. For him, theater has major development goals that must be achieved through working on social change. He believes that

“meaningful artistic and creative projects must address the issues of society and it should also cover the national, regional, and local affairs” (Amahjour).

Theater remained, for him, “semi-trivial as long as it is still linked in the Moroccan context to events, funding, festivals, and celebrations”. That is why he advised theatre practitioners to cooperate in order to address the major complex social issues that are difficult for the state to handle. He argued that it has become primeval to think and encourage development initiatives and projects.

Moreover, it is obligatory to search for other funding bodies that can offer support along with the assistance provided by the Ministry of Culture. The interviewee further stressed that “to change the social reality of many individuals and groups; the involvement of the local, regional and national councils in this type of artistic projects has become an urgent requirement”. That is, many operators have to cooperate so that they can solve moral, social, and economic problems. A lot of efforts are needed in the cultural and artistic scene to face the country’s challenges.

With a great sorrow the interviewee expressed that “Morocco suffers from a flood of problems, and this type of theater (Applied Theatre) can solve majority of those conflicts, especially those with a social and economic dimension”. That is why the artists of the new generation, for the interviewee, should suggest and present clear developmental artistic projects with determined objectives to change the chaotic and random thoughts.

1. The Project’s Conceptualisation

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Mohammed the VI Foundation for the Reintegration of Detainees in collaboration with the US Agency for International Development (USAID) took the initiative in 2011 and launched a program which aims at facilitating the socio-economic reintegration of detainees in difficult situations

in Tangier's prison. Those institutions requested from Amahjour (the interviewee) to take charge of the operational functioning of the project.

Amahjour has accepted to participate in this community and curriculum model-based Project (see p. 68) because he is a strong believer in the effect of theatre as both a form of healing and a practical strategy to get in touch with one's feelings. He is influenced by the scholar Augusto Boal and inspired by his constructive thoughts. For the interviewee, theatre is a podium where people no matter their origins are "can scream, dance, express one's annoyance, act out one's feelings and enter a role other than one's own"; whereas, it is impossible to happen in institutional life.

To Amahjour, working on Prison Theater projects is not an easy task; it requires a lot of discussion and scientific research. It is a "research-based process that calls for continuous trainings and investigations on the main axes of the project, on the part of all the operators including, the target group (the participants), the facilitator and the funding body". Various collaborators need to cooperate in investigating issues related to prison life and empowerment strategies.

The interviewee also argued that PT is a field work that directly "serves social development, focuses on social problems, creates a connecting bridge between the oppressor and oppressed, increases human treatment and respect among participants and strengthens the relationship between prisoners and society members". To this end, PT is a theatrical activity that is based on research and has social, economic, and political objectives.

He explained that the problems and issues that concern the target population (prisoners) must be thoroughly researched. In other words, "Prison Theatre" operators need to find out all the details of the prison including, the prisoner's laws, criminology, prisoner psychology, drama therapy, and other details". Moreover, the facilitator should have,

according to the interviewee, “a poly-disciplinary knowledge that encompasses prison-related basic acquaintances and professionalism in working with the target group”. That is, any facilitator practicing PT needs to be knowledgeable and experienced in different fields and sciences like teaching, theatre, criminology, psychology, sociology anthropology, and other disciplines.

An effective facilitator, accordingly, is “a knowledge- transmitter who is able to create contexts of active interaction between prisoners and prison staff, prisoners and the facilitator, prisoner and the audience, and by the end prisoner and the society at large” according to the interviewee. The ability to create a safe place, for the inmates, to perform issues with social and political nature is an outcome of a long journey of research, human involvement and honest desire to create change without having personal benefits.

Many female inmates in Tangier’s prison have applied to join the theatre project. Some of them were selected by Amahjour himself as they had shown their great passion to participate; while some others prefer to attend the classes and trainings in an active participatory way. Most of those who stick to the drama group are serving short, medium and long sentences. The choice to work with those categories was significant as it guarantees first having variation among the group and second keeping the same members of participants for the whole process. The interviewee, in this vein, claimed that “life in prison is marked by encountering a lot of surprises”; to explain, “the movement from a prison to another is most of the time unexpected decision”; therefore, he wanted to have the adequate number of female participants in the progression of the project and he tried to keep as many participants as he can.

1.1. The Process and Operational Functioning

To put the plans into practice, the interviewee carried out the theatrical project in Tangier's prison. Forum Theater and other models of Augusto Boal were adopted to meet the needs of a population made up of different genders, age groups, academic levels, social classes, etc.

National and international institutions were involved in this project; they were, as mentioned previously: Mohammed VI Foundation for the Reintegration of Detainees, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in collaboration with the US Agency for International Development (USAID). These institutions have professionally interacted to have an artistic project with effective effects on the social, economic, and cultural levels.

The interviewee confirmed that "the cooperation between these institutions leads to the creation of various theatrical groups within the prison institution: group of women, men, and juveniles". With these three groups, the interviewee presumed that the main objectives were to "enable prisoners understand theatre' skills and empower them to find a job after their release". Regarding women's participation, their continuity in this participatory project is the result of "wakening their awareness about diverse social, economic, and political issues as well as providing them with the needed support, stimulation, and assistance to generate their own knowledge" (Amahjour).

In spite of the project's success with all the participating groups, the echo of its achievements was not heard due to conflicts between the institutions supporting the project. For further explanation, the success of this artistic experience lies in the fact that it managed to create "an internal shaking in the prison system whose culture imposes obedience to orders, domination of the strong over the weak, and authority of the criminal over the wronged criminal (the criminal who committed the crime by mistake)" according to the interviewee.

However, the project could not achieve the success it deserves due to an unexpected received end-order from the funding parties which the interviewee described as “unethical, inhumane and not professional”.

1.2. The Play-building

The play building of any theatrical work under the umbrella of Prison Theatre is a humane communicative and participatory process that engages many operators. The facilitator is in charge of “attracting the participants to engage in the theatrical scenes. S/he is also responsible for recording the narratives, studying and interpreting it with other members” as the interviewee says. The participants are also given duties to perform; they are in a position of “disclosing the forms of oppression they experienced, sharing their lived dramatic events, and participating directly in the creative process” According to the interviewee.

With the aim of creating change and social progress, the play is built in a collective way; everyone is involved in an interactive and positive manner. The interviewee, in this regard, assumed that “each participant contributes according to his/her status and authority; some are enthusiastically involved through sharing their experiences, while others offer their suggestions and proposals”. Differently put, every person is concerned and contributes in the play-building, even indirectly, especially when it comes to the funding body or the institution adopting the project.

Amahjour’s experience has immensely impacted the female prisoners who managed to unfold their traumas, speak about their weaknesses and express their ambitions to have a better future. Women in Tangier’s prison have succeeded to write a vibrant and a moving text entitled *Telfa* with the meaning of “LOST” (appendix 4). It deals with the relationship of women with their male counterparts (father, husband, and paramour). The play tackles

universal issues like love, hatred, betrayal, fraud, sacrifice, corruption, punishment, hope and other pursuits.

The text, moreover, hovers around the bitterness and ordeals that the women experienced in different stages of their lives before and during their imprisonment. The text also talks about the quality of life these women are likely to have after their release. For them, “being a female or a male inmate in even developed countries is a sin which is unforgivable” stated Amahjour. For to the interviewee, the story is a collection of “memory-based narratives which are evaluated, discussed and interpreted to build up the play”. The dramatic narratives belong to female detainees in Tangier’s prison: Hikmat, Mounia, Saida, Huda and Malak (unreal names used by the facilitator). These women share their woes in a creative and artistic way moving from diverse sceneries that include private and public places: the coffee, prison, car, and house.

The process of the play-building is characterized by a vivacious physical and emotional engagement of all the participants, including officers and the audience. At the practical level, the interviewee assumed that the “whole process is a collective endeavor in which the members of the different theatrical activities showed a great openness to the other and the surrounding at large”. The workshops have been a quality time spent in knowledge-sharing and learning from the experiences of each other.

The interviewee declared that the female inmates managed to “disclose a number of details during the interviews; they also enriched the content of the theatrical scenes by their polished improvisations, performances, and discussions”. Their hidden real stories and verbatim become the subject of both the theatrical text and in-prison performance. The interviewee revealed also the different situations in which female prisoners “showed high skills and diplomacy in expressing themselves and accepting other’s views”. In sum, female

detainees in Amahjour's experience proved to be honest and trust worthy in the development of the theatrical text and scenes.

The play building process underwent three main stages as the interviewee proclaimed. For him, "generating the script was not easy at all; the participants needed different opportunities to let their minds free". In simple words, to make female participants talk about events that caused them pain took much time and many attempts were made to realize that objective. The facilitator (interviewee) expressed that he employed different artistic measures to help female detainees express themselves without feeling ashamed or guilty; he tried "drama-therapy sessions, spontaneity exercises, communication classes, improvisation gatherings and other attempts" to encourage the participants to speak about the different stereotypes and faces of oppression.

The females' real-lived narrations formed a script that is affluent in terms of characters, events, themes, settings, endings, and other features. The interviewee affirmed that the content of the script was not left behind as it "shaped a fertile material that needed interpretation and analysis to be a great subject of collective writing". The narratives of the female participants were not heard and forgotten stories; on the contrary, their stories were valued stories put under in-depth study and interpretation.

Before the text-writing, the interviewee assumed that "even the interpretation of the detainees verbatim was a collective workshop in which various performers (experts and co-facilitators) in art-based projects, facilitator (the interviewee), participants (female prisoners), audience (other female prisoners and officers), and other authorities participated in". By the end of the interpretations and analysis, a number of collective writing-workshops took place to come up with the text of *Telfa*.

The writing of *Telfa* is a cycle of regular meetings under the supervision of the facilitator, Amahjour. Female prisoners had to hand in a final written version to be proofread and modified by the facilitator before it is performed. The text, accordingly, is the fruit of fifteen months of longitudinal work with female detainees in different workshops that included “exercises in dialogue, communication, spontaneity, improvisation and representation” said Amahjour.

The writing workshops have been very important in changing women from docile bodies and submissive individuals to creative and productive ones. The participatory work has white hands on the participants; it helped them discover the hidden sides in their personalities. In this regard, the interviewee proclaimed that the group work was profitable and yielded many positive results. For him, “the discussions that the participants and the audience had with the experts in the writing sessions decreased the degree of anxiety and apprehension which, accordingly, increased the possibility of their integration in the team work”. According to the interviewee, the collective workshops were “therapy sessions-like that help female prisoners better understand their self-worth”. The play-building as a group work emancipated women from silence, sadness, and compliance.

The *Telfa* building has been a time taking process that has gone through a number of stages “sensitization, teaching and training, discussion, interpretation, and creation” stated Amahjour. In other words, it was difficult to have a text built on the narratives of detainees without continuous professional exercises. Female participants also have had many auditions with the aim of facing an outsider public.

All in all, women’s experience in Prison Theatre was distinguished by “its dependence on the presentational formula that simulates the authentic contemporary reality of female prisoners” confirmed Amahjour. After women’s individual narration, the participants performed the scenes with other female parties in a way that simulates the real-life experience

with its dramatic template. However, the practice of writing exceeded the contemporary reality in the text of *Telfa*; the participants preferred to add secondary characters in the writing workshops, which made the theatrical text wealthy at the creative level.

2. Democracy in Prison Theatre

Prison Theatre is a process of change with both therapeutic and empowerment objectives in which inmates with other participants enjoy democracy by virtue of the fact that the prison' space brings them together. The space of prison allows theatre practitioners and other operators to realize social justice among detainees; theatre practitioners create contexts for inmates to be active actors and human beings of human values. The interviewee confirmed that "all the prison components must benefit from the general artistic initiatives within prisons". To explain, art-based projects should not address prisoners only; rather, it is necessary to overcome this type of thinking that is based on discrimination and hierarchy. Therefore, it has become imperative for all the people inside prison institutions to profit from artistic projects alike. The integration of prisoners, staff, officers and other members has a positive effect in increasing respect and love between prisoners and staff.

The workshops have rehabilitative, empowerment, and edutainment purposes; they should encompass, therefore, all the human resources existing within prison. Their coexistence will undeniably "contribute to the reconciliation of prisoners with themselves and their surroundings" stated Amahjour. The interviewee, in the same vein, stressed that putting prisoners, officers, and other parties together in the same activities will never take place unless there is "emotional engagement and self-interaction with local, national and global issues". For him, "patriotism and the willingness to move the country forward is the main pillar to have projects of this nature". The greater the interest in correcting the course of the target group is, whether inside or outside the prison, the more powerful and effective the idea of the project becomes.

Furthermore, a PT project is characterized by the participation of interactive audience. Prisoners attending the learning classes and the theatrical workshops are never excluded; they are all the time part of the process. They are, according to the interviewee, never compliant; “the internal audience who is following the experience from within has a lot of things in common with the prisoners; they are allowed to participate at any moment using: bodies, facial expressions, improvisation, discussion, dance, and other features”. The participation of the non-accidental audience is also all the time welcomed and appreciated; it is an added value to the theatrical work. In a nutshell, the interviewee has shown his great influence by the known Boal’s statement “all must act, all must be protagonists in the necessary transformations of society” (Boal 1979: xxiv).

2.1. Creativity: Aesthetics and Ethics

On the creative level, the *Telfa* project has received a lot of attention regarding the aesthetic and ethical aspects. There was a set of measures that had to be taken seriously to deal with prisoners as a fragile and socially excluded population. Aesthetically, Amahjour depended on “drama narratives based on the reality and the tattooed memory of prisoners”. He declared that the available data was evaluated and discussed collectively; proposals were suggested to perform the narrated real stories. Some participants recommended the incorporation of fictional characters and suggested scenes that did not take place in the past, such as self-disclosure and regret, to enrich the experience at the creative and aesthetic levels

Ethically, Amahjour was keen on dealing with issues that concern the rights of the prisoners; he was interested in educating and preparing the detainees to confront the society as active and productive citizens. In this vein, he acknowledged that it took him much time to “work on transmitting optimism and positive energy to the participants so as to prepare them to live new experiences with an open mindedness after leaving the prison”.

The democratically distributed roles between the participants and the audience resulted in discussions that improve the value of the experience. The audience (other prisoners and officers) in this artistic project was not excluded. According to the interviewee, the participation and contribution of the participants, audience and officers in the workshops was “a moral necessity, especially in an institution like prison”.

It is noteworthy that Amahjour, as a facilitator, made a lot of efforts to facilitate the interpretation and analysis of both the trainings and the theatrical activities’ content. He disclosed that he “used a local dialect to discuss local issues which prisoners were interested in”. A lot of attempts were made to help the prisoners benefit from the various workshops; to enable female detainees stand on stage, the facilitator (interviewee) “avoided ambiguity and used clear rubrics to ease the detainees’ understanding to the content and encourage discussion”. He also declared that “it was obligatory to treat the detainees on a humane and equal basis”; that was the most effective way for Amahjour to address the “prison colleagues” and to establish a good relationship with them.

The training sessions, the teaching classes, the workshops, and the staged performances were all “held in a special hall for activities in prison” announced Amahjour. The setting, for him, was “an obligation not a choice”. It was not possible for the interviewee to work outside the walls of Tangier’s prison. Added to that, “technicians used to continuously record all the details and take pictures to the different activities without exception so that they could send them to the Foundation of Mohammed VI of Prison Administrations, for the sake of transparency and lucidity”. For the interviewee, the nature of the participant (as liberty-deprived individuals) imposes working inside the prison institution. Moreover, since the project is of a participatory nature, it was necessary to record everything to let the other parties well-informed about the process and its achievements.

During this artistic experience, Amahjour performed a number of roles that were essential to facilitate the process of the project. He acknowledged that he “took on the role of facilitator, educator, designer, director, and other responsibilities” to increase the possibility of social change among male, female and juvenile inmates. The responsibilities that the facilitator performed are professional ethics which facilitate communication, improve the prisoner’s knowledge, provide support to an excluded category, and contribute to healing their psychological wounds.

As a way to interact with all the roles that Amahjour performed, the participants could only indulge seriously and responsibly in the artwork. The interviewee assumed that “the prisoners’ discussions, ideas and purposeful questions enrich the stages of the training and sensitization process”. Their serious work was reflected positively in their “narratives, dialogues, creativity, imagination, and performance”. In sum, the professionalism, flexibility, poly-disciplinarily and humane treatment of the facilitator led to the positive interaction of the inmates in the diverse stages of the project.

Since a huge number of prisoners applied for theater workshops, the interviewee gave the chance to everyone to participate. He confirmed that “some participated in acting, some others in scenography and decoration, while others joined the groups as recipients who judge, question, criticize and impose their intellectual presence in many cases”. The integration of the audience is a form of democracy and another ethical responsibility which the facilitator (interviewee) considered.

For further elaboration, the participation of the audience in this artistic experience gave value to the project. The interviewee stated that the audience “was committed and took advantage of the training by attending the classes”. He also stated that the audiences “expressed their constant desire to convey original ideas and creative thoughts”. That is, they did not only attend the trainings and the teaching classes, but they also improved the

discussion by proposing changes in the content of the dialogues and ways of performance; “many ideas and opinions were voiced out which gave the prisoner his/her intellectual value”. In sum, the female detainees’ artistic and creative skills emerged in their direct participation in the cultural and theatrical act.

2.2. Staging the Text outside Prison

The fact of seeing and hearing prisoners in a performance outside the prison is relatively a new culture in Morocco. It is a challenging experience which cannot be attained without honest cooperation and networking. Many inside and outside operators are supposed to collaborate in the reintegration and empowerment of prison inhabitants. The state, national, regional, and local authorities, theater educators and centers, civil society and other stakeholders need to be involved in the success of this cultural initiative. Put another way, PT is a cultural and artistic experience which necessitates a lot of support and struggle from different parts not only the funding body to guarantee the concert of the play outside prison’ bars and social change of the participants.

Unfortunately, female detainees could not perform their play outside Tangier’s prison. Amahjour claimed in the interview that the project “was not winning and could not achieve its main objective because of three main reasons: bureaucracy, strict security measures by the prison administration and officers, in addition to conflicts between the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Mohammed the VI Foundation”.

Still, other reasons are expressed and mentioned in his book “Theatre in Prison”. Amahjour, in this perspective, presumed that although the prison staff welcomed the initiative of Theatre in Prison; some errors and abuses, however, were apparent in the handling of the theatre workshops. Amahjour declared that “the door was not opened in the scheduled time , some members of the theatre group were prevented from coming out of their cells and joining

the class, mocking and despising the importance of the theater, exploiting the theatrical training hall on many occasions without prior knowledge, preventing the prisoners to continue the training by an administrative' decision and without any notice, lacking coordination between those responsible for the office of Mohammed VI Foundation for Reintegration and the prison administration" (my translation) (Amahjour, 2014: 12).

Despite the inability to perform in front of a public outside the prison, Amahjour stood to be proud of the experience; he expressed that "it is the process that counts, not the destination", to mean that the artistic theatrical project was victorious in many other areas, including the relational, educational, correctional, professional, etc.

The interviewee also acknowledged that the text of *Telfa* was performed both nationally and internationally by professional actresses such as Jamila Lahouni, Amal Benhdou, Hajar Lhamidi and Chaimae Jbiri under the direction of Naima Zitan, the founder of Aquarium Association specialized in Forum Theatre, another sub-category of Applied Theatre (AT). This could be seen, to my mind, from different perspectives. On the one hand, the text could be seen professional and deserves performance. On the other hand, it could be viewed as a form of exploitation to the efforts and hard work of female prisoners and a sort of doubled imprisonment.

To explain, female prisoners participate in theatre activities with the promise to meet people outside the walls of prisons; they aim at correcting the general stereotypes and prejudices people have about them as female prisoners. Conversely, those female detainees face the resentment of living in prison suffering from deprivation from freedom and participation in cultural life. Amahjour certainly asserted that the disagreement between the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Mohammed the VI Foundation has led to "the heart breaking of female convicts" which he thinks was undesirable and immoral.

Amahjour felt sorry for not seeing his female participants performing the play out the context of prison and in front of an audience like any other professional actresses. For him, “prisoners deserve to enter the world of professionalism because they have important skills and competencies that must be exploited” Amahjour (2014: 14) (my translation). The author assumed that there are “hidden capacities and skillful individuals lurked behind the walls” (op. cit., 2014: 14), (my translation). There are many talented and gifted artists in Moroccan prisons who need to be given opportunities to show their gifts in different arts such as singing, dancing, acting, sculpturing, writing, improvising, etc. Getting into prisons on the part of theater practitioners, for Amahjour, could be seen as a “second birth to many detainees” and it is undoubtedly the first step towards reintegration and empowerment.

It is a fact that “problems between the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Mohammed the VI Foundation for the Reintegration of Detainees in this experience affected the main objectives of the project; however, their ambivalent agendas and policies did not affect the relationship built up between the participants and their facilitator at any rate” according to Amahjour. For him, innovative artistic projects in the field of Prison Theatre are “valuable occasions and effective tools for sharing experiences, understanding the traumas of the female participants, discovering their weaknesses and strengths, increasing their confidence and self-trust”. Most importantly, prison theatre allows him to have long-lasting relationships with prisoners even after their release.

To conclude, the text built up by female prisoners is a quality work which merits performing in front of an external audience; according to the interviewee, “being performed out of walls could allow the participants give value to their efforts and appreciate their professional skills” Amahjour. More than that, the participants’ self-respect and esteem could have increased if they were in front of a public who is used to watch professional performances alone and draw comparison by the end.

In other words, there are universal values which prisoners also need to enjoy equally with people who are free; female prisoners have to celebrate their humanity and be treated on an equal basis especially when it concerns being seen and heard. The walls should never be a hindrance to the motivation and willingness of detainees to express their inner thoughts to the public; theatre is a concrete medium which can help in making the lives of prisoners brighter, known, and debatable.

3. Manifestation of Success

The theatrical project within the prison institution is considered to be a full-size triumph (in spite of the unexpected order to stop the project). Amahjour, in this context, acknowledged that “the awareness-raising discussions, the sensitization messages provided in the trainings, and the theater activities contributed to re-orienting, rehabilitating, and re-educating the prisoners”. The interviewee declared that “female detainees who were integrated into theater workshops showed a lot of restraint and professionalism throughout the process”. In this view, the prisoners’ active involvement and direct contribution in the theatre practices contributed to the project’s success. Differently put, if the inmates were disinterested and not motivated enough, they would not show that level of professionalism and vigorous participation in the activities and workshops.

In addition, the interviewee emphasized that any theatrical project within prisons has its own particularities. He stressed that one of the peculiarities of this project is “the originality of the stories and theatrical texts”; both theatrical text and performances “depended mainly on the prisoner’s memory”, which is another manifestation of success. In other words, structured scenarios are meaningless and useless when it comes to the practice of theatre within prison institutions. The prisoners’ real and authentic narrative is a rich material which helped in giving birth to “an effective theatrical text and performance” among female detainees.

This artistic project is characterized by other particularities, according to the interviewee. For him, the work with female inmates especially was marked by a number of meticulous distinctiveness. Female detainees succeeded to smarten up the stage (in prison) with “their body language, images, movement, improvisation, and less use of words” said Amahjour. They were, for the interviewee, “liberated individuals who freely take advantage of theatre to think about real life situations, discuss, and generate social change taking into account a plurality of point of views”.

Furthermore, the project is an Applied Theatre practice that ignores both sequential time and close ending to set women free in expressing themselves. The interviewee assumed that “the detainee’s voice would not have been heard without ignoring the chronological time (or what is referred to in the literature as the rationally conceived time) and the close ending; those two aspects in addition to the use of humanistic approaches helped in dissecting the details of the detainee’s lives without any complexities”. In this regard, it is advisable for the facilitator to be sociable, flexible, creative and interactive to be able to realize the different stages, including: identification, familiarization, initiation and participatory action (see pages 65, 66, 67 for more details).

