

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**The Forum Theatre as a Medium of Expression of Emotion
by Malay Adolescents in Malaysia: A Case Studies of the
two rehabilitation centers in Melaka and Kota Kinabalu.**

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In the University of Hull

By

Andika Aziz Hussin, BA Hons (UKM. 1995), MA (Hull. 1997)

October 2006

Abstract

Forum Theatre technique established by Augusto Boal, a well-known Brazilian dramatist, is a kind of social therapy where people are not just watching the play but are also encouraged to participate in the play and give ideas and solutions to the problems. This study focuses on the Forum Theater as a medium or tool for the Malay adolescents to discuss their social problems creatively and critically.

The study discusses the historical background of Theatre of the Oppressed (TO), as well as its components such as Image Theatre, Forum Theatre, Invisible Theatre, the Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre. Forum Theatre has been successfully performed in European countries under the guise of 'Power Play', 'Therapy Play', 'Theatre of Revolution' and 'Theatre for Social Change'. Theatre of the Oppressed, especially the Forum Theatre, is generally unknown in Malaysian society and the approach needs to be introduced and explained in some detail. By having a comprehensive description of the Theatre of the Oppressed, the Malaysian reader will be able to understand the technique and approach in a deeper sense.

As the research is about the implementation of Forum approach with adolescents, studies also concentrated on several theories of adolescent

behavior and development from several perspectives and fields. The world of adolescents is confusing and complex and differs between countries. This study allows a better understanding on the complexity of Malay adolescence. The study focuses in general on the dilemma of the Malay traditional system of culture and norms that has been developed for centuries which has affected the adolescents' way of life. The study criticizes some of the customs (*adat*) that have caused Malays, and especially adolescents, to be incompetent and silent. Several opinions from various sources were quoted to support the ideas.

The application of the original Forum approach in Malaysia is complicated because there is lack of written references available in the country. To implement the approach in Malaysia some modification and adjustment were made by adapting several other therapeutic approaches such as Psychodrama and Playback Theatre. To verify the effectiveness of the adapted approach, workshops with the troubled adolescents in the two rehabilitation centres known as Tunas Bakti Schools (STB) were conducted. The data gathered in the workshops were analyzed to determine the reception of the approach by the society and especially by the adolescents. Results from these two workshops were studied and analyzed and a new adapted approach appropriate for the Malaysian context has been constructed. The outcome will provide a model for Malaysians interested in applying the technique in future.

Content

Abstract

Acknowledgement

Title

The Forum Theatre as a Medium of Expression of Emotion by Malay Adolescents in Malaysia: A Case Studies of the two rehabilitation centers in Melaka and Kota Kinabalu.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Culture of the Silent; Malay Adolescents Dilemma

The Purpose of the Research

Chapter Division

Research Methodologies:

Stage One; Preparation

Stage Two; Programme Planning and Preparation for the workshop

Stage Three; The Workshop Processes; The Therapeutic Module

Stage Four; Reviews on the Efficacy of the Technique Employed and A
Construction of an Approach Appropriate for the Malaysian
Context.

Conclusion

CHAPTER 2

The Genesis of the Theatre of the Oppressed and the Forum Theatre Approach

Historical Background

The Existence of the Theatre of the Oppressed

The Categories of Theatre of the Oppressed

The Form of Forum Theatre

The Dramaturgy of Forum Theatre;

The Functions of Actors

The Protagonist

The Spect-actor

The Choruses / The Coryphaeus

The Costume

The Choral Orchestra

The Joker System;

The Rules of the Joker

The Importance of Joker Technique

The Process of Forum Theatre

Conclusion

CHAPTER 3

Understanding the Malay Adolescence; Development and Culture

Introduction

Definition of Adolescence

Theories of Adolescence:

Biological and Behavioral Theory

Anthropological Theory

Sociological Theory

Psychoanalytic Theory

The Malay Adolescence;

The Malay Social Tradition and Structure

The Malay Characteristics and Its Problems

Conclusion

CHAPTER 4

The Practical Workshops in the Rehabilitation Centers in Melaka and Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

Introduction

The Practical Workshops in;

i) Melaka

ii) Kota Kinabalu

Conclusion

CHAPTER 5

A Review of the Efficacy of the Technique Employed and the Construction of an Approach Appropriate for the Malaysian Context

Introduction

Problems Occurred during the Implementing of the Forum Approach

The Constructed Approach

Conclusion

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPY

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

LIST OF FIGURES AND CHARTS

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Culture of Silence; Malay Adolescents' Dilemma.

To understand the development of the Malays adolescents, first one must understand the concept of Malays, the Malay family structure, and the social tradition of the Malay society at large. The Malay world is relatively unknown to the outside world especially to Westerners. Some of the Western scholars like Valentijn, Francis Light, William Maxwell, R.J. Wilkinson and R.O. Winstedt describe Malays as 'cannot be trusted', 'prefer to enjoy themselves and lazy to work', 'daydreaming', 'arrogant', but 'courteous'. Those comments were written during the colonial era of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, when these colonial rulers were free to do and say whatever they liked about the Malay people. Some of the accusations are justified, but most are based on hatred and personal emotional expression (Senu.1971:12).

Malaysia consists of two parts, East and West Peninsular Malaysia, an area of 127,581 square miles separated by 330 miles of the South China Sea. Peninsular Malaysia is the Malay Peninsula, the Golden Chersonese mentioned by writers of antiquity. There are eleven states of Peninsular Malaysia extend from Johor in the south to the Thai border in the north, including a few offshore islands. East Malaysia is situated on the northern fringe of the world's third largest island, Borneo. East Malaysia lies on the north of the Indonesian province

of Kalimantan. For both states, rivers formed the most common transport routes until quite recent times, and the main settlements were within the tidal estuaries (Noi.1990:9-10).

Malaysia is a multi-racial country of Malays, Chinese, Indians, Kadazans, Ibans, Bidayuh and other Bumiputeras in Sabah and Sarawak with a rich heritage of traditions and cultures. The base of the national culture is the Malay culture, which is native to this region. Islam is an important element in the formulation of the national culture. Traits from other cultures have been absorbed to enrich the national culture. The Malay culture places high value on courtesy, moderation and harmony. Harmonious and cordial relations among family members, neighbours and community at national and international levels are necessary to promote tolerance and mutual respect for each other's customs and traditions. One of the unique features of Malaysia is that its multi-racial population practices a variety of religions such as Islam, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism and Christianity. Each ethnic group has its own beliefs. Under the Federal Constitution, Islam is the official religion of Malaysia but there is freedom of worship. Malay Language is the National Language of the country. However the people are free to use their mother tongue and other languages. English as the second language is widely used in business. The people in Sabah and Sarawak who are homogenous and speak multi languages can be identified by the names of the tribe. In Sabah, the spoken languages are Rungus, Dusun-Kadazan, Murut, Bisayah, Paitan, Bajau, Suluk, Iranun, and Lun Dayeh. The

languages of the natives of Sarawak are Melanau, Bidayuh, Penan, Kayan, Kenyah, Iban, Kelabit and Lun Bawang.

Map 1.1



The Malay people proper form a slight majority of the people of the Malay Peninsula. Fifty-three percent of the people in Malaysia are Malays (Craig.1988:81). However, the question of “who is a Malay?” is not always easy to answer. A common working definition holds that a Malay is a Muslim and a native speaker of Malay whose immediate ancestors came from the Malay Peninsula (Major.1991:8). By that standard, however, many Malays of Sarawak and Sabah would not qualify; rather than having ancestral roots in the Peninsula, they are descended from native peoples who gradually substituted Malay for their own language after converting to Islam. Malays by any definition,

form only a minority of the population of Sarawak and Sabah, concentrated mainly in the cities and towns. Moreover, as the Malay Peninsular is divided into eleven states, Malay ethnic identity is itself somewhat fragmented. Many peninsular Malays regard themselves as, for example, people of Johor or of Perak, not as members of some abstract group called "Malays" (Major.1991:8). In Malaysian Constitution of Law, theoretically anybody can be a Malay as long as he is a Muslim, speaks the Malay language and abides by the Malay customs (Syed Husin.1979;3). The problems of Malay ethnic identity are overcome by the use of the catch-all term *bumiputra*, or 'the son of the soil', which includes all Malaysian speaker of Malay group languages, from urban Malays to forest Ibans. Although there may be academic dispute about where the Malays originally came from, when they came, or whether they were here from the very beginning, the Malays regard themselves as the indigenous people of Peninsular Malaysia and among the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak. Equally important, the non-Malays have traditionally regarded and continue to regard the Malays as indigenous.

In practice the Malays believe they have a 'special position', that they expect some form of special treatment, and that they regard such provisions as Article 153 of the Constitution, which charges the Government with the responsibility to safeguard the 'special position' of the Malays and the legitimate interests of the other communities as a matter of right, not privilege (Larson.1977:17). When the British entered into treaty obligations with the Malay

States, they took cognizance of the principle that the 'special position' of the Sultans and their Malay subjects must be guaranteed. The 'special position' of the Malays was also recognized in the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948. The Malay dominate the government and the agriculture sector, but play a relatively small role in commerce and industry. In the countryside of West Malaysia, Malays are likely to be farmers, tending vegetable farms or small holdings of rubber or oil-palm trees, or fishermen; in the cities, they are often civil servants, laborers, transport workers, or industrial workers. A small number of Malays have risen to the national elite, either by descent from the old aristocracy, which still dominates the highest levels of government and the military. In general, the *kampong* belongs to the Malays, the city belongs to the Chinese (Major.1991:10).

A second basic fact about the Malays is that the majority of them regard Malaysia as the land of the Malays- Tanah Melayu. This attitude has also been traditional; Peninsular Malaysia has historically been known by the geographical name, the *Malay Peninsula*; the Federation of Malay, the political heartland of Malaysia was called *Persekutuan Tanah Melayu*- the Federation of the Lands of Malays (Larson.1977:17). The concept of Malaysia as essentially a Malay country is a central assumption of Malay political thought, determining to an important extent how Malays see changes, how they will react to them, and what social, cultural, economic, and political policies will be favored. It does not necessarily result in an oppressive or restrictive attitude towards the non-Malays.

Malays are generally calm and tolerant of non-Malay social and cultural practices that they would find abhorrent in their own community.

A race is distinct not only because of its physiognomy, language and usual habitat, but also because of its culture. Culture is deeply interwoven with the code of ethics and value systems of a given race. The ethical codes and value systems determine the progress and development of a race. Generally the value concepts of a given society are taken for granted except by sociologist and behavioral scientists. It is only when human societies come into contact with each other and the differing values conflict and lead in different directions that these values become of interest to the average person. The ethical codes and value systems of the Malays have never been studied before (Mahathir, 1982:183). Certainly few Malays care to comment on these sensitive topics. Yet to tackle the problems of the Malays with any hope of success, it is imperative to know why the Malays react and progress so differently from the Chinese and others.

To discuss the common events in the experience of man in his environment and the attitude of the Malays to these events, it is perhaps worthwhile recapitulating these general remarks on Malay ethical values to see how they stand vis-à-vis the ethical values enunciated by the philosophers of antiquity. Self examination which occupied so much of the attention and the time of the Greek philosophers is not regarded as a great virtue. Deliberate critical

self-analysis is therefore uncommon. Socrates' interpretation of the Delphic Oracle's "Know thyself" which makes a virtue of knowledge of self has no equivalent among the Malays (Mahathir.1982:188). This does not apply to the individual only, but to the community as well. This failure produces an inability to find and correct the faults within. The more conservative the society, the more pronounced is this failure. This is the most marked in rural societies, and results in complete failure to relate cause to effect. The kind of knowledge which is revered is religious knowledge. The pursuit of religious knowledge is quite remarkable, especially in the so-called backward rural areas. The Koran for example is widely read, interpreted and discussed. It is the spiritual values of Islam which appeal most. The emphasis is on a saintly life, a life free of sin, a life which is most likely to result in a happy after-life. Religious knowledge is therefore acquired for the sake of religious knowledge and to lead one to a life of piety. But the virtue of knowledge derived from religion is not always carried through to influence other values. Of Plato's three cardinal virtues, temperance is most marked among the Malays (Mahathir.1982:190). Temperance is not an active philosophy but is more a product of the climatic and geographical environment of the Malays. The intemperate man is not admired. The average Malay usually desires and leads a temperate life. In his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, in his attitude to others and in his reaction to his circumstances and surroundings, there is always this quality of moderation. The good Malay is always unobtrusive and self-effacing, unwilling to impose his will if it conflicts with others, and ever willing to compromise.

Courage, the second of Plato's cardinal virtues, acquires a meaning quite different from the concepts of courage in the whole western history of ethics. The firmness of will in aggression, in withdrawal, or in endurance directed by a true insight into a situation, as described by Plato, is not a part of the Malay make-up. Firmness is not a Malay characteristic at all. The type of courage which requires firmness and adherence to a principle is therefore uncommon among Malays. Courage in most instances is equated with a willingness to face up to a hopeless situation. It is facing up to overwhelming odds which could certainly lead to defeat and destruction. To take on adversity when it seems to be beyond one's ability is to exhibit cowardice. The courageous or brave Malay is usually foolhardy, and because he is likely to do things without thinking of the consequences, the average Malay treats him with fear and respect. The ordinary man knows that it is not worthwhile to incur his displeasure and that it is safer to let him have his own way. The ordinary man therefore represents the other extreme when principle is easily set aside for the sake of safety.

Wisdom, the final of Plato's cardinal virtues, is not the wisdom accepted by the Malays. The need to control desires and to direct will-power is recognized, but wisdom is regarded mainly as the ability to circumvent a given situation. It is not restraint or direction, which are highly regarded, but inability to avoid a clear cut decision and to be able to make corrections later on which are acclaimed. The Malay is never committed to anything. There is always a loophole for his escape. In trying to perfect an escape route for a given situation, decision making

often becomes a tedious and time consuming process. Where possible, a decision is avoided completely, thus preparing the ground for a reversal and later justification (Mahathir.1982:190).

It is clear that Plato's three cardinal virtues do not apply to the Malays. These virtues are present, but because their values are different, the society they mould is totally different, and has not evolved along the same lines as Western civilization. And because Malay value concepts and code of ethics are different from those of the West, it is unlikely that mere changes in environment will bring about the necessary change in Malay values to such an extent that they will be able to compete with the drive of other communities or races.

All Malays are Muslims, but not all Muslims in Malaysia are Malays. The form of Islam they practice does not spawn bigotry, intolerance, fanaticism, or aggressiveness. Islam is the greatest single influence on the Malay value concepts and ethical code. But it is important to remember that it is not so much the religion, but the interpretation of the doctrines of Islam which has the most significant effect. It is relevant to note that Islam itself has five important sects, and that a new sect frequently appears due to some individual interpretation. If at a times the influence of Islam appears to be adversely affecting Malay value concepts, it must be borne in mind that it is not so much Islamic teaching as its local contemporary interpretation which causes these adverse effects. The value concepts of Islam in Malaysia are affected by the much older faiths of the

Malays. Some, especially animism, have a much greater hold on the rural than the urban Malays. The influence of these faiths is therefore still considerable in the rural areas, and at times it runs counter to Islam. Apart from religious faith, Malay society has thrown up a comprehensive and rather formidable code of behavior known as *adat*. People see the world through the eyes of customs and the ways of thinking of the society (Senu.1971:25). *Adat* itself appears to be influenced by the past and present religions of the Malays, but there is a considerable portion of it which appears to be unique and quite unrelated to their faith. The influence of *adat* has waned, but is still considerable in the more conservative rural areas, where most Malays live.

Formality and ritual rate very high in the Malay concept of values. What is formal is proper. To depart from formality is considered unbecoming, rude and deserving of misfortune or punishment by God and man (Mahathir.1982:187). This is essentially a conservative attitude. It does not condone innovations. It is also does not encourage change and inventiveness. As religion is the main basis of the Malay system of values, it is natural that virtue and wisdom are synonymous with religious piety. To be learned in religion is good, admirable and worthy of respect. Hedonism is not part of the Malay ethic. Life is transient; '*Dunia ini hanya pinjaman, ke akhirat juga sudahnya*' (The world is a temporary, the world afterlife is permanent).

Fatalism is part of the Malay characteristic and as this attitude is dominant, the will to live and to struggle for a better life can never be very strong. This fatalism is very much in evidence everywhere and greatly affects the whole Malay value concept; '*Malang tak dapat ditolak, mujur tak dapat diraih*' (There is no fending off bad luck: there is no scooping in good fortune), '*Asal kuda itu kuda juga; dan keldai itu keldai juga*' (If you are born a horse, a horse you are; and if you are born a donkey, a donkey you are) (Mahathir.1982:188). It makes acceptance of everything, whether good or bad, possible with unprotesting tolerance and resignation. It does not encourage any great effort to change. It also does not encourage resistance and does not engender a rebellious spirit. Failure is accepted with resignation; '*Untung sabut timbul, untung batu tenggelam*' (Husk is destined to swim, stone is destined to sink). The effect of this resignation to fate is to relegate the struggle for worldly goods to a low priority. Pride in working to one's utmost ability and capacity is not common. Nor is there any great admiration for the man who refuses to give up working because of a handicap or because of old age '*Ulat dalam batu pun boleh hidup*' (Even the grubs in the rocks manage to exist). The correct and acceptable attitude is one of sad recognition of the limitations of one's capacity and a willingness to submit to these limits. There should be visible sympathy from others for less fortunate. This is an admired and common trait among Malays.