In sum, this artistic project has succeeded in the rehabilitation and re-education of female prisoners; according to the interviewee, “women showed too much self-control, professionalism, and positive interaction during the different stages of the project”. They, also, “enhance the quality of the performances and improvisations by their body language, while they deepen the worth of both texts and in- prison performances by their original and authentic narrative derived from their own memory”. Female detainees, in this regard, proved to be supple learners and active participants who can contribute to the development of theatre-based knowledge and corpus.

3.1. The Project's Results

Amahjour's awareness of the importance of Applied Theater, and Prison Theater in particular, has deepened his passion to practice theatre within prison institutions. Long work with prisoners gives this experience its benefit and gives value to every detail of the project. This artistic and rehabilitative project had its profits, as it affected both male and female participants and changed a lot of aspects in their lives. The change clearly "began in the prisoners' relationship with each other; the change also appeared in the level of their language, their discourse, and their convictions that the staff who followed the experience closely touched" Amahjour.

According to the interviewee, the prison is a space "filled with chaos, profanity, lack of respect, frequent arguments and fights". In order to change this reality, "culture and arts must be included in the general activities taking place in prisons through Applied Theater" which combines learning, entertainment, sensitization, creativity, change and empowerment.

For the interviewee, an intellectual professional artist can become influential only if s/he engages in "developmental social experiences" with short, medium, and long term implications.

On the short term, the interviewee assumed that the prisoner "benefited from both educational and recreational activities at the same time". He explained that the different activities created "opportunities for chatting and awareness-raising discussions" which accordingly had a positive impact on the prisoners' psyche. He also maintained that "the theatrical activities also allowed the participants to purify themselves during the drama exercises". In other ways, the theatre activities sessions were therapy-like classes for the inmates where they could exteriorize negative feelings, thoughts, and attitudes.

On the medium term, the interviewee claimed that PT remains “a means of interpreting knowledge related to prison space, rights and freedoms”. The prison is an institution where inmates can get knowledge and instructions through the canon of PT. It is also “a practice that develops the desire for change and increases constructive work”. Engaging into discussions of social change and reconciliation with the self, the other and society motivate the detainees to change their behavior, mind-set, management, interaction, and other social variables.

As for the long term, the prison theater is “an opportunity to prepare the prisoners to meet the needs of the job market and engage in professional artistic work after their release” Amahjour. The interviewee thought that the prisoner’s integration in the job market will inevitably contribute to “their social reintegration”. Investing in the prisoner’s technical and creative skills will push the country forward and reduce the rate of crimes later.

3.2. Female Detainee’s Empowerment

The facilitator of the project was interested in issues that concern women more than any other topics. Female prisoners, according to him, throughout the period of work, expressed “a high professionalism in performative arts, in particular”. To explain, Tangier Prison allowed Amahjour to discover the real professionalism that is not linked to the training, but rather to the practice.

The interviewee asserted that although these women prisoners are not concerned with theater and arts, “they had a strong charisma at all levels: beauty, body, voice and performance”. They have a wonderful memory that enriched the theatrical texts and performances with a variety of topics, issues and styles. For the interviewee, women’s positive contribution provided a “fertile ground to work on the axes that concern women and

their empowerment". The activities and workshops "allow women discover strategies to use in order to face life ups and downs after ending their sentence".

Amahjour depended on a variety of strategies to empower women at both the cognitive and cultural levels so as to help them overcome their weaknesses and absorb the constraints they will face at the social, political and economic levels. In addition, "trainings, practices and sensitization classes were basic platforms for conveying diverse discourses that concern: gender, equality, equity, social justice and the different strategies of women's empowerment" for the interviewee.

According to the interviewee, the workshops were also "opportunities for female prisoners to express their fear of the future and the negative thoughts they have in mind". The theatrical and sensitization classes were, in addition to that, a juncture for Amahjour to "sustain women prisoners psychologically". Through direct discussions and exercises the facilitator tried to help women "overcome their anxiety and think positively in getting out of the crisis". Women throughout a series of theatrical activities and drama exercises managed to "share positive attitudes and talk about possible ways to integrate themselves in the society" as a sort of interpersonal empowerment.

The initiative has made it possible for the female prisoners to increase "openness and courage" Amahjour; it helps them improve their self-esteem, increase admiration towards others, overcome fear, and enhance their ability to function and contribute to their effective change. The interviewee assumed that PT has proved "resourceful for the empowerment and rehabilitation of female prisoners". He also explained that, the change was clear and long-lasting and the female prisoners have been affected by the nature of the project and its process. Their participation in the artistic project has had a positive result on the quality of their change cycle.

The shift of prison to an empowering and learning institution facilitates communication between prisoners and the outside world. The interviewee confirmed that “theatre helps in constructing a continual relationship between prisoners and their community”. He highlighted the significance of indirectly putting prisoners in their natural milieu. For him, activists should make more attempts to put prisoners together with their community. Besides, he proclaimed that “if activists cannot build a suitable connecting bridge with the community, the objectives of prison theatre will never be achieved”. That is to say, prisoners should contact community members and need to be visible and seen from people outside the prison; they need to be heard and talked with.

The interviewee strongly believed that “prison offers other rehabilitation programs including trainings on hand-made crafts like sewing, pottery, hair dressing, plumber, etc; however, the effect of those workshops is relatively weak as many of the female detainees are imprisoned just for a short period of time and they cannot benefit from the effectiveness of the workshops and trainings”. For him, theatre is efficient in causing life-long changes more than any other rehabilitative and corrective program, especially when the duration of the workshops is long. The interviewee, in this context, assumed that “long and continual workshops and classes on theatre create incredible changes in the personality, attitudes, and decisions of female inmates” Amahjour.

In other words, female participants developed a lot of skills and abilities during the workshops, auditions, and rehearsals; they were trained to follow directions, used to work in teams, cooperate with others, widen self-knowledge, face an integral audience, get appreciations, etc. All of the above mentioned achievements enabled female inmates to draw new profiles for themselves and feel the difference created by means of theatre. It is a truth that favorable impacts are manifested in “the positive attitudes that women start to have within the prison and in the community”, according to the interviewee.

The following section describes in details another Prison Theatre project with rehabilitative, re-integrative, re-educational, correctional, and empowerment objectives. It concerns an art-based experience with observable social, psychological, and economic empowerment under the supervision of Rachid Ali El Aadouani.

Section Two: Analysis of the Project of ‘*M’bark W Messaaoud’* by Rachid Ali EL AADOUANI

Rashid Ali Al-Aadouani is a 35 years old Moroccan professional actor and theatre director. He is currently a Ph. D candidate. He works in artistic companies interested in social topics, including *Jill Art*. By virtue of the nature of his work as a professional actor, he works with different institutions outside and inside Morocco.

Prison Theater has been a dream that has overwhelmed him for seven years, since 2011. This dream began when he was in Beirut and witnessed some theater experiences based on Drama-therapy and psychodrama. The visit to Lebanon allowed him to notice the power of theatre in discharging psychological wounds and overcoming a special hardship on the part of groups living in harsh conditions in hospitals, nursing homes, prisons, etc.

El Aadouani’s registration in the master’s program “Cultural Animation and Artistic Creativity” at the Sciences of Education’ Faculty, Rabat put him before the option of working on the Street Theater, by virtue of his interest in this type of theater, or referring to his dream and working on it from a scientific perspective. The decision was to work on Prison Theater because he greatly believes in the effectiveness of art in influencing people deprived of liberty and other rights.

Like any other university student, El Aadouani had to send a request to the department of social work at the General Delegation of Prison' Administration and Reintegration. Several correspondences were made on the subject until his project was accepted to be realized. He was first interviewed to elucidate the objectives and the methodology of work and then accepted to work with inmates with short, medium and long sentences.

He received institutional and academic trainings in directing and acting, but with regard to Drama-therapy and Psychodrama it was an autonomous learning journey. Despite his diverse trainings, he encountered, however, many problems during the course of the project, especially in terms of dealing with the prisoner's psychology, criminology and prison sociology, which, accordingly, forced him to consult further references about the topic.

His professionalism in acting and directing for more than 15 years, made him believe that it is not his mission as a Moroccan artist to work on cinematic, television and theatrical works only, but he had to go beyond that and break the wall that separates two completely contradictory worlds and delve into the hidden aspects of prison.

This experience of PT is important for El Aadouani's professional life, as it was the starting point to work on other projects inside the prison with women and juveniles with various penalties. He is currently working with female's extremism and terrorism. The interviewee hoped, via this artistic project, to change the society's perception of the prisoner who has always been a "socially-unaccepted and unloved disgusting person". A prisoner is someone most members of the society avoid, fear and hate, but who can according to El Aadouani, turn into a creative, skilled, and productive individual if given a chance.

1. The Play's General Background

This community and transfer-based project of *M'barek w Messaaoud* (see p. 68) was held in November 2018 in the frame of a comedy competition entitled "Comic" initiated by the General Delegation of Prisons Administration and Reintegration. The detainees who were qualified in the comic competition formed a theatrical group to perform a play in the International Day of the Prisoner. The great success of the play in Mohammed the V Theatre and the fame it got led to the organization of a theatrical tour across Moroccan prisons and theatres.

It is a unique theatrical experience in the Arab world and Africa at large; it is the first play in which both male and female detainees imprisoned in different Moroccan detention institutions work together. It tackles various issues and gives a real projection to the Moroccan society. Throughout 90 minutes and in a performance combining comedy and criticism, twenty-eight current and former residents of several penitentiary establishments in Morocco, including 7 women, took part in the performance of *M'bark w Messaaoud*. Their age ranges between 17 to 60 years old and they have different prison sentences. They transformed the stage into a platform that is rich with dialogues, thoughts, sarcasm, and critical insights.

The play is about a traditional wedding ceremony in which diverse customs rooted in Moroccan tradition are represented by inmates from different Moroccan prisons. The performance is based on the detainees' stories and narrations. To the interviewee, the real life narratives are "refined, re-edited and compiled in a single manuscript by the collaboration of a professional team". The play was made possible thanks to the engagement of a palette of professionals, including Jaouad Karouiti (technical director), Mohamed El Kho (decorator), Hicham El Ghafouli (writing), Ahmed Benmimoun (lighting and costumes), Salima Mounni (choreography), Abdelali Kharbouch (percussion), and Rabie Daïssa who took care of the

special effects. In sum, having more people and contributors involved in this PT project eased the integration of detainees in the workshops and the other different theatre activities.

The participants in this theatrical project represent common members of the society including the parents, bride, groom, family members (uncle, brother, sister, etc), family in law members, friends, local county member (*elmkdem*), exorcist (*Faqih*: a man of religion who does *Roquia* as a sort of exorcism through *Quran* citation), *Adoul* (legitimate notary), chorus, dancers, acrobats, tea-server (a man who serves tea in ceremonies), *Negafa* (a woman agent who helps both the bride and the groom to change their outfits in Moroccan weddings), and other members of the Moroccan community.

Acting, singing, dancing, turn-taking in the majority of the theatrical scenes are forms of liberation and emancipation. The participants overcame timidity and fear throughout voicing out their inner thoughts; they tackled heated issues that concern different fields among which are education, health services, and judiciary system in order to correct unaccepted practices in the Moroccan society. The participants criticized the educational system and its inappropriate curriculum, the judiciary system and the issue of inequality between men and women, homosexuality, drugs abuse, sexual harassment, and sexual exploitation on the part of men who do *Roquia*, unemployment, the status of Moroccan prisons, military conscription (*tajnid ijbari*) and other virgin topics.

The Moroccan wedding, which is the general context of the play, constitutes a platform to debate social, cultural, and political concerns in a critical and sarcastic way. Comedy and sarcasm, in this regard, are artistic and creative choices which are deliberately used to address social behaviors that are not unfold to the public especially from “prison actors”.

The wedding is a celebration that brings families together; but in the context of this play, it brings the whole society into play. The guests and relatives are significant as they represent the Moroccan society at large. They make of the stage a talking space that describes the sufferings of Moroccans by disclosing trepidation in a comical and critical way. The humorous and sarcastic scenes enable the participants to convey strong messages that simulate reality.

Watching the performance is concerned to be a touristic tour where a sightseer can discover Morocco in an hour and a half. The theatrical scenes are a book-length stories that take the viewer from a geographical region to another via the use of a multiplicity of dialects including the *Tangier's*, *Sahraoui's*, *Marrakchi's*, *Soussi's*, and other dialects. The play is a minimized picture that portrays the Moroccan society with its various distinguished community members, problems, challenges, obstacles, stereotypes, and prejudices.

The play is not only a critique of the Moroccan society, but it is also a performance which tackles universal issues. It interrogates social, cultural, and political phenomena. Therefore, it is a quality work that manages to build a communicative bridge which connects prisoners with their society as a first step of reintegration. It helps the detainees directly participate in the correction of the negative ideas Moroccans have on prisoners. It also provides them with a toolkit that combines a number of pedagogical and reintegration skills that the participants can use in their everyday life. It is an artistic scream that allows Moroccan detainees to voice out their thoughts aiming at changing the deeply rooted prejudices Moroccans have on inmates.

All in all, the prisoners are buried in remorse and the theatrical activities provide them with opportunities to revive their dead souls. Participating in the theatrical workshops allowsthe detainees to refresh their minds and improve the theatrical scenes with their stories, performances, and diverse Moroccan dialects. The participants show a strong motivation in

the learning journey; they continuously participate in the auditions without boredom until mid-night. The project represents an inspirational idea with instructive guidelines to future PT practitioners. It is an initiative that serves the human being and gives back value to the human capacity in prisons.



Male and Female Participants Performing in M'bark w Messaaoud

1.1. The Projects' Major Goals

This artistic project has aimed to work with the prisoners as marginal and rejected social groups who are feared and avoided in the Moroccan society. Through this project, El Aadouani has attempted to change a set of ideas that prevail in the Moroccan socio-cultural environment.

El Aadouani, in this regard, worked to form a group of artists from prisons and tried hard to provide them with the needed psychological and emotional support. He also managed to give inmates many opportunities to perform their competencies, both inside and outside the prison.

Through the series of workshops, exercises, and theatrical performances, “the participants were able to introduce themselves to the public as artists, not as prisoners” according to the interviewee. The detainees reassured the prison staff and their audience that it is possible to “restore confidence and reconcile with them”. They also proved that their reintegration is feasible through arts.

For the interviewee, one of the aims of this project was “to complete the theatrical performances until the release of the last inmate. However, it was impossible to do because it is strenuous to provide accommodation, transportation, food, and wages for the inmates, and to cover the prisoner’s financial needs, due to the poor funding” El Aadouani. The interviewee, in this vein, assumed that “it would have been more effective if there were supportive parties other than the Ministry of Culture, which granted 100,000 Dirhams for 10 performances and donations from the delegate of prisons’ administration, which is estimated to be 2000 Dirhams per prisoner on the National Day of the Inmate, and 1000 Dirhams per inmate when the group performed the play at a university”.

1.2. The Particularities of the Project

This experience is unique not only in Morocco, but it is also exceptional in the Arab world and Africa as a whole. Globally, there are practices of Prison Theater and there are many experiences that have managed to get prisoners out of prison for radio programs or theaters. What makes the Moroccan experience distinctive is the performance of *M'bark w Messaaoud* in 50 prison institutions. As for the workshops, the inmates trained in different prisons, including the central prison in Kenitra, the Central Prison of Salé, Al-Araijat Prison 2, Tiflet Prison 2, Tangier Prison 1, and the local prison of Tetouan.

With one play *M'bark w Massaaoud*, the prison’s participants succeeded to perform in more than eight Moroccan large theatres, including Mohamed V Theater, Lala Aisha

Theater in M'dyek, Mohamed VI Theater in Oujda, Menouni Theater in Meknes, Ait Melloul Theater, Bani Malal Theater, Errachidia Theater, etc. These artistic tours were marked by the inmates' gathering with a large audience, including authorities, intellectuals, civil society, and the media outlets.

The inmates were able to break free on stage and the public has often expressed that it is not fair to keep these qualified detainees in prisons. According to the interviewee, “the participants’ freedom on the stage, their artistic talents and their professionalism called for their urgent liberty”. Through their mastery of theatre skills and the group harmony they showed on stage, the audience expressed their sympathy and voiced out the positive views they started to have about prisoners.

Moreover, this experience was characterized by mixing the female participants with males, a feature that does not exist in the other Arab prison experiences. Meeting the female prisoner after a long period is in itself a triumph since male and female prisoners are never put together. The fact of putting the prisoners together in mix classes and workshops claims nobility, respect and love. The mixing factor is very important and influential; for the interviewee, “the way a male prisoner who spent 28 years in prison practices theatre with a female prisoner who spent 20 years in prison needs a deep scientific study to understand the sociology of art in prison and its effect on the psychology of the prisoner”. A lot of questions are raised, like how does theater help prisoners prevail over the natural desire for sex? How did the prisoners overcome shame and confusion? These questions and others are issues of research, discussion, and analysis.

In addition to the mixing factor, the age factor also distinguished this theatrical project; the youngest participant was 17 years old and the oldest was 67 years old. Moreover, this experience is a Moroccan mosaic that includes participants from all the geographical

regions of Morocco namely Bouaarfa, Oujda, Tetouan, Meknes, Fes, Casablanca, Oued Zem, Errachidia, Ouarzazate, Rabat, Marrakech, etc.

To conclude, El Aadouani's participatory project is characterized by a number of distinguished features; it is a project that is distinctive and typical. In fact, the successful theatrical performance is the upshot of frequent trainings and auditions in diverse prisons, performing in various regional theatres, and having professional participants with different age groups, genders, penalties, and stories.

1.3. The Significance of Time and Space

There are two major factors for the practice of theater in prison: space and time, which are essential for the success of any artwork. It is known that the inmate hates the closed space in which s/he lives as well as the long and boring time s/he spends in prison. The interviewee, in this context, affirmed that "the theatrical exercises and the learning experience help the prisoners to overcome the difficulty of being in prison". For him, when the theatrical activities are over, "every inmate returns to his/her cell, the prisoners focus on memorizing and repeating the exercises to escape the bitterness of prison". The resort and refuge to theatrical practices is considered as a sort of freedom, departure from the ordinary, removal of anxiety, etc.

Inmates dealt with the theatrical texts in a way that is exceptional and that attracts the attention. The interviewee asserted that "he has never noticed, in his professional life, an expert actor or actress committed to memorizing roles and repeat theatrical exercises as quickly as an inmate does". The success of prisoners in memorizing the roles and performing the scenes is the result of making all the spaces of prison a theatre workshop where the desire to practice theatre is all the time dominating. To break the daily routine and to avoid the

habitual practices, the prison participants' refuge to artworks on a regular basis as it is the only way for them to keep away from traumas that occupy their minds.

2. The Effectiveness of the Project

El Aadouani, in the same vein, asserted that PT has a major role in promoting change among females during and after their imprisonment. He argued that theatre based activities can have positive effects on women during their incarceration and afterwards. He further assumed that "the classes and trainings are considered therapy sessions offering therapeutic aid to female detainees". For him, drama exercises provide chances for personal development as such exercises offer immunity against negative effects of their life before prison and after". The interviewee highlighted the significance of drama exercises in decreasing and mitigating nervousness and psychological disorders among female detainees.

The interviewee asserted that "prison' bars should not be seen as constraints and obstacles affecting the reeducation and rehabilitation of prisoners". For him, there is a variety of innovative ways to reintegrate detainees in their own communities after their release. He, in plain words, proclaimed that "the return to one's community is a reality that cannot be escaped; this why the return of prisoners to the outside world should be gravely thought about from the very beginning of the imprisonment". He explained that death is the only aspect that can end one's life cycle and not the existence behind prison' walls; being in prison could be a second birth to many people; a second opportunity of effective life-long learning, reintegration and empowerment.

The reintegration and empowerment of Moroccan detainees is a must in our present time; it has become primordial for the state to think about "using theater as an artistic and aesthetic practice, and a way towards entertainment and cultural animation within prison institutions" El Aadouani stated. The interviewee thought that much continual work is

required on the part of activists and other people interested in the creation of social change among prisoners. Differently put, it is “much required nowadays more than ever to adopt innovative and creative strategies to deal with the various social, educational and psychological issues of people in the invisible world”. Marginalized and stigmatized people can benefit a lot from creative and artistic projects at a variety of levels: personal, psychological, educational, financial, etc. In brief, the competencies and talents of prison inhabitants should be developed to meet the requirements of the 21st century on the one hand and to decrease crime rate on the other hand.

To guarantee the smooth running of the artistic process, human resources and technical equipment must be available. The interviewee claimed that “participants have to be ready to engage in all the stages of the play building to achieve the objective of empowerment and change”. Moreover, the facilitator has to “share knowledge related to theatre and the know-how in a way that is appropriate to the detainees’ intellectual and cognitive abilities”. At the technical level, “prison’ administration has to allow theatre activists to get into the institution all the necessary materials and tools needed in the teaching and learning process” El Aadouani said.

As far as the interviewee is concerned, PT is perceived as both “a new movement of awareness and empowerment strategy at the same time”. It is not only a means of rehabilitation; it is also a means for financial empowerment. That is, PT can empower inmates at the personal, interpersonal and economic levels. The interviewee argued, in this vein, that PT “creates authentic learning contexts for the female detainees to understand rights, obligations, and correct misunderstandings. It also provides them with knowledge on theatre and artistic activities which raises their awareness regarding social, cultural, and political issues”. The amount of learning that female inmates get throughout theatre activities enables them to “change their attitudes, promote self-confidence, and have more self-control”

confirmed El Aadouani. Therefore, these inmates express more willingness to interact with others and their inter-social relations get better, more respectable, and improved.

2.1. A Broad Spectrum of Prison Theatre Functions

El Aadouani claimed that theatre activities and exercises provide the detainees with “golden opportunities that can help them renew their hope and escape from prison’s life constraints”. For him, theatre creates contexts of emancipation from prison restrictions; the invisible world becomes seen through giving more chances to the detainees to discover their inherent capacities and unheard voices. Their skills are improved, their voice becomes heard, their body becomes movable, and their mind becomes free.

Prison Theatre is a policy that humanizes the culture of reeducation, re-socialization, rehabilitation, and reintegration. The interviewee posited that “the non-patronizing protocol of treatment adopted by the facilitator eases interaction and communication with the detainees”. He explained that the adopted code of behavior also encourages and motivates more engagement in theatre classes, including improvisation, acting, singing, dancing, and scriptwriting.

The workshops taking place in prisons provide the prisoners with life skills that can help them fit to return to their communities. The interviewee, in this context, claimed that “theatre activities can also help the detainees earn their living by participating in the cultural scene as professionals which is the core objective of the project”. For further explanation, the detainees can earn their own livelihood through participating in theatrical performances.

In sum, the prison is a rehabilitative institution whose mission is to reeducate and re-socialize its inhabitants to help them become good citizens who are qualified to re-enter the society. In fact, it is the responsibility of the prison officials, staff, and other operators to take care of a verity of the detainee’s professional, personal, interpersonal, and psychological

aspects. The psychological state of the prisoners is a key factor that influences their motivation to develop their life skills and be effective members in the work place and in society. Therefore, any prisoner with psychological instability should be treated in a humane way; through Prison Theatre, the facilitator can turn into a psycho dramatist and make use of psychodrama techniques suggested by Moreno (see p. p 216, 217, 218).

2.2. The Theatrical Experience as a Correctional Movement

Prison Theatre is a correctional movement with social, political, and ethical responsibility. It is, indeed, a practical and theatrical practice that permits the authentic presentation of the irregularities and social scars of detainees. It is a platform whereby detainees are motivated to actively interact with others and try to find possible strategies of social change. Prison Theatre, in this regard, is a practice with socio-economic, political, and psychological functions.