Life is related to time. Life and time are inseparable. If life is valued, time must also be valued. Unfortunately this relationship between life and time does not seem to be appreciated by the Malays. Life is valuable but time is not. Time

is completely disregarded. This can be seen in the Malay saying as '*janji Melayu*' (Malay promises). Age, for example is extremely flexible. The average Malay is vague about his own age and any guess by him is likely far in excess of actuality. This is because age is venerated and a man or a woman must claim to be older than he or she is. Disregard for time is seen in the careless way in which it is spent. Doing nothing, or sipping coffee, or talking is almost a Malay national habit (Mahathir.1982:193). An invitation to a *kenduri* in a *kampong* is invariably for an indefinite time. One may arrive at any time, eat at any time, and leave at any time '*Biar lambat asal selamat*' (Be slow if you like as long as you get there) (Brown.1959:194). No one ever arrives on time for a meeting but once started there is no limit to the time it can last. When there is no awareness of time, there can be no planning and work is never reliable. Mahathir says that;

A community which is not conscious of time must be regarded as a very backward society. What is more, it will remain a backward society. It can never achieve anything on its own and it can never be expected to advance and catch up with superior time-conscious civilizations (1982:193).

There is no doubt that the Malay failure to value time is one of the most important handicaps to its progress. The attitude to life and time represents a contradiction in the Malay value system. On the one hand life is valued highly yet on the other, time, is not highly valued. Time is wasted and by extension life is wasted too. This is the way time is treated by the Malays. The Malay ethical values will be elaborated in detail in chapter three.

Parent-adolescents relationships, too, have created a gap of misunderstanding among the Westerners. What kind of family discipline and control best meet the adolescent's need? The issue of the Malay family structure will be elaborated in detail in chapter three. Nevertheless, in this chapter, it is wise to introduce in general the structure of the Malay family. There are four patterns of family control (Rice.1999:416). The first is the authoritarian control where the parents make any decisions relevant to the adolescents. Second is the democratic control where decisions are made jointly by the parent and adolescent. Third is the permissive control where the adolescent has more influence in making decisions than does the parent and finally the erratic where control is inconsistent, sometimes authoritarian, sometimes democratic, sometimes permissive.

The usual effect of autocratic control is to produce a combination of rebellion and dependency. The adolescents are expected to follow their parents' demands and decisions without question and not to try to decide things for themselves. In spite of rejection and weaknesses by many developed countries, especially the Westerners, the concept of authoritarian parents is still very well accepted in the Malaysian culture. The Western community perhaps found it hard to understand this concept as there is no equivalence to this in the Western world view. The adolescents life have been controlled by their parents for many years and their social problems were generally discussed and handled by them without concern for the adolescent opinion or views. Even though some problems will be

discussed and shared among their community, the parents prefer to keep their children's problems within the boundary of theirs rather than discuss them in public because the parents are fully responsible for whatever happens and it is a disgrace to let others know of their problems even their relatives (Yaacob Harun.1991:32).

The world of the Malay adolescents is relatively connected to the structure of the Malay social system. The parent-adolescents' relationships are not based on friendship, which is a well-accepted system in most western countries. Parents especially the father always has the power of authority and the children must obey, respect and fear them, and the mother accentuates this father-image by threatening a disobedient child with his father's wrath (Farid M. Onn.1986:103). Thus, respect for the elders and filial piety are well imbued and inculcated as among the highest virtues in the traditional Malay family. So the statement that parents and adolescents are simultaneously facing an authority crisis is a rare occurrence in the Malay society;

Parents hate to lose authority. For years their children have depended upon them for everything: their physical and emotional needs and guidance and advice. Now the adolescents strive for independence, for the right to govern their own lives and to make their own decisions. Parents have difficulties changing the pattern of child guidance that was developed over the years... (Rice.1999:401).

The father's duty is to give protection to his family, and to oversee and guide the children. In the traditional Malay family, the parents act as an agent of progressive education (not talking about the formal education system in school), which involves the learning process on skills, moral values and culture. The society expects parents and the elders to set examples and become models of behavior and embodiment of the values of the society. The father plays a major role in constructing and developing the shape of the family. There are two steps in the process of social learning in the Malay society. The first step is the children learn by experience, example, and praise not punishment and admonition (Farid M. Onn.1986: 103). When the children make mistakes they will be scolded, be admonished and have to promise not to repeat the mistake. Physical punishment like caning can only be done if the problems involve bad behaviors like lying, stealing, disrespect parents and the community (Tham Seong Chee.1979:99-100). The next is when the children reach puberty the parents are responsible in preparing the children with the survival knowledge for their future preparations when they grow up. The girls are taught to cook, cleaning and baby sit while the boys will learn everything that men do to earn a living. In general, the children will inherit the knowledge learned from their parents and the cycle of heritage continues for centuries. Any knowledge that conflicts with the family norms and belief will be neglected. As long as the children are still living under one roof with their parents or not married, they must follow the parents' tradition. At one point, the knowledge and the heritage from the parents are valuable for the adolescents' future. The safety of the young are protected and secured. They

can become more independent and capable of controlling their future living. On the other hands this approach also has a negative impact on the process of adolescent's development. Too much protection and control by the parents could make the adolescent become too vulnerable and unable to be independent. The situation sometimes could create confusion and misjudgment among adolescent. For example, when the girl is married, she will live with the husband's family where the life style is sometimes different from her norms and upbringing. She probably will experience a cultural shock. Sometimes it will create dismay and disorder in the structure of family.

The value system and ethical code therefore determine the success or failure of corrective measures. This phenomenon is significantly similar to the interpretation of oppression in the Theatre of the Oppressed; "s/he who has lost the right to express his or her wills and needs, and is reduced to the condition of obedient listener of a monologue". Lack of acknowledgement and freedom due to cultured restrictions and norms have made the Malaysian adolescent experience a great deal of emotional oppression. This situation is as David Diamond the director of Headlines Theatre, a company that employs forum theatre describes;

When individuals don't express themselves emotionally for long periods of time, they get sick; communities are the same. One way for our communities to heal is for all of us to take back our rights of healthy collective expression (1994:35).

By and large, the Malay value system and code of ethics are impediments to their progress and the researcher believes that efforts are needed to destroy the old ways and replace them with a new ideas and values. Mahathir Mohamad in his book *The Malay Dilemma*, stressed that there is no other way to change and help rehabilitate the Malay but to face boldly the pain of self-examination, the admission that one is wrong and the acceptance that the cure lies in the rejection of some ideas and concepts no matter how dear to the heart they may be. Traditional politeness has apparently failed (1982:172). However the Malay society is very cynical about changing its traditions and beliefs. They are too sensitive and inflexible in terms of changing their habit and norms. Mahathir also emphasized that this critical analysis and evaluation of the value system of the Malays is painful and fraught with danger of causing either an inferiority complex or excuses for past failures.

A more tolerable approach is the only way to solve the problem. One way to cope with the problem is by allowing the adolescents a temporary freedom to voice their emotion through theatre. Playing through theatre engages the whole body, mind and spirit. It gives them the opportunity to use their imagination to practice living without being punished for making mistakes as they might be if they did the same thing in everyday situations (Sprague in Karp.1998:248). By taking other roles, we can understand ourselves, other people and the world we are living in. Theatre stimulates spontaneity and creativity. In the theatre anything is possible: surplus reality allows the adolescents to experience what did not

happen in real life and to create new realities (Casson in Karp.1998: 72). By using a medium of playing in the Forum Theatre, the Malay, especially the adolescents, are able to discuss their problems. Forum Theatre moves beyond language into action and emotion and provides the opportunity for the person to be both actor and audience, and so reflect on the experience and thereby strengthen their critical faculties.

The Forum Theatre will be the experimental approach chosen for the research. This research will look at Forum Theatre as a medium or tool for adolescents to discuss and express their emotions and responses to social problems creatively and critically. The researcher believes that the Forum Theatre approach can be a way to alleviate adolescents' problems. However, the idea of using theatre as a medium for social change would be considered as unacceptable in Malaysian society. Despite this the researcher still believes that it can be achieved as long as the approach is properly applied. The way to prove the hypotheses is by conducting a workshop with appropriate participants. In this case, the researcher has decided to conduct the experiment with problematic adolescents in rehabilitation centres in various regions of Malaysia. There are eight rehabilitation centres in Malaysia known as the Tunas Bakti Schools (STB) and two of them have been chosen; one in Melaka and another is in Kota Kinabalu Sabah (map 1.2). These two STBs were specially chosen basically because of their past achievement records. For example the STB in Melaka has

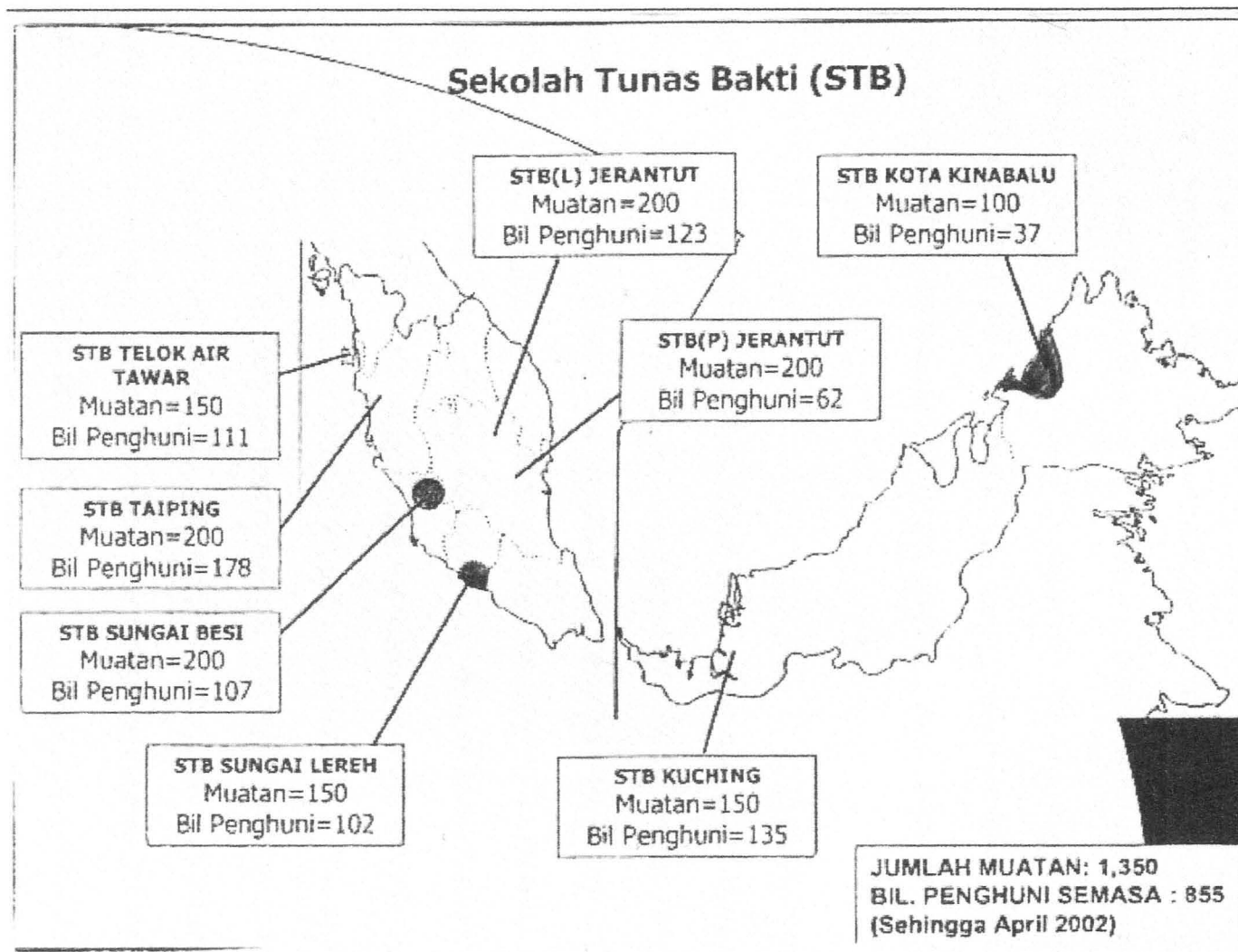
been recognised as the best rehabilitation centre in Malaysia due to its high achievements in the rehabilitation of its inmates. The STB in Kota Kinabalu has been granted a new building which means that it can claim to have the best facilities and equipment for the inmates of all the STBs. The STB is especially built for the problematic adolescents aged between 11 to 18 years old and administered through the guidelines provided by the Children's Act of 2001 and the Approved Schools Regulations of 1981. Admission into the school is also based on the Children's Act of 2001, Sections 46 and 90. The main purpose of the establishment of the centre is to encourage the juvenile delinquents to develop positive characteristics; to be well-disciplined, responsible, educated and skilled. This is achieved by installing good moral and behavioral values such as honesty, caring, and teamwork. These values are seen as important in helping the delinquents to return to the real world once the term of their sentence is up. The inmates can be released from this rehabilitation centre on two conditions; a probationary license (quite similar to a probationary term for prisoners) and the completion of their term of sentence of 3 years. The maximum period of rehabilitation is not more than 3 years and depends on the ruling of the court. It is also based on the inmates' positive development and self-improvement, assessed by a counsellor appointed by the Department of National Unity and Social Development, who comes to the centre once a month. The school also elects a Visitation Board, which consists of 18 members elected by the Ministry of National Unity and Social Development. The responsibilities of this Board include overseeing the administration of the school, assisting in the planning of

the rehabilitation program and making suggestions pertaining to its administration. The centers have strict rules. Outsiders with the exception of parents are not allowed to enter the centers unless they have written permission from the Department of National Unity and Social Development of Malaysia.

There are reasons for choosing the STBs for the research. The first is related to one of the main characteristics of Forum Theatre, which is that the participants must be part of a homogenous group and the inmates in the STB are known to be problematic and the inmates have been involved in many similar juvenile crimes. Secondly, the researcher believes that the rehabilitation centre is a place where most potential injustice occurs towards adolescents. Some of the adolescents in the detention centers are not even delinquents. They are juveniles in need of supervision who are wards of the court because their parents can't care for them, won't care for them or shouldn't care for them (Rice.1999:266). While they are being punished, 'rehabilitated' or 'corrected', they are exposed to hundreds of other delinquents who spend their time running their own behavior modification program to shape additional antisocial and delinquent behavior. The influence, therefore, is negative not positive. Detention centers have many critics. Dreyful writes;

The most talked about institution, and certainly one of the biggest failures is the system of juvenile detention and juvenile court...the officers in charge were often harsh and unsympathetic, and occasionally dangerous (1976:105).

Map 1. 2 Schools of Tunas Bakti (STB) in Malaysia



Some people consider that all delinquents are responsible for their actions, and that they should therefore be punished and put in the detention centers for their crimes. The more severely they are punished, the less likely they are to repeat the crime. In fact, it is found that while this is sometimes successful, many delinquents are made worse by punishment. The researcher considers that punishment alone will not solve the problem or make the delinquents better citizens but will create misunderstanding between the two generations. The punishment will be seen as a weapon of hatred used by the adults against the adolescent. As adolescents, they will never fully understand the consequences of their acts. They believe that what they do is right without ever thinking of its wider social consequences. Unless they are made aware of the consequences of their bad behavior and how it affects the society, the adolescents will repeatedly make the same mistake and as a result, they will be repeatedly punished. This is what the researcher terms as the Vicious Chain of Offence (**Chart 1.3**).