The interviewee managed to advocate an art work with determined developmental objectives and aesthetic functions. The project sustains the other social and political initiatives that aim at the reintegration and rehabilitation of Moroccan detainees. He, in this context, put theatre closer to issues related to detainee's re-education, re-socialization, and empowerment.

Prison Theatre, according to the interviewee, is a "social practice that directly contributes to the growth and development of society. It co-operates with the various initiatives that are undertaken by GOs, NGOs, and community services to sustain social change and development of human life in general and prisoner's circumstances in specific". In this regard, the project is an investment in creating change among individuals within prison institutions. The whole process is undertaken in a "non-traditional settings and/or with marginalized communities" (Thompson & Jackson, 2006: 92). The location in this theatrical

experience is the prison as a correctional institution and the marginalized communities are both male and female Moroccan detainees from various detention centers.

El Aadouani's artistic project is, to some extent, a new experience at the practical level. The process is characterized by the "use of interdisciplinary techniques aiming at the healing, empowerment, and development of human capital in detention centers". He argued that those "workshops, learning classes, improvisation exercises, auditions, and other practices offer the detainees the basic knowledge they need to promote themselves and correct their behaviors". Other ways put, the workshops and the theatrical classes freshen up the detainees with the basic skills that they need in their personal and professional life.

The theatrical journey is marked by teaching and instructing the prisoners to be knowledge generators. In this vein, the interviewee affirmed that the "entire process is participants-centered"; the facilitator along with other experts have been "guiding, orienting, and correcting the mistakes of the beneficiaries". Differently put, the prisoners' voice is put at the center of the learning experience and the meetings are opportunities to develop the detainees' autonomy and independence. The discussions and debates divulge issues that concern social change and transformative actions.

The play is a form of presentational theatre; the participants collectively work to have a non-fictional theatrical performance which replicates their lived experiences. It offers a prospect for the detainees to present a real character living the experience not representing it. To this end, *M'bark w Messaaoud* is a performance that is explicit, direct, authentic, and non-fictional. This performance attempts to serve humanity as well the community, and its development through its aesthetic and ethical choice.

In brief, *M'bark w Messaaoud* as a model of PT meets the standards of an AT piece of work. It is a play that manages to address, discuss, and debate different aspects of the

Moroccan society; the participants bring into discussion a variety of cultural, social, and political concerns. The scenes have known ignorance to the aspect of time sequence and close ending; the ending is kept open as a way to generate debate and discussion. There is more use of body language, improvisation, images, and movement with less use of words to hearten the audience to take actions and express their thoughts. In sum, the play is an awareness raising performance with clear positive results on both the participants and the audience. It is a direct emancipation to the detainees with obvious social change.

2.3. Democracy in Prison Theatre

Conversely to the perception of Amahjour, this section deals with democracy in Prison Theatre from a different perspective. The interviewee strongly believed that “there must be a democracy in art-based activities within prisons and human beings should be treated equally”. He explained that PT is a form of theatre that is acknowledged and admitted like other forms of theater. So, “it does not matter where the play or the performance takes place, what matters more is equality between professional actors/actresses and prison’ actors/actresses”. Detainees in general and female ones in specific have the right to be actresses and they should enjoy democracy and be paid like professionals.

He, furthermore, claimed that Moroccan theatre associations and bands should contribute to the development of the situation by providing job opportunities and financial support to those people living in the margin of the unseen world (prison). For him, “Moroccan prisons are filled with intellectual and artistic capacities that require assistance and support. The empowerment and reintegration of those people is not the responsibility of a specific group; conversely it is the mission and the duty of various contributors, authorities, public investors and private sponsors” stated El Aadouani. For that reason, the interviewee stressed

“the importance and effective value of networking” which aim at the support and reintegration of inmates in the job market as they are “quality resources”.

The interviewee repeatedly stressed the idea that “good relationships with prison staff boost the success of any PT”. To clarify, the humane treatment of both the facilitator and staff to the prisoners is effective and has positive effects on their participation. When detainees are not oppressed, they feel relaxed and comfortable; they, also, show more willingness to join drama classes and attend regularly.

The obligation of having projects of this nature is a need in a country like Morocco; it helps prisoners of both genders create a better life by their own. PT has a “noteworthy role in maintaining interpersonal communication, safeguarding human dignity, and providing a sense of freedom” according to El Aadouani. In a nutshell, Prison Theatre projects enable detainees to restore their freedom, create their own entrepreneurship, and have financial independence.

3. Offsetting Psychological Disorder: Drama in Use

Drama has been for so long a therapeutic tool that is used in order to offset psychological and mental disorders. Ancient physicians proclaimed that drama is an effective therapeutic device which could be used to create logical thinking and increase nonviolent actions. Cockerham (2000), in this context, affirms that Soranus, a second century Roman physician, assumes that the securer way to deal with people with psychological disorder was to put them into a peaceful atmosphere and encourage them to read, discuss, and contribute in the production of plays so as to create order in their thinking and decrease their depression and melancholy.

According to Bailey (2006), Caelius Aurelius in the 5th century proclaims in his treatise on *Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases* that in order to attain emotional

equilibrium, psychologically ill people are advised to go to the theatre and watch a performance. Unfortunately, people with psychological illnesses were neither allowed to read nor to watch a theatrical performance; let alone participate in the production of a play. On the contrary, they were “locked away in horrible prisons and asylums where they were either forgotten or attempts were made to cure them through exorcism and treatments which could be only described as a torture” (Bailey, 2006: 215).

Bing (1981) believes that with the beginning of the Moral Treatment Movement during the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, some psychological institutions provided occupational therapy through artistic activities as part of their treatment. People with psychological morbidity started to receive a “human treatment, a routine of work and recreation, an appeal to reason, and the development of desirable moral traits” (Peloquin, 1989: 538). This approach to treatment continued in liberal institutions in Europe and America into the 20th century and paved the way to the practice of “Drama Therapy” (Bailey, 2006: 215). In the early 20s and late 30s, however, the use of arts in hospitals and prisons started to increase and occupational therapists at many psychiatric institutions and centers began to involve the psychologically ill people “in the rehearsal and performance of plays, pageants, and puppet shows” (op. cit., 2006: 215).

Drama is not for education or entertainment, the main rationale behind it is to release damaging and deconstructing emotions which will lead, accordingly, to harmony and healing in the community (Boal, 1985). Therefore, drama is thought to be an effective medium to heal the traumas of socially and politically marginalized people like prisoners. In this vein, drama is a sort of therapy that has become hugely used in the service of behavior change and personal development especially in correctional institutions. It is a useful therapeutic aid which encourages socialization among prisoners and increases desirable balance among people suffering from psychological issues.

The psychological well-being of the prisoners is an important matter that attracts the attention of many scholars across the globe especially activists in the field of AT. As a case in point, the President of the World Psychiatry Association Professor Dinesh Bhugra conducted a recent large-scale study (N=25,522) with his colleagues on psychiatric morbidity/psychological disorder in the UK. He, accordingly, affirms that “the mental health of the nation was unlikely to be improved by treatment with psychotropic medication alone” (Hankir, et. al, 2017: 196). That is to say, pharmaceutical medicines solely cannot result in the psychological well-being of people with psychiatric morbidity. In this regard, the prisoners who suffer from psychological disorder should invest more in art practices to heal their psychological wounds.

Therefore, it has become imperative to think about alternative therapeutic approaches that reconsider the wellbeing and safety of psychologically ill patients in penitentiary institutions. As a result, many performing arts have gained popularity on the part of physicians to heal the scars of people suffering from psychosomatic problems. There is a confirmation that art therapy possesses “the power to heal psychological wounds” (Hankir, et. al, 2017: 196). Drama therapy as a treatment modality can hugely help in the recovery of psychologically ill prisoners. It is scientifically proven that “more than half a million people over the age of 65 die because of the use of psychiatric drugs every year in the western world” (Gotzsche et al., 2015). To this end, psychiatric drugs are harmful and cannot improve the health conditions of people with mental health especially for those in prisons. On the other hand, art-based therapies can, nowadays, act as effective psychiatric medications that can help in achieving therapeutic goals and catharsis. Kirk (2015), in the same vein, affirms that integrated arts approach should be used to cultivate awareness, emotional growth, and improve relationship to self and other.

3.1. The Added Value of Psychodrama in Prison Theatre

Moreno is one of the earliest pioneers of psychodrama who views mentally and psychologically ill people as part of their familial and social context. His original ideas have immensely influenced the contemporary psychotherapeutic prospect. Psychodrama is thought to be one entity; however, it is a complex triadic system that involves three main interdependent and mutually supporting disciplines that are: sociometry, psychodrama, and group psychotherapy.

Sociometry is the scientific measurement of social relationships in groups developed by J. L. Moreno. It is not linear as one might think, but it is circular in nature (Lipman, 2003). In simple words, Sociometry is a technique used to investigate the structure of groups and society; it is a scientific method employed to measure social relationships among groups. In the context of this study, sociometry refers to those exercises, workshops, and trainings used in prison to reshape the prisoner's social relationships; it is about the general efforts made to correct the detainees' social affinity.

Psychodrama, from the standpoint of Cruz, et.al (2018) is a therapeutic model used in private and public health settings, including hospitals and mental health services in the healing of various pathologies such as schizophrenia, depression, melancholy, etc. It is a "group format of psychotherapy with deep roots in theater, psychology and sociology"(p. 2). Cruz et. al (2018) affirm that a psycho-dramatic session includes three contexts: the social, the group, and the dramatic context. Prisoners, in this regard, have classes in which different operators try to repair their psychological damages and traumas through group work, social interactions, and drama exercises to prevail over their psychological state.

Group psychotherapy is another important aspect in psychodrama. Lipman (2003) believes that patients in group psychotherapy "must engage with other human beings

sociometrically, revealing their preferences, patterns, and values to facilitate healing” (p.7).In this regard, curing is an outcome which cannot be achieved without the involvement of the psychologically ill person in groups. The process of group psychotherapy helps to “integrate and understand the transformation that is occurring on these individuals”, Lipman (2003: 7.).In the same vein, Amatruda (2003) argues that group psychotherapy, or what is referred to as sharing, takes place when these ill people “can experience themselves as contributing and partaking members of a whole while integrating what they need in order to leave the session feeling more complete and connected with others” (p. 118). Accordingly, prisoners are more likely to benefit from group psychotherapy through Prison Theatre activities.

At the large scale, theatre is perceived as “an effectual element for social change as well as behavioral change” (Thakur, 2013: 2). Theatre, thus, is proven to be an effective tool for remedy which can be used to address social and behavioral problems. Moreover, it is beyond dispute that theatre is an art and a process that is amusing and entertaining at the same time. Prison Theatre, however, goes beyond entertainment and aims to achieve extra functions and implications.

3.2. The Implication of Counseling

According to El Aadouani, in order to have effective empowerment, it is significant to liberate the prisoners from their traumas. For him, “healing is a process of curing the prisoners from weighty deep scars through coaching them on how to deal with their agonizing memories”. Other ways put, detainees should overcome their past, fear, anxiety, worry, and other negative feelings to defeat their past, accept their present, and confront their future.

The interviewee further argued that the reintegration of detainees involves a lot of work in preparing a fitting member who can participate in the development of the society. The interviewee proclaimed that “most crimes are committed because of drugs”; therefore, “it is of

paramount importance to fight drug-addiction in prison institutions to guarantee the decrease of crime-making at least from ex-prisoners”. Fighting addiction is primordial in correctional institutions, and theatre activities can take the prisoners away from the world of delinquency and addiction to the world of uprightness.

The rehabilitation of the prisoners is not the mission of the facilitator and the funding body alone, but it is the responsibility of the family too. In this regard, the interviewee asserted that “the role of the family is highly important in the healing journey”. The family, for the interviewee, “should support the prisoner throughout his/ her imprisonment and even after release”. El Aadouani also claimed that “involving family members in the therapy of the detainees proves effective; that is why I personally tried as much as I can to keep the participants in contact with their families through phone calls, video calls, messages, and direct meetings in the performances”. The frequent contact of the prison participants with their families “creates social contexts that help them reconcile with their families and help, on the other hand, their families to restore their confidence in their children”. To this end, the rebuilding of the relationship between the participants and their families contributes to their healing and effective reintegration in the social life.

Importantly, the involvement of prisoners in both occupational and artistic workshops helps them escape their psychological state and melancholy. The interviewee assumed that “the greatest the prisoner’s affiliation in the workshops is the smoothest their healing is”. He explained that when a prisoner intensifies his/her efforts in the workshops and gets a diploma, s/he eases her/his access to the job market after the release. Being a skillful, competent, and financially independent employee is a therapy in itself. Having a position in the work place turns the prisoners into efficient human beings.

The skills learned and developed in the prison’s workshops are basic requirements that contribute to the therapy and creation of change among the detainees. El Aadouani

asserted that the workshops and trainings are “podiums of teaching and learning exchange where the facilitator learns from the participant and the participant learns from the facilitator; the detainees are taught soft skills and meta-cognitive skills as well”. He believed that the learning experience provides context-based situations that enable the learners (prisoners) develop ways to communicate with others in diverse areas, contexts, and situations. He also assumed that the prisoners are in a position to learn how to “solve problems, think logically, take part in teamwork, produce creative ideas, criticize, and act in a peaceful and flexible way” said El Aadouani. In simple words, there are effective skills that the detainees must develop for them to be fitting to meet the demands of the work place and to be effective functioning human beings who are able to make their socially accepted decisions. In sum, the healing course is achievable only if there is a true rehabilitation, reintegration, and empowerment of prisoners.

4. Measurement and Assessment of the Project

To measure the effect of this experiment, El Aadouani stated that he “resorted to the opinions of prison officers, prisoners’ families, prisoners and the audience”. As for the views of the prison staff, “they expressed their surprise regarding the changes that had taken place in the behaviors of prisoners who were seen difficult to deal with” confirmed El Aadouani. The results for those authorities remain fabulous. As for the prisoners’ families, they “expressed their satisfaction and admiration for what their children achieved as actors, not as inmates”. At the national level, the echo of this theatrical experience was strong and the manifestations of change strengthened the relationship of prisoners with their families. As for the prisoners themselves, “they have often voiced out pride regarding their ability to communicate and act. The participants became known as the representatives of the prison population, which strengthened their confidence and purified their lives”. As for the audiences who have highly

appreciated this initiative, they praised the prisoners' technical and artistic abilities and high efficiency in acting and performing”.

4.1. The Manifestations of Success

The project is a win-win experience as it has many beneficiaries: the facilitator, the participants, and the audience who represents the society at large. The theatrical process is a learning journey for every operator.

The facilitator, in this frame, managed to have access to an exclusive data-base that concerns the life of the participants, the prison's conditions, and other new perceptions. His direct contact with the participants allows him to test his capacities, strategies, and techniques. Being with prisoners for twelve weeks of regular trainings, auditions, and theoretical and practical classes provided him with the opportunity to discover what knowledge, treatment, and strategies fit more in the context of prison. Accordingly, the facilitator disclosed relevant material that he can use with other groups. The project was a success story though it was the first initiative taken by the interviewee in a prison institution. The fame that the experience got enabled the facilitator to have an institutional approval to work with other groups (as mentioned before, he is working with women accused for extremism and terrorism).

The project permitted the participants to renew their lives with hope, hard work, acceptance, altruism, self-respect, and other human values. The moral, humane, and correctional treatment they got is remarkably significant as it makes of the learning atmosphere a healthy environment where the participants have flourishing theoretical and practical workshops. The theatrical experience was distinguished by the participation of both female and male prisoners from different geographical areas which creates a linguistic mosaic formed by different Moroccan dialects. The participants prove change throughout the whole process; they have been committed in the theatrical tour and no security, ethical, or legal

violations has been recognized. Moreover, the attendance of a huge audience made the participants feel the warmth of love and respect on the part of the society which helps them reconcile with their stigmas.

“I, Augusto Boal, want the Spectator to take on the role of Actor and invade the Character and the stage. I want him to occupy his own Space and offer solutions” (Boal, 1979: xxi). Being influenced with Boal’s beliefs, El Aadouani proudly stated that he “triumphed to have a royal and noble blood that circulates in the majority of events in the workshops and the performances too” El Aadouani. He mentioned that “two types of audiences manage to attend this theatrical experience: an audience from within the prison and another from outside the prison”; that is, both integral and accidental audiences have been present at the workshops and outside performances. Prisoners from various penitentiary institutions have been active and dynamic audiences who participated mutually with the participants. He asserted that the audiences “have benefited from the classes at both the intellectual, ideological and practical levels”. They, in other words, have deepened the dramatic scenes with their experiences, thoughts, and creative ideas; the audiences, in this regard, have been a source of knowledge that enriches the experience.

Importantly, audiences from outside the rehabilitative establishment discover a new form of theatre that is presentational, authentic, and real. Their attendance to *M’bark W Messaaoud* as a theatrical practice performed by prisoners “corrected their misunderstandings and misconceptions about detainees in general”. The performance has been a sort of catharsis for them; through crying and laughing (laughing during the play and crying when it ends). The audience has managed to “heal from negative thoughts which have controlled their minds, behaviors, and reactions for a long time”. Therefore, attending this genre of performances is a therapy for the audience representing the whole society.

4.2. The Project's Results

This theatrical experience has got many positive results. The interviewee claimed that it has helped “the inmates to expel the negative energy and relieve the psychological torment inherent to them”. For him, it has also given them the opportunity to “develop their creative talents, have effective catharsis, and benefit from therapy through many drama exercises”. Moreover, the interviewee presupposed that the workshops enable the detainees to “play all the painful events that they experienced and still hurt them”.

The interviewee gave the following example to demonstrate the effectiveness of PT in decreasing inmates' soreness. He recounted that “an inmate has killed his father due to taking hard drugs and hallucinogenic pills. For two months of theatrical exercises and with five different proposals, the prisoner was able to play the father's killing scene. The best scene which had created relief for the inmate is when he was forgiven by his father in a dramatic scene; a moment that he had never lived in reality and deepened his sadness since the death of his father”. According to El Aadouani, that scene enabled the inmate to “pardon himself and understand that the terrible event was a matter of fate and that he committed that crime because of the effect of drugs”.

As the prisoner becomes more optimistic and positive, his mother called El Aadouani to thank him. She, in a phone call, expressed her “contentment a propos the huge change she had witnessed in her son, who was always sad and expected to commit suicide at any moment”. The mother appreciated her son's “love to life, his desire to continue his learning journey and his willingness to benefit from the theater workshops”. It is worth noting that this young man is condemned to life imprisonment.

By participation in theatre workshops, prisoners could get the love, interest and praise they were deprived of in prison. For the interviewee, none of the people involved in the

project “has committed an offence whatever its degree is after their participation in theatre activities” according to El Aadouani. On the contrary, the interviewee presumed that many of the female prisoners decided to “continue their studies during their incarceration because of the effect of other members of the group”. Being involved in theatrical activities with different people from different age groups and backgrounds made it possible for female detainees to change their attitudes towards a variety of issues that concern their wellbeing.

This experience affected prisoners in the near, medium and long terms. In the short term, the majority of the prisoners “were engaged with love and passion to discover the world of theater; they loved to spend more time away from the dungeon. On the intermediate level, all the participants were involved in the activities of the theater workshops and practical work” affirmed El Aadouani; they dreamed of freedom through theater. With regard to the long term, “the serious and continuous work led to the creation of a professional theater group that is well- equipped in terms of knowledge, skills, and competencies”. The qualities the theatrical group develops throughout the process can facilitate their access to the labor market after serving a prison sentence.

In sum, the workshops, theatrical exercises, and the discourse that encourages change helped the prisoners to embrace freedom before their actual release. The continuous theatrical work also helped the inmates to a certain extent to socially reintegrate before confronting the society. Both PT activists approached the idea of women’s empowerment from a personalized creative and aesthetic way that is distinctive and appropriate to the context, participants’ background, and the experience itself. Their projects also were set and processed according to specific objectives, agenda, and ideology. All in all, it can be said that though they are different experiences with different participants, and settings; both analyzed projects meet the international standards of Prison Theater as a sub category of Applied Theatre. Both

activists have empowered their participants especially women through different artistic and creative measures to create social change among them.

Summary

The two previous sections have common panorama; they both answer the same research questions: to what extent do those theatre projects respect the general frame of an AT practice and how do these Moroccan prison theatre activists use different strategies to empower female participants. The sections give a detailed analysis of two dissimilar projects within the frame of PT that have exactly the same objectives of empowerment and reintegration. The two projects have taken place in different periods and settings; however, they have achieved idealistic outcomes. The two sections include a thematic analysis and discussion of the background of these two theatrical experiences, the operational functioning, the play building process, and aspects of creativity and aesthetics. They also provide a descriptive analysis of the major manifestations of success and the results reached. Other aspects have been also tackled, like democracy in PT, the significance of psychodrama, and the implications of counseling.

The next chapter is devoted to the analysis and discussion of the data gathered through the narrative interviews. It will answer one of the most important research questions of the study, which is: to what extent does female ex-detainees empowerment manifest during their incarceration and after their release thanks to the practice of theatre? We hypothesize that female former detainees' empowerment does not manifest neither during their incarceration nor after their release. We also hypothesize that female ex-detainees' empowerment manifests during their imprisonment and after their release too. The chapter will provide a comprehensive thematic analysis of three major life phases of the interviewees: before detention, while detention, and after release. Issues related to social, economic, and psychological empowerment will be disclosed in the analysis as well.

Chapter Six: Former Detainees' Empowerment

Introduction

Over decades, theatre has addressed issues that concern various fields including: sociology, anthropology, politics, psychology, phenomenology, to cite but a few. It has manifested itself as a platform where issues of discrimination, violence, peace, empowerment and other debatable topics are disclosed. Actually, the perception of theatre has changed; it has become a sphere that generates communication between different social classes in “the unequal power relationship of complex, social organization” (Thakur, 2013: 5).

Theatre is understood as a field that trims down communicative gaps between unequal members of the society. It is, indeed, a place where people can tell their traumatic stories and share their woes. Barnes and Coetzee (2014) suggest that theatre is a therapeutic field for people who have undergone shocking and dreadful experiences like: xenophobic violence, abuse, imprisonment, sexuality, environmental degradation, war, exile and other problematic. For further elaboration, it stands as the safest place where the oppressed and the stigmatized can unconditionally share their experiences and life stories.

AT has become a pragmatic art that is used for specific socio political purposes. It is a theatre that is done from the point of view of people, performed by people, and to people. Its ideas are generated from people, presented by people with lived experiences, to people with same sufferings and conflicts. It is, moreover, a form of art where the oppressed are liberated. Barnes and Coetzee (2014) affirm that AT creates opportunities for the oppressed to “recover their lost humanity” (p. 3). They, further, acknowledge that the oppressed need to “affirm the virtues of freedom, justice, hope, and peace” (op. cit., 2014: 3). The new theatre form provides the participants with tools and instruments of empowerment to overcome the trepidation of the other.

The system of oppression is complex and its narratives are not pure. The narratives of oppression are “partial, incomplete, and limited in the sense that they project the interests of one side (The oppressed) over others (the oppressors)” (Barnes & Coetzee, 2014: 4). The storyline of both oppressed and oppressor is frequently influenced and affected by an ideology or a political agenda; therefore, the content of the narrative is never purely clean. Barnes & Coetzee (2014) also assume that it is primordial to be objective in dealing with aspects that concern oppressed/ oppressors. They, accordingly, argue that Paul Freire has once claimed that “one needs to go beyond the strict duality between the oppressor and the oppressed in order to fully understand systems of oppression” (op. cit., 2014: 4). The projection of reality is curtailed and condensed as long as there is no distance between the oppressed and oppressor.