What they need is a clear explanation of the consequences of their bad behavior towards society. Others regard crimes as primarily due to psychological complexes, which should be treated by psychoanalysis. Some reformers believe in treating the delinquents humanely in the hope of appealing to their better feelings, so that they may be wooed from anti-social tendencies back to a more useful life. Others say that the delinquent has no better feelings to appeal to, and the sooner society rids itself of the pest the better. The various forms of treatment

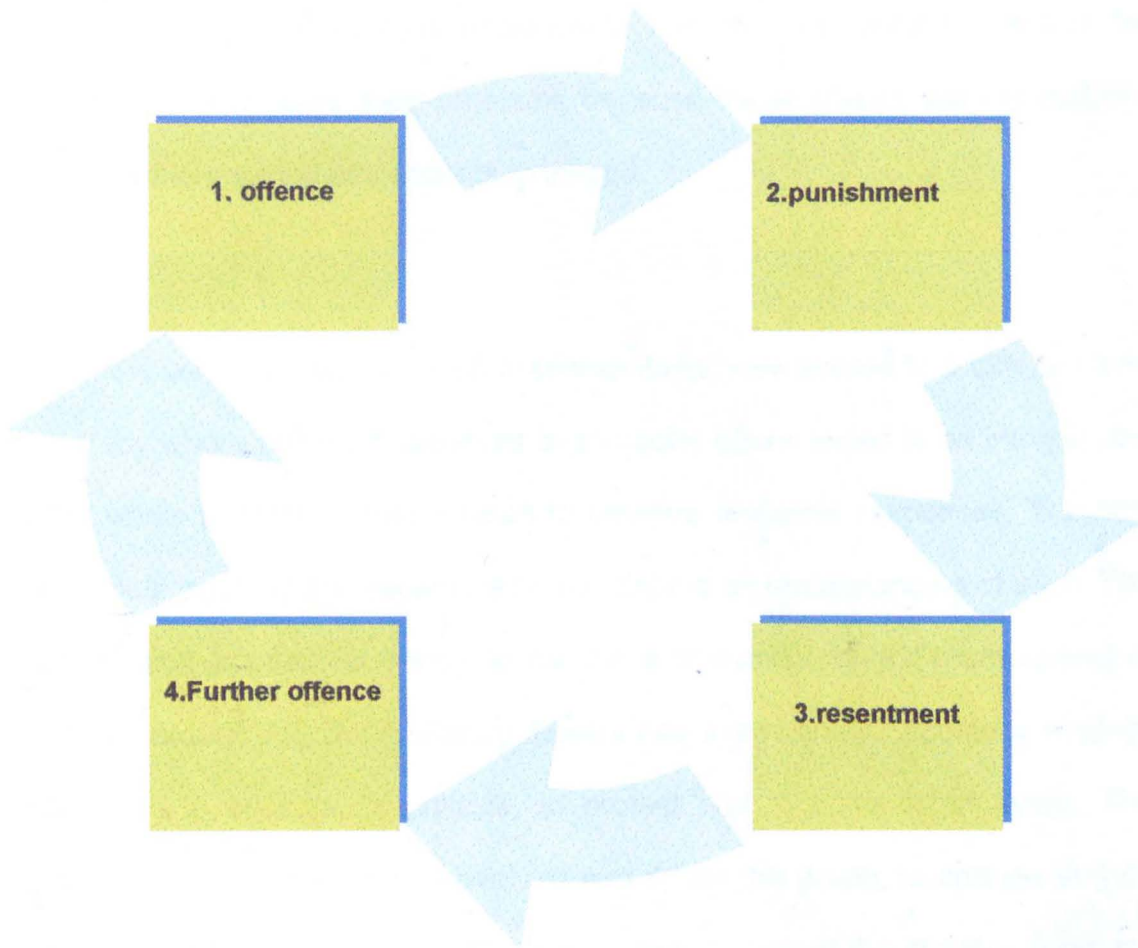
are effective in some cases, but none of them is universally applicable. Punishment is remedial in some cases, and does harm in others. Humane treatment, which succeeds in winning back some to decent citizenship is simply wasted on others who take advantage of it. We must discriminate between the types of delinquency before we can treat them adequately;

Better to allow free discussion and debate and one may find quite serious thinking and grave misgivings in intelligent youth. (H. Edelston.1964: 17)

What has been stated by Edelston can only be true if the adolescents themselves are given the chance to speak for themselves. Only they know best what is going on within themselves. Adults can only guess at the problems and give suggestions for solutions based on their own experiences as adolescents. A senior Probation Officer from Leeds, Myra Morice has suggested that the way to help delinquents is by advising, giving assistance and also befriending the troubled adolescents;

Our adolescents are in conflict with themselves and others and our responsibility to them is defined by law- namely that we *advise, assist and befriend* them,...it is necessary for us to keep a balance between the order of the Court and the need of the individual (1964: 65).

Chart 1.3 The Vicious Circle of Offence



How could we as adults advise and assist them if we do not know the needs of the individual especially the adolescent? How can we befriend with them if deep in our heart, we still treat them and see them as a threat to our culture? Putting the troubled adolescents into the rehabilitation centers for example, will not solve their problems because these places are not suitable places for the troubled adolescents to inhabit.

It is very important for such adolescents to have access to a different kind of therapy where putting themselves in someone else's shoes is an integral part of the whole process in that it helps to develop empathic responses. The best way to help troubled adolescents is by developing an understanding of them. The best solution appears currently to be the employment of a Forum approach because, around the world, Forum theatre has increasingly become a medium with which to educate, to criticize, to protest and to unite communities. The function of Forum theatre has evolved and it has the power to change and be changed. In conclusion, Forum Theatre is seen as one of the suitable approach to deal with adolescents' problems because of its flexibility and openness. The process and approach used in the Forum are although serious but more relax and enjoyable. Forum Theatre is a form of discussion that involved activities and non-violent physical exercises or games which demand the participants themselves to discuss their problems and finding solutions to the problem. As Haas, a psycho-dramatist, points out;

Groups can receive information regarding a problem and fail to process it in such a way that it brings about understanding. Oftentimes, people are hesitant to voice their opinion in a public gathering, but when the format is a forum, most people talk more freely (1949:161).

Nonetheless, the forum approach used in this research has been modified as the original forum created by Boal is believed to be unsuitable to the need and culture of the Malaysian. Several other therapeutic approaches which seem suitable have been adapted to this new forum approach. As the researcher has some knowledge on Psychodrama and Playback Theatre techniques, these two techniques will be adapted into the forum approach. To make it more understandable and clearer, besides forum, there will also be discussions on other therapeutic approaches like psychodrama and playback theatre which have been adapted to the modified forum approach.

The Purpose of the Research

The traditional social structure in the Malay society, which is very much influenced by *adat*, not only makes the society uncompetitive and passive but also does not allow adolescents to be involved in the discussion of their social problems. Problem-solving is always considered to be the responsibility of parents or adults who, in the researcher's opinion do not remember the emotions unique to adolescents. The adolescents have been kept aside and their voices and opinions neglected in relation to their own social problems. The purpose of the research is to see whether the adapted Forum Theatre approach are able to

liberate the Malay especially the adolescents in term of voicing their dissatisfaction in the face of the stricter norms and culture of silence that has bounded the society for centuries. Forum theatre approach can provide the opportunity for the adolescents to speak for themselves, voice their emotions and feelings in a proper and safe way and at the same time give alternatives and solutions to their problems. By having a forum workshop and performances, adolescents' opinion and expression will be heard and acknowledged by adults.

Chapter Division

The thesis is divided into five chapters, which will focus in depth on the issues within each topic. The first chapter is an introduction of the whole research in this thesis which explains in brief every issue discussed in each chapter. In the first chapter, there is a general discussion on the dilemma of the Malay traditional system of culture and norms that has been developed for centuries which has affected their way of life. The problem does not stop there but also affects their adolescent development. The researcher briefly criticizes some of the customs (*adat*) that he feels have caused Malays, and especially adolescents, to be incompetent and silent. The researcher has also quotes several opinions from various sources to support his ideas. The discussion of controversial issues relating to Malay customs will be elaborated in detail in chapter three. Nevertheless the introduction on the issue in this chapter will enable the reader to have a basic idea and understand the problems that have restrained Malay society especially Malay adolescents. In this chapter too, the researcher

expressed his uncertainty of the original forum approach which he believes is not appropriate for the use in the Malaysian context and may needs some adjustment. Some of the therapeutic processes are appropriate for application within the forum approach. Other therapeutic approaches such as Psychodrama, and Playback Theatre will be briefly discussed as they share the same purposes as the forum approach.

Forum Theatre has been successfully performed in European countries under the guise of 'Power Play', 'Therapy Play', 'Theatre of Revolution' and 'Theatre for Social Change'. However the Theatre of the Oppressed, especially the Forum Theatre, is generally unknown in Malaysian society and the approach will need to be introduced and explained in some detail. The historical background of Theatre of the Oppressed (TO), as well as its components such as Image Theatre, Forum Theatre, Invisible Theatre, the Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre will be discussed in the second chapter. The idea of introducing all the components in the Theatre of the Oppressed is that the structure and the fundamental principals of the Theatre of the Oppressed have to be understood before the forum approach can be applied in the society. By having a comprehensive description of the Theatre of the Oppressed in this chapter, the Malaysian reader will be able to understand the technique and approach in a deeper sense. Furthermore, among the local theatre practitioners, this information will be a valuable reference for them in applying the approach in future.

As the research is about the implementation of the forum approach with adolescents, an understanding of the development of adolescents is necessary, especially an understanding of Malay adolescents. It is very unwise to have a workshop without having a clear awareness of the culture targeted. A considerable amount of knowledge about the culture of the society and the sub-group is important as this will help in the practical workshop. The success of any Forum activities depends on such research preparation. In relation to some of the Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia that have their own culture and ways of thinking, which are very different from those of the Western, Europe or North and South America, the nature of the targeted participants must also be understood because the social thinking and physical development are clearly different between communities. Singapore, a neighbouring country to Malaysia, for example, claims to have its own Forum Theatre group called 'Drama Box'. It is a full-time Mandarin Theatre Company. It has three main areas of work: "Main Stage", "Private Rooms", and "Cell Projects". In Singapore, the State Government does not fund Forum Theatre and it was not used in public performance. However, in 2001, Drama Box started to use the technique in public with "Private Rooms", their series of Community Theatre productions which toured Singapore's housing estates, and performed in open spaces. In December 2002, the Company collaborated with two youth and elderly groups to explore issues on the inter-generational gap. The project culminated in a forum theatre production that toured seven housing estates in Singapore. "Cell Projects" were their initiatives in schools, which not only included performances,

but also workshops using techniques of Cops-In-the Head, Rainbow of Desire, and Forum Theatre. From Oct 2002 to June 2003, Drama Box initiated a radio forum theatre programme. Aired on one of Singapore's most popular Mandarin radio station in prime time for one hour every weekday, listeners heard a short anti-model, and then telephoned to forum the piece. Issues touched on included domestic violence, price hikes, union and workers relationships, and the education system. Nevertheless, as they lack knowledge of other communities, most of their activities focus on their own ethnic group, the Chinese community. In this case the focus community is Malay adolescents.

Due to that, in the third chapter discussions will focus on some general theories of adolescent behavior and development from several perspectives and fields. The discussion will not be intended to explore in detail the theories of adolescent development or to give judgments on the relevance of each theory. Nevertheless, knowledge of the theories of adolescent development will allow the reader to understand the complexity of adolescence. Even though there are several positive theories about adolescent development there have not diminished the negative perception among adults. The world of adolescents is confusing and complex and differs between countries. This can be seen in many articles written by scholars that condemn adolescents for being rebellious and spoilt. As being explained earlier, this chapter will discuss in detail the Malay traditional social structure which has been briefly introduced in the first chapter. The understanding of the Malay family structure and some of the traditional

social customs practiced by most Malays which contribute to the existence of a culture of silence is crucial in order to understand the nature of the Malay adolescents' development. It is necessary to locate them within the structure of the Malay social system.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the methodology of the research and takes the form of a case study of research in the field. This chapter describes researcher's preparation, programme planning, group training and the process of the Forum Theatre workshops with troubled adolescents in the two rehabilitation centers known as Sekolah Tunas Bakti (STB) in Malaysia; one in Melaka and another is in Kota Kinabalu. At this stage the adapted approach is used in order to ascertain its appropriateness and effectiveness in relation to the targeted participants. The findings will be discussed in the final chapter.

Finally, in the last chapter, the data gathered in the workshops will be analyzed to determine the reception of the approach by the society and especially by the adolescents. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the suggested approach in coping with the highlighted issue or problem and with the Malay social traditional customs will also be examined. Where necessary, some adjustment will be made to make the adapted approach appropriate for the Malaysian context. The outcome will provide a model for Malaysians interested in applying the technique in future.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

STAGE 1: Preparation

At this stage, a library and internet research has been conducted to gather the data required. As written references to the actual process of the Forum Theatre are very limited; most of the references are on the experiences gained from workshops by various practitioners around the world. The researcher has to establish contacts with several other practitioners to gain more information on the subject and has made contact with the International Theatre of the Oppressed.

There are some materials that have to be collected from Malaysia especially those relating to Malaysian society. To understand the Malay society and the culture of silence that has bound the society for years, a discussion on the Malay society especially the Malays' traditional system (*adat*) is important to identify the significance of the system to the Malay community and how the system contributed to the Malay problems especially in the case of adolescents. The researcher will also discuss several modern theories on adolescent development as these two issues are inter-related.

Besides studying the Forum Theatre technique, the researcher will study several other therapeutic approaches as it will be beneficial to construct a Forum approach appropriate to the Malaysian context and will be useful for the workshop. This is not to say that the original Forum approach is unacceptable for the Malaysian society. It is because writings on the original Forum are lacking in

valuable information, especially instructions regarding the process of implementing the approach. By studying various kinds of therapeutic approaches, the researcher will understand better the inter-relation between these approaches and, at the same time, be able to adapt any suitable therapeutic processes to support his Forum method. Already in the research, the researcher has decided to adapt some approaches such as Psychodrama, and Playback Theatre as he has some experiences of these two approaches.

STAGE 2: Programme Planning and Preparation for the workshop

As all the data required has been gathered, the next step is to prepare and plan the programme schedule for the workshop. The chosen subjects of study will be the problematic adolescents of the two different Tunas Bakti Schools (rehabilitation centers) in Malaysia. The two Tunas Bakti Schools chosen for the research are in Melaka and Sabah. The first thing that the researcher needs to do is to set up contact with the chosen rehabilitation centers available. The researcher will need to gather as much information about the inmates in the two rehabilitation centers in which the Forum Theatre will take place to understand the problems faced by them and foresee any difficulties which may arise from the environment. The collected information were carefully studied so that programme activities for the workshop can be planned and well-constructed in advanced. Other than that the researcher also needs to get the approval from the Department of National Unity and Social Development (JKMM). This must be done before a workshop can be held in any rehabilitation centre. The proposal for

each workshop will be handed to the Department of National Unity and Social Development.

The researcher will also gather a group of facilitators to help him conduct a workshop. It is best to have a group of actors or performers to help in the workshop as it involves a lot of acting activities. The idea of having a group of professional actors in a Forum activities seems to be contradicted with the actual Forum approach where Boal would prefer the participants (the ordinary people) to get involve directly and do the acting themselves. Nevertheless the situation in Malaysia is different where most people are reluctant to do the acting. The culture of silent that has dominated the society has made the problem even worse. People are too shy to get involve on stage and considered the action as part of showing-off. They too are more concerned on what other people would criticize on them if they are behaving abnormally (beyond the social acceptance). To get any volunteer participants to do the acting is impossible to accomplish. This is because the Malaysian believes that the world of acting or theatre performances only belong to a certain group of people which are the artists and the theatre practitioners. Only they can get involved in this kind of activity (Andika. 1995:103). Those who involve in theatre or choose acting as part of their living is normally seen by the society as 'uneducated' and 'not professional'. Sometimes these extreme accusations can be accepted because most of the theatre activists in Malaysia are amateurs and not very well educated. Those who are really professional in this field are small and can be counted. Even

though modern theatre performances in Malaysia have been practiced for more than 40 years, theatre is still searching its ground to be accepted as part of the Malaysian culture. For many Malaysian nowadays, theatre is treated as a medium of entertainment and it has no major beneficial to the social and economic development of the country.

One way to solve the problem is by employing a special group which has a basic acting knowledge or those who have been involved in acting as a part of their living. There are two alternatives to achieve this. The first alternative is by hiring a professional theatre group available in Malaysia or secondly, by establishing a special group of performers. The advantage of hiring a professional group is that it can save a lot of time, which can be spent on learning and practicing the approach. Furthermore, skills, creativity, experiences in acting and stage performances can help in developing the process of the forum technique. Most practitioners around the world who have been practicing the technique are undoubtedly professional, and also have established companies. A few examples are the *Special Effect Theatre: Mind the Gap* (Bradford, U.K), *Cardboard Citizens* (U.K), *Headlines Theatre* (Canada), *Tree Foundation* (Bangladesh) and *Centre for Applied Theatre* (USA), just to name a few.

Hiring a professional groups seem to solve the problem but there is still a problem in that it will cost a lot of money in terms of hiring and paying the actors'

salaries. To cope with the problem the researcher will need to obtain financial support either from the government or from private businesses or companies. A few institutions and companies have targeted for the financial support such as *Istana Budaya*, Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS), and Ministry of Culture and Tourism Malaysia. As the theatre culture is still new among the Malaysian, these approaches will need a lot of work and energy.