The fact of not being detached (oppressor/oppressed), the need “for a theatre of the oppressor becomes even more urgent in order to fill the gaps in the theatre of the oppressed” (op. cit., 2014: 5). In order to find out the lacuna of oppressed minorities; there is a need to understand the oppressor’s policy and to reexamine whether there is an established dialogue between these two hierarchical groups. Barnes & Coetzee (2014) argue that there is an obvious “absence of true dialogues between the oppressors and the oppressed”. Boal (1979), accordingly, thought of new forms of theatre: Legislative Theatre and the Aesthetics of the Oppressed. For Boal, the theatre “is a weapon, and it is the people who should wield it” (Boal, 1979: 98). The democratization of theatre has become a necessity if not a must; people with their different belongings and origins must be given the same opportunity to have a direct participation in social, political, economic, and cultural life. It is pertinent to support excluded, victimized and deprived groups who lack access to services and opportunities, (Barnes & Coetzee, 2014).

Worth mentioning, the oppressor body has a direct responsibility in the liberation of the oppressed. To explain, the self-empowerment of the oppressed is never achievable and feasible without the direct collaboration of the oppressor who may be “inadvertently unconscious of his oppression of the other” (Barnes & Coetzee, 2014: 7). To put it differently, the solution is always part of the problem; and those who are involved in the problem are in better position to be involved in finding the solution.

Barnes & Coetzee (2014) assume that the system of oppression is complex and multifaceted; in the daily confrontations the oppressed demonstrates that s/he suffers from “an internalized oppressor complex” (p. 9). This intricacy is explained by Friere (1970) as a process in which the oppressor restrains the oppressed from stepping towards the realization of true freedom. The oppressor, in this vein, forces his /her norms and values on the oppressed “who internalize his shape and become ambiguous beings housing another” (Barnes & Coetzee, 2014: 138). The oppressor, in this regard, stands a constraint to realize self-determination, liberation, and freewill and the oppressed is shaped according to the views of the oppressor and always seen as an “other”.

1. The Empowerment of Female Prisoners in Morocco

The empowerment of the stigmatized and vulnerable groups is a debatable issue that AT’ practitioners try hard to find fitting techniques and strategies to realize the objective of their emancipation and empowerment. Thakur (2013) argues that “the need-based approaches of theatre empower the marginalized people of grass root level” (p. 1). In order to empower the subalterns and subordinates, approaches of needs must be considered. It is required to examine the needs of these minorities in order to fill their socio economic and psychological gaps.

Today's society needs a special theatre, an art form that according to Coetzee and Barnes (2014) stands as a space for the liberation of the oppressed. The world needs a theatre where oppressors can also be turned into functioning operators in realizing emancipation rather than remaining perpetrators of oppression; even agents of oppression need to take part in the theatrical experience to participate in the liberation of the oppressed.

Prison Theatre is a social and artistic strategy that functions as a means of entertainment, teaching, learning, development, and influence; it is a non-commercial theatre that serves the interests of detainees and leads to their individual and collective empowerment. However, despite of the many efforts that the Moroccan government and the NGO's have been doing to improve the situation and conditions of women in Morocco, incarcerated women still have lower status, enjoy less autonomy, and have restricted access to resources and services.

In fact, the Moroccan society is experiencing a problem with women; they are getting involved in crime, which leads to their imprisonment. The prison life provides the detainees with a number of rehabilitation programs which include rehabilitation through creativity as well in order to reexamine the choices of prisoners and explore solutions to their problems.

The incarceration of women is attributed to the lack of job opportunities which is the leading factor in the development of crime among women in Morocco. Importantly, the lack of educational opportunities especially in the peripheries is another factor of women being involved in increasing the crime ratio. To elaborate, having low literacy skills, poor education, and lack of economic opportunities contribute to the exclusion of women and their deprivation from living with dignity; they, accordingly, break the law to have a better social level through practicing prostitution, witchcraft, superstition, drug trafficking, robbery, and other crimes.

If the Moroccan government and NGO agencies pay more attention to women and develop appropriate programs to support them within prisons, female detainees could reach a better future for themselves and for their families after their release. Governmental and nongovernmental programs and trainings play crucial roles in the development of the society and decrease the crime rate among former detainees.

Prison Theatre is a social tool that helps women particularly to develop learning and social skills that can enable them better understand their social reality; it also develops women's communicative skills which can, accordingly, help them take actions and actively interact within groups.

The effectiveness of this typology of theatre resides in its ability to help detainees learn how to act not with the objective of becoming actors but in the sense that "when they finish the activity they are participating; they are better prepared to take action in the real world" (Gonzales, 2016: 17). That is, the prisoners are equipped with mechanisms that encourage them take actions and do things instead of being passive participants. Consequently, PT is a corrective method and an artistic technique that can be used in Moroccan prisons to rehabilitate and empower female prisoners; it is, in fact, a prevention method that allows the participants to better understand the system of oppression, comprehend their social reality, and appreciate their own worth.

Thompson (2009), in this context, asserts that "in working in a prison with inmates John and Jane must simultaneously be making the claim that all prisoners deserve, at minimum, humane treatment" (p. 169). The democratization of theatre has become a prerequisite; women with their different belongings, origins, and backgrounds must receive a humane treatment and they should be given the same opportunity to have a direct participation in PT' projects.

Incarcerated women in Morocco are the least studied and researched groups. Many of the recent research conducted on women in Morocco concern issues related to home-entrepreneurship, poverty alleviation, the promotion of the life of women working in the informal sector, the trauma of single mothers, abortion between reality and prohibition, and other debatable issues. Unfortunately, female detainees have never been subjects of investigation. They are Moroccans who are left behind and ignored in research-based projects. We argue that their empowerment is important to ensure their safe reentry and reintegration into the society. The subsequent sub-section presents information on the ratio of female detainees in Morocco and the reasons why it is significant to empower them.

Table 21: The Growth of Incarceration in Morocco between 2009 and August 2015

Years	Number of Detainees
2009	57563
2010	64877
2011	64833
2012	70758
2013	72005
2014	74941
End of August 2015	76794

Source: https://www.dgapr.gov.ma/articles.php?id_menu=69

The table discloses statistical information about the rate of imprisonment in Morocco between the period of 2009 and 2015. The numbers shown in the table describe the growth of incarceration; it is apparent that the ratio of prisoners decreased only one time in 2011(N=64833). However, the rate of incarceration was chronologically increasing from 2012 until the last statistics of 2015 provided by the General Delegation for Prison

Administration and Rehabilitation. The overall numbers encompass all categories of prisoners including: men, women, and juveniles.

The following table portrays the latest statistics declared on the home page of the General Delegation for Prison Administration and Rehabilitation. It will display the number of detainees according to their gender.

Table 22: Categorization of Moroccan Prisoners according to Their Gender (2015)

Gender	Men	Women	Total
Number	74917	1877	76794
Percentage	97.56%	2.44%	100%

Source: https://www.dgapr.gov.ma/articles.php?id_menu=69

According to the latest statistics provided by the Moroccan General Delegation for Prison Administration and Reintegration in 2015, women represent 2.44% (N=1877) of all prisoners in Morocco’s prisons. The percentage of women’s incarceration does not seem dreadful; however, it remains shocking in a conservative developing country like Morocco.

The ratio of incarcerated women in Morocco is small compared to the number of female detainees in other Arab countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia, according to the statistics of September 2017 (Walmsley, 2017). The female prison population total in Morocco is, unfortunately, higher than many other Arab countries like: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Sudan, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Syria, Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates, (op. cit. 2017). There are various issues that should be addressed and examined to understand the various problematic related to women’s incarceration in Morocco and its direct effect on the society’s development at large as well as its impact on the detainees’ reintegration and empowerment particularly.

To limit the prospects and horizons of the discussion, we will demonstrate why is it important to empower Moroccan female detainees though they make only 2.44% of the overall population of Moroccan prisons.

Female prisoners are under-researched in Morocco though they are the most marginalized group. Many people consider them as criminals and not victims; they do not, consequently, merit any support or empowerment. In this regard, it is not surprising to hear that “thousands of women are being released from prison each year with no safety net to assist survival” (Zaitzow, 2006: 1). Female prisoners are increasingly “members of a minority group” (op. cit., 2006: 5); they are victims of a space that is basically designed for men and also dominated by men. Therefore, the government often fails to address the various issues of female detainees as they form just a minority. Consequently, female prisoners confront barriers that are challenging during their incarceration and immediately after their release. In this regard, it is much needed to find out approaches that endorse the successful reintegration and empowerment of this category of detainees.

Female detainees’ conditions and socio-economic circumstances worth to be examined and their empowerment should be approached by different means. The following sub-section will present the life cycle of four informants who participated in a theatre based project entitled *M'bark W Messaaoud* during their incarceration, with the aim of demonstrating the extent to which Prison Theatre can be used as a strategy of empowerment. Prison Theatre, in the context of this study, is taken as one of the strategies of empowerment of female prisoners. Before analyzing the data of the narrative interviews, the subsequent sub-section will provide a description of the data gathering procedure, coding, and analysis.

2. Data Gathering Procedure and Coding

This investigation is significant and might make an important contribution to form a healthy and well protected community that women prisoners are part of. In fact, this study is needed because there is a scarcity of studies at both the international and national levels tackling the issue of female detainees' empowerment through Prison Theatre as a typology of AT. As a woman, I see that it is necessary to examine the silenced voice of the prison population, namely that of women.

The issue of the empowerment of ex-female detainees through the canon of PT needs to be explored not from a statistical point of view. A Narrative Interview (NI) is, accordingly used, to collect data that help in understanding the process and manifestations of female detainee's empowerment. The NI enables identifying the possible relationship between participation in PT and women's empowerment. It also attempts to give voice to the stories told by participants of *M'bark w Messaaoud* (a three- month long preparation project) that started in 2018 and still performed in Morocco.

To come up with a scientific analysis, it was essential to identify the suitable approach that can be used to analyze the data gathered by means of a narrative interview as a source of qualitative data, from four former female detainees who participated in a three-month long project mentioned earlier.

Narratives are countless in their diversity, and they are found everywhere. Barthes argues that narrative is “present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative” (Barthes, 1993: 251, 252). Four narrative interviews were conducted among participants of *M'bark W Messaaoud* and the data gathered were subject to a narrative and thematic analysis of real stories to demonstrate the complexity of the issue.

The Narrative Inquiry (NI) was an appropriate choice that helped in gaining insightful data about the participants' experiences before and while imprisonment, and after their release. The four informants who are the subject of this chapter's analysis were given an opportunity to share their stories regarding their engagement in PT and disclose the different transformations that took place in their identity, lives, choices, decisions, etc.

A narrative is understood in this context, according to Czarniawska (2004) as a "spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected" (p. 17). That is, the NI was employed in the context of this study to gather both oral recorded data in phase 1, 2, and 3 and hand written data in phase 4.

Four former prisoners who participated in the project of *M'bark W Messaaoud* were requested to participate in this doctoral research by providing narratives about their life stages: before and during imprisonment, and after their post release phase. The choice to interview these four female participants out of seven was purposeful. They were chosen to enrich the study with their narratives which reflect the extent to which PT contributed in change-creation in the life of these former incarcerated women especially after their release.

Much importance is given to the quality of stories that are individually recounted by each participant. Narrative interviews were conducted from February to May 2019. The informants were encouraged to tell stories about their experiences in interviews which lasted between 75 to 90 minutes. They were recorded, transcribed, translated from Moroccan Arabic into English and the stories were subject to a narrative thematic analysis.

The narrative interview, in this regard, "encourages and stimulates an interviewee (who in NI is called an 'informant') to tell a story about some significant event in their life and social context" (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000: 4). In the narrative interview, we tried to compel structures to ease the data gathering by selecting the major themes and the topics,

ordering the questions from the most important to the least important, and wording the questions in the language of the informants. Therefore, Moroccan Arabic was used from the very beginning of the NI to cover the different themes and topics of the investigation.

Creswell & Poth (2016) argue that NI has its own procedures. So, we had to gather data about the respondents through “the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences, and chronologically ordering the meaning of those experiences (or using life course stages)” (Creswell & Poth, 2016: 110). Riessman (2008) also acknowledges that NI has its own features; we, in this regard, were in charge of collecting stories and lived experiences from the informants. Those stories emerged through “the interaction or dialogue of the researcher and the participant(s)” (Creswell, 2016: 112). The narrations incorporated: the respondents’ identities and experiences.

Jovchelovitch & Bauer (2000), in the same context, assert that there are four phases of the narrative interview, they are: initiation, main narration, questioning phase, and concluding talk. There are also rules that need to be respected in every phase. In the initiation phase, for instance, we had to explain to the informants (NI) the context and significance of the study, ask for a recording permission, and inform them also that they are not going to be interrupted during the story-telling process. The informants at this phase were also assured that their stories will be used only for research purposes and their names and any other identifying factors will not be mentioned in order to maintain anonymity.

In the main narration phase, the informants were not interrupted at any rate until there is an apparent “coda” (signal of end) (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). On the contrary, they were encouraged to use their spontaneous language in the narration and were motivated by non-verbal signals to show interest in their stories and to motivate them give more in depth details.

The questioning phase was a gap filler stage which helped in eliciting new and additional material to deepen and enhance the study. Some questions were asked (see appendix 3) using the language of the informants to complete the gaps in the study. Worth mentioning that phases 1, 2 and 3 (initiation, main narration, and questioning phase) were recorded to have verbatim transcription with the permission of the informants.

Immediately after the questioning phase, the recording tape was switched off to start the concluding talk and discussion of the events. Questions which thought to be beneficial for a contextual interpretation were asked and hand-written notes were taken to preserve the data. The narratives were analyzed thematically.

3. The Narratives' Analysis

The stories of the four prisoners (Z. B, M. M, N. E, and B. S), which we have monitored through narrative interviews, contain data related to their path before and after the theater experience; the stories contain also important data that concern the effect of theatre experience on these women during and after their imprisonment.

The data is related to their social, psychological, and economic life before and after their detention; it also indicates the extent to which theater experience in prison helped them move from the state of disempowerment to the state of empowerment; it additionally highlights the great effect of theatre on a variety of aspects related to their personal lives.

Based on a Narrative Inquiry (NI), the narratives demonstrated that each participant (Z. B, N. E, M. M, B. S; for confidentiality purposes only initials are used) had experienced a transformation in her identity. Their involvement in group work and workshops was perceived as greatly significant to their social change. Engagement in PT activities offered the participants opportunities to discover a lot of good and meaningful life lessons. The self-esteem, confidence, and hope they gained through participation in theatre-based activities

during their incarceration soon were translated into feelings of pleasure, empowerment, and pride.

Prison variable is a significant stage and a critical juncture in the process of the informants' empowerment; it is an important phase as it creates radical changes in their lives. That is, when we compare the informants' socio-economic conditions before their imprisonment and after, we come to the conclusion that the practice of theatre within prison is a factor which affects the social, psychological, and economic facets of those women.

Accordingly, their narratives provide data regarding the process of their empowerment. The informants' life cycle is taken into consideration to have an understanding to the major changes in their life standards; it is useful, in this regard, to deal with each stage of the interview's life to evoke factors, indicators, and signs related to the nature and quality of their lives, and the strategies they used to manage crisis. The subsequent sub-section portrays the general background of the informants.

Through the narratives, stories, language, lexicon, and other expressions which the informants used to describe their situations and lived experience, we will make sure to extract the information that presents and explains the major social, psychological, and economic transformations that the informants experienced in their pre, while, and post incarceration.

3.1. Understanding the Pre-imprisonment Context

It is noticed that the informants' description of the pre-imprisonment phase is characterized by having three common concerns in which they greatly intersect, which are the family milieu, education, and the psychological state.

In this context, the four prisoners knew a difficult, and even cruel, social upbringing, either because of the conservative, rustic or impoverished milieu. They were also unable to complete their studies, and dropped out at an early age. The conditions these informants lived

in negatively affected their psychology. N.D's sexual tendency, Z. B's failure in marriage, B. S' poverty, M. M's ignorance and other social and psychological disorders are the major factors which led to their imprisonment.

In this regard, this sub-section provides a thematic analytical account of the living circumstances that the four detainees involved in the study had encountered and experienced before the imprisonment phase. The themes are related to the major living conditions of the young female informants wherein they were vulnerable to poverty, exclusion, inequality, and violence. In fact, the detainees' life was not that rosy before their incarceration; their world was not well-appointed because the opportunity simply did not exist. They are all daughters of what is statistically classified as "large size poor families" and are joined by the shared experiences of poverty and socio-economic injustice.

Though their living characteristics and circumstances may differ from each other, the detainees' social context remains almost the same with regard to their family background, financial status, occupation and level of education. The four participants are poorly-educated with no certificate that would enable them to be decently employed. As such, low education, unemployment, poverty, and social inequality had dramatically led the informants to prison where they were at least pretty lucky to transform all the socio-economic disadvantages into some positive personal outcomes thanks to Prison Theatre.

In view of that, the pre-imprisonment phase was as harsh as the detention period since the detainees, being from the most marginal groups in society, were also the most vulnerable category to suffer in silence. Through Narrative interviews with the formerly incarcerated informants, they demonstrated to be all victims of financial and educational deficiency. M. M, Z. B, N. E and B. S were not able to receive a high school diploma and were forced to look for alternative job opportunities in the informal sector.

The primary piece of the issue is the social and economic inequalities that have contributed to fewer quality educational and occupational chances for the pre-incarcerated informants which have kept them in a peripheral state and driven them to prison. In this regard, M. M, a twenty seven years old woman from Marrakech, clarified that the harsh living conditions she and her family were living in have deprived her from resuming her studies making all her dreams fade away. The informant stated:

I dropped out from school because I was obliged to stay home and take care of my siblings. My father is unemployed so my mother had to take on the household responsibly and seek a job. She has worked as a second hand clothes seller in a local thrift market to afford for us, but what she was earning was still not enough to feed, clothe, and educate three children. Being the eldest, I was socially expected to sacrifice my future for the benefit of my younger siblings and my parents.” (5th March, 2019. Marrakech)

The informant’s dropout of school was not the only cost she had to pay to help her low- income parents. As her family’s financial situation was getting worse, her father resort to drug trafficking making matters increasingly difficult for Meryem who had ultimately ended up in jail while trying to help him. M. M, is now a wife and a mother of a newly born baby girl, recalled the bitter experience:

I can never forget that cursed night when the police came to arrest my father who had simply fled away leaving behind a trafficable quantity of cannabis. Under pressure, anxiety, and fear, I thoughtlessly grabbed the bag and went to my best friend’s house in order to help me hide the drugs. Unwisely, my

friend couldn't maintain that secret more than three months and following her boyfriend's ill-advice she reported me to the police not caring about the consequences she would engender herself (5th March, 2019. Marrakech).

M. M declared that her intention was only to protect her family and keep suspicion out of her old and sick father. She was sentenced with her mother to three-years of imprisonment though the poor mother knew nothing about the affair. M.M was indicted for conspiracy to possess and hide with intent illegal drugs while her friend was sentenced to two-year of jail under the charge for not notifying the police immediately. Later, M. M's father was also arrested and finished dead in the prison after five months of being jailed. M. M regrettably admitted her fault for dishonestly trying to protect her father. Yet, she put all the blame on the degrading social conditions she was destined to live in, which have deprived her from continuing her studies and led a decent life: "If only I was pretty lucky to stay at school, my life would have become much better" M. M bitterly posited.

Following the cycle from poverty to lower-quality education to incarceration, B. S is another victim of poverty, discrimination, patriarchy, and social injustice, which have affectedly prevented her from accessing tools, resources, and the education she needed to improve her living situation. Being born to a low-income family in a rural area in the district of Berrechid, B.S felt the pressure to financially contribute to her struggling family, and so she dropped out from school to work as a maid in Casablanca to help her hardworking parents. She said "it's innate in our tribal cultural beliefs that girls in impoverished rural settings should take the family burdens, leave school, and work to contribute to the family budget." (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca)

Although B. S was a good student with great desires in life, she gave up her ambitions and dreams of success once her five sisters got married, finding herself obliged to

work and support her family. Moreover, the lack of near high schools makes her father refuse to send her to a nearby town for the shortage to cover her costs of transportation and housing. Despite B. S's chance to live in the school dormitory, her close-minded father had also refuted the idea under the pretext of not leaving his daughter without what he considers a proper oversight. All these unfavorable reasons were behind B. S's misery that has soon started once getting to Casablanca to work as a maid for an affluent family for two thousand Dirhams a month.

Things were pretty fine at the beginning as B. S stated. She was assigned with the household chores from cleaning to cooking to taking care of the children. Regardless of the heavy workload and verbal abuse she was subject to, the informant accepted to endure all the dreadful conditions for the sake of supporting her aged parents. On the contrary, she was constantly trying to please her conceited female employer to ensure the remittances she sent to her family every month.

Though B. S was aware that she was disliked by her female employer who never appreciated or praised her work, she never thought that she could tricked her into a robbery she did not commit. The twenty years old domestic helper was accused of stealing her employer's golden bracelet and was jailed eight months after pleaded guilty for a theft she claimed to never commit. B. S angrily postulated:

The prosecution sought at least eight months jail, saying that my action was unwarranted as there was no evidence of abuse or ill-treatment by my employer or any of the family members. I had no chance in court to prove my honesty as I had no legal assistance. My ignorant poor father couldn't afford for a private lawyer and consequently, I wasn't able to have a legal help

through this complicated legal Maze. (22nd May, 2019.

Casablanca)

B. S stayed helpless in front of her wealthy employer's fabricated claim towards which she vehemently tried to react but in vain. She stated "Nothing is worse than being accused of something you didn't do especially when there are criminal charges involved. When you are poor, you have no voice. Equal justice for the deprived and marginalized groups is indeed far-fetched" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca)

The young girl had experienced social and legal injustice in the most awful way. She was deprived of her education to support her family and ended up behind bars for something she did not do. Unfortunately, despite all the guarantees and safeguards our legal system provides, the poor often met with less than the same justice as the rich. B. S specified that "there can be no equal justice where the kind of trial an individual gets depends on the amount of money he/she has; therefore, more poor than rich are arrested for crimes they did not assign" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca).

B. S's first days in prison among jail inmates was not easy as she could not bear the shock of incarceration and its disgracing effects on her socio-economic status and that of her family. Being deceitfully imprisoned had created serious problems on the informant's psyche as she started agonizing over what her relatives, neighbors, and friends would think about her. She had feelings of frustration depression, and distress, which were cured once she joined a prison theatre program.

In view of the aforementioned examples, poverty, lack of education, unemployment, and social injustice do drastically increase the chances of incarceration. As such, the government should do more strides to ensure individuals' access to education and economic resources in order to effectively reduce crimes and lead to long-term benefits across the entire

Moroccan population. Without an educational reform that ensures compulsory education for all, the cycle of unemployment, poverty, crime, and incarceration will increasingly continue. Education proved to be the best gateway to social and economic mobility and the most effective vehicle to reduce criminality. It was highly demonstrated that people with higher education have other characteristics that make them less delinquent or engaged in troubles. Therefore, more compulsory school laws should be adopted to force families to keep their children stay in school longer than they would choose voluntarily.

Z. B is another young lady from the outskirts of Marrakech who was misleadingly imprisoned being convicted of a crime she did not commit. Z's illiteracy, as she dropped out of school at an early age, made her fall easy prey to the falsified alleges of her mother in law who intensely abhorred her for no reason leading her to jail. Z's misery started when she was forced to end her formal education and get married without her consent. Child marriage is a cultural tradition that still exists in Morocco, especially in rural areas where girls are considered a financial and cultural 'burden' on their families that should be transferred to the husband.

Belonging to a poor socio-economic background, Z's father saw in her marriage the best option that would ease his financial hardships and secure his daughter's economic future life. Moreover, upholding patriarchal values like many rural fathers, he believed that early marriage is the most important step towards giving his daughter her status as a wife and as a mother and thus saving her from remaining unmarried the rest of her life as most men in the region prefer younger girls to older ones. In this regard Z explained:

My father didn't see any value in my education. For him the best place for any girl is in her husband's house cooking, bearing and rearing. He thought that by doing so he would protect me from

adultery and spinsterhood. The choice was made by my father and I couldn't disapprove it (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The majority of rural parents genuinely feel that their daughters will be better off home and safer under their husbands' guardianship and charge. Girls' early marriage is also a way to avoid the humiliation, shame, and disgrace of single daughters. The daughters' marriage might be seen to some parents as the best solution to control their sexuality and virginity in order to protect the family's honor. Unfortunately, the informant was a victim of the worst effects of gender inequality. She was deprived from her right to education and future independence, and was forced to become a responsible wife and a mother though unprepared and ill-equipped to do. As such, Z found herself helpless in front of the traditional practices which often go unquestioned because they have been part of a community's traditions and identity for a very long time.

Z's marriage had jeopardized her life, and subjected her to a variety of physical, mental and psychological distress. Soon after her marriage, her husband had to travel to seek work hundreds of miles apart leaving her behind in his parents' house. Z's mother in law did not accept her as a member of her own extended family and was deliberately mistreating her despite the latter's attempts to please her. The informant stated:

My mother in law hated me for coming from a low-class lineage. She was frequently stirring up needless trouble which usually turned into aggressive quarrels. Though she was a control freak and a wicked commanding figure, I had never imagined that she could fabricate fake claims to land me in jail (8th March, 2019. Tangier).

Z. B was accused of helping one of the neighbors to rape her mother in-law's niece. She was astonished by the well-manipulated claims the woman said at the court which even the justice system failed to detect as lies. The unloved daughter- in law was, accordingly, sentenced to five years prison on a charge she knew nothing about. As more memories came back to Z's mind, now twenty five years old, she regretted the day she abandoned her education blaming all the circumstances and cultural norms that drove her to do. She wished she could be brave enough to object her father, refused the marriage, and stayed at school.

In fact, educated girls develop skills, knowledge, and confidence to make informed decisions including their life choices and future. Being educated opens more opportunities for decent employability and lessens the chances into a life of drug abuse, delinquency or theft. This is what N. E, the last detainee admitted while unfolding her story of incarceration. N. E is a young girl in her twenties from Oujda who was also victim of poverty, patriarchy, cultural norms and social injustice. Her ignorant and conservative family did not accept her non-heterosexual orientation, rejected and expelled her from the house hence, ceasing her from all financial, moral and psychological support. N. E detailed:

Since the age of puberty, I discovered that I was romantically and physically attracted to girls. This fact was brutally disallowed by my parents who repudiated and considered me dead. Being invalidated by my family, I had only the street to resort to. Homeless and destitute, I was engaged in many physical attacks and armed robberies that was described as 'aggravated assaults' by the police; I, therefore, was prosecuted to different prison sentences" (27th February, 2019. Marrakech).

N's life behind the prison's bars was tolerated; the girl at least had a shelter to live under and some food to eat and was purposely arrested to return to. She was put in jail seven

times, most of which was intentional to satisfy her sexual drive for women. N had also developed some great friendships with fellow inmates and prison consultants who helped her understand her different sexual orientation and guided her to mentally and psychologically accept and coexist with her “gender dysphoria”, which refers to the conflict between a person's physical or assigned gender and the gender with which he/she/they identify, which she approved and debated along with LGBTQ convicts in prison theatre.

In fact, being straight, homosexual or transsexual is not something that people choose or work to acquire. No one fully understands exactly what determines his/her sexual orientation, but it is more determined by a variety of biological, genetic, and psychological factors. N now views her sexual orientation as part of her nature and is totally convinced to express her identity as a man through revealing her true self. N who preferred to be called Nabil stated:

My experience in prison had helped me validate my gender identity-shifting as a male, though still incomplete for medical and legal issues. I work now as a fish vendor, a job that I professionally master breaking all the boundaries that could prevent me from entering what is socio-culturally presumed as a male-dominated sector (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh)

N. E identified herself as a man and tried to express her male-identity in a way that would make her feel comfortable including clothes, conducts, gestures, and voice tone. The only thing that still bothers her is people’s reaction as she still cannot fulfill a masculine fluid presentation. She hoped that she could have enough money to do a gender-affirming surgery. As for her family, N wished her parents and relatives could have coped with her gender disorder and tolerated the traumatic experience she had to undergo. She still loves them and

understands the shame and stigmatization they felt causing them to let her down. The informant declared:

I can't blame my conservative and ignorant parents for the depression and harm I experienced when they ejected me from home at the age of 13 and not supported me at that difficult time. They knew nothing about gender-dysphoria and so they were not able to handle the situation in a society that condemns gender disorder and considers it as an atypical gender behavior (27thFebruary, 2019. Merrakesh).

To conclude, the pre-imprisonment phase of the four formerly-incarcerated detainees was as harsh as their custodial experience since they were subject to a variety of cultural, social, psychological, and economic hardships which have all affected their life and led them to prison. The following sub-section presents a thematic account on the incarceration phase both before the practice of theatre and after.

3.2. The Prison Phase Particularities

During the prison phase, the informants experienced two contradictory periods: the first one was hard and unbearable because of the girls' inability to put up with the prison conditions while the second one was important in their life cycle. The following provides a thematic analysis of two distinctive phases the informants lived in prison during their incarceration: pre-theatre practice and post.

3.2.1. Pre-theatre Practice

During the first phase of the informants' detention, they lived a difficult psychological state, which was embodied in falling into depression, inability to coexist with

other prisoners, feelings of alienation, thinking about committing suicide, attempting to have homosexual relations, and refusing to adapt with the situation. These are some of the aspects which show the informants' difficulty to integrate into prison life.

The prison is a terrible world that deprives its dwellers their freedom and identities as well; prisoners are no longer free and they are given numbers as an alternative way to identify them as long as they are incarcerated. It is a complex system of power relationship that has its distinctive culture. B.S declared that the penitentiary institution is "a place I hadn't studied in my school curricula and had never heard about it through the stories people used to share in my area" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). She described herself like a child when discovering any new item or sound. The prison for her was "a world teeming with smoke, smell of cannabis, and noise; most of its women find pleasure in smoking and exchanging talks about what has happened and what will happen; the reason why they entered the prison and how they will face their fate after their release" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). The major anxiety of female detainees, according to the informant, was their life quality after their release; therefore, most of their talk is in the form of narrations of the reason behind their imprisonment and the effect of incarceration on their lives and families. Female detainees kept talking about the way to overcome the stigma of being a prisoner and the means to earn their living in a society that excludes and marginalizes them.

B.S expressed her sympathy with the female detainees who used to be her cell-mates; their narrations were rich with a lot of events that made her astonished most of the time. She asserted that:

A lot of laughter and or cry and a little talk were the rate of my participation many times. It's true I encountered hard moments but I still didn't have much to share in front of the injustice, abuse, brutality, and contempt these women had lived. It seemed

to me that I was the luckiest woman in that cell, which I had always found as a ‘*hamam*’ bathroom of women where they disclose their realities (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca).

The prison, in this regard, can be seen as a “pri-blic” space that allows the detainees to share their life problems without restrictions. They freely talk about the events and people that hurt them a lot and they are usually affected by the stories of their cell-mates.

B.S stands as a good example of ambitious women who can challenge life in prison. She said “I quickly alienated myself from the world of pain and integrated myself in the world of beauty by attending professional training workshops in Aesthetics and hairdressing” (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). Joining the classes of hairdressing and aesthetics signifies the informant’s readiness to learn new things that can help her be a better person in the future. However, B.S stated that:

I could not obtain a diploma because my interests soon turned to another field that concerns theater. It is true that I didn’t care about theater before, but the distressed and severe situation that I used to live in all the spaces of the prison institution, made me aspire to practice this art and learn about its preliminaries (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca).

B.S was very aware of the importance of learning and developing new professional skills to meet the need of the job market. She aimed at mastering at least a craft that can help her earn her living and live with dignity.

In the same vein, imprisonment greatly affected M. M’s psyche as well; she posited

I couldn’t bear the great bias and brutality of the judiciary system. The system deprived me even from the right to have an

internal visit to my imprisoned father. My father fell ill in prison, and the arbitrary deprivation from not visiting him increased my depression and devastation. His death in prison was an earthquake that shook my soul (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant was not only deprived freedom and civil rights; she was also deprived from one of the rights she could have benefited from if the system had been fair. There are other factors that raised the informant's melancholy. The girl was lost and psychologically suffered from her greatest worry about the way others would see and describe her if they get to know about the story of her imprisonment. She confirmed that she was not a sociable person, so she did not use to talk a lot, and did not use to share any of her worries and secrets with prisoners, especially after her friend's betrayal. M.M stated:

I no longer wanted to talk to anyone. I often thought about committing suicide to end the torture and brutality of the prison. I was known among the female prisoners as being antisocial and unfriendly, I didn't accept any discussions with any female prisoner and I didn't use to object or refrain from obeying the orders of female prisoners.(5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant found it difficult to cope up with life in prison because of her inability to restore her lost trust; therefore, she was silent all the time and submissive as way to protect herself from any disruptive behavior on the part of her cell-mates.

N.E is another informant whose journey of detention begun very early when she was thirteen, and the number of times she was thrown in prison reached 7 incarcerations. She admitted that:

Many violations were committed on my part, including robbery, unjustified carrying of weapons, drug dealing and trafficking, drinking alcohol, homosexuality, and other violations. The longest sentence I received was a year and a half (18 months in duration) due to physical attack and armed robbery (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh).

The prison life for the informant was not new and shocking, she stated that all of her penalties were “received with a generous chest because being in prison or outside was exactly the same, especially when my family repeatedly refused my return to the house” (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh). James Baldwin once claims that “the most dangerous creature of any society is the man who has nothing to lose”. Life in prison or outside meant exactly the same thing for the informant since she had nothing to care about: no family, no job, and no stability. She was an example of those women who live with easy money and never care about their future or reputation. She was living in the darkness of criminality without any feelings of guilt or shame. Her main struggle in life was to find somewhere to live in, some food to eat, and some money to buy her daily needs which included drugs as well. The world of criminality receives the young girl with too much generosity; she was very fresh to think about the results of her deeds and her immunity against crime was very weak as she was homeless and surrounded by the most victimized and disadvantaged groups.

N.E expressed that she knows a lot about Moroccan prisons; she was put in different prison institutions in various Moroccan cities such as: Casablanca, Oujda, Fes, Kenitra, etc. The informant declared that:

In some prisons, I was put with female adults, even though I was a juvenile, due to the lack of institutions for juveniles in these cities, and I cite, for example, the prison of Oujda. Being with

detainees who were older than I was had given me the opportunity to meet many women, some of whom had practiced prostitution; some others had been imprisoned for murder, and trafficking in drugs, etc. I had heard many stories that later became an inspiration for me to commit more crime and return to prison to have a shelter (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant's numerous detentions give an idea about the conditions of female prisons in Morocco and the effect of mixing different age categories within the same penitentiary institution in raising the rate of crime in Morocco.

The informant affirmed that her prison experiences were similar, during which she used to do nothing special, just: eating, drinking, working, and sleeping. Still, life in prison was marked by a number of physical attacks because of the informant's sexual tendency; "being in prison with girls increased my sexual desire to women. Many times, I was beaten severely by women prisoners when disclosing my feelings towards them" N. E posits. The informant tried to have love and sexual relations with female detainees who violently reacted to stop her lust.

Z. B, another informant in the study, expressed that when she was imprisoned because of a crime she had not committed, she felt frustrated by the injustice she encountered. She sadly stated that she had never expected that "cruelty and abuse can transcend humanity and contribute to depriving someone freedom, and depriving a mother of her baby" (8th April, 2019.Tangier). The informant used to suffer a lot from the ill-treatment of her mother in law who caused her imprisonment. Mother in law and daughter in law relations have always been heated issues across the globe that are less scientifically discussed. The relation between these two women specifically is relatively ambiguous and not clear; it has always been a source of trouble to many women like the case of the informant.

Z. B suffered also from the discrimination of her husband who believed and sympathized with his mother. The man did not even support his wife in her ordeal and visited her only once during her custody. The fact of not being supported led to the informant's chronic depression. She said:

During my first year in prison, I wanted neither to shower, nor to change my clothes, nor to speak to female prisoners. My failure to talk to my cell-mates brought me a lot of troubles and problems. My psychological state and my depression urged the social workers Lalla Aziza and Mr. Abdel Fattah Al-Farihi, in Al-Wadaya Prison, to dedicate me a lot of time to make me integrate with the rest of the prisoners. They also struggled a lot to help me move to another cell so that I could create relationships with educated female prisoners who might be able to help me accept the situation (8th April, 2019.Tangier).

The informant alienated herself from everything that concerns her as a human being. Therefore, she needed a lot of efforts to cope up with the situation and integrate with the other detainees whom she considered "women of another world".

Soon later, Z. B assumed that being in a dungeon with educated women and listening to them when they were discussing issues, opened her mind a little bit, and she started to accept the situation little by little. She, accordingly, "succeeded in obtaining two diplomas, the first in sewing and the second one in carpets manufacturing. My only concern when attending the trainings was to forget about what happened to me even for a while". Z. B refuged to vocational trainings as a way to occupy herself and stop thinking that much about the injustice and malice of her mother in law. The trainings allowed the informant to work on her professional profile instead of being passive crying the past.

In sum, the informants provided a rich data base through their narratives about their early life in prisons. It is a fact that the informants have different backgrounds, misdemeanors, and penalties. They, however, expressed that they experienced dissimilar hardships in their early time in prison that include: injustice, discrimination, submission, stigmatization, fear, anxiety, stress, alienation, uncertainty and other feelings of pessimism.

The following sub-section attempts to provide a well-constructed thematic analysis about the informants' experience of practicing theatre in prison. It attempts to highlight the major transformations theater practice has created in the personality of these informants.

3.2.2. While-theatre Practice

Throughout the world, Applied Theatre typologies have been practiced and embraced by many organizations and agencies in a large number of countries. Unfortunately, apart from Theatre in Education, Applied Theatre practices “have been less integrated in the Arab world” (Skeiker, 2015: 117). Morocco is one of the leading countries in the Arab world in ‘Theatre Industry’; the new generation of the academically trained artists have been doing great efforts to realize and perform works that meet the standards of the 21st century theatre. However, very less is done to promote the conditions of the disadvantaged communities through theatre. Very few attempts are made by the association of Aquarium specialized in Forum Theatre to better the situation of women in Morocco and to raise their awareness. Takoun association is also investing in creating dialogues with both men and women through a feminist discourse to correct misconceptions and stereotypes. Other artistic groups are taking individual initiatives to debate socio-political issues that meant to be silenced and not talked about. However, there are very few theatrical projects that work on issues of female prisoners.

Prisoners are economically underprivileged and less enfranchised groups; they need to be empowered through the use of appropriate instruments for social development. Arab

countries including Morocco are, in this view, in need to a theater form that helps its voiceless people to express themselves and publically discuss issues related to their socio-economic milieu and contexts. Applied Theater is highly recommended in developing and underdeveloped countries especially among women. In conservative countries particularly, AT' typologies stand as a medium that can offer women a securer and safer space to "voice, argue, and learn from one another's experiences. Its techniques guide them to voice their concerns individually while at the same time conversing collectively with their peers outside of the family and discussing issues usually taken for granted or silenced" (Skeiker, 2015: 117). In the context of this doctoral dissertation, Prison Theatre is an expressive space where the prisoners, particularly women, generate a sense of collectivity, feel the pleasure of creativity, and reach satisfaction when being heard and carefully listened to. The prison is a correctional cultural platform that offers the detainees opportunities to share their stories and life circumstances in a collective form.

Female detainees are the most stigmatized and covered minorities in public sphere; they are the ones who cannot identify themselves as former prisoners because of their fear of the other's reaction. Prison Theatre helps these women to exhibit their bodies to the public and to take action on stage. It offers them an opportunity to identify themselves as human beings who have rights and responsibilities. In this regard, PT can stand as a body-centered approach where the prisoner's body is seen moving and vigorously depicting traumas and lived hardships.

The following sub-section will divulge the extent to which PT allow female detainees to be better citizens and contributors in the economic development. It will display the gradual transformations in the life cycle of the informants particularly after practicing theatre.

The discovery of theater, and its practice within the framework of the initiative launched by the General Delegation for Prison Administration and Reintegration under the supervision of Rachid Ali El Aadouani, represented a new turning point in the informants' prison cycle. It was deduced that the practice of theater changed the life of those female prisoners, psychologically, socially, financially, and morally both inside and outside the prison.

From a financial point of view, thanks to the amounts of money the informants got throughout their participation in the experience of *M'barek w Messaaoud*, they were able to have their basic daily needs in the prison; they managed also to send remittances to their family members and save the rest of the money.

Morally speaking, the informants began to represent a set of positive values, and feel its impact on their behaviors, feelings, and attitudes. They posited that theater within prison decreased the negative feelings they used to have; they showed more willingness to learn in different workshops: arts, theatre, hairdressing, sewing, carpet craft, and other trades.

Other ways put, the theatrical exercises were great opportunities for female prisoners' liberation. Through the atmosphere of training and the new human relations that the detainees built in the context of theater' workshops, and their emotional involvement in the theater experience, the informants expressed that they managed to realize the importance of feeling the sense of freedom, even under the harsh conditions of detention.

The training took place in Kenitra prison and lasted for 3 months. The group was consisted of 7 female and 23 male prisoners. The participants learned a lot of things related to theater. El-Aadouani (the facilitator) used to treat the participants as actors and artists representing the prison population. He managed to involve the staff and guards in the theater exercises and integrate them into the majority of the artistic activities.

The informants' movement to Kenitra' Prison to participate in an artistic initiative and cultural activity initiated by The General Delegation for Prison Administration and Reintegration was realized by the direct interventions of El Aadouani. The artistic experience allowed the informants the opportunity to meet artists, actors, comedians, and producers who helped them a lot to gain a generic knowledge of the necessary skills related to performative arts and theatre techniques. The theatrical project had also healed the participants through engaging them in acting, taking turns, discussing, dancing, improvising, etc.

The practice of theater inside the penitentiary institution gave the informants the opportunity to get to know public authorities and famous actors. The informants became skilled at the artistic, creative, social, and legislative levels thanks to the support of professional talents. The meetings with well-known Moroccan artists such as Said Bay, Wassila Sobhi, Jawad Al-Karouiti, and other artists allowed the informants and other participants to learn about the origins of theater, the techniques of professional performance, the art of standing on the stage, etc.

B. S, for instance, asserted that joining the artistic group made her live a different prison life, "a life that makes theater a practice that imposes on all of its participants respect, discipline, commitment, and adherence to instructions" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). The informant indirectly expressed her awareness that though theatre is practiced in prison, it is not based on anarchy. Participation in theatre-based activities needs commitment and good conduct on the part of all the participants to be effective.

The workshops were an opportunity for B. S to exhibit her unseen talents; "I got to better know myself through the relationships that I had with the rest of the inmates. I discovered my hidden talent and worked to develop it with hard and constant work" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). The informant was proud of her participation and she asserted that

the gifts she displayed on stage would not be seen without the help of the other participant, the facilitator, and the co-facilitators.

During the workshops, B. S felt that the group at large was able to “redefine the features of their identity, not as prisoners, but as artists who deserve regular respect and encouragement” (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). She explained that the quality work, perseverance, and commitment of the participants helped them gain the respect and confidence they deserved from the prison staff, the artists, officials of the General Delegation, and society as a whole. The informant gladly presumed that the other participants and she were able to make a name for themselves that they are proud of "theater' people" or "prison's artists"; a name which was not number-based like the one they used to have during their incarceration before the practice of theatre.

B. S thought that such initiatives within Moroccan prisons should be taken in all penitentiary institutions because “there are creative talents and energies waiting for the opportunity to exhibit their extraordinary gifts; they need to train and practice theater, and why not benefit from the royal pardon like what happened to a number of participants in *M'bark w Messaaoud*” (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca).

Throughout the direct contact with female detainees particularly, B. S discovered hidden capacities that are not known to the public. For her, imprisonment does not only deprive a person his/ her freedom, it also deprives the desire to be seen and to be talked to. She asserted that “when the project was initiated I thought that many women in my cell would apply for participation; they were good comedians and story tellers. They narrate stories in a very creative way; however, they sharply said NO” (B. S, 22nd May, 2019. Casablanca).

On the contrary, M. M expressed that when participation in theatre workshops had been suggested for the first time, she did not hesitate to apply to partake in the project, with

the continuous support of her imprisoned mother. Her main concern at that time was to forget the isolated world where she was confined and socially distanced. Theatre, for the informant had magical effects, “Theater helped me self-medicate through laughing, discussing, playing, traveling, and learning from others. My participation in theater was very favorable in strengthening my personality. It managed to create a positive person in the way of thinking”. The workshops allowed the informant to identify herself as a sick person who was able to recover and become in a good shape. Theatre as a collective art makes of the informant an active participant who could overcome her depression and take actions. The dialogues which are part of any theatrical scene broke the barriers of communication that M.M was unable to defeat.

The effects of theatre on M. M would not have taken place without the support of her imprisoned mother, the facilitator, co-facilitators, prison officers and administrators, social assistants, and representatives from the General Delegation. The informant posited, in this context:

The way Mr. El-Aadouani, the artists, and the prison employees used to deal with us, made me forget my problems and my ordeal, and I regained my self-confidence as an effective actress. I no longer had those negative thoughts which I used to have before. I, consequently, became able to discuss issues that concern me as a person, a woman, and a prisoner. I also became more able to ask questions whenever I had the chance to do, which made me more aware of my rights and responsibilities inside and outside the prison (5th March, 2019. Marrakech).

Theater has a great advantage in the therapy of the prisoners’ psyche by incorporating them into artistic and cultural activities that help them forget their complex and

serious problems. It also has a grand ability to make the informant particularly aware of her oppression and able to forget her trauma and existence in prison. Indeed, there are many professional workshops in Moroccan prisons, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, cooking, hairdressing, and other workshops. But engaging in this kind of workshops does not contribute to building and restoring a person from the inside, just as theater does.

Participating in theater does not finish by the end of the trainings, exercises, and lessons. Every participant carries a lot of work with him/her that includes dialogues that must be memorized, roles that must be trained, and events that the participants enjoy sharing with other detainees in the cell. Theater practice is not related to the training time and the setting of the workshop. Unlike the other workshops, it accompanies the prisoner to all the spaces of the prison institution; it is an activity that is not bounded by a wall and has no time. M. M, in this regard, assumed that all Moroccan prison institutions, not just some of them, should benefit from such constructive initiatives. She argued that “such cultural activities help the prisoner forgets about pain, sadness, pressure, and deprivation of civil rights” (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant showed a high awareness in terms of the major changes in her personality. She dynamically said “I am no longer that docile and submissive girl who is waiting for orders to obey without objection. I’ m no longer that woman who can’t discuss and debate because she’s a prisoner with her mother and father” (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant always used to consider herself as a "stigma" and could never tell any detainee that her mother and father are imprisoned too. She used to describe the situation as terrible and horrific, and she was very careful not to let other female prisoners know about the story of her family’s detention, let alone people outside the prison. The informant declared:

I felt a sense of destruction and disgust because of what I'll face when I leave prison, including: the gaze of the neighbors and family, their rejection, feelings of inferiority and marginalization. However, theater helped me get rid of these pessimistic feelings. Standing on the stage made me audacious to face everyone. We dealt with various topics and different problems which made of my situation a small concern compared to what other participants experienced. Standing before the authorities of the country, and the way they expressed their respect to us and to our capabilities, made me see myself as an esteemed and well-regarded artist in this society. The crowd's applaud, stressed that inside me there are inherent capacities and energies that must be exploited in a positive way. (5th March, 2019. Marrakech)

Practicing theater and performing on stage with other participants made the informant believe that Man makes mistakes by nature and to err is human. Making mistakes is not associated with being male or female, rich or poor, ignorant or intellectual, ruler or ruled, superior or inferior. Everyone can make mistakes and can possibly better learn a lesson that is not given in schools but learned throughout life experiences. Theatre in prison provides better learning contexts for the informant to understand her mistake and learn from others' mistakes as well in the majority of the dramatic exercises.