The second alternative is to establish a special group of performers for the forum workshop. This is a lot easier to accomplish as the researcher himself has already established a good relationship with a local amateur theatre group called *Kelab Teater Rimba (KTR)*; one of the few established university theatre groups in Malaysia. Contact has been made and some of the group members are interested in being involved in the project. The only problem is that the researcher needs to spend a lot of time to explain and teach the Forum approach to the group members as most of them are not familiar with the techniques and its processes.

STAGE 3: The Workshop Processes; The Therapeutic Module

According to the researcher's understanding from reading several references on the Forum approach, the process of the actual Forum Theatre can be divided into five stages; the warm-up, the Image Theatre activities, the presentation of the model, the intervention session, and finally the presentation of the model action of the future. This will be elaborated further in the second

chapter. Elements that make the Forum is different from other therapeutic approaches are the establishment of the Joker system and the existence of the spect-actors; the active audience. Forum Theatre is an interactive approach which involves a group of people, who share the same problems, they discuss their problems using the action methods and are responsible for making the decisions and suggesting solutions for their problems. Nevertheless, there is little explanation and description of the approach especially regarding the process. Not many published references can be found on this particular issue. Most of the references available are simply descriptions of workshops undertaken by various practitioners and the approaches practiced vary from one place to another. Based on that perspective, the researcher believes that some appropriate adjustment need to be made to the approach to suit the Malaysian culture. Boal's model of Forum Theatre was constructed based on his experiences in Latin America;

'The Latin America experience had led me to construct a model ideal for Latin America...' (1992:224).

Even in the subsequent attempts to apply the theory by many theatre practitioners in other countries especially in Europe, changes and adjustment have had to be made to the approach to suit the needs and the culture of the local community. Boal himself in his book *Games For Actors and Non-actors*, allowed for changes and said that the alteration was unavoidable;

...while remaining true to the fundamental principles of the Theatre of the Oppressed..., Boal continues to invent new exercises and adapt old ones...he raid traditional games in whatever country he finds them, changes them if necessary to suit his particular goals... and, as befits a form of theatre which is now over twenty years old, there are many different manifestations of it in operation all over the world. It is used in schools, factories, day centres, community centres.... (Jackson, A. 1992: xxiii & xxi).

The researcher must therefore construct an approach that is appropriate for the situation and culture of Malaysian society. In addition, the researcher will adapt two other therapeutic approaches which he is familiarize with to enrich the Forum process. These approaches are considered beneficial to be adapted into the new forum approach because they can help to encounter the culture of silent that has bound the Malaysian especially the Malay. Their significant relation with the new adapted forum approach will be elaborated in detail in the final chapter. The first approach chosen is the Playback Theatre. Playback Theatre and Theatre of the Oppressed are similar yet different. The researcher sees each form as coming into the house from a different door but meeting in a common living room. Whereas Playback is first about the teller and her/his story, Theatre of the Oppressed emphasis the social stratum. Although both forms are concerned with how the personal meets the social, they begin their explorations from opposite sides of the house. Both techniques are considered interactive theatre because audience members do not only watch but interact with the action on stage, and both forms use personal story and improvisation as their base. Another key resemblance is how readily the two forms use image and sculpture

to reflect back feelings and elements of the story. To the lay person, Playback and Theatre of the Oppressed can look very similar. Both forms share a commitment to the language of theatre as a tool for transformation. Both have a cadre of community building games and exercises, which also serve to bring the body, voice, and emotions alive. Both use physical imagery or human sculptures to invite the expression of truth. Yet, there are fundamental differences, which sometimes make the forms seem antithetical in intention. A simple way to define the difference between Playback and Theatre of the Oppressed is as follows: Playback Theatre "serves" the teller; Theatre of the Oppressed "uses" the teller. When it comes to personal story, Playback has a pure and sacred quality, which is unparalleled. Focusing more on the individual, it allows one person's story to be heard, shared, and honoured. That is Playback's greatest strength. Focusing more on the group, Theatre of the Oppressed shines as a social exploration. The individual's story becomes a springboard for the collective wisdom. When a "spect-actor" steps into someone's story, they can't help but bring their own story into the discussion. It is also unabashedly action oriented and a very powerful problem-solving device. Theatre of the Oppressed most famous structure, Forum Theatre, is sometimes referred to as a rehearsal for the future.

Alternating the Playback form with Theatre of the Oppressed allowed for a rich and revealing experience. The technique was devised by Jonathan Fox in 1975 in which ordinary people act out the stories of their community

(Salas.2000:288). It is an improvisational theatre which honors personal stories and is performed by a group of professional actors. Unlike classic comedy improvisation, Playback does not aim strictly for entertainment. A story may be funny, thoughtful, sad or even tragic. Playback is spontaneous. There is no script. The Playback actors are usually trained in performing the improvised scenes. Playback affirms the uniqueness, importance and dignity of a person's own experience. It enables people to view their lives in new ways. Playback Theatre could help practitioners understand other people better by witnessing each others' stories and can also help to develop connections and counter-act feelings of isolation and alienation.

The second approach chosen is Psychodrama technique developed by Jacob L. Moreno, where people enact scenes from their lives, dreams or fantasies in an effort to express unexpressed feelings, gain new insights and understandings, and practice new and more satisfying behavior (Garcia.2000:162). These approaches will only be used in the workshop as part of the Image Theatre components activities where they will be used to enact several stories, helping the inmates in coping with their own weaknesses such as shyness, which will help the researcher to identify and better understand the inmates' problems.

The Forum approach constructed for the workshops in Melaka and Kota Kinabalu, Sabah is designed as a one-week process. The therapeutic process of the forum will be divided into three general phases; The Warm-up Session, The

Forum Activities, and The Performance. Each phase has different stages; The Warm-up has two sessions; the General Introduction and The Introduction to Theatre of the Oppressed. There are several significant functions for warm-ups and the practitioners must have clear objectives in conducting them. In a workshop, the warm-ups are used to stimulate the creativity and spontaneity of group members, to facilitate interactions within the group, to increase a sense of trust and belonging and finally to help the participants to focus on certain issues or problems which they may wish to address in the workshop. The introduction consists of self introduction between the members of the company and the inmates, the introduction to a basic theatre games. The Introduction to Theatre of the Oppressed activities will be used as warm-ups and also can be a platform for the group members to decide what issues they wish to explore. It has several stages. In the first stage the inmates are free to sculpt several images with no specific theme. They are allowed to create any group images they like, for examples, an image of a group of people playing soccer or an image of a battlefield.

The idea is to familiarize the inmates with the activity and also to encourage them to be creative and innovative. After a while, the inmates will do the Image activity that is more structured, and more thematic. The inmates can decide on any specific issue that they want to focus on. The activity will be based on the structure designed for the purpose known as the *Image of Power Over (Oppression)* (Table 1.5).

Table 1.4 The Model Structured for the Workshop in Malaysia

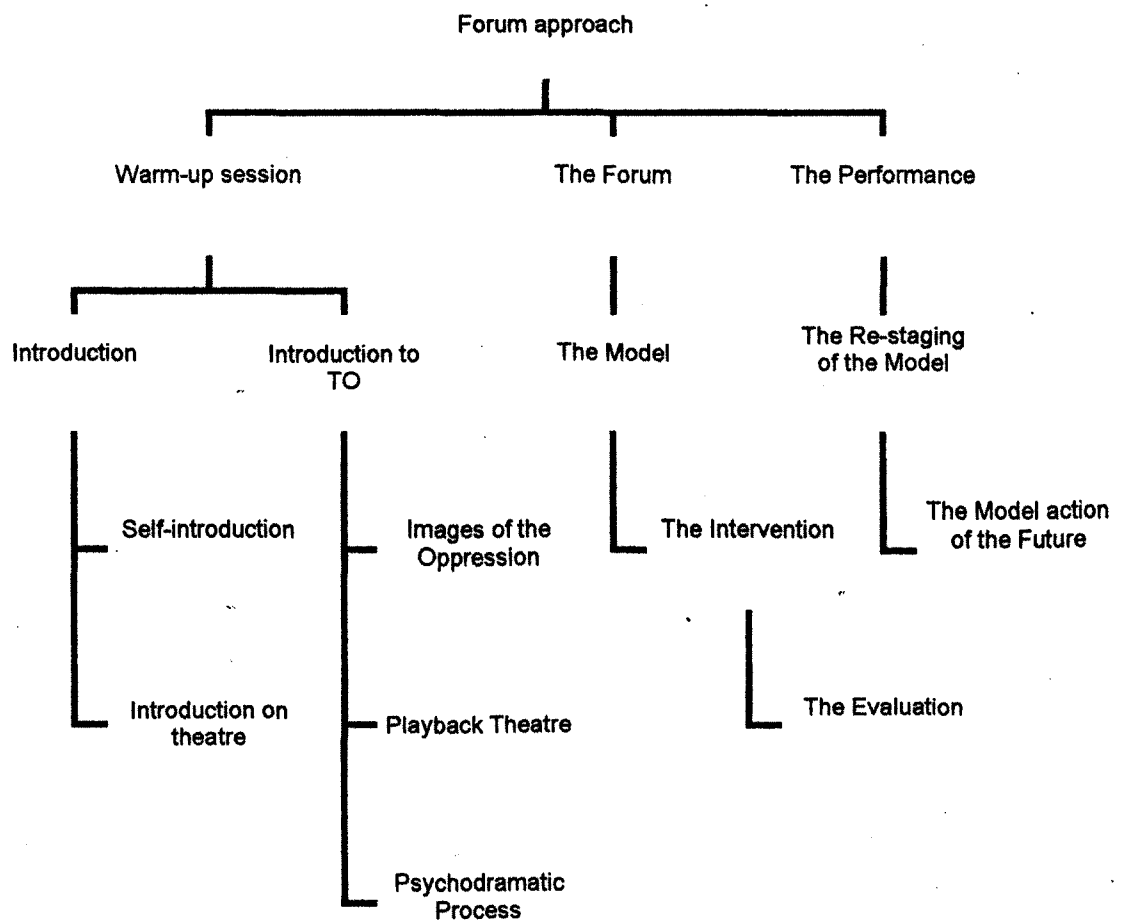


Table 1.5

Images of the Power-Over The event comprises 10 images portraying oppression or potentially oppression situations.	
WHO	This is the list of how many people need in the scene, their ages, their relationship to one another, and relevant background material. The participants can use their own names to avoid confusion.
WHAT	This is the actual content of the scene, and each participant should approach it in term of his or her WHO. However, this section can be modified to meet the specific needs of the group and its experiences with the issues presented.
WHERE	The scene takes places in this suggested location
THE 10 SCENES	It can be any scenes that related to social problems. The issue suggested should reflect the need and the situation of the participants involve in the workshop. It is better if the issues suggested come from the participants.

From those images, any inmates will be allowed to tell their stories to the rest of the group, while the actors will spontaneously enact the story. The inmates will have a chance to see their stories being enacted. A volunteer among the inmates will become a protagonist. The protagonist will then tell his or her experience based on the identified issue. This is to enhance the amount and quality of the story enacted. The story will be performed spontaneously by the

actors. This method is taken from the Playback technique (Salas, Jo. 2000:288) where two chairs are set up on the side, facing an empty space. One chair is for the Conductor (who is similar to the Joker), the other is for a volunteer inmate, later known as protagonist, who wants to tell his or her story. Across the back of the stage area, five members of the company who will become the actors, sit on chairs. Upstage, there is collection of large fabric pieces and some hand props for the actors to use as elemental costumes and props. The researcher himself will acts as the Conductor and invites volunteers among the inmates to come and tell a story. Seated beside the protagonist, the Conductor asks several questions to find out what happened- all from the protagonist's point of view. The Conductor asks him or her to choose actors to play the key roles. The actors stand up as they are chosen, not acting yet but preparing inwardly as they listen to the rest of the story. The interview ends and the Conductor hands the story over to the actors with an injunction: "Let's watch!". There is no discussion. The actors silently position themselves for the opening of the scene. The actors act out the story as accurately and creatively as they can. The Conductor and the protagonist watch from the side. When the scene is over, the actors pause in place, looking towards the protagonist. The Conductor invites the protagonist to comment. If the enactment was not true enough to the essence of the story to satisfy the protagonist, the Conductor may ask the actors to redo some or all of it, incorporating the teller's corrections. The scene can be repeated several times until the protagonist feels that the actors have presented the proper 'reality'.

The next activity is more focused where an issue related to the inmates lives will be enacted using several kind of psychodramatic processes taken from Moreno's Psychodrama like *the Empty Chair, Double, Mirror, Soliloquy* and *Role Reversal* (Appendix 2:Games). One inmate will become a protagonist and there are four ways to select a protagonist; *system selects the protagonist, director selects the protagonist, a group member volunteers to be the protagonist* and *the group selects the protagonist*. For the workshop, the inmates (group) will decide and choose one issue that they think could represent their situation or shared problem. The inmates will select one of their members to become the protagonist. One at a time the potential protagonists briefly speak about the issues they would like to explore in the drama. The Joker instructs the inmates to place a hand on the shoulder of the potential protagonist whose issue is closest to their own. The person who receives the most choices is the protagonist (Garcia.2000:183).

The second phases consist of two stages; the Forum and the Intervention session. This method will basically follow the rules that have been provided by Boal, however the actors will enact a play based on the issue chosen by the inmates. It is a short play of about half an hour. By using all the information gathered from the previous activities, the actors perform the play once in front of the inmates. In the second enactment the inmates are allowed to intervene, replace the protagonist and must give ideas and solution to the issue presented. The process can be repeated several times until all the inmates feel satisfied and

agree with the solution given. The solution agreed upon by the inmates is known as the *Model Action of the Future*. This model will be performed not by the actors but by the participants in the final phase of the Forum workshop.

Before the presentation of the *Model Action of the Future*, there is one important stage that is called as Evaluation session. It is the final stage of the workshop. This activity is very important because the inmates need to be taken back to the world of reality. In this session the inmates will be able to reflect on the activities, their involvement in the workshop and may express what are their feelings from watching the enactment. The Joker then can asks them to relate what they learned from the enactment and share their own experiences regarding the issue. The sharing is not a time for criticizing the acting of the enactors, nor is it a time for claiming that the portrayal was not true to life. Comment on other participants is also not allowed as it will affect the emotions of others.

The final phase of the Forum workshop is the Performance where the *Model Action of the Future* will be performed again, not by the actors but by the inmates on stage in front of a public audience. The style of performance will also be changed from a workshop type to a realistic performance. Any theatrical elements available in the STB's hall such as lighting, music; either live or recorded, basic setting and props and a basic costumes will be added to enrich the quality of the performance. This activity could help release the tension and

create enjoyment among the inmates after a long week of workshops. Another reason for doing the performance is to allow the STBs' administrative officers to evaluate the progress and development of the inmates involved and also to introduce the Forum approach to a wider audience. However this constructed approach cannot be claimed as the perfect approach to be used in the Malaysian context as it has yet not been tested. It is still in a trial process and is not fixed. The approach must be flexible and adjustable, depending on the current situation and the need in the STBs.

Stage 4; Reviews on the Efficacy of the Technique Employed and A Construction of an Approach Appropriate for the Malaysian Context.

All the data and the information gathered from the workshops will be reviewed and analyzed in detail especially the efficacy of the adapted approach to the participants. Any issues arising will be discussed and suggestions for solutions will be given at the end of each discussion. By reviewing the efficacy of the technique employed with troubled adolescents in the chosen rehabilitation centers in Malaysia the researcher will be able to identify the problems and weaknesses in the approach and make appropriate adjustment to improve the approach.

Conclusion

It is believed that some of the traditional Malay customs or *adat* are the cause for the Malay, especially the Malay adolescent, being incompetent, silent and inactive compared to other communities like the Chinese in Malaysia. Though not everybody will agree with this statement especially among the older generation, nevertheless this statement is not only coming from the researcher's point of view but has also been supported by other local scholars especially Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad and Musa Hitam, the previous Prime Minister and former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. Unlike Musa Hitam who is a soft spoken person, Mahathir has daringly voiced the issue in *The Malay Dilemma*, a controversial book that provoked and created mixed responses among millions of Malays when it was launched in 1970. He again voiced the similar problems in the last convention of the United Malay National Organizations (UMNO) Conference in the Putra World Trade Centre Kuala Lumpur in 2003. His opinions were however rejected and he himself did not suggest any solution to the problems. This has prompted the researcher to discover a better way of coping with the problems that will not provoke the sensitivity of the Malay.

In general, theatre is a powerful and efficient weapon that can be used in many ways. Theatre can be a weapon for liberation (Boal. 1979:ix). In Malaysia, people accepted the use of theatre as a medium of entertainment. What is been shown onstage however satirical will not make people angry or feel bad. The

people can still smile and enjoy the play. The researcher believes that this is the advantage that the theatre has. As the researcher has been involved in the Malaysian theatre for more than ten years, those experiences are valuable and very useful in this research. Theatre in Malaysia, instead of being a medium of entertainment only, can be manipulated to be used as a medium for social criticism and change. The use of theatre as a therapeutic approach for social change has never been experimented with before by any Malaysian in this country. That does not mean that it cannot be done. It should be experimented with otherwise no one will know its potential effect. Nevertheless, not every therapeutic approach is applicable for this purpose. A proper research is needed. The comprehensive practical research with the forum technique will help the researcher to understand the technique more and by adapting other therapeutic approaches into the forum technique, hopefully the approach can be used as an alternative method to cope with the invisible oppression which has bound the Malays especially the Malay adolescents for centuries. However, it cannot be said that the constructed approach used in this research will be fixed, more experiment will have to be conducted. Nevertheless, the approach constructed in this research can be used as a stepping stone in establishing a more appropriate forum approach that is suitable for the Malaysian context.

Chapter 2

Theatre of the Oppressed and the Forum Theatre

Historical Background

This chapter will describe in detail the development of the Theatre of the Oppressed, the Forum Theatre approach and its process. The aim is to establish an understanding of the structure and methodology of Forum Theatre and, most importantly, its content and performance. In 1971 Theatre of the Oppressed was introduced by the Brazilian theatre director, Augusto Boal. The existence of the Theatre of the Oppressed was much influenced by what was happening politically in Brazil and other neighbouring countries in South America and countries around the world. To gain a clearer perspective on the Theatre of the Oppressed, it is useful to understand the so-called 'era of development' and the associated development policies arising from this period which began after the Second World War. This 'era of development' saw the 'First World' under the guidance of the United States, which defined policies in relation to the former colonies, now generally called the 'underdeveloped' countries (Nogueira.2002:103). As part of the aim of 'helping to raise the standards of living', the proposal was to introduce to these countries Western models of development. 'The green revolution' was an example of a Western model of development implemented in many third world countries. The idea was that a new, mechanised plantation system based on cash-crop production for export should replace the previous 'backward' traditional agricultural techniques; where

small farmers were merely able to grow food for their family and community. When the new systems were introduced, instead of benefiting the communities, the results led to the expulsion of millions of people from their land and caused an unprecedented scale of hunger. The attempts to westernise the Third World through these development policies have benefited global trade but worsened the life quality on the planet and left two thirds of the world population living in poverty (Nogueira.2002: 104).

Starting in the 1950s, the 'Theatre for Development' (TFD) was used as a propaganda for colonial government development policies. For some authors, like Dale Byam, Theatre for Development represents an evolution in relation to the 'less interactive styles of popular theatre'. She characterises TFD by the increase of people's participation in the theatrical process where TFD aims to encourage the spectator in an analysis of the social environment through dialogue (Byam. 1999:12). For others like Zakes Mda, TFD is also identified with scripted plays performed to live audiences or broadcast over the radio, lacking people participation in the creation and in the performance. That is modes of theatre whose objectives is to disseminate development messages, or to conscientise communities about their objective social political situation (Mda. 1983: 48). This theatre was performed by the development workers to disseminate ideas such as immunisation, sanitation and cash crop production. The actors, performed for example, a fable in which the heroine (Cabbage) has a terrible enemy, the Dragon (a threatening insect). After many narrow escapes the

heroine is saved by the Prince (whose name was the insecticide that farmers were learning to use). The play was performed a few times and was very successful (Boal.1970:96-97). It was a top-down approach to identifying problems and prescribed solutions without consulting the communities. It was the technicians who identified the villagers' problem and decided on the solution. They contacted a theatre group and asked them to create a play about this problem and to perform it in the villages.

However, in the 1960s, due to the growth of the influences of Marxism among students in higher education, university students' groups took plays to rural villages and urban squatter areas as a form of 'cultural democratisation', making theatre accessible to the masses. On one side, it represented a reaction against the mainstream theatre, which was a commodity accessible only to a minority. On the other hand, the democratisation of theatre was related to a new understanding of the role of the working class in society. Based on Marxist philosophy, the working class, which was previously devalued and marginalised, was to be the revolutionary class, which would lead the society in overcoming capitalism. Agit-prop (agitation and propaganda theatre) is the clearest example of this type of theatre. Its aims were to inform, to educate and to mobilize to action by portraying the capitalist ruling group as oppressors. Theatre mobilization aimed to contribute to the process of building a socialist society. The agit-prop performances could break out of the limitations of theatre buildings, bringing widespread liberating messages to all geographical locations. In the

1970s, due to the growth of the influences of Paulo Freire's⁶ methodology and ideology especially in the pedagogy of the oppressed, instead of touring ready made performances, a new theatrical approach of theatre for development opted for more a participatory form. A different approach was proposed with a 'bottom-up' perspective, based on a principle of respect for the actual needs of the people and not for what was thought they needed (Kidd.1984: 5). That meant that instead of treating the rural and urban poor people as the objects of development research, they should be treated as the subjects⁷. In Freire's conviction every human being, no matter how "ignorant" or submerged in the "culture of silence", may be capable of looking critically at the world in a dialectical encounter with others. Development cannot be achieved he believed, without an honest dialogue involving different representatives learning from each other, respecting each other's knowledge, and working together to understand and solve their problems. They name it as 'popular theatre' and not 'theatre for development'.

⁶ Brazilian philosopher and educator Paulo Reglus Neves Freire was born in Recife, Brazil on September 19, 1921 and died of heart failure in Sao Paulo, Brazil on May 2, 1997. He, started from a psychology of oppression influenced by the works of psychotherapists such as Freud, Jung, Adler, Fanon and Fromm, developed a "Pedagogy of the Oppressed". He believed that education could improve the human condition, counteracting the effects of a psychology of oppression, and ultimately contributing to what he considered the ontological vocation of humankind: humanization. In the introduction of his widely-acclaimed Pedagogy of the Oppressed, he argued that: "From these pages I hope at least the following will endure: my trust in the people, and my faith in men and women and in the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love". Pedagogy of the Oppressed calls for dialogue and ultimately conscientization as a way to overcome domination and oppression among and between human beings.

⁷ The term *Subjects* denote those who know and act, in contrast to *objects*, which are known and acted upon.

A Popular Theatre in the form of "by the people, for the people" (Taylor, 1991:41) therefore emerged in Africa and South America as a conscious effort to assert the culture of the dominated classes. Popular Theatre is a broad category for defining performances whose forms range across melodrama, street theatre, circus, vaudeville and musicals. To understand the term is by making a distinction between popular commercial theatre and popular theatre that has an overtly political agenda (Allain & Harvie, 2006:190). Popular Theatre in Brazil refers more frequently to a politically and socially minded approach to making theatre which aimed to bring working-class audiences into theatres or to take the theatre out to them. It aimed to make people not only aware of but also active participants in the development process by expressing their viewpoints and acting to better their conditions. Popular Theatres often share similar priorities. They want to be accessible, cheap to make and to participate in, are often large-scale and rough-and-ready in their format, use vernacular materials or sources and provide entertainment as much as education or instruction (Allain, 2006:190). This Popular Theatre was intended to empower the common man with a critical consciousness crucial to the struggle against the forces responsible for his poverty. The first stage of popular theatre was the touring of 'well made plays' from urban centres to various communities. The second stage was the performance of the 'bureaucratically-inspired' plays to the rural and urban slum communities with themes such as family planning, or how to build a pit latrine. The third stage had its emphasis on people themselves performing the theatre.

This stage evolved into one that involves villagers in performing plays about their problems. (Crow & Etherton, 1980: 571-572).

The process of giving shape to this new theatre practice has not been easy. It has a huge learning process that has been happening almost simultaneously in different countries, especially South America. Theatre by the people, for the people involves the community throughout the process, including the making of drama, which is based on themselves and their problems. Here the community is asked to be involved from the identification of the problem to the final performance. The idea of giving the people the means of production in theatre has been practiced in many countries in South America. Theatre has been employed as a dramatic arena where people's issues are presented, shared among different community members in order to empower people, work as a means of communication among different sectors of one community and also among different communities, as a way of identifying, and solving community problems.

This method is based on a perspective that theatre can be performed by anyone, and that there is an important learning experience involved in combining analysis and dramatisation. Changing and re-changing a drama allows the participants to focus on details, on paying attention to different aspects of the relationship;

Putting the means of artistic production and analysis within the hands of the peasant meant that the peasants were taking control of their transformation process, rather than remaining passive recipients of ideas and analysis from the outside. They were voicing their own concerns and doing their own thinking, and this had a major effect on their self-confidence. At the same time, the fact that they were doing the cultural work themselves meant that it could be linked more organically with an organising process. (Kidd, 1984: 7)

The Existence of the Theatre of the Oppressed

In the 1950's and early 1960s were a time of economic instability with ambitious plans for industrial development, supported by large foreign loans created a chronic inflation and provoked unrest resulting in strikes and riots from workers and students. The military coups in 1964 and 1968 were key points in a period of severe repression that continued, with fluctuations, throughout the 1970s (Babbage.2004:3). During the instability of the economic and political development, a few countries in South America were ruled by military governments, Brazil being one of them. At that time, cultural activism was seen as a threat to the future of the military government (Boal.1970:91). The artistic activity of this time was marked by a critical, reformist consciousness, and strongly nationalist sympathies. For example, Arena Theatre Company attempted to produce artistically innovative and politically radical theatre, and especially to foster the work of Brazilian playwrights and establish a genuine 'Brazilian aesthetic'. In order to prevent this potential threat, the government suppressed any kind of cultural activity. All forms of cultural expression came in for heavy censorship. Any artist who wanted to stage a play needed permission or a licence. The content of the play had to favour the government policies. Much

worse, the funds for staging a play were stopped (Babbage.2004:3). Without any material and funds to produce a production, it seemed impossible for theatre activists like Boal and his company to produce a play. It was at this point that Boal realized that the people were the most important elements for the production of theatre. Furthermore, Boal's approach to theatre was very much influenced by Brecht and Freire. Both of them contend that the popular artists must abandon the downtown stages and go into the neighborhoods, because only there will they find people who are truly interested in changing society. Boal began to write plays that had connection with the people and used themes which dealt with current social problems (Boal.1970:91). As a director of the Arena Theatre in Sao Paulo, he began developing the aesthetic philosophy that led to the Theatre of the Oppressed (Schutzman.1994:2). Most of the theatre groups in Brazil modelled themselves on European theatre, but Boal and his company created a theatre founded on local rather than foreign experience and sensibilities. Boal also created a new genre called the "*Joker System*" (Coringa System) which challenged the theatrical conventions of Brazilian realism and blurred the distinction between fact and fiction. He used stylised ritual masks that signified social habits, shifted roles within the play so that all actors played all characters, introduced the Joker, and employed music for its atmospheric and emotional power which were then harnessed to reinforce the ideological meaning (Babbage.2004:13). Brazil experienced a military coup in 1964, followed by an even more repressive one in 1968. During that period of time, Boal was working to foster democracy through both theatrical work and political activism, seeking

sociodramatic means of collectively surviving, perhaps even challenging the harsh conditions under the dictatorship. It was while touring an agit-prop production in northern Brazil for peasants and workers that Boal recognized that the play's propagandistic style was revolutionary only in theory; the middle class actors were prescribing behaviour for situations they had not experienced (Boal.1994:2). According to Boal, the pieces was full of exhortations to the peasants to fight for their land. It ended with a veritable hymn of exhortation: "*We will spill our blood for our liberty, we will pour forth our life-blood for our land...*"(Boal.1995:2). Virgilio, a Brazilian peasant took them at their word and proposed to Boal that after lunch they should all go, actors and peasants alike and with their rifles in their hands, recover the land of a peasant which had been forcibly expropriated by a local landlord. When the actors admitted that they had no stomach for that kind of action, Virgilio pointed out that it was not *their* blood they were singing about but *his* blood. As Boal says,

Agit-prop is good. What was not good was the fact that we were incapable of following our own advice...since that first encounter with a real peasant, in flesh and blood...an encounter at once traumatic and enlightening, I have never written theatre pieces which offer advice, I stopped sending messages (Boal.1990:10).

Later, in Peru, when working on a literacy programme using the technique of 'Simultaneous Dramaturgy' (Boal.2000:132), Boal made a further discovery. The literacy programme was based on the educational theories of Paolo Freire. Boal was using theatre to 'conscientize' the people with whom he was working

that is to represent to them certain socio-political themes expressed as problems that could be overcome (Otty.1995:89). One woman presented a problem, which, as she put it, was not really political, but she wondered if the group might consider it. They duly enacted her story which involved an unfaithful husband who played on his wife's illiteracy to extract her savings from her which he then spent on his lover. A large and vigorous woman in the audience proposed the following action for the wronged wife; *"she should allow the husband to enter the apartment, have a serious conversation with him, and only after that should she forgive him"* (Otty.1995:89). The actors attempted to translate this solution into theatre but the woman was never satisfied with their versions of what she had proposed. Eventually she asked if she might come on stage and demonstrate what she had in mind. When invited to do this she took a broom and proceeded to beat the poor actor who represented the husband all the while telling him what she thought about the relationships between husband and wife. She ended by saying; *"now that we have had this serious conversation, you can go to the kitchen and bring me my soup."* (Otty.1995:89). According to Boal, this is how he discovered the technique known as Forum Theatre.

When the government realized the potential for cultural activism in theatre for raising the consciousness of the people, it established new rules forbidding any kind of popular theatre performances that did not have permission from the authorities (Babbage.2004:3). Those artists, who disobeyed the rules, were arrested and tortured. In 1971, Boal, himself was arrested for working in

opposition to the military regime and spent three months in jail. This suppression of the freedom of cultural movements forced Boal to move to Argentina in 1971 where he resided until 1976 (Schutzman.1994:3). During the period between 1971 and 1976, Boal further developed the techniques of the Theatre of the Oppressed. He was invited to participate in a national literacy campaign in Peru in 1973 and there, he developed the Image Theatre, a technique that privileges physical expression over the spoken word. While Image Theatre did not become formalized as a sub-system of the Theatre of the Oppressed until after the Forum Theatre was devised, in contemporary practice, image theatre techniques often precede forum exercises in workshop situations. They are often instrumental in creating trust and providing visceral cues regarding the themes being investigated.

In Argentina, once again Boal was forbidden to take part in the activists' theatre under an increasingly repressive regime, and he devised the Invisible Theatre as a way to continue stimulating debate on current political issues (Boal.1994:3). It was staged in public spaces and masqueraded as real life. Actors 'performed' rehearsed scenes that uncovered social injustices, drawing people's attention and led to impassioned discussions without the spectators knowing that they were watching theatre. Eventually unable to work in any context because of "severely prohibitive military rule, Boal retreated from theatrical activities and wrote and published three books: *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1974), *Latin American Techniques of Popular Theatre* (1975) and

Two Hundreds Exercises and Games for Actors and Non-Actors
(1975)(Boal.1994:3).

From 1976 to 1986, Boal was in exile in Europe. There, he set up the core group of the Parisian Centre for The Theatre of the Oppressed in March 1979 (Schutzman.1994:4) and began to practise Theatre of the Oppressed in Europe, India and Africa. During his workshops in Europe, USA and Canada, Boal began his therapeutic techniques, colloquially known as Cop-in-the-Head. Boal intended to discover how societies come to internalize the oppressions which prevent them from living well and, having identified the processes to find ways of getting rid of them.

When I started working in Europe in the mid-70s, many people said their oppression was "non-communication," "loneliness," "emptiness," etc. At first I did not understand – I was used to social and political oppression: police, the boss, unemployment, and so on. Then I found out that in countries like Sweden and Finland where the main social problems have been solved – like education, social security, minimum wages, housing – the suicide rate is much higher than in Brazil where people die of starvation or from being murdered by the police. If a person prefers to die she must be suffering terribly. The oppression is different but the death is just as final. So I started caring more about internal oppression. I discovered the cops in the head- knowing that the headquarters are outside (Boal in Schutzman,M & Cohen-Cruz, J, 1994:138).

The situation of oppression in most of the European countries are different compared to most countries in Latin America. For the often middle class or academic participants, therapy and politics addressed different aspects of life

and were articulated as separate. The group with whom Boal tended to work in Europe were capable of engaging their radical left-wing politics in relative comfort. From the influence of his wife, Cecilia, an Argentine actress in his company who later became a psychoanalyst in Paris, Boal began to realize the depth of pain these oppressions produced and had to develop a new approach by adapting the methods of the Theatre of the Oppressed from Latin America to the European context. The people were not dealing with any visible, tangible and present oppressor, instead they were facing far more psychological, and metaphysical 'internal oppressors' such as fear of emptiness, impossibility of communicating with others and loneliness. In South America the themes of the Theatre of the Oppressed had been racism, sexism, abuse of power and authority by clergymen and the police, low wages, and unbearable work conditions. On the other hand, the Western Europeans were dealing with loneliness, an inability to communicate and purposelessness. Finally, in 1986, after a favourable change in government, Boal accepted an invitation to return to Brazil to develop a theatre program designed to reach poor school children. However the school program was aborted after the funding fell through. Boal with some people he had trained for the unrealized school program founded a Rio de Janeiro Center for Theatre of the Oppressed.