The overall experience was of a great profit. The informant justified that by saying:

We spent wonderful times during training, exchanged ideas, shared our concerns, and learned from the experiences of each other. We had a brotherly relationship based on respect, love and

appreciation. This experience was worthy of proving that the female prisoner is not a prostitute, and the male prisoner isn't a criminal by nature. We've proven to everyone who trusts us that we're, above all, human beings who only lack the opportunity (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

Theatrical workshops eased the informant's understanding to different issues and helped her take advantage of the experiences of others. Working with prisoners who are sentenced to long penalties in the same workshops was a great opportunity to M. M to directly witness the extent to which those detainees with long sentences overcome their problems and professionally act in the workshops. It helped her see how those prisoners challenge their ordeal and develop their competencies to become successful performers by the end. The informant had, accordingly, to work and persist more to show her talents and potentials.

The stories of male and female prisoners made the informant stronger, and she learned a lot from the exclusive lessons of the other participants. She strongly claimed that "without the improvisation, narration, and storytelling, I wouldn't have been aware of many topics. If I hadn't participated in theater, my voice wouldn't have been heard. If I hadn't taken part in a mixed group, I wouldn't have heard, seen, nor benefited from others' experiences." (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh)

Because of the informant's excessive shyness, she did not have the ability to freely act in front of men, but working in mixed-gender workshops made of her a person who is more self-confident, able to communicate with others, and capable to voice out her thoughts in different situations. Importantly, the informant's consciousness was raised and she became a great believer in financial independence. She assumed that practicing theater in prison is also an income generating business. For M. M:

Women prisoners, like other women in the world who enjoy freedom, need many daily necessities. This experience was a source of livelihood for all of the female participants. Notwithstanding that in addition to the fact that I was buying what I was lacking inside the prison, I was able to send financial shares to my sister to help her cover the expenses of her studies (5th March, 2019. Marrakech).

To sum up, the chance to participate in theatre workshops and trainings enabled the informant to learn a lot about issues that concern her as a citizen, woman, and victim. She managed to learn from the experiences of the other participants who used to have long sentences and suffered from chronic depression too. Her participation allowed her voice to be heard and her body to be seen in public; she proved she could share, ask, comment, criticize, and take decisions. Participation in *M'barek W Messaaoud* turned M. M's life down up to become a bread wining and a financial supporter to her sister even inside the prison.

Still, N. E's last prison sentence was very different from the other previous ones. In fact, the informant asserted that her last imprisonment was the most beautiful thing that happened to her. It is true that prison as a space is rejected in our social reality; but it still can provide many male and female detainees good opportunities to learn and live better lives. She declared that few days after she entered the prison of Oujda, one of the female prisoners asked her to participate with her in a theatrical role. The informant did not hesitate to do because she was always fond of theater and performative arts; she said "when I was about six or seven years my father used to take me with him to different spaces, given that he is a *Halka* performer, in order to collect money and donations from the spectators" (27th February, 2019. Marrakech).

Through performing that role with her cell-mate, N. E was chosen to represent the East region of Morocco. She was, consequently, transferred to Kenitra's prison to start the theatrical and artistic trainings there. The informant was satisfied and proud of herself as a person. She said:

I got to know other female and male prisoners from different Moroccan prisons. The workshops made me consider female prisoners as sisters to me. Importantly, hard and continuous work didn't leave me time to pay attention and reflect on the details of their bodies. I realized during the training that there are more important things in life than sex, pleasure, and crime.

(N. E. 27th February, 2019. Marrakech)

The informant was aware about the change that she encountered in terms of her sexual tendencies. Theatre workshops with both males and females and the different discussions of the daily traumas of the participants might have helped the informant to at least partially overcome her gender-dysphoria within prison. The informant managed to build up good relations with both female and male participants. Her participation was the first step towards reconciliation with the other.

N. E's participation in mixed workshops and trainings corrected her relation with both males and females. She confidently stated "I'm no longer that violent woman in dealing with men; we've become one family working together for the same goal. Theater made me forget my lustfulness; I became closer to my female friends, sharing our sorrows and problems." (27th February, 2019. Marrakech)

Theater has given meaning and value to many aspects in the informant's life. In many occasions, she was able to get out of the prison's context and exceeded the walls by

thinking about different social situations and playing various roles, once as a student, as a waitress, as a mother, as a worker, as a dancer in a cabaret, and other roles.

The informant argued that theater practice in prison served as an outlet for every participant. Activities in the prison institution have long been considered important. N. E supports herself by saying:

Since I've been used to get into prison several times, I succeeded to obtain two diplomas: one in sewing and the other in hairdressing. But I'd never been able to practice those jobs after I got out of prison. Therefore, from my point of view, cultural and artistic activities remain one of the most essential activities that should be practiced inside the prison, as they have positive impacts on the prisoners' life at large. (27th February, 2019. Marrakech)

The professional's serious work helped the participants including N. E to get rid of all of their confusions. The professional staff which includes the facilitator and his co-facilitators was positively judged by the informant. The informant admitted that the artists "received our questions and observations, which were sometimes trivial, with a large chest. Their professionalism and human treatment increased our productivity and provided us with sufficient energy to perform *M'bark w Messaaoud* successfully" (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh). The informant was happy about her training and her experience and she gladly expressed that theatre creates order and tidiness in her life.

Z. B is another informant who struggled a lot to overcome her trauma and actively engage in theatre-based activities. She assumed that working in theatre implies many efforts; "to continue working in the group took me a lot of individual work and auditions of the

exercises inside the jail cell” (Z. B, 8th April, 2019. Tangier). The informant, in this vein, was mindful that without her serious and continuous work, she would not have participated in the project. It was not easy for her to defeat her destiny and actively indulge in the world of creativity and productivity to maintain and redefine her newly designed identity. She, in this regard, asserted that the overall experience contributed positively to the development of her ability to communicate and express herself in a better way. The informant audaciously stated:

I’d hoped, while I was in Kenitra prison, that I would have practiced theatre right after I got into *Lewedaya* prison in Marrakesh. Training classes, theatrical exercises, and therapy sessions were like a psychiatrist for me; I was kindly allowed every time to exteriorize my thoughts and feelings, and I managed to refresh my mind and soul with laughter and cry (8th April, 2019. Tangier)

It is true that the overall period did not exceed three months of work, but it helped the informant forget about her suffering and prison term; it enabled her also get a sort of catharsis through the narrations, improvisation, dramatic exercises, etc. This period was, however, described by the informant as being:

enough to change our thoughts as prisoners and change even the thoughts of those around us such as prison’s employees, social workers, and civil society members. Through this practice, we were able to create change in the quality of relationship between us as participants and other people close to us. This high-walled space brings together the free and imprisoned, the knowledgeable and the ignorant, the superior and the inferior. It has become an artistic and cultural space that contributes to

change, development, and construction (8th April, 2019.

Tangier).

The time allocated to the theatrical experience was largely sufficient to enable the participants co-exist, collaborate, cooperate, and build up respectful relationships. The project allowed the participants in general to correct the negative attitudes that prison' administrators and officers used to have about prisoners; it also gave them the ability to mirror the effective and productive side of prisoners. The prison became, according to the informant "a place where its operators are alike and enjoy equality" (Z. B, 8th April, 2019, Tangier). To elaborate, theatre activities made it possible for the facilitator to put different people together in the same work; no one was over the other and all the participants and audiences enjoyed full democracy.

It is factual that working with men was an exceptional event in the informant's life; she assumed that the project helped her get rid of shyness and confusion. She smilingly said:

Working with male counterparts was shocking for me at the very beginning especially in a place like prison. I, however, benefited a lot from their experiences and hardships. The theater exercises made us reveal our reality and past to each other in many contexts; the details of our lives soon become learning tools (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The informant's participation in the theatrical experience was characterized by being constructive and beneficial; she was provided learning opportunities she had never had before. The informant was given the chance to learn from experts and other participants to be an effective member in the society and she becomes able to take decisions and actions. The cultural and artistic trainings in the prison institution have become, for the informant,

unavoidable necessity, just like other trainings. She thought that the initiative is very important and

Should take place in all institutions that negate freedom. Entry to prison is very possible to everyone; stupidity, ignorance, overconfidence, and other trivialities can lead to imprisonment. And being in that place is very terrible. Through my experience, the practice of theater helped me discard the question that has inhabited my mind since I got into prison: What comes after imprisonment and what life? I no longer think about how I would be treated by the family and the entire society as a prisoner though I'm a victim. My personality changed a lot and I became stronger and able to debate, give opinions, question things, and criticize as well (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The informant's life cycle in prison hugely changes after her involvement in artistic and theatrical activities. She managed to overcome her fear from the future, restored her self-confidence and hope as well. The three months of the continuous work and the daily movement from the civil prison of women to the central prison of men in Kenitra was not a tough experience for Z. B. The experience, for her, was not tiring at that time; she asserted "I didn't use to complain about the amount of work I had to perform, and I didn't feel the boredom that I'm feeling now as a free woman" (8th April, 2019. Tangier). In sum, the informant was enjoying her participation in theatre workshops which gave her strength and audacity to make decisions after she got out of prison. Theater also helped her make critical decisions regarding personal choices in her life. She claimed:

When I received financial aids thanks to my participation in this artistic project, I was able to send my father remittances that he

could take care of my son and I also bought many items that I was lacking in prison. I realized at the time that having money is very important and being moneyless is like a bird without wings, so I took the decision to work after getting out of prison, and divorce from the man who led to my imprisonment (8th April, 2019. Tangier)

The woman's participation in theatre raised her awareness on different issues. She expressed her understanding to her oppression first, the importance of women's financial independence, and emancipation. The informant decided during her detention to make radical changes in her life choices though she is poor, jobless, and not highly educated.

In a nutshell, the section provides an account on the main changes the informants had encountered while their imprisonment in general and after their practice of theatre in particular. The informants managed to learn life skills, commitment, and adherence to constructions which helped them discover their talents and hidden capacities. Moreover, being engaged in cultural and artistic activities allowed the informants who had been former prisoners to redefine their identities, overcome trauma and depression, and gain more self-confidence. Their productivity was, accordingly, increased; they also became proud of their ability to communicate, exteriorize thoughts and feelings, and refresh their minds. The humane treatment of the staff which included the facilitator, co-facilitators, prison officers, and social assistants contributed in removing hierarchical relationships which allowed the participants in general and the informants in particular to be audacious to make radical decisions.

The following section presents a thematic account on the informants' life particularities after their release. Throughout the informant's narratives we will demonstrate

the extent to which AT in general and PT precisely contributed in the empowerment of those women.

3.3. Manifestations of Empowerment in Post-release Phase

The present section attempts to analyze and interpret the data gathered by means of Narrative Interviews; it seeks to demonstrate the manifestations of empowerment at the personal, interpersonal, psychological, and economic levels. This thematic analysis aims at revealing the effectiveness of PT on the reintegration and empowerment of the informants.

It is known in our Moroccan culture that the prison is a horrific place that is undesirable by nature and whoever gets into that institution never gets out of it. To explain, any former detainee is always imprisoned in the gaze of contempt, detestation, and social rejection; even the closest people of the prisoner do not accept and reject his/ her return to the family. M. M, in this vein, posited the following:

I had always thought that after I got out of prison I would be chased by people's gaze and their description to me as "prisoner", but prison life and my work in theatre activities helped me come out with a decision to impose myself on society as a person and a citizen above all (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant clearly showed that the practice of theatre made her very aware of her citizenship; she indirectly expressed her belonging to the state even as a prisoner whose identity is not withdrawn, however. The informant's declaration signifies her consciousness that she enjoys civil, social, and political rights.

The overall narratives portray that the informants benefited a lot from the practice of theatre during their incarceration. The general effects were basically apparent at the social, psychological, and financial levels.

The following sub section aims at revealing the outcomes of the informant's participation in prison during their detention and how it affects their success at the micro (social integrity and inclusion) and macro (economic stability and financial independence) levels.

3.3.1. Female Detainees Empowerment at the Social level

At the social perspective, the informants were largely affected by their participation in theatre workshops, dramatic exercises, and theoretical discussion of different aspects. B.S, for example, acknowledged that she was lucky during her incarceration:

I lived in prison as a theater practitioner, not as a prisoner. This experience helped me to have the ability to increase self-confidence, control shyness, face others, and not to be silent anymore. The theater practice gave me opportunities to show my talents to my family. I am no longer a girl who surrendered at the first confrontation; I am now able to deal with everything related to my destiny and choices (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca)

The informant faced the worst facets of injustice through the falsehood and mendacity of her employee; her incarceration led to her depression and hopelessness. She was able, however to restore her strength and vitality. She assumed that “acting and performing on stage made me feel like a butterfly flying freely over the stage, moving from one topic to another, and discovering stories that are rarely heard” (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). The woman's ability to narrate her story and the chance she was given to listen to the stories of the other participants made her well-informed about many social problems that are commonly faced in Morocco. She was, accordingly, allowed to discuss, ask questions, and make suggestions about those lived experiences.

As a result, the informant's new personality transfer and her aptitude to communicate with others was increased; she asserted that she reconciled with herself and others. She recounted: "I became more able to negotiate, express, and communicate. I discovered that I had great communication abilities that helped me gain love and respect for others and keep away any inferior representation" (B. S, 22nd May. 2019. Casablanca). The informant was impressed by her ability to communicate and express herself in group discussions while she was even unable to defend herself in the trial. B. S's statement signifies her pride and satisfaction to overcome inferiority and subordination; she is a woman worthy of respect and admiration.

M. M is another informant whose social life was gravely affected after her release. In terms of her marital status, the woman overcame her fear of the future and spinsterhood particularly; she said "you know Moroccan men when they want to get married; they would never think to marry a former prisoner". The informant expressed that one of her anxieties was to remain single for a whole life because of her imprisonment. Nevertheless, the woman got married only one month after her release; "When I got out of prison, I got married to a Moroccan man and had a daughter. During my pregnancy, I participated with other current prisoners in theater tours in cities, like Meknes, Agadir, and Errachidia" (22nd May, 2019. Marrakesh). The informant's wedlock and participation in theatre performances during her pregnancy indicate that imprisonment was never a barrier to accomplish certain objectives in life. For her, the most affecting factor that can stand as an obstacle to realize any female prisoner's dream is the strong believe in stereotypes. She firmly stated that "many women think there life stops the day of their detention and they hugely believe they can't be productive anymore for the reason that they are women prisoners" (22nd May, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant argued that she overcame stereotypes about female prisoners thanks to her participation in theatre during her incarceration. She confirmed the following:

Theater gave me the strength and confidence I needed to challenge the difficulties I might face. It taught me how to express myself and discuss with others. It took me out from the darkness of silence to the light of communication and all the credit goes to the Mr. El Aadouani whose efforts have been enormous throughout the process (22nd May, 2019. Marrakesh)

Theatre in the penitentiary institution was a learning opportunity, for M. M. Throughout the process, the informant learned communicative skills that she can use in her everyday life in order to be heard by her surroundings. She also learned the way to express her ideas using body language as well.

Besides, radical changes have taken place in N. E's life; she managed to live again with her family without any sort of distraction.

After I got out of prison, I made sure that theater changed me a lot, and it would be possible to change more aspects if the period of the exercises and trainings was longer. I think that this period I'm living now is very different thanks to the practice of theater within the prison institution. My participation in theater training workshops, my attendance to theater and cultural training classes, as well as the efforts made by Mr. Rachid during the three months, increased my immunity against committing the crime (N. E, 27th February, 2019. Marrakech).

The informant's adolescence was not comfortable at all; on the contrary, it was horrible because of the numbers of crimes, misdemeanors, and incarcerations. N. E was, however, able to change her opinions, attitudes, aptitudes, and "actitudes" in a very short period of time. She smilingly narrated:

When I was released from prison, for the first time after 7 years, I was able to return to my family's home. This wouldn't have been easy if Mr. El Aadouani had not contacted my father and invited him to attend the performance of *M'bark w Messaaoud* at Mohammed the Fifth Theater during my imprisonment. My father's attendance was a great opportunity for reconciliation to take place (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh).

The informant's last incarceration was an exceptional event in her life. The girl was brutally expelled from the house at the age of thirteen because of her gender dysphoria and identity disorder. She thought that being with her family again after seven years of homelessness was a dream that would be difficult to fulfill; "without the intervention of Mr. Rashid Ali El-Aadouani (the facilitator of the project), I would have never had the chance to be with my family" (27th February, 2019 Marrakesh). The informant's return to live with the family requires a lot of efforts from the young girl; she tried hard to live a stable life. The informant enthusiastically recounted:

I had to work on improving my reputation and relationship with my family and my surroundings as a whole. I had to do my best in order not to get exposed to the street and crime again. I didn't hesitate even for a while to practice any craft to earn *halal* money without resorting to theft. It was difficult at first, given that I used to have easy money. But I was committed to a promise I made to

my brother Rachid, who, even after I got out of prison, was a great brother and teacher to whom I resorted to in every moment of weakness (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh).

The practice of theatre as a collective art reminded the informant (N. E) about the gatherings of family and the sense of collectivism; most of her narrations were about her early days with her parents, sisters, and brothers. She narrated, “many of my improvisation and dialogues were about my family, the years I spent with them, and the confrontations I had with my father” (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh). The girl’s flashback is distinct by unforgettable moments and events which stacked into her memory and became part of her daily narrations. The friendly atmosphere she found in theatre workshops, the way she was welcomed, and the humane treatment she received helped her correct her relationship with her family. After her release, the informant decided to work hard to earn her living and support herself without committing crimes to live; she decided to control her behavior to live in social peace and in order not to be driven out. In this respect, N. E managed to restore her social stability thanks to the feelings she developed in the workshops and the support of the facilitator.

Z. B has also witnessed a lot of changes at the social level. It is a reality that transformation in the life-quality of the informant began in prison during her incarceration. However, the informant’s life knew a fundamental change immediately after her release; Z. B Narrated:

Immediately after my discharge from *Lewedaya* prison in Marrakech, my parents and I went to spend the night at my uncle’s house in Marrakech. There, I told them about my decision to get my divorce. My father sweat and my mom's features seemed to change. After a long discussion, silence prevailed, and then my

father uttered (I was afraid of hearing a prisoner, now you want me to hear a divorced!). My uncle realistically interfered and asserted that divorce must take place at the earliest time to avoid any undesirable consequences (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The informant's five years of imprisonment has made of her a lady able to decide by herself. She no longer tolerates her father's judgments and decisions; the woman has become more able to criticize the patriarchal structure which led to her ordeal. She gained more self-confidence and self-assurance to discuss her personal life choices in public without fearing the reaction of others. For her, the cultural norms of Moroccan country sides should be revisited because they are "source of troubles". She sarcastically asked "why and how should I return to hell and misery? Should I do that because I have a son or because I am a former prisoner or because I have nothing to eat?" (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The informant continued saying "I'm still young and I can support my son's needs and even my family's; they need just to trust me". She expressed that she well understands the feelings of her father and his worries; however, the young girl thinks that even her father needs to understand that she is "a newly born person who can choose" (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

A few months after her release, Z. B got her divorce, which she considered a new birth, and the first day to embrace freedom. She said

The divorce I got was the real freedom I have ever had. I happily joined a plastic-shoe company in Marrakech two days after, but I was unable to continue working there because of the remoteness of the company and our village. I couldn't support to be far from my son anymore (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

The informant recognized that she needed to work to be financially rewarded in order to be able to support her son and herself. Working was a means to enhance her usefulness and a way to structure a new social identity.

As a conclusion, the social life of the informants has been largely affected at the personal and interpersonal levels mutually. The former prisoners managed to create a new profile for themselves that makes it possible for them to promote their social relations especially with their family and surroundings in general and their fathers and husbands in particular. The informants' position in the social structure has been also enhanced and they have become able to make personal choices and contribute in decision making.

3.3.2. Female Detainees' Empowerment at the Psychological Level

The social life of the informants was not only massively affected, but their psychological state was also bettered. B. S. in this view, assumed that she healed her wounds by "taking advantage of the depth of the wounds of others prisoner's experiences" (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca). The theatrical experience the woman had during her incarceration and her participation in theatre performances after her release provided her more prospects to discover the traumas and ordeals of other male and female prisoners. The informant assumed that "their narrations and stories were originally factual and painful at the same time; in many workshops I just had my tears to express my great sympathy with my friends. Life was very harsh to them and hurting a lot". She posited that life was crueler with her mates than it was with her; "I realized that my problem was very small and not worthy at all and I used to feel well every time I cried; it was like cleaning my heart". B. S is an example of a female prisoner who could have indirect therapy sessions to heal her depression and distress.

M.M as well found that theater in prison is a great magical practice; she innocently described the experience as follows "it was a great and very big event in my life; it was bigger

than the size of the prison's door and its keys" (5th March, 2019. Marrakech). She explained that many of the prisoners who participated in the workshops were "hopeless, oppressed, and reckless prisoners and through the daily exercises and auditions they became optimists who believe that there is no despair with life and no life with despair" (5th March, 2019. Marrakech). The informant, in this respect, presumed that the practice of theatre affected the participants; they were pessimists about their life standards and the misery they used to live in. Theater practice, however, dissolved the prisoner's worries, cleared their minds, refreshed their memories, and spread hope.

Importantly, Z. B's proactive participation in theatre during her incarceration was beneficial at the psychological level. She recounted: "I managed to defeat anguish, increase confidence, and forget about revenge. Today I am more self-confident and I am charged with positive attitudes" (8th April, 2019. Tangier). The informant's life was not trouble-free and comfortable; her early-age marriage and the malice of her mother in law left the deepest scars in the heart and mind of Z. B. She, however, managed to learn a lot through improvisation, dialogues, spontaneity, and other theatrical exercises. Accordingly, the woman succeeded to reduce her anxiety and apprehension and she became able to emancipate herself from silence, submissiveness, and avenge. Therefore, the informant, revolted against the social norms that the culture designates for her as a poor country side woman who is a hopeless and jobless former detainee. However, she recognized her self-worth and esteem and goes beyond what her father expects her to do.

In short, female detainees have taken advantage of PT to increase their socio-economic empowerment and gain psychological empowerment too. To demonstrate, participation in theatre has offered the informants a practical platform and a more appropriate arena to frequently test their communicative amelioration. They have become able to take

control of themselves, defend their choices, and redefine their shaken identities, and importantly gain a sense of belonging and visibility.

3.3.3. Female Detainees' Empowerment at the Economic Level

It is a fact that prison sentences restrict women's choices, shake their self-worth and confidence, and limit their freedom. Theatre workshops, fortunately, provided contextual discussions to challenge patriarchal norms and dispute stereotypes which undermine women's abilities and competencies. The beneficiaries have taken good advantage of the overall theoretical discussions they had in prison and have approached their life after prison in a way that guarantees their emancipation from cultural norms and promoted their visibility and independence.

Moroccan Female detainee's reintegration is still disturbed by social and cultural factors which prevent them, accordingly, to enjoy full emancipation, inclusion, and empowerment. The informants who previously participated in a leading theatre-based experience in Morocco (2018) portrayed that both theatre activities and discussions with experts in different fields like theatre, psychology, and sociology helped them a lot in increasing their self-confidence and awareness to become who they are today.

The informant's ability to generate economic revenues is an outcome of the different approaches used in Prison Theatre aiming primarily at the social change of the detainees. That is, Prison Theatre provided prisoners strategies and approaches that can help them rebuild independent identities and increase their agency to enhance their well-being.

An empowered female detainee, in the context of this dissertation, is any former prisoner who has a good assimilation of her own power and capacities; she is a person with a well-defined identity and a high self-esteem who can take decisions and use her skills to change her life into better.

The informants who contributed in this doctoral dissertation have managed to enjoy a high level of empowerment thanks to their financial independence, control over their lives, and self-reliance. M. M, for instance, was able to have a home-based business that enabled her generate economic profit and earn her bread. She recounted:

Selling jewelry, cosmetics, pajamas, nightdresses, cotton under clothes, and other stuff in my house was a good opportunity for me to have more clients like neighbors, friends, and relatives; I also run my business with low cost and less expenses and my husband helps a lot in increasing the number of my clients through *WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook* (5th March, 2019. Marrakesh).

The home-based enterprise that the informant is proud of today is an idea she thought of during her incarceration. She explained

I was all the time thinking of my mother's abilities to sell second hand clothes and furniture in the thrift market with good prices and I wanted to take advantage of her skills. I told her one day during our imprisonment: I'll keep the money of theatre to set up a small business after our release, I think we can be good business women together (M. M, 5th March, 2019. Marrakesh)

M. M expressed indirectly that her self-confidence was increased in the workshops and trainings which led to her certainty that she could be a good money generator. In fact, prison theatre has offered M. M and the other participants a platform to discuss gender issues, challenge the major gender stereotypes and redefine female agency. In addition, it has helped them find by themselves alternative ways by which they can be autonomous, economically independent, and socially developed.

Z. B similarly expressed that she learned a lot from her experience in prison. She narrated:

Prison has provided us with a great opportunity to improve our life standards and gain appropriate knowledge that can help us change our attitudes and live with respect and dignity. I do advise all women even illiterate ones to create a profile that can help them gain financial autonomy to live with dignity even through selling home-made food on streets (8th April, 2019. Tangier)

The informant assumed that the amount of knowledge she got from the workshops increased her awareness about the importance of self-reliance, financial independence, and agency. Z. B managed, consequently, to challenge disadvantage and submissiveness. Her visibility in the theatrical performances made her able to challenge cultural norms and stand against her father saying “I’m not a jinni to get out from the house only by nights in order not to be seen by the neighbors” (8th April, 2019. Tangier).She, then, asserted:

When I stopped working in the plastic shoe-company, I decided to be more audacious and repair the traditional oven that my father used to work in. I’m now the owner of *Al Farran* (the traditional oven). I worked in the men's craft because I grew up with this business, and I hope I’ll succeed in performing this job despite its difficulty.” (8th April, 2019. Tangier)

Throughout her experience, Z. B came to the conclusion that:

An independent and successful woman is not necessarily a well-educated and rich beautiful lady; even a former prisoner and an ordinary woman can be successful in her business with the little education and competence she has. Female prisoners need just a second chance and encouragement to discover their inner potentials (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

In the same context, B. S assumed that she benefited from the recommendations of the General Delegation and the financial support that she got thanks to her participation in theatre. The informant gladly shared:

I bought some sheep and had a livestock, and it's the project that I hope to develop and turn into a cooperative that other women would benefit from. I'm still waiting for the financial support of the institution of Mohammad the Sixth to develop my entrepreneurship (22nd May, 2019. Casablanca)

N.E also expressed her pride and satisfaction; she passionately went saying:

With simple skills and relatively weak capital, which I had earned through theater in prison, I was able to have my own business. I can, accordingly, earn my living; I learned patience and the art of persuasion. The sums of money I got out of my participation in the artistic project helped me obtain my daily necessities that no one would give me in the prison. It also helped me rent a small shop in the city's central market in Oujda after my release. With very few equipment, I was able to have a fish cleanout shop. My male

physical appearance, look, haircut, and masculine clothes helped me succeed in this men's craft.

It is a business that a woman wouldn't have thought of. However, I chose it because it doesn't require much capital. I gained a lot of clients because of the position of the store which is located in the market's center. My customers appreciate my quick and excellent cleanout of the fish. Many of them sympathize with my situation, especially those who are aware that I am a girl not a boy (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh).

This modest business helped the informant get all of her daily requirements and even made her able to help her family with their daily expenses.

It can be deduced that the financial independence of the former female detainees can stand as a wide-ranging and encouraging strategy for the informant's empowerment as it offers them more opportunities take risks and decisions without resorting to crime and corruption. The informants proved able to create their own enterprises and generate noticeable financial independence. Their economic stability helped them better understand their competence, power, and agency. They were, consequently, able to challenge gender-based biases, patriarchal ideologies, and gender stereotypes that most female detainees still encounter in their everyday life.

In this respect, theatre within prison institutions offers female detainees an important source of money which helped them start up their own businesses after their release. They showed high skills in combating their poverty, gender discrimination, and gender stereotypes. The nature of the business they chose for themselves helped them avoid a number of problems which Moroccan women generally suffer from in the work place like unequal

payment, sexual harassment, less job opportunities, discrimination, etc. They managed to independently run their business and without any stressing and bossy decisions.

Summary

This doctoral dissertation sets out in brief to study the function Prison Theatre plays in increasing women's self-esteem and economic empowerment. It provides new interpretations of female former prisoners' presence in work place. It portrays the extent to which female former prisoners were able to use their voices, express their choices, have their own decisions, and set up their own businesses. This would not happen of course without the efforts of the General Delegation, Ministry of Culture, and civil society organizations to ensure equal participation of current and former prisoners in socio-economic life.

A number of transformations were manifested in the lives of the female prisoners after their release and embracement of freedom. The informants acknowledged that their social, psychological, and economic conditions have radically transformed, thanks to the effect of theater on their values, behaviors and attitudes.

On the social level, we found that the female prisoners made different choices; M. M, for instance chose to get married to look for social stability. N. D, on the contrary, managed to handle her sexual abnormalities in a balanced calm and rational way. Z. B decided to have a new marriage experience to correct her personal path and have her own family; Whereas B. S decided to return to her family seeking refuge.

On the psychological level, it is evident that the theater experience within the prison has boosted the informants' psychological immunity; their self-confidence was increased and they managed to take decisive decisions; Z. B, for example, decided to divorce to start a new life; N.E came to the decision of correcting her behavior and relying on herself to earn her living avoiding easy money; M. M chose to start her own business to financially support

her family; B. S also came to the conclusion that financial independence is a process that needs courage and confrontations. The informants also had restored the human sense that reduced the degree of violence and negative reactions to the other and the surrounding; they regained the sense of citizenship and liberation from the impact of the other's opinion about the imprisoned woman.

On the economic level, the informants expressed that achieving financial independence and having a decent life has become possible after serving their sentence. They assume that either by working in a company, working in a craft or creating an entrepreneurship, they guarantee an income that protects them from falling into delinquency, law-breaking, or act faultily.

The female imprisonment period has drastically transformed their lives thanks to theater; the theater experience within the prison was a decisive factor in achieving social, psychological, and economic empowerment for the informants.

The shift from the world of frustration, criminality, violence and passive tendency towards positive thinking and human interaction, belief in the value of work, confidence in personal abilities, and possession of entrepreneurial spirit again would not have taken place without the length of time that the theater experience took. The seriousness and rigor that was brought up to deal with the theatrical experience, both organizationally and creatively, from the part of facilitator, co-facilitators, social assistants, participants, and other operators alike had contributed to the major transformations that were realized.

The play of *M'bark w Messaaoud* in which the four former female prisoners participated is the product of months of preparation, continuous hard work and active full involvement of male and female prisoners. It was an unusual experience which required

freedom from all prejudices and frustrating thoughts about the prison institution as a space for punishment and not a correctional space for rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

The informants focused on a very important factor that was behind the success of the project, which is the mutual trust between the facilitator and the participants. The human atmosphere in which the exercises were performed helped those women to restore their lost human identity.

When we look at the experience of practicing theater within prison from the perspective of women prisoners, we discover very important dimensions of empowerment. If the matter is, for the supervising authority, which is the delegate of prisons, is to create variations within the prison life for the sake of reintegration, the matter goes beyond this institutional measurement for female prisoners, because the whole journey is an experiment in the practice of human actions in its highest manifestations.

In other words, the female detainees' social, psychological, and economic empowerment would not have been possible without recovering their human essence first. Their financial independence is a value that is rooted in parallel with the feeling that the prisoner is a human being before all. Community engagement and having sense of citizenship take place to help these women interact with this shift towards the restoration of their humanity that has been harmed by the difficult conditions of social upbringing.

What we extracted from the female prisoners' interviews confirms that their social, psychological, and economic empowerment made them believe that theater is an essential variable in the realization of this transformation. They, therefore, argue that the state should enhance the use of theatre within the prison institution and provide all conditions for its success, taking the project of *M'bark w Messaaoud* as a striking example which carries a powerful human depth that influences the lives of different operators.

Theater experience within the prison, as mentioned by the four former female detainees is very significant and has positive effects on women's empowerment. The founding concepts of Applied Theater find in Prison Theatre what establishes and confirms its effectiveness in female prisoners' empowerment. Female detainees showed their exclusive presence in the suggestions, creativity, and theatrical act; they contributed to the creative process of theatrical work *M'bark w Messaaoud* with their improvisations, narratives, and presentational scenes. They were also completely and emotionally involved in the experience as a structural component in its production, not in its reception.

The spontaneous representation of the rules of the Applied Theater in the production of the play *M'bark w Messaaoud* contributed to achieving the efficacy of the Moroccan experiment and its profound impact on the participants. The four informants managed to reach a level of social, psychological, and economic empowerment which, consequently, gave credibility to this experience and highlights its importance in the history of Applied Theatre in Morocco.

The informants have proven their agency to effectively communicate their competence to influence the public, and showed their suitability in establishing and maintaining their business. Being financially independent allow the informants to have a strong network and get the appreciation they deserve as productive women.

Participation in cultural activities and theatrical performances enabled the informants to gain a sense of visibility and usefulness. Therefore, PT could be seen as an approach to combat discrimination against women, misconceptions about prisoners, and a tool to teach communicative skill. It helped them have financial resources that enable them later on to set up their own businesses and have their own decisions.

Conclusion

Prison Theatre (PT), within this doctoral dissertation, does not only stand out as a tool of resistance, but it also functions as a mechanism of women's emancipation and empowerment. This sub-category of Applied Theatre (AT) is used in this research because it examines an institutional practice and experience that reveals aspects of female prisoners' oppression and renders issues of gender inequalities visible and debatable.

This thesis claims that PT, as a commonly practiced sub-category of AT, can act as a tool and strategy of female prisoners' empowerment. This form of theatre helps female prisoners to stand firm against regulatory socio-cultural norms, patriarchy, stigmatization, and oppression. The practice of PT is a significant tool that contributes to the reproduction of new female identities and agencies. In other words, participation in PT projects both at the theoretical and practical levels enable female detainees to disrupt the hegemonic matrix, show high resistance skills, and depict new prospects of hegemony.

This study examines the use of AT in the Moroccan context; its purpose is twofold. It, first, aims to examine the extent to which different forms of AT are manifested in the Moroccan socio-cultural scene. Second, this doctoral dissertation aims to measure the effect of AT, namely PT on female detainees' empowerment.

To clarify the implications of the use of AT (PT) in the Moroccan context and its effectiveness on the empowerment and reintegration of female prisoners, five research questions and hypotheses were designed. Three research instruments were used in this study; a survey (paper-based) which was administered to people who are interested in Moroccan theatre, a structured interview was also conducted with two activists in the field of PT, and finally a narrative interview was used with four ex-female prisoners. These three research

instruments were employed to collect data both qualitatively and quantitatively, and hence answer the research questions and validate or disprove the hypotheses.

Specifically, this dissertation was conducted to test whether AT, namely PT, helps in the process of female detainees' empowerment. To address the issue, the thesis was divided into six chapters. Chapter one was mainly concerned with discussing the conceptual and theoretical framework of AT while the second outlined the conceptual and theoretical framework of empowerment in addition to its implications in the Moroccan context. The methodology adopted in this research was presented in chapter three; it included the research design, the research methodology, and the data collection techniques used to gather the data. It also described the sampling population, the pilot study, and research methods, participants, data collection, and analysis. Chapter four presented the results of the study through quantitative analysis and data interpretation while the fifth and sixth chapters provided thematic analysis to the interviews. The last three chapters were devoted to finding answers to the research questions and to confirming or refuting hypotheses.

The first stage of the investigation was a quantitative exploration of the state of A. T in Morocco. For this purpose, a survey questionnaire was administered with a sample of people interested in Moroccan theatre. The sample of this study includes respondents from different parts of Morocco namely Agadir, Tangiers, Fes, Ait Melloul, Inzeguan, Ouarzazat, and Errachidia. The questionnaire was adopted to answer the first two research questions: To what extent is AT manifested in the Moroccan context? And what genres of Applied Theatre do Moroccan theatre practitioners manage to perform? The Structured Interview was also used to answer the following research question: To what extent do Prison Theatre projects respect the general frame of an Applied Theatre practice? And how do Moroccan theatre practitioners use Applied Theatre (P. T specifically) as a strategy to empower Moroccan female prisoners? This research technique was employed with a limited sample that involved

two activists in the field of PT: Rachid Amahjour and Rachid Ali El Aadouani. The structured interview was used to elicit information about the interviewee's personal information, the background and structure of their projects, process and operationalization, the projects' creative aspects, the participants, process of women's empowerment, assessment, and measurement. Importantly, a Narrative Interview as a qualitative technique of data collection, was implemented to collect data that can help in demonstrating the extent to which female ex-detainees' empowerment is manifested during and after female detainee's imprisonment. The instrument was used with four ex-female prisoners to draw out information about the different stages of their life cycle: before and while imprisonment and after their release; this qualitative research instrument was also used to measure the impact of PT on female detainees' empowerment.

Throughout the process of collecting and analyzing data to answer the research questions, the following results were yielded:

- The respondents reveal that AT as a concept is not known in the Moroccan context; its manifestations, however, are diverse in terms of category, objectives, and sample.
- The interviewees express that every PT has the same procedure and correctional objectives. Differences may exist at the following levels: institution, prisoner's background, prisoner's sentences, prisoner's motivation, facilitator's adopted methods, time allocated to the project, funding body, etc.
- The projects studied and analyzed in this doctoral dissertation respect the general frame of an Applied Theatre work.
- PT proves to be effective in bridging the gap between the inmates and the entire society. It also bridges the gap between the different operators in prisons: prisoners, administrators, social assistants, officers, etc.

- PT is a practice that changes prisons from punitive institutions to learning and emancipating spaces.
- PT is a process of power deconstruction that aims at bringing people together, rehabilitating, empowering, and reintegrating them.
- The overall participatory practice enables the participants to gain more self-control, self-esteem, and self-confidence. It also offers contexts through which the participants can increase mutual-trust and develop life and social skills.
- PT proves to be an effectual educational strategy that helps the activists explain the system of oppression, and raise the participant's awareness on human values, rights, and responsibilities.
- The course of action requires collaboration between different operators; PT is a collective process not a personal endeavor.
- The projects encourage women's visibility and emancipation through direct participation in play-building, scripting, debating, and performing.
- Participation in PT decreases the prisoner's isolation, enhances human treatment, boosts respect among participants, and increases reintegration in society.
- Prison can be a space for active interaction between participants, audience, facilitator, co-facilitators, officers, and civil society.
- Models of Augusto Boal, strategies of Forum Theatre and Moreno's conceptions are hugely relied on in the practice of PT.
- Through PT, the participants find a room where they can comfortably disclose their traumas, speak about their lived experiences, and express their ambitions to have a better future.
- Both analyzed projects are memory-based narratives that are evaluated, discussed, and interpreted.

- The workshops were central in changing women from docile bodies and submissive members to creative and productive ones.
- The projects decreased the degree of anxiety and apprehension among female prisoners.
- The female prisoners, as excluded groups, were dealt with ethically and equally treated.
- Roles were democratically distributed between the participants and the audience.
- Both facilitators use a local language and discuss local issues to meet the projects' main objectives.
- The use of original stories and theatrical texts has enriched the debates, discussions, and increased the number of participation.
- On the short term, the participants could benefit from educational and recreational activities at the same time.
- On the medium term, the participants were able to interpret issues related to prison context, rights and freedoms, and engage into discussions of social change.
- On the long term, the female prisoners learned practical theatrical skills that would help them meet the needs of the job market and engage in professional artistic work after their release.
- P.T was a prolific process to work on the axes that concern women and their empowerment.
- Female prisoners develop strategies to use in their everyday life after their release.
- P.T was used as a tool for conveying miscellaneous discourses that concern: gender, equality, equity, social justice, and the different strategies of women's empowerment.

- The projects enabled the female participants to improve their self-esteem, enhance admiration towards others, overcome fear, and improve their ability to contribute to their effective change.
- The analyzed projects stand to be resourceful projects for the empowerment and rehabilitation of female prisoners.
- P.T activities had positive effects on the female detainees during their incarceration and afterwards.
- P.T empowered the female participants at the social, psychological, and economic levels during their incarceration and after their release.
- PT is a social practice that can contribute to the development of society.
- Both theatrical projects were based on explicit, direct, authentic, and non-fictional presentations.
- P.T' practice reduced the participants' psychological problems.
- P.T proved efficient in developing the participants' creative talents and helped them have valuable catharsis.
- The interviewed female detainees were able to have their own entrepreneurships, gain financial independence, and participate in decision-making processes after their release.

There are some other conclusions that were also reached as a result of conducting this doctoral dissertation. Overall, based on the findings, the practice of PT as a sub-category of AT in Morocco involves the participation and contribution of different operators, organizations, and institutions. Moreover, academic trainings, personal development, poly-disciplinarily, and having a large social network are significant variables that affect the quality of the theatrical practice and its impact. As a matter of fact, the appearance of new categories of theatre that are under the umbrella of AT has significantly increased the need to

develop contemporary approaches to work for social change with marginalized and vulnerable groups. Consequently, policy-makers and stakeholders in the field of theatre should prepare action plans to meet the needs of excluded Moroccan women especially those groups who are still invisible and not spoken about. Based on the assumption that AT in general and PT in specific prove effective in improving the lives of its participants, its use in a country like Morocco is advisable and an urgent need to deal with socio-economic and political issues from a theatrical perspective.

Female prisoners' participation in PT would be more effective if more projects supporting women's concerns are initiated across the country. In this respect, there is a pressing need to develop theatrical projects and initiatives that focus mainly on factors that contribute to women's empowerment. The civil society and non-governmental organizations interested in women's rights, equality, and equity should also coordinate with the different institutions that make of women's problems and conflicts a major issue of interest.

Women's participation in PT is a strategy that promotes women's formulation of public opinion due to the power of knowledge they get through their participation and empowerment. In this regard, women's involvement in prison' theatrical practices is an impetus of more female prisoners' participation in economic, social, cultural, and political life.

Many women nowadays partake in the majority of events which could shape their lives because of empowerment and for the simple reason that they are equipped with the appropriate knowledge including tools, policies, strategies, measures, and other aspects. Therefore, women prisoners should also benefit from the democratization of the Moroccan public sphere; their knowledge needs to be extended, their educational level should be promoted, and their skills need to be developed.

Habermas (1992) argues that the public sphere is an arena in which people are put together to participate in the creation of public opinion. However, not all citizens have equal access to this participation as there is no absolute equality and some citizens are given more power and privileges than others. Although the public sphere is gendered and not democratized, many Moroccan women have been able to challenge hegemonic constructions to create their own discourse by empowering themselves through knowledge and education. Nevertheless, female prisoners have been sidelined and forgotten; they are made to be unheard and unseen in the socio-economic and cultural scenes because of their stigma, subordination, dependence, and discrimination. Female prisoners' participation in the public sphere is still highly problematic and more efforts are needed to correct misconceptions about these women.

Morocco has made worthy improvement in bridging gender gaps especially in education and health outcomes; however, these investments in human development have not yet achieved higher proportions of female prisoners' participation in economic and political life. To this end, more attempts should be made to improve the political, economic, and administrative participation of women in the public sphere to promote gender equality and societal well-being especially when it concerns vulnerable groups.

Empowering means helping individuals change their contemporary situation into better. Social change, true democracy, equity, equality, and other rights would never be granted without the development of knowledge and its direct impact on the empowerment of women on the personal, interpersonal, and political levels to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

From cave life to modern life, knowledge has been the prime resource that has promoted human communities at both the material and spiritual levels. And, it is scientifically proved that the use of knowledge helps human beings gain value and efficacy within society.

To this end, it is central to break down misconceptions through promoting women's visibility; marginalized women should be allowed to share their experiences and participate in constructing the general knowledge of the public sphere. Accordingly, AT' facilitators are recommended to work with illiterate participants not only those prisoners with minimum education. PT should be for all and should include also literacy classes to have more beneficiaries.

It can be deduced from the results obtained in this study that PT is a meaningful strategy of female detainees' empowerment; this genre of theatre creates opportunities for the participants, audience, facilitator, co-facilitators, administrators, officers, and social assistants to express their opinions and participate in collective problem-solving discussions. Actually, female detainees' empowerment is an approach used to eradicate wrong ideas and oppressive beliefs from the community. It also eliminates gender discrimination and makes both male and female prisoners use their skills on an equal basis to contribute in the development of society. To explain, to have a country with equal opportunities and gender quality, there is a need to increase female detainees' participation in social and economic life.

Unfortunately, a number of methodological limitations concerned with the sample size, research design, and other limitations need to be acknowledged. Like all research projects, this doctoral dissertation has its limitations. As far as the survey is concerned, the sample size was limited. Despite the use of an internet-based version in parallel with a paper-based survey, the number of respondents did not exceed 158 taking into account that no one answered the questionnaire virtually. Indeed, the online version was used to ensure the collaboration of more participants, but it did not contribute to increasing the number of the respondents at any rate. Overall, the sample seems small to be considered for representativeness which raised the issue about generalizability of findings. Nevertheless, regardless of the limited generalizability, the results of the doctoral dissertation still inform the study of AT and PT in the Moroccan socio-cultural scene and economic context and have both theoretical and practical implications.

Finally, a major limitation of this dissertation is the fact that the study focused on one category of AT and examined the empowerment of female prisoners only but not the other women in difficulties. In this regard, more studies need to be conducted on other forms of AT with the aim of marginalized groups' empowerment and why not drawing comparisons between the different processes and results. The study might have been more interesting if other AT categories had dealt with the issue of female prisoner's empowerment and were also examined in this doctoral dissertation as well.

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Appendices



APPENDIX 1

Doctoral Studies Center: Languages, Heritage and Territorial Management

Ph.D. Training: Languages, Literature and Communication

Laboratory: Discourse, Creativity and Society

Questionnaire

During the last two decades, the Moroccan theater witnessed a dynamic in the field of creativity manifested in a variety of theatrical forms and experiences. Its practitioners have also worked on new forms of theater-based performances, outside the established professional framework in order to achieve social goals related to vulnerable, excluded and marginalized groups within society. From these theatrical forms, different forms of "Applied Theater" have emerged aiming at the empowerment of female learners, women in difficult situations, female prisoners, and others.

This questionnaire seeks to collect quantitative data on Applied Theater in Morocco. Therefore, you are kindly requested to fill in the questionnaire to ease the research on this topic. Note that all the information provided will be used for scientific purposes and will remain confidential.