What is the Theatre of the Oppressed? In order to understand it, we must first understand the meaning of 'oppressed'. In a general terms, 'oppressed' means 'done badly by', 'experience injustice', and 'be unfairly treated'.

Oppression in the context of Theatre of the Oppressed is not an exclusively physical phenomenon, or to be resolved in physical terms. It is not the same as aggression which depends on physical strength. Oppression is defined as a power dynamic based on monologue rather than dialogue; a relation of domination and command that prohibits the oppressed from being who they are and from exercising their basic human rights⁸. It is about a person who has lost the right to express his or her will and needs, and is reduced to the condition of an obedient listener to a monologue. Oppression is very often interiorised, but the oppressed can still liberate themselves by involving in discussion and voicing their problems. In the context of theatre, Boal defines 'Theatre of the Oppressed' as a participatory form based not on the classical notion of performance "spectacle" but on the creation of a forum to analyze, discuss, and explore group solutions to injustice (Arendt.C:1996.Vol.40 [2]).

Theatre of the Oppressed is a form of popular theatre, of, by, and for people engaged in the struggle for liberation. It is a rehearsal theatre designed for people who want to learn ways of fighting back against oppression in their daily lives. Theatre of the Oppressed is about acting rather than talking, questioning rather than giving answers, analysing rather than accepting (Boal.1992:xxiv). The theatre performance should involve 'dialogue' with the audience and not a 'one-way street talking' as happened in the conventional or realistic theatre where an intransitive relationship took place; everything travels from stage to auditorium,

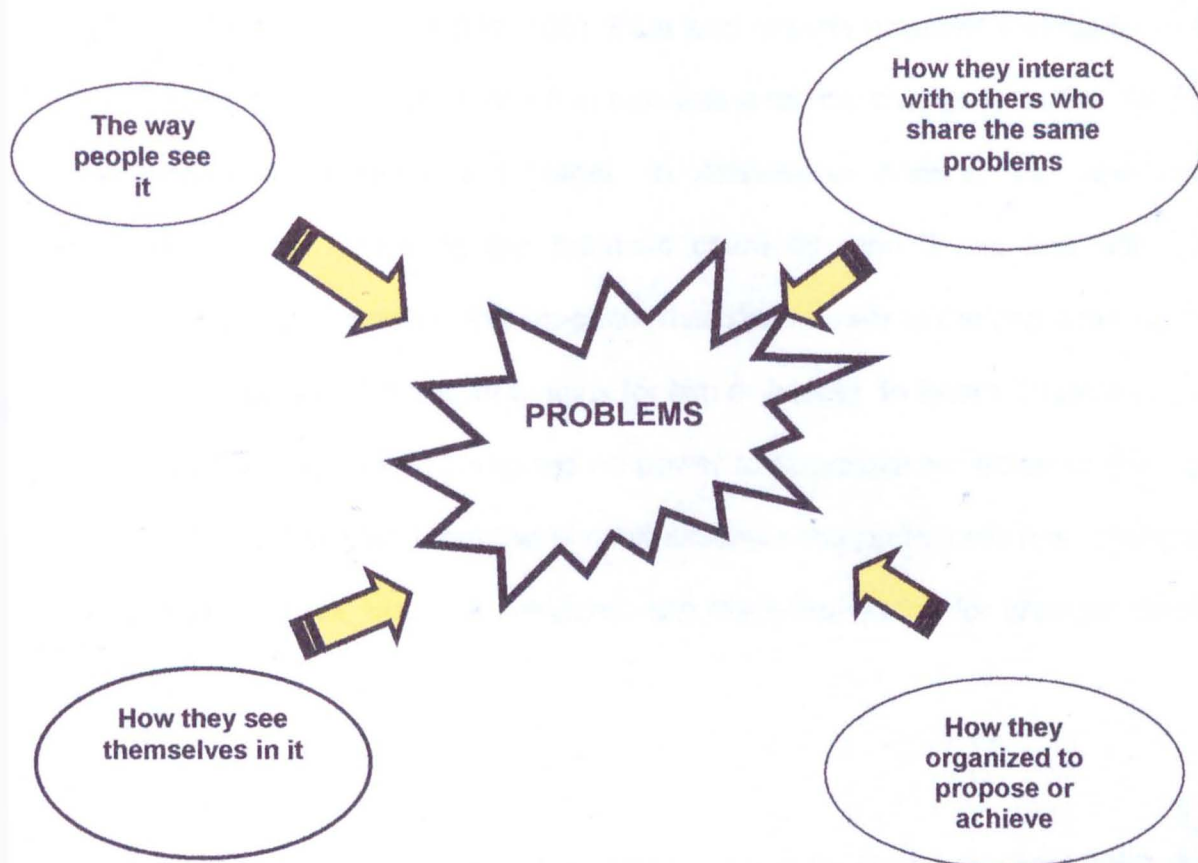
⁸ Picher, M.C., 'What is the Theatre of the Oppressed? [Available Online] <http://www.web.archive.org>

emotions, ideas and even morality is transferred in that direction and nothing goes the other way. By contrast, in the Theatre of the Oppressed, dialogue is created; transitivity is not merely tolerated but it is actively encouraged. Theatre of the Oppressed is a transitive relationship where the actor does not only deliver his speech but the audience too have to respond to what they have seen and heard. It is a two way street. The theatre asks its audience questions and expects answers (Boal.1998:20). All human beings have the desire and need to communicate and when there is no existence of communication, the oppression ensues.

Theatre of the Oppressed is a politicised theatre with a difference: not playwright dominated socially and or politically, but an event where the "*spect-actor*", literally remakes the world (Lavender. 1995:32). The key aspect of the Theatre of the Oppressed is the re-positioning of the actor-audience relationship so that there would be no division between the actors and the spectators. It invites the spectators to contribute by getting up themselves and trying out their own ideas: they see a character, they see their problem, they see themselves defeated by the problem and they should do something about it (**Table 2.1**) (Johnston. 1998:235).

Table 2.1

THE ARSENAL OF THE THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED



This has similarity with Brecht's and Marxist theatre, where theatrical work cannot end in repose, in equilibrium. It must show the ways in which society loses its equilibrium, which way society is moving, and how to hasten the transition to egalitarian structure (Boal, 2000:105). Boal's work has some connection with Brecht's aesthetic and forms, which were ultimately drawn from Marx. Nevertheless, Boal tried to deny this by proclaiming that his new theatre as

'dialectically materialist' (Boal, 2000:79), but thereby committing himself to the same fundamental materialist Marxist philosophy which influenced Brecht. In the researcher's opinion, he directly refers to and aligns himself with the '*Marxist poetic of Brecht*' (Boal, 2000:88-105). Boal also asserts however that his theatre is a development of Brecht's, which in turn was a radical change from the idealist philosophies of Aristotle and Hegel. In Aristotelian poetics, the spectator delegates his/her power to the dramatic character who thinks and acts for him/her. In Brecht's poetics, the spectator delegates power to the character to act for him/her but retains the right to think for him or herself. In Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, the spectator delegates no power to the character either to think or to act in his or her place, but 'he himself assumes the protagonic role, changes the dramatic action, tries out solutions, and discusses plans for change' (Boal, 2000:122).

Boal sees theatre as a very efficient weapon for liberation (Boal.2000: ix). For many centuries, people, especially the ruling class, strove to take permanent hold of the theatre because they knew theatre could be a tool of domination. Boal attempted to change the perception of theatre and claimed that '*theatre is for the people, and by the people*'. Theatre is not only for entertainment but also a medium for social change. Theatre of the Oppressed is a participatory style for of theatre. It is based not on the classic notion of the performance "spectacle" but on the creation of a forum. It should analyze, discuss and explore group solutions to injustice. No trained actors involve but the public, to feel motivated to script

and act in Boal's form of theatre. The problems portrayed in the Theatre of the Oppressed are generated from the audience's everyday experience. Boal purposefully does not impose a definition of oppression from a particular ideological perspective, but accepts for the scene what the audience itself perceives as oppressive. In keeping with his desire to empower the "audience", everyone is encouraged to take part in the brief scenarios that are played out. For Boal, theatre is "the art of looking at ourselves...All human beings are Actors (they act!) and Spectators (they observe!). They Are Spect-actors." (Boal. 1992:xxx).

Although the Theatre of the Oppressed is facilitated by someone who knows the structural forms of the theatre, and who can promote discussion, there is no artistic director involved and anyone can suggest changes in the way a scene is played. The audience not only comments on the action, it intervenes directly in the action, taking the protagonist's part and trying to bring the play to a different conclusion. It is a kind of social therapy where people (audience) are not just watching the play but are also encouraged to participate in the play and give ideas and solutions to the problems. The audience is no longer a passive receiver; it is a gathering of 'spect-actor' (active spectators) who bring their own experience and suggestions to the question, *'What is to be done?'* In other words, each person is responsible for his or her actions and when problems arise, everyone should participate in finding possible ways of solving the

problems and not merely rely on the authorities, politician or academics to come up with the answers.

The Categories of Theatre of the Oppressed

Boal has divided the Theatre of the Oppressed into three categories, however the researcher has also added another two categories that Boal invented years later, which are related to each other: Image Theatre, Invisible Theatre, Forum Theatre, Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre. Boal suggested that each technique was invented out of necessity. Image Theatre is a series of exercises designed without using spoken language to uncover the truths about societies and cultures;

Words fill the emptiness (vacuum) that exists between one human being and another. Words are lines that we carve in the sand, sounds that we sculpt in the air. We know the meaning of the word we pronounce because we fill it with our desires, ideas and feelings, but we do not know how that word is going to be heard by each listener. The participants in Image Theatre will form themselves into still images which represent aspects of their lives, feelings, experiences, oppressions based on a theme or title suggested by the group itself. Through a series of workshop-based exercises, the human body is used as an expressive tool to represent, non-verbally, a wide repertoire of feelings, ideas and attitudes. Individuals will 'sculpt' three dimensional images under these titles by using their own and others' bodies as the 'clay'. The image never remains static, the frozen image is simply the starting point for the action, which is revealed in the dynamisation process, the bringing to life of the images and the discovery of whatever direction or intention is innate in them. Over reliance on words can obfuscate central issues rather than clarify them. Images can be closer to our feelings, even our subconscious (Boal.1992:xix).

The essential of images is a vital factor in this work; a group of individuals will perceive a whole range of different but related meanings within a single image, often seeing things which the sculptors had no idea were there. Images work across linguistic and cultural barriers and reveal unexpected universalities. In other words, Image Theatre is an essential tool to embolden and encourage the spect-actor to participate in the Forum Theatre. Image theatre can be used in the preparation of Invisible Theatre or Forum Theatre.

Invisible theatre was established in the early 1970s. As mentioned earlier the technique grew out of the politics of Argentina and of censoring of artistic activism by a repressive regime. Invisible Theatre is a theatre which involves the public as participants in the action without them knowing it is just a play. They are the 'spec-actors', the active spectators of a piece of theatre, but while it is happening and even after the event, they do not know that this is theatre rather than real life. The events and incidents are provocative. This is theatre that does not take place in a theatre building or other theatrical context, with an audience which does not know it is an audience (Boal.1992: xx). It is not an improvisational play. Several actors do some research and rehearsal which they then play in an appropriate public place. The scene usually involves an unexpected subversion of normal behaviour within that particular society. In reaction to the incidents, the public becomes involved in an argument, usually aided by a couple of agent provocateur actors mingling with the public and expressing extreme and opposite reactions to the events of the scene (Boal.1992: xx). Invisible Theatre is a way of

using theatre to stimulate debate, getting people to question issues in a public forum. It might be compared to agit-prop street theatre, with the essential difference that the audience is free to take up any position it wants, and has no feeling of being preached at. It asks questions without dictating the answers and involves a process of learning together rather than one-way teaching. Invisible theatre can be used as a tool to gather first hand information on a certain issues or problems from the society. Invisible Theatre is the penetration of fiction into reality and of reality into fiction, which helps people to see how much fiction exists in reality, and how much reality exists in fiction.

The emergence of Forum Theatre happened when Boal undertook a theatre based literacy project in Peru in 1971. He used a new form of theatre which is known as 'Simultaneous Dramaturgy' where a play is presented that chronicled a problem which need solutions (Boal.1995:3). The play would run its course up to the moment of crisis, the crucial point at which the protagonist had to make a decision. At this point the actors would stop performing and ask the audience what the protagonist should do. The audience would make their own suggestions. On stage the performers would improvise each of these suggestions until all had been tested.

In general, Forum Theatre is a theatrical game in which a problem is shown in an unsolved form, to which the spect-actor is invited to suggest and enact solutions. The problem is always the symptom of oppression and involves

a group of oppressors and a protagonist as the oppressed. In its purest forms, both the actors and spect-actors will be people who are victims of the oppression. That is why they are able to offer alternative solutions, because they themselves are personally involved with and experienced the oppression. Forum Theatre is an energising, interactive form which engages the audience in a theatricalised debate with the actors and with each other in an attempt to look at issues of oppression in a wide variety of situations and with a diverse range of participants. It is intended to be a rehearsal for real life, offering people a range of practical strategies for living.

In the beginning of the 1980s, Boal introduced new methods called the Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre. The Rainbow of Desire is the name that Boal gives to a collection of theatrical techniques and exercises designed during a two year workshop in Paris which called *Flic dans la Tete* (The Cop in the Head) to harness the power of 'aesthetic space' to examine individual, internalized oppressions and to place them within a larger context. It is a specific exercise amongst Boal's therapeutic techniques. It is also the term Boal originally used to designate the entire series of the Theatre of the Oppressed exercises that address internalized oppressions. He believes that all the cops in our heads have identities and headquarters in the external world that need to be located. Still, the basic vocabulary of the Rainbow of Desire work is the Image Theatre. In almost all cases, the techniques start with an improvisation based on an actual situation, which is cast and directed by its real life protagonist, who plays him or

herself. The protagonist is not required to explain the original story, however images of the characters, made and offered by both the protagonist and the larger group of spect-actors taking part can be seen in the improvisation. These images are then enacted in various ways, to bring them to life, and the results are observed objectively. Both, objective and subjective commentaries are invited, as long as they are clearly defined in either category. The observations are collated, discussed and relayed back to the protagonist and it is up to the protagonist to make of them what he or she will. The Rainbow of Desire is more like a psychodrama approach, it works on the case of an individual, and from that individual case, it extrapolates into a group present, and from that group into a larger society of which it is a microcosm or a fragment. Life is brought back into the room and enacted using group members as the casts. Solutions are found using creativity and spontaneity of the group (Holmes.1992: 6). While Forum Theatre examines external forms of oppression, the Rainbow of Desire is designed to focus on the internalised oppressions, 'the cop in the head', which inhibit or stop people from being true to themselves and doing what they want to do.

Theatre of the Oppressed does not aim at being only like Hamlet's definition- "a mirror that allows us to see our vices and virtues but to be instrument of concrete social transformation". Boal believes that theatre is like a mirror in which the true image of the nature of reality may be seen. The image in the mirror needs to be transformed back in to reality. Boal wanted it to be

possible for the spect-actors in Forum Theatre to transgress, to break the conventions, to enter into the mirror of a theatrical fiction, rehearse forms of struggle and then return to reality with the images of their desires. This discontent was the genesis of the Legislative Theatre, in which the citizen makes the law through the legislator. The legislator should not be the person who makes the law, but the person through whom the law is made (Boal.1998:10). The Legislative Theatre is a new system, it includes all the previous forms of the Theatre of the Oppressed plus others which have a specifically parliamentary application. Boal introduced the technique after he was elected as a Mayor of Rio de Janeiro (1993 – 1996) and used theatre as a political tool to make new laws. He says: "*The law is always the desire of someone but it's not our desire.*" Like Theatre of the Oppressed, Legislative Theatre is founded on the belief that secondary and exploited classes desire change. The former aims to reveal and explore these desires and rehearse ways of acting upon them, but the latter 'seeks to go further and transform that desire into law';

When I went back to Brazil, I felt that we needed more than to know what's going on in our heads as internalized oppressions. We needed more than to discuss objective situations. We needed not just to modify ourselves, but to modify society itself. One of the best ways of doing this was through law (Boal.1998:20).