Thank you for your contribution

Please put a cross (x) in the appropriate box:

I- Demographic Information

1. Gender: Male Female

2. Age: Under 20 Between 20 and 40 Above 40

3. Educational Level: Primary School Secondary School University
4. Profession: University Student Employee in Public Sector Employee in Private Sector Employee in Informal Sector Unemployed
5. Theatrical Status: Writer Director Scenographer Actor/ Actress Critic Technician Spectator Researcher in Theatre Other
Specify.....
6. Genre of Theatrical Practice: Amateur Professional

II- Relationship to Theatre

7. Do you go to theatre? Yes No
8. If yes, how often do you do? Weekly Monthly During Festivals Other
Specify.....
9. Do you read theatrical texts? Yes No
10. How many times do you read theatrical texts?
Rarely Sometimes Always
11. What theatrical texts and studies are you interested in? (More than one answer can be selected)

Texts and studies on Moroccan theatre Arab theatre Western theatre

III-Relationship to Applied Theatre

12. Have you ever heard of “Applied Theatre”? Yes No
13. If yes, is it through?
Academic training Personal development Books or articles
Seminars or conferences Through a friend Other Specify.....
14. Have you ever seen a theater performance outside the theater hall? Yes No
15. If yes, where have you seen these plays? (More than one answer can be selected)

Street School Medical center Welfare institution

Prison Other Specify.....

16. What was the nature of the topics addressed? (More than one answer can be selected)

Topic related to daily life Social topics Political topics

Humanitarian topics Educational topics Other Specify.....

17. What attracted your attention while watching the play? (More than one answer can be selected)

Space Participants Audience Topic Other Specify.....

18. Had the audience participated in the shows you watched? Yes No

19. If yes, what was the nature of the audience's participation? (More than one answer can be selected)

Contribute in the preparation of the performance Participate in acting

Make comments and reactions during the presentation

Contribute to the discussion after the presentation Other Specify.....

20. How have you been informed about the shows, is it through? (More than one answer can be selected)

Advertising Social Media Friends

Special Invitations Chance Other Specify.....

Do you have any additional comments?.....

Thankyou.

مركز دراسات الدكتوراه: اللغات والتراث والتهيئة المجالية

تكوين الدكتوراه: اللغات والآداب والتواصل

مختبر: الخطاب، الإبداع والمجتمع

استمارة

عرف المسرح المغربي خلال العقدين الأخيرين دينامية على صعيد الإبداع تجلت في تجارب وأشكال مسرحية متنوعة. كما عمل ممارسوه على صيغ جديدة في ممارسة المسرح، خارج الإطار الاحترافي المتعارف عليه، وذلك من أجل أهداف اجتماعية متصلة بالفئات الهشة و المقصية داخل المجتمع. من هذه الأشكال المسرحية ظهر "المسرح التطبيقي" بأشكال مختلفة تهدف إلى تمكين المتعلمات والنساء في وضعيات صعبة و السجينات و غيرهن.

تستهدف هذه الاستمارة جمع معطيات كمية حول المسرح التطبيقي بالمغرب. نرجو منكم المساهمة في تعبئتها من أجل تيسير البحث في هذا الموضوع، علما أن ما سيقدم من معلومات سيستعمل لهذا الغرض العلمي وسيبقى سريا.

كرا لمساهمتمكم

المرجو وضع علامة × في الخانة المناسبة:

I- معلومات ديموغرافية

- 1- الجنس: ذكر أنثى
 - 2- العمر: أقل من 20 ما بين 20 و40 فوق 40
 - 3- المستوى التعليمي: ابتدائي ثانوي جامعي
 - 4- المهنة: طالب/ة جامعي/ة موظف/ة في القطاع العام موظف/ة في القطاع الخاص عامل في القطاع غير المهيكل بدون مهنة
 - 5- الصفة المسرحية: كاتب/ة مخرج/ة سينوغراف ممثل/ة ناقد/ة تقني/ة متفرج/ة
- طالب/ة باحث/ة في المسرح أخرى أذكرها.....

6- نوعية الممارسة المسرحية: هاوي محترف

II- العلاقة بالمسرح

7- هل تتردد/ين على المسرح؟ نعم لا

8- إذا كان الجواب نعم، هل تقوم/ين بذلك:

أسبوعيا شهريا خلال المهرجانات بالصدفة أخرى أذكرها.....

9- هل تقرأ/ين النصوص المسرحية؟ نعم لا

10- كم من مرة تقرأ/ين النصوص المسرحية؟

نادرا أحيانا دائما

11- ما النصوص و الدراسات المسرحية التي تهتم/ين بقراءتها؟ (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)؟

نصوص و دراسات حول المسرح المغربي المسرح العربي المسرح الغربي

III-العلاقة بالمسرح التطبيقي

12- هل سبق و سمعت بالمسرح التطبيقي؟

نعم لا

13- إذا كان الجواب نعم، هل من خلال؟

تكوين أكاديمي تكوين شخصي كتاب أو مقالة ندوة أو مؤتمر

من خلال صديق أخرى أذكرها.....

14- هل سبق لك أن شاهدت عرضا مسرحيا خارج قاعة المسرح؟

نعم لا

15- اذا كان الجواب نعم، ما هي الفضاءات التي شاهدت فيها مسرحيات (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)

شارع مدرسة مركز طبي مؤسسة للرعاية الاجتماعية

سجن أخرى أذكرها.....

16- ما هي طبيعة الموضوعات التي عالجتها؟ (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)

- موضوع له علاقة بالحياة اليومية موضوع اجتماعي موضوع سياسي
موضوع إنساني موضوع تربوي أخرى أذكرها.....

17- ما الذي أثار انتباهك خلال مشاهدة المسرحية؟ (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)

- الفضاء المشاركون الجمهور الموضوع
أخرى أذكرها.....

18- هل شارك الجمهور في العروض التي شاهدتها؟

- نعم لا

19- إذا كان الجواب نعم، ما هي طبيعة المشاركة هل من خلال: (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)

- المساهمة في إعداد العرض المشاركة في التمثيل إطلاق تعليقات وردود أفعال خلال العرض
المساهمة في المناقشة بعد العرض أخرى أذكرها.....

20- كيف علمت بالعروض التي شاهدتها، هل من خلال؟ (يمكن اختيار أكثر من جواب واحد)

- الإعلانات وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي الأصدقاء
الدعوات الخاصة الصدفة أخرى أذكرها.....

هل لديك اي ملاحظات اضافية؟.....

شكرا على المساهمة

APPENDIX 2

Doctoral Studies Center: Languages, Heritage and Territorial Management

Ph.D. Training: Languages, Literature and Communication

Laboratory: Discourse, Creativity and Society

Interview Guide

Researcher's Name: Amrani Jai Sanae

Research' Title: Applied Theatre as an Alternative Strategy to Empower Moroccan Women Prisoners

Name of the Interviewee:

Date and Time of the Interview:

Place of the Interview:

The aim of this interview is to help us better understand Applied Theater in its relationship to the empowerment of Moroccan female prisoners. It also aspires to clarify the effectiveness of involving female detainees in this type of artistic experience in the Moroccan context.

The interview also attempts to highlight the impact of this participation on creating meaningful artistic opportunities for Moroccan female prisoners to demonstrate their artistic and cognitive abilities on one hand, and to achieve their self-realization and integration into society on the other hand.

In this regard, this guide has been used to investigate the views of specialized practitioners about the specificities of this type of theater, especially Prison Theatre. It seeks

to, furthermore, explain the importance of the involvement of women in these artistic projects, especially as they target the social change of the status of female prisoners and try to empower them politically, economically, socially and culturally.

For this reason, you are kindly requested to contribute to the realization of this research through answering the interview questions. Note that all the information provided during this interview will be kept confidential and your answers will be used only for research purposes. Thank you for your help in advance.

Personal Information:

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Level of education:
5. Occupation:
6. Theatre' profession:
7. The frame of theatre' practice (hobby or professionalism):
8. Association' affiliation:
9. Association's interests:

Your experience in Applied Theater / Elements and Characteristics:

I- Backgrounds of Experience

1. What is the nature of the project in general?
2. What is/ are the institution (s) supporting the project?
3. It is well known that those practitioners of Applied Theater care about social, cultural, political, and other topics. What aspect did you pay more attention to in this project?
4. What are the subjective and objective motives for working on this project?

II- Project's Concept and Structure

1. How was the project's idea developed?
2. How was this theatrical project built, individually or collectively with the target group?
3. In many theatrical works of an applied nature, practitioners pursue therapeutic, empowering, or social justice goals. For this project, what were the objectives to be realized?
4. How was the democratization of theater manifested in this theatrical experience?

III- Process and Operationalization

1. How was the time, place, and target group of the project identified?
2. How was the work done? Was it with the logic of the planned work, or working comfortably and dealing with everything produced by contact with the target group?
3. How did the participants and the audience interact?
4. It is common that Applied Theater has its own policy that differs from that of the professional theater, including the voluntary nature and the absence of a legal and professional commitment to practitioners, as well as non-artistic objectives that require a special treatment to the target group. What policy have you adopted in dealing with the target group?
5. How has the nature of your treatment to the detainees affected their freedom to express their crisis?
6. How were the roles allocated to the target group?

IV- Creativity

1. What were the aesthetic and ethical aspects of this experience?

2. Did you rely on a pre-written text, or did you use group writing based on lived situations, or performing without writing, or just improvisational exercises?
3. How was the directing vision formulated?
4. How were the exercises conducted?
5. How was the data related to this experience documented?

V- Project' Participants

1. What was the nature of the participants in this theatrical experience?
2. How was the target group integrated into this theater project?
3. How were the participant's stories invested?
4. Who were the audiences for this experience? Were they special-selected audiences or audiences interested in theatre?
5. How did the audience interact with this experience?
6. What effects did the experience have on participants?
7. What was the role of organizations, governmental or non-governmental, in enriching this Applied Theater project?

VI- Women's Empowerment

1. How did this project work on the goal of women's empowerment?
2. What approaches did you use to allow women's participation in the various creative and organizational activities?
3. What were the most important aspects and levels of empowerment that you worked on?
4. How did Applied Theater' strategies and techniques help in the empowerment and sensitization of women?
5. How did the different actors in the experiment interact regarding the empowerment bet?

6. How did the effects of Applied Theater on women's empowerment emerge in the short, medium, and long terms?
7. To what extent can Applied Theater be a means of empowerment?

VII- Assessment and Measurement

1. What difficulties did you encounter during evaluating this Applied Theatrical work?
2. How did you assess this experience?
3. What were the main manifestations of success concerning this experience?
4. Were there any objectives that the project has not been able to achieve? What was it/ were they? Why was not that possible?
5. Did the effects of Applied Theater appear in the short, medium or long terms?

Do you any additional comments?

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.....

Thank you very much.

مركز دراسات الدكتوراه: اللغات والتراث والتهيئة المجالية

تكوين الدكتوراه: اللغات والآداب والتواصل

مختبر : الخطاب الإبداع والمجتمع

دليل المقابلة

اسم الباحثة: سناء عمراني جاي

عنوان البحث: المسرح التطبيقي كإستراتيجية بديلة لتمكين السجينات المغربيات

اسم المبحوث/ة:

تاريخ ووقت المقابلة:

مكان المقابلة:

الهدف من هذه المقابلة هو مساعدتنا على فهم أفضل للمسرح التطبيقي في علاقته بتمكين السجينة المغربية. كما أنها تطمح إلى توضيح مدى فعالية إشراك السجينات في هذا النوع من التجارب الفنية في السياق المغربي . تهدف المقابلة أيضا إلى، إبراز أثر هذه المشاركة على خلق فرص فنية هادفة للمرأة المغربية لإثبات قدراتها الفنية و المعرفية من جهة، و تحقيقها لذاتها و إدماجها في المجتمع من جهة أخرى.

في هذا الصدد، أستخدم هذا الدليل من أجل معرفة وجهات نظر ممارسين مختصين حول خصوصيات هذا النوع من المسرح، مسرح السجن خاصة. كما أن هذا الدليل، يرجى من خلاله تبيين أهمية إنخراط المرأة في هذه المشاريع الفنية لاسيما و أنها تستهدف التغيير الاجتماعي لأوضاع السجينات و محاولة تمكينهن سياسيا، اقتصاديا، اجتماعيا، و ثقافيا. أرجو أن تساهموا في هذا البحث من خلال الإجابة على أسئلة المقابلة، علما أن جميع ما سيدلى به من معلومات لن يستخدم إلا لأغراض أكاديمية.

* بيانات شخصية:

1. الإسم :

2.الجنس :

3. السن :

4. المستوى الدراسي :

5. المهنة:

6. الصفة المسرحية :

7. إطار الممارسة المسرحية(الهواية أم الاحتراف) :

8. الانتماء الجمعي :

9. الاهتمامات الجموعية :

تجربتك في المسرح التطبيقي / عناصرها وخصائصها

I- خلفيات التجربة

1. ما هي طبيعة المشروع بصفة عامة؟
2. ما هي المؤسسة أو المؤسسات الداعمة للمشروع؟
3. من المعروف أن ممارسي المسرح التطبيقي يبحثون و يهتمون بالموضوعات الاجتماعية، الثقافية، السياسية، و غيرها. فما هو الجانب الذي أعرتموه اهتماما أكبر في هذا المشروع؟
4. ما هي الدوافع الذاتية و الموضوعية لاشتغالكم على هذا المشروع؟

II- تصور و بنية المشروع

1. كيف تبلورت فكرة المشروع؟
2. كيف تم بناء هذا المشروع المسرحي، هل بشكل فردي أم جماعي مع الفئة المستهدفة؟
3. في العديد من الأعمال المسرحية ذات الطابع التطبيقي، يعمل الممارسون على تحقيق أهداف علاجية أو تمكينية أو عدالة اجتماعية. بالنسبة لهذا المشروع، ما هو المخطط المراد تحقيقه؟
4. كيف تجلت ديمقراطية المسرح في هذه التجربة المسرحية؟

III- السيورة والأجراء

1. كيف تم تحديد الزمان و المكان و الفئة المستهدفة للمشروع؟
2. كيف تم الاشتغال، هل بمنطق العمل المخطط، أو العمل بأريحية و التعاطي مع كل ما يفرزه الإحتكاك بالفئة المستهدفة؟
3. كيف تفاعل المشاركون و الجمهور مع تجربتكم؟
4. من المتداول أن للمسرح التطبيقي سياسته الخاصة التي تختلف عن المسرح الاحترافي، منها الطابع التطوعي و غياب التزام قانوني و مهني مع الممارسين، وكذا أهداف غير فنية تستدعي تعاملًا خاصًا مع الفئة المستهدفة. فما هي السياسة التي نهجتموها في التعامل مع الفئة المستهدفة؟
5. كيف أثرت طبيعة تعاملك مع السجناء على حريتهم في البوح والتعبير عن أزمتهم؟
6. كيف تم توزيع الأدوار على الفئة المستهدفة؟

IV- الإبداع

1. ما هي الجوانب الجمالية و الأخلاقية المميزة لهذه التجربة؟
2. هل اعتمدتم على نص مكتوب بشكل مسبق، أم اعتمدتم الكتابة الجماعية استنادًا إلى وضعيات حية، أو الكتابة الركحية، أم فقط تمارين ارتجالية؟
3. كيف تمت صياغة الرؤية الإخراجية؟

4. كيف جرت التداريب؟
5. كيف تم توثيق المعطيات المتعلقة بهذه التجربة؟

V- المشاركون في المشروع

1. ما هي نوعية المشاركين في هذه التجربة المسرحية؟
2. كيف تم إدماج الفئة المستهدفة في هذا المشروع المسرحي؟
3. كيف تم استثمار حكاياتهم؟
4. من هو جمهور هذه التجربة؟ هل هو جمهور خاص تم اختياره، أم أنه جمهور مهتم بالمسرح؟
5. كيف تفاعل الجمهور مع هذه التجربة؟
6. ما هي الآثار التي خلفتها التجربة على المشاركين؟
7. ما هو دور المنظمات، حكومية كانت أو غير حكومية، في إغناء هذا المشروع المسرحي التطبيقي؟

VI- تمكين المرأة

1. كيف تم الاشتغال في هذا المشروع على هدف تمكين المرأة؟
2. ما هي المقاربات التي اعتمدتم عليها من أجل إشراك المرأة في مختلف الأنشطة الإبداعية والتنظيمية؟
3. ما هي أهم مظاهر ومستويات التمكين التي اشتغلتم عليها؟
4. كيف ساعدت استراتيجيات وتقنيات المسرح التطبيقي في تمكين المرأة وتوعيتها؟
5. كيف كان التفاعل بين مختلف الفاعلين في التجربة حول رهان التمكين؟
6. كيف ظهرت آثار المسرح التطبيقي على تمكين المرأة على المدى القريب، المتوسط، البعيد؟
7. إلى أي حد يمكن اعتبار المسرح التطبيقي وسيلة تساهم في التمكين؟

VII- التقييم والقياس

1. أين تكمن صعوبة تقييم هذا العمل المسرحي التطبيقي؟
2. كيف قمتم بعملية تقييم للتجربة؟
3. ما هي أهم مظاهر النجاح التي عرفتتها التجربة؟
4. هل هناك أهداف لم يتمكن المشروع من تحقيقها؟ ما هي؟ و لماذا لم يتم تحقيقها؟
5. هل تظهر آثار المسرح التطبيقي في نظركم على المدى القريب أم المتوسط أم البعيد؟

هل من إضافة؟

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شكرا جزيلا!

APPENDIX 3

Doctoral Studies Center: Languages, Heritage and Territorial Management

Ph.D. Training: Languages, Literature and Communication

Laboratory: Discourse, Creativity and Society

Interview Guide

Researcher's Name: Amrani Jai Sanae

Research' Title: Applied Theatre as an Alternative Strategy to Empower Moroccan Women Prisoners

Name of the Interviewee:

Date and Time of the Interview:

Place of the Interview:

The aim of this interview is to gain a good understanding of the impact of the involvement of women in difficult situations (female detainees) in cultural and theatrical activities inside the prison. It also aims at exploiting the impact of this experience on their lives in general in prison and after serving their prison sentence.

This interview also seeks to clarify the importance of Prison Theater in achieving self-fulfillment by empowering imprisoned women on the social, psychological, and financial levels. In this context, this guide was used to find out the perspectives of former female prisoners who participated in the experience of a Moroccan Prison Theater through the work of *M'barek W Messaaoud*, which is considered as a participatory project between the General Delegation of Prison Administration and Reintegration and the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports / Culture Sector, Under the supervision of Rachid Ali EL Aadouani.

You are kindly requested to contribute to the completion of this research by answering the interview questions. The data gathered will be kept absolutely confidential and the information provided during this interview will be used only for the purposes of the development of this research. The answers provided will not be analyzed alone, but with the answers of the rest of the sample.

Demographic questions

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Academic level:
4. Family status / time:
5. With whom were you living before your imprisonment?
6. With whom do you live now after your release from prison?
7. Do you have a permanent job that helps you earn your living?

Pre-prison Phase

1. How were you living before your imprisonment?
2. What was the reason behind your incarceration?
3. What was the prison sentence that you got?
4. Were you satisfied with that punishment?

Prison Phase

1. How was the treatment of both male and female employees and female prisoners before you participated in the theater?
2. What motivated you to participate in theater?
3. How did you get involved in the practice of theatre?
4. Before participating in the experience of *M'barak W Massaoud*, have you ever participated in theater?

5. What was the duration of work on this project?
6. What is your personal assessment of theatrical activities in prison?
7. To what extent is theatre important in changing the lives of inmates?
8. To what extent should such projects circulate in Moroccan prisons?
9. What has changed in your life because of theater?
10. To what extent can Prison Theater be considered an income-generating work inside and outside the prison institution?
11. How important is teamwork in changing your interactions?

Post- prison Phase:

1. How did that theater experience affect your life in general after your release?
2. What are the things that the theater has strengthened in you as a human being?
3. What are the works that you are able to accomplish by virtue of your participation in the artistic and theatrical workshops?
4. Due to the promises that you received regarding working as a professional actress in theater, were you able to work in other artwork after your release from prison?
5. How did the theater contribute to your reintegration into society?
6. To what extent can this type of art be considered as a factor influencing the failure to return to prison?
7. How has your involvement in this experience affected your personal, social, psychological and financial life?

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مختبر: الخطاب الإبداع والمجتمع

دليل المقابلة

اسم الباحثة: سناء عمرانى جاي

عنوان البحث: المسرح التطبيقي كاستراتيجية بديلة لتمكين السجينات المغربيات

اسم المبحوث/ة:

تاريخ المقابلة و مكانها:

وقت المقابلة: من...إلى

الهدف من هذه المقابلة هو المساعدة على فهم جيد لأثر انخراط المرأة في وضعية صعبة (السجينة) في أنشطة ثقافية و مسرحية داخل السجن، و أتر ذلك على حياتها بشكل عام داخل السجن و بعد قضائها مدة العقوبة السجنية كما تهدف هذه المقابلة إلى توضيح مدى أهمية مسرح السجن في تحقيق الذات من خلال تمكين المرأة السجينة على المستوى الاجتماعي، النفسي، و المادي. في هذا السياق، استخدم هذا الدليل من أجل معرفة وجهة نظر سجينات سابقات شاركن في تجربة مسرح السجن من خلال عمل "مبارك و مسعود"، الذي يعتبر مشروعاً تشاركياً بين المندوبية العامة لإدارة السجون و إعادة الإدماج ووزارة الثقافة و الشباب و الرياضة/ قطاع الثقافة، بتأطير من رشيد علي العدواني أرجو منكن المساهمة في إنجاز هذا البحث من خلال الإجابة عن أسئلة المقابلة مع ضرورة تأكيدنا على أن جميع ما سيدلى به من معلومات لن يستخدم إلا لأغراض البحث. لن تحلل الإجابات المقدمة وحدها و إنما مع إجابات بقية أفراد العينة

ديموغرافية أسئلة

1. الاسم:

2. السن:

3. المستوى الدراسي:

4. الحالة العائلية/ وقتها:

5. مع من كنت تعيشين قبل دخولك السجن؟

6. مع من تعيشين الآن بعد خروجك من السجن؟

7. هل لديك عمل قار تعيشين به؟

مرحلة ما قبل السجن

1. كيف كنت تعيشين قبل سجنك؟

2. ما هو سبب دخولك السجن؟

3. ما العقوبة السجنية التي حكمت بها؟

4. هل كنت راضية بهذه العقوبة؟

مرحلة السجن

1. كيف كان تعامل كل من الموظفين و الموظفات و السجينات معك قبل المشاركة في المسرح؟

2. ما هي الدوافع التي دفعتك للمشاركة في المسرح؟

3. كيف استطعت المشاركة في ذلك؟

4. هل سبق لك و ان شاركت في المسرح قبل الخوض في تجربة مبارك و مسعود؟

5. ما هي مدة الإشتغال على هذا المشروع؟

6. ما هو تقييمك الشخصي للأنشطة المسرحية بالسجن؟

7. اين تتجلى اهمية المسرح في تغيير حياة النزلاء؟

8. إلى أي حد يجب تعميم مثل هذه المشاريع في السجون المغربية؟

9. ما الذي تغير في حياتك بسبب المسرح؟

10. إلى أي حد يمكن اعتبار مسرح السجن بمثابة عمل مدر للدخل داخل و خارج المؤسسة السجنية؟

11. ما مدى أهمية العمل الجماعي في تغيير تفاعلك؟

مرحلة ما بعد السجن

1. كيف انعكست التجربة المسرحية على حياتك بصفة عامة بعد خروجك من السجن؟

2. ما هي الأشياء التي قواها فيك المسرح كإنسانة؟

3. ما هي الأعمال التي أصبحت قادرة على انجازها بحكم مشاركتك في الورشات الفنية و المسرحية

4. هل استطعت أن تشتغلي بأعمال فنية أخرى بعد خروجك من السجن بحكم الوعود التي تلقيتها بامتهان المسرح؟
5. كيف ساهم المسرح في إعادة إدماجك في المجتمع؟
6. إلى أي حد يمكن اعتبار هذا النوع من الأنشطة داخل المؤسسات السجنية عاملا مؤثرا في عدم رجوعك إلى السجن؟
7. كيف أثر انخراطك في هذه التجربة على حياتك الشخصية، النفسية، الاجتماعية و المادية؟

شكرا جزيلا