In the Legislative Theatre the aim is to bring the theatre back to the heart of the city, to produce not catharsis, but dynamisation (Boal.1998:20). Its objective is not to soothe its audiences, to sedate them, to return them to a state of equilibrium and acceptance of society as it is, but, again contrarily, to develop

their desire for change. Legislative Theatre represents not an advance from Theatre of the Oppressed's early radicalism but a regression (Babbage.2004:28). Twenty years earlier Boal criticized Brecht's theatre because although the spectator 'does not delegate power to the characters to think in his place,...he continues to delegate power to them to act in his place' (Boal.2000:155). Legislative Theatre proposes something similar. The Rio citizens are engaged in a thinking process, nonetheless, 'the power to act' has been delegated elsewhere. Boal's counter-argument is that legislators have no power of their own but only that which has been given to them by the citizens; they are no more than vehicles through which the desires of the people can be channeled (Babbage.2004:28). Legislative Theatre is a way of using theatre within a political system to produce a truer form of democracy. It uses the Forum Theatre technique to deal with political situations. Its aim is to bring back the theatre into the centre of political action, by making theatre as politics rather than merely making political theatre. In most of the conventional theatre, the theatre makes comments on politics but in the Legislative Theatre, the theatre is in itself, one of the ways in which political activity can be conducted. The electors should not be a mere spectators of the actions of the parliamentarian, even when these actions are right, they should give their opinions, discuss the issues, put counter-arguments and also share the responsibility for what their parliamentarian does.

While Boal has argued that Legislative Theatre, as an essentially transitive process – one based on intercommunication and transfer of knowledge between

legislator and citizens- is supported by Freirean principles, critics have not universally found its propositions convincing. Baz Kershaw, for example rejects Boal's claim that in this process the citizen is transformed into legislator as 'manifestly untrue'. He commenting that;

the closest the citizens of Rio seem to have got to the actual making of laws was to suggest, through his Council-funded forum theatre groups, that some laws might be more welcome than others, and to sometimes contribute to the framing of them. But to state that this makes them into legislators is like proclaiming that a net-maker is a fisherman even though he never goes to sea (2001:219).

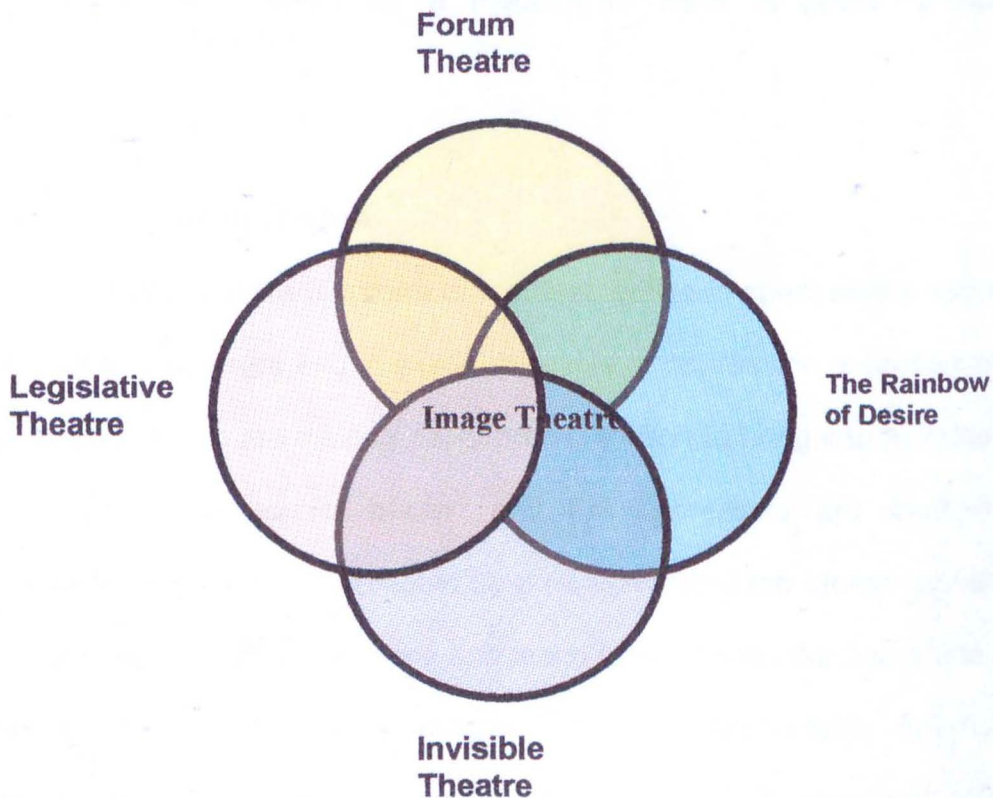
A net-maker is not a fisherman; he merely produces the instrument that is crucial in the act of fishing, the tool of a fisherman, which is the net. He may have a profound knowledge of nets but he has never been involved in the actual act of fishing. Similarly, a citizen may possess some knowledge of the law but it is wrong to assume that he can be a law-maker by merely being involved in the Legislative theatre activities and commenting on what is not right with the law. Like the net-maker who has never gone to sea, the citizen has never been actively involved in the actual process of law-making and thus cannot be accepted to the realm of legislators.

Nevertheless, there is continuous overlap and interplay between all these forms. This can be seen in the **Table 2.2**. They are designed to bring the audience into active relationship with the performed event; the workshops are a

virtual training ground for action not only in these performance forms, but for action in life. The choice of the particular form simply depends on the situation in which the work is being made and the goal of the theatrical event (Boal, 1992: xxii).

Table 2.2

THE INTER-RELATION OF FORMS IN THE THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED



- i. Image Theatre is a series of games that can be used as warm up activities before doing other forms of the Theatre of the Oppressed.
- ii. Invisible Theatre as a medium of research of a subject-matters, certain issues or problems. All the data or information on the problem will be gathered during the performance of a scenario in public spaces without the audiences realizing it was a theatre. Later, the information

gathered will be discussed further in the form of Image Theatre and more detail in the Forum Theatre session with more specific audiences/participants.

- iii. While Forum Theatre is more focused on group works, the Rainbow of Desire is an umbrella term for the body of Theatre of the Oppressed techniques developed by Boal when working in Europe which focused more on tackling individual problems.
- iv. Legislative Theatre is the latest system introduced by Boal. Its aims to 'theatricalise politics' by establishing a direct line of communication between Theatre of the Oppressed explorations at grass-roots level and actual law-making process. It uses Image, Invisible Theatre and Forum Theatre as a medium or tools in gathering sources or information.

The Form of Forum Theatre

Forum Theatre is a form of 'contest' between spect-actors trying to bring the play to a different end in which the cycle of oppression is broken and actors (antagonists) who are making every possible effort to bring it to its original end in which the oppressed is beaten and the oppressors are triumphant. The proceeding is guided or facilitated by a person called the 'Joker' whose function is to ensure the flow of the game and teach the audience the rules. The Joker too can be replaced by any spect-actors if s/he is not acting fairly. Any rules of the games can be changed or altered if the audience wish according to their own custom and culture. Many different solutions are enacted in the course of a single forum.

Forum theatre was never about simplification into right and wrong, nor was it a didactic theatre. Forum is about what a roomful of people believes at a particular moment in time, and what one roomful of people believes is not necessarily the same as what the next roomful will believe. People see or feel the problem from a different perspective; it all depends on their experience in life. The focus point of Forum Theatre is not only trying to solve a problem, but, also to make people more aware of a problem, see a problem from different perspectives and make the people realizes that there are ways of dealing with that problem (Boal.1995:xix).

The theory underlying the Theatre of the Oppressed is that human action can change the course of events. Forum Theatre can work at many levels and can increase the participants' grasp of ethical commitments and their political understanding when faced with situations of moral or social distress. Discussing a familiar oppression will help them analyze their lives and make them understand their own needs and desires much better. Forum Theatre encourages the audience to attempt alternative strategies for countering the antagonist's arguments, institutional policies, or coercive threats. Through this process the players come to understand what they are up against. Often the character of the antagonist is symbolic and represents the larger set of institutional injustices. Forum theatre tries to humanize the antagonist and demonstrates that he or she is subject to judgement, influence and change. The most important thing is that Forum Theatre can help the member of the audience

to enact his or her own ethical stance, and to figure out what they actually believe and wish to accomplish;

The Theatre of the Oppressed can help hone our skills, courage and collective responses to resist the sources of our moral distress. by naming the circumstances of our oppression, giving them human form, and together imagining creative alternatives, Theatre of the Oppressed enables us to gain insight into demoralizing forces and inspires us to act against them (Kate H, Brown. 1997:120).

Forum Theatre does not fight oppression, it simply exposes it, asking the audience to become active and fight the oppression themselves. Good theatre is a search for truths. The process is not complete until we take the discoveries back into reality and apply them.

The Dramaturgy of Forum Theatre

Before going further, it is important to include the structure of Forum theatre, its process, composition, organization, and progression of action. Normally, a dramaturgy involves learning the background of the playwright, the playwright's time and place, the play's time and place, references to events enacted and the issues of the play. This material is gathered to help those involved in the production to better understand the piece. A dramaturgy should, above all, help to understand the play itself. It is similarly important to discuss the structure of Forum Theatre since the performance and the application of the Forum Theatre is complicated to apply because of its fluidity;

What is great about forum is that it changes the very rules...In forum, roles are not fixed - not only character but the roles of "actor", "playwright", and "director". So forum is radical in relation to dramaturgy...I think forum is more anarchic, more spontaneous, because the rules can be changed all the time. (Boal:1990: 25)

Forum Theatre is indeed different from conventional theatre; nevertheless, Boal himself considers that his system of Forum Theatre is likely to follow Aristotle's famous Convention of Three Unities: *Unity of Time, Unity of Dramatic Action and Unity of Place* (Boal, 1998: 54). It is very ironic though, since Aristotle himself didn't follow the rules of Three Unity in most of his writing. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle recommends that all the dramatic action should occur within a single day or not more than twenty-four hours. It is advisable to reduce the dramatic action to the shortest space of time. This means that, instead of telling the story chronologically and breaking it down into fragments, the best way to communicate it is to concentrate on the action in time and focus on the 'reality of the image, not the exact image of reality'. For Boal, the important thing is to show what things are really like, rather than merely showing what real things are like. For example, the story presented should be specific and focused. Taking the issue of vandalism, the subject matter involved here is the people who cause the problem and the people who are affected from it. The narrative should start on the day of the event or the moment before the vandalism occurs, and end as soon as the vandalism ends and affects others. The main issue or the conflict that needs to be highlighted in the Forum Theatre is not the story but the problem

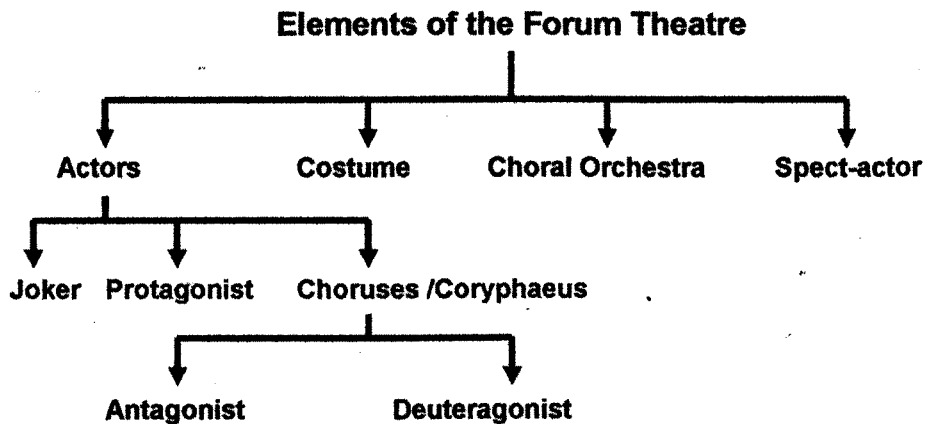
itself, how it happened, why it happened, and how it affects the others. Thus the issues being presented must be more focused and straightforward.

The second convention is the Unity of Dramatic Action, which should be a single action, the main action, with all other actions referring back to it. In the case of Vandalism, everything that happens in it relates directly to the cause of event. The plot must tell the audience what usually causes the vandalism because things do not just happen on their own. There should be something which makes people act that way. Unity of Action is more a suggested possibility than a rule; it is a useful suggestion for community artists, who tend to include everything in their plays, just as it happened in real life. In this case, Boal advises against including some element of a spectators' personal story, which may have little to do with the main theme, as there is a danger of producing an unfocused and distracting patchwork.

Finally, the Unity of Place where the play should take place entirely within the same setting or single location and this is related to the first law: unity of time. The focus should be on the specific theme and specific issues. The setting is most likely focused on the place or the event. In the case of vandalism, this might be the destruction of a phone booth. The setting should represent a place with a phone booth in it. The area or the location does not have to be specific. The advantages of presenting a Forum Theatre is that its style can vary and it can be anything, for example, realism, melodrama, and naturalism.

In order to make sure the effectiveness of the Forum Theatre, we need to understand the elements of the Forum Theatre. The structures as been stated in **Table 2.3** are the basic element of the system recommended by Boal and it can be flexible enough to adapt itself to the staging of any play (Boal.1970:93).

Table 2.3



The Functions of Actors

In a 'Stanislavskian' production the actor knows she is an actor but consciously tries to ignore the presence of the audiences. In a Brechtian production, the actor is completely aware of the presence of the audience, but transforms the audience into a genuine mute interlocutor. Only in a Forum Theatre, do the spectators acquire voice and movement, sound and colour and become able to demonstrate their ideas and desire. The Forum Theatre demands a different style of acting, which means a lot of improvisation, spontaneity, creativity, imagination and sometimes innovation. Spontaneity and

creativity involve thinking, feeling, sensing, intuiting and doing. Blatner in his chapter on spontaneity writes;

Spontaneity need not be showy or dramatic; it can be unassuming. It can be present in the way you think, walk, look at nature, dance, or sing in the shower (1988; 64).

Creativity and spontaneity is of paramount importance for actors in a Forum Theatre (Boal.1992:237). In their performances there must not be the slightest trace of the narcissism that is so commonly found in ordinary theatre performances, because the presentation of the anti-model should express doubt. Each action and phrase should contain its own negation, which can open the possibility of saying the opposite of what is being performed. Any theatrical style is permissible if it serves the objective of the forum. The actors must have physical styles of playing, which successfully articulate their characters' ideology, work, social function, and profession (Boal.1992:19). The actor does not "become" the character as in the Stanislavskian approach to acting, rather actors "demonstrate" the characters' attitude while retaining freedom to comment on the actions of the person whose behaviour they are displaying. The actors too must try to interpret all the characters, not just focus on his or her character only, which means that every actor must not only concentrate on his/her character, but must give the same amount of time to studying the other characters as well (Boal.1992:19). This effort was made to avoid giving the same actor the same role twice because the distribution of roles was made in each scene. Furthermore

by directing the actors to reverse roles, thereby lessening their identification with their character and facilitating deeper understanding of the other character.

During the forum, actors must be extremely dialectical, creative and must be spontaneous in terms of encountering the spect-actors (Boal.1992:237). When they take up the counter-stance against a spect-actor/protagonist who wants to break the oppression, they must show that the oppression is not so easily defeated. They must show the difficulties, which will appear, while retaining a manner which encourages the spect-actor to break the oppression. This means that, while still countering every phase and action, they must awaken the spect-actor to other stances, other approaches. Not only that, the actor should know when to 'withdraw'. While impeding the attempt to break the oppression, they should rouse the spect-actor to achieve it. It is very important to remember that if the actor is too firm, which is quite common with professional actors, he or she may discourage and frighten the spect-actor. On the other hand, if the actor is too soft and vulnerable it can mislead the spect-actor into believing that the problem posed by the play is easier to resolve than he or she thought (Boal.1992:237). Boal compared the actors to an iceberg effect:

On the sea, only 10% of the iceberg is visible- that's what we show of the character. However there is 90% of the iceberg below – that's the larger part of the character, which is only shown when necessary; the actor playing this part must know that 90% of what he might do if pressed. (Boal in Johnston C, 1998: 239).

Actors must know how to give and take and how to hold back and lead on. They must not fear losing their dominant place as performers since what the forum theatre wants is the active response and the feedback from the spect-actors.

As has been stated earlier, in Forum theatre, all actors interpret all the characters so that they can play any character (Boal, 2000: 180). Each actor has a pre-established function or position in accordance with the general structure of the conflicts in the text and moves according to the rules set for that position. The distribution of roles is made in each scene without regard to continuity. Actor and actresses, without regard to gender, will be able to perform masculine or feminine roles, with the exception of scenes in which gender determines the dramatic action.

Yet another important thing is blocking and movement on stage. Every movement of every actor is significant. The stage business and the actor's playing styles together endow each moment with dynamic images which carry meaning. Movement cannot be arbitrary, it must have a content. The distance between two people is important in terms of the ideas it conveys, rather than as a matter of centimetres and metres (Boal, 1992:235).

The Protagonist

The protagonist (the oppressed) represents a concrete character from reality. This is the only function in which a perfect and permanent link between

actors and the character takes places. A single actor portrays a single protagonist. Here empathy occurs. There are several requirements in carrying out this function, for which the actor can make use of the Stanislavskian interpretation (Boal.1970:93). The actor cannot perform more than what the character would do as a human being. He must behave like a character; have the outlook of the character and not the actor's. His existence is never interrupted even though the Joker may be analyzing some detail of the play by interviewing him, he will respond like a character from the play (Boal.1970:93). He is the "slice of life", the living documentary and the real thing. The protagonist does not coincide necessarily with the main character. The actor who plays the role of protagonist does not have to be exactly like the person in real life. For instance, the actor who plays the role of Adolf Hitler does not have to be exactly like him. It is enough to show the appearance of the character and reflect the image of the person. It will be much better if the characters' personalities are presented in a comic or in a satirical way because telling or showing people about their own weaknesses and problems is a serious matter, and sometimes it can be hurtful.

The Spect-actor

Spect-actor is a Boal coinage to describe a member of the audience who takes part in the action in any way. The spect-actor is an active spectator as opposed to the passivity normally associated with the role of audience member. '*Spect-actor*' comes from two different words: *spectator* is a person who sits and watches an activity without taking part, and *actor* is someone who pretends to be

someone else while performing in film, theatrical performance, or television or radio program. 'Spect-actor' means someone or somebody among the audience who intervenes in an unresolved scenario onstage to try to break a depicted cycle of oppression (the play) (Boal.1992:xxiv). In the conventional theatre performances, the theatrical ceremony is well-defined; two separated groups; a group who are preparing themselves and organize an event – a reproduction of scenes from real life with varying degrees of authenticity that is, as these scenes happened or as they were experienced, remembered, imagined. Then they will mobilise themselves on a raised stage or an arena and there, they reproduce the event rehearsed. A second group will be invited to watch the reproduced event from a certain area, which has been set for them. There is a division of space where the audience are immobilised while the actors move around. They do not penetrate each other, nor is one superimposed on the other. And even when the spectators' space is fragmented and the actors' dispersed around the room; these smaller segments maintain the same relationship to the surrounding space. - Boal sees these as an exploitation of the use of theatre by a certain group of people. This group of people exploited the theatre and implemented their ideologies toward the audience without giving any chance for the audience to respond. In Boal's view, theatre is about acting. In this context, 'to act' carries a dual imperative: theatrical action implies socio-political action. The word 'spectator' to Boal is a bad word because it implies 'one who does not act'. She does not mount the platform and give expression to a passion, but rather remains seated, receptive and passive (2000:iv). From this position the spectator can

observe the dramatic conflict but determine neither its nature nor its outcome. The theatre imposed 'the finished visions of the world' onto its audience. The spectator is forcibly denied the opportunity to participate in an ongoing discourse whereby meanings and choices are open to negotiation. Theatre of the Oppressed wants to break from this ceremony. Its intention is to democratize the stage space by rendering the relationship between actor and spectator transitive, creating dialogue, activating the spectator and allowing him or her to be transformed into 'spect-actor'. The transformation can come in two ways: either by the spectator themselves, creating the show or simply by intervention during the part of the show. In either or both forms, the spectators transform themselves into the 'artist'. The process of transformation is very important in forum theatre because;

...theatre creates a space in which potentialities can be 'actualised' or developed: the potential becomes actual. The person can re-dimension himself, investigate himself, find himself, recognise himself. (*Boal, 1998: 68*)

The actor acts in place of the spectators. The spect-actor acts in their name, which means that, he will be using the character's name but, using his own personality and act according to his own belief and on his own version of things. What is important is not the simple entry on stage of the human body, but the effect which the aesthetic space brings to bear on that body and on the consciousness of the protagonist, who becomes, on stage, subject and object, conscious of himself and his actions. The protagonist acts and observes himself

in action, shows and observes himself showing, speaks and listens to what he himself is saying. Members of the audience who come on stage to take the place of the protagonist, they must demonstrate their alternative actions and suggestions and at the same time observe the effects and consequences of these alternatives; they evaluate them, reflect on them and think about new tactics and strategies.

A spect-actor can replace an actor and sometimes modify the character but he must respect the 'givens' of the problem. He cannot change the given social circumstances of the problem. He cannot alter the familial relationships between characters, the ages, the economic status, which condition their actions. If these factors are adjusted, the solutions will be no use because they will apply to cases which have nothing to do with those proposed in the model. Secondly, he can only change the characteristics of the motivation not the character's motivation. However, in order to make the Forum Theatre successful, the background of the spect-actors needs to be clarified. The spect-actors must come from the same background or culture or share the same problems and be familiar with the situation that being presented. Otherwise, the spect-actors will never involve themselves in the forum. This happened during the 7th Festival of Theatre of the Oppressed in Rio 1993;

The spect-actor is part of the community she stands in for. This stance engages a deeper level of audience and community authorization...some of the genuine flavor of Forum Theatre was absent in the Festival because Forum

work best when everyone in the audience has a direct stake in the issue performed. Clearly, not everyone in the Festival audience, drawn from around the world, identified with all the issues presented... Even when questions were important, the spectators experienced them within differing sociopolitical contexts. Thus when jokers asked spectators to solve the problems, there was occasionally some 'show-offish-ness' to the interventions. (Paterson, D. L., *The Drama Review*: Fall, Vol. 38 (3). 1994)

The Choruses / The Coryphaeus

The chorus are divided in two which are the *deuteragonist* and *antagonist*. The deuteragonist performs the role supporting the protagonist, as Boal said as the "good" chorus (Boal. 2000: 182). While the other, the antagonist, represents adversary roles or a "bad" chorus. Each one has its own coryphaeus. The chorus may substitute for the Joker, for example, when the Joker is playing the protagonist (Boal.1970:93). The choruses do not have a fixed number of actors and they may vary from one episode to another.

The Costume

There will be two types of costumes; the basic one relating to the function and the chorus to which the function belongs. Another costume related not to each character but to the different social roles that he will perform during the conflict of the play. Only one costume will be allowed for each social role. If there are two or more actors performing the same role on stage at the same time, then the costume must be such that it can be used by a number of actors simultaneously and that allows the public to identify visually all the actors who

perform the same role. The characters should be recognizable by the clothes they wear and the objects they use (Boal.1992:235). Very often oppression is reflected in clothes, in things. Objects and dress should be real, charged, clear and stimulating. The more care that is taken over the aesthetics of the show, the more it will stimulate, and the more the audience will take part. This has a connection with the dramatic personae where a spect-actor in his or her character's costume feels more protected. He is much freer and more creative. However, the most important thing is, the costumes must be easy for the spect-actors to get in and out of, with minimum fuss.

The Choral Orchestra

Music has the power, independent of the concepts, to prepare the audience in an immediate way, imaginatively, for the reception of simplified texts which can only be absorbed through the experience reason (Boal.2000:170). The basic instruments suggested by Boal are guitar, flute and percussion (Boal.1970:93). The musicians can also have to play other instruments. These can be any kind of musical instrument and depends on the society and cultural influences. Besides musical support, the orchestra also sing, alone or together with the coryphaeus, all the comments of an informative or imaginative nature. Sometimes it also functions to help the Joker to demonstrate (Boal.1970:93). In this Boal was very much influenced by the Greek theatre.

The Joker System

The Joker System is a theatrical form developed by Boal and his team at the Arena Theatre of Sao Paulo between 1956 and 1971 at the Arena Stage in Sao Paulo, Brazil (Boal.1994:146). The genre is characterized by the mixing of fact and fiction, the shifting of roles during the play so that all the actors play all the characters (Boal.1970:92). The separation of actor and character through Brechtian techniques, where the option between character-object and character-subject schematically derive from the belief that thought determines action or action determines thought. The first position is defended by Hegel and Aristotle. For them the perfect dramatic hero is like the medieval prince, a man who possesses all powers: legislative, executive and judicial. Only by having absolute power in his hands will the character be able to "freely express the movements of his spirit" (Boal.2000:89-90). Meanwhile Brecht defends the opposite position. For him, the character is a reflection of the dramatic action, which develops by means of objective and objective-subjective contradictions. Actors adopted generic character "masks" – a set of mechanized actions or gestures, not material props- in order to exaggerate the habituating effects of social roles and behaviour (Boal.1994:146). It also employed the implementation of a stylistic eclecticism and chaos, which included the juxtaposition of very different performance genres and forms, such as onstage interviews with characters, lectures, tribunals and debates, within one piece, as well as sudden unexplained interruptions, re-directions, twists, and music. There were intended to provide an

independent language that could enhance or contradict the meaning of the spoken text or action (Boal.1994:147).

The word 'joker' refers to the joker in a pack of cards, but has no link with the idea of playing jokes (Boal.1992:xxiv). The joker figure in various different contexts and combination can be the director, referee, facilitator and workshop leader. In the context of Forum Theatre, the joker is the person who acts as intermediary between audience and performers, and is attached to no one party (Boal1992:xxiv). The Joker is the most powerful 'character' in the forum theatre system. He is not only a facilitator but he is a difficultator (Boal.1995:xix). He is the only one that can perform any role in the play, even to replace the protagonist when the latter's realistic portrayal prevents him from plausibly doing something. For example;

...the second act of *Tiradentes* starts with the protagonist riding in a scene of fantasy, and since it would not be prudent to come on stage with a horse, this scene is performed by the actor who functions as the Joker, riding on a wooden horse... (Boal.2000: 182)

The outlook of the Joker is remarkable and is assumed to be above and beyond that of the other characters in time and space. In this respect he is omniscient where he represents the author or re-creator of the story, knowledgeable of beginnings, middles and ends (Boal.2000:182). He knows the development of the plot and the objectives of the play. All the theatrical possibilities are conferred

upon the Joker's function: he is magical, omniscient, polymorphous and ubiquitous (Boal.2000:182). He gives all the explanations, verified in the structure of the performance, and he can be assisted by the choral orchestra or coryphaeus who may substitute for the Joker, for example, when Joker is playing the protagonist. He can also interrupt the action, repeat certain actions in order to demonstrate them better, use slides, films, diagrams and statistics (Boal.1970:93). On stage, he functions as a master of ceremonies, lecturer, judge, stagehand and raisonneur (Boal.1970:93). When the Joker takes the role of one of the characters, then he acquires only the outlook of the character he is interpreting. Offstage, the joker functions as a facilitator, provoking and animating the group.

The Joker's function derives from a responsibility to present groups, or audiences with theatrical opportunities for change. Within the Image Theatre work, this means directing exercises and managing a process, which moves towards articulation. Within the Forum Theatre work, the Joker's role moves further, working as the bridge between actors and the audience; summarising, encapsulating and stage managing. The Joker should be neutral, he or she does not 'argue a case' despite what is often the openly political nature of the exercise. Instead, the Joker summarises options and provokes participants towards making choices (Boal.1992:232). The Joker is also able to speak about the consequences of choices, feeding back the implications of what has occurred after the ideas have been tried out.

The Joker too, has the power to 'make believe' by allowing the audience to see and not merely look. This ability is known the *Joker scenography*. If they look at an actual telephone on stage, they won't see a telephone; but if they can see an object representing the absent telephone, then they will see the absent phone. The Joker scenography should deliver the spect-actor to a reality which is not present, except symbolically. With this ability, the forum will not depend on theatrical spectacular; a huge setting or set decoration.

The Rules of the Joker

The Joker is the heart of the Forum Theatre. The actor who takes part as a Joker can display his or her own personality and behave differently in front of the spectator. However, there are certain rules that a Joker must bear in mind and obey. These rules can be modified or changed depending on the situation and culture. However, they still contain certain elements, which are almost obligatory. The Joker must realize that his or her function is just as a facilitator who presides over the flow of the forum (Boal.1992:232). S/he personally decides nothing. S/he can only spell out the rules of the games, which still can be altered by spect-actors if the rules seem inappropriate to the situation or the treatment of the proposed subject. The Joker too, must avoid any actions that could manipulate or influence the audience. S/he should not draw any conclusions, which are not self-evident. S/he must always open the possible conclusions to debate, stating them in an interrogative rather than an affirmative form. The Joker must not give his or her personal interpretation of events. S/he

must always be relaying doubts back to the audience so that they can make the decisions.

The Joker must watch out for all 'magic' solutions (Boal.1992:233). 'Magic' is a term that refers to things or actions that are unlikely to be true in real life. A magic solution can be the beginning of a process of self-motivation on the spect-actor's part and the stimulus for a real action. The Joker can interrupt the spect-actor/protagonist's action if s/he considers this action to be magic, not *ruling* that it is magic, but rather asking the audience to decide. The audience may or may not agree with the Joker's opinion. In order to do this, the Joker him/herself must know and understand the culture and the society they are dealing with.

The physical stance of the Joker is extremely important (Boal.1992:234). Some Jokers are tempted to mix with the audience or to sit with other spect-actors, which can be completely demobilizing. Others would prefer to be onstage. This is a bit dangerous since the condition of the Jokers is too visible. If the Joker on stage is tired or confused s/he will transmit a tired and disorientated image to the audience. Finally, and of most vital importance, is that the Joker must be dialectical. S/he must help the spect-actors to gather their thoughts, to prepare their actions. In other words, the Joker is a midwife where he must assist the birth of all ideas and actions (Boal.1992:234).

As been stated earlier, the basic structure of the system can still be flexible to adapt itself to the staging of the play. But it also has a permanent structure of performance for all plays. The structure is divided into several elements (Boal.1970:93-94). Every performance will always begin with a *dedication* to a person or event. It can be a song sung by all, a scene, a poem, or a recited text. It can also be a sequence of scenes, poems, and texts. For example, in *Tiradentes*, the dedication is composed of a song, a text, a scene, and a song sung in chorus, dedicating the performance to Jose Joaquim da Maia, the first man who took concrete measures for the liberation of Brazil (Boal.2000:184). The explanation forms a break in continuity of the dramatic action. It will be written in prose and recited by the Joker in terms of a lecture, articulating the point of view of those presenting the play (Boal.1970:93). It can utilize any of the resources proper to a lecture: reading the texts, documents, letters, slides, items from the daily newspapers, films, and maps. It can go so far as to undo some of the scenes in order to emphasize or correct them, bringing in others which do not appear in the original text, to achieve greater clarity (Boal.2000:184). The explanation too, may include anything that has to be explained, including recent events which can be related to the play. All the explanations can and should be extremely dynamic. They can change according to the nature of the audience, cities and on other dates. For example, if on the day of the performance, some important events occurs, which is related to the theme of the play, that relationship should be analyzed. The Joker is a man of our own time and does not belong to the universe of the play, but to the universe

of the audience (Boal.1970:93). The *explanations* mark the general style of the play; lecture, forum, debate, tribunal, exegesis, analysis, or defence of a thesis. The introductory explanation presents the cast, the author, the adaptor, as well as the techniques utilized, the need to renovate the theatre and the objectives of the text. All the explanations should be dynamic, and can be changed as the play is staged in other states or other dates (Boal.2000:184-185). If on the day of the performance some important event occurs, which is related to the theme of the play, that relationship should be analyzed.

The general structure will be divided into *episodes*, which will group together more or less interdependent *scenes*. Each play is usually divided into five episodes, three in the first act and two in the second; the explanations come between episodes (Boal.1970:93). A scene or incident is of small magnitude, but complete in itself, and contains at least one variation in the qualitative development of the dramatic action. It can be in dialogue form, song form, or limited to the reading of a speech, a poem, a news item, or document that determines a qualitative change in the system of conflicting forces. The *scenes* are interconnected by the comments written in rhymed verses or poetry, sung by the Joker or the coryphaei or orchestra, or by both, and which have the purpose of connecting one scene to another in a fantastic manner (Boal.2000:185). Since each scene has its own style, whenever it proves necessary, the *commentaries* advise the audience with respect to each change (Boal.2000:185).

The *interviews* do not have a specific structural placement of their own since their appearance always depends on the expository needs (Boal.2000:185). Interviews functioned as a tool to reveal to the audience the true state of mind of a character (Boal.2000:185). As in a contemporary theatre, to accomplish this, usually a monologue or aside is used, aided by lighting and other theatrical resources. In Forum Theatre, it is necessary to show the audience the inside story of the character, the Joker will stop the action momentarily and ask the character questions the audience wants answered, so that the character may explain his reasons. During the interviews, the Joker addresses the character, not the actor (Boal.1970:94). When this occurs, the interviewed character is to maintain his consciousness as a character, that is, the actor refrains from assuming his own consciousness of "here and now." The interviews are open and spectators are allowed to ask their own questions. Finally the last part of the performance's structure consists of the *exhortation*. After the play ends, the cast sings a song in which the Joker incites the audience in accordance with the theme dealt with in each play. It can be done in the form of recited prose or choral song, or in a combination of both (Boal.2000:186).

The Importance of Joker Technique

In the same way that in our daily life we live by rituals without perceiving them as such, it is also difficult to become aware of them in theatre. Thus it become necessary to utilize the Joker technique which allow the spectator to 'see' the rituals as such, to see the social needs and not the individual wishes, to

see the character's alienation without establishing an emphatic relationship with him. This is much easier to achieve in cinema, due to the fact that the camera chooses the focus of attention for the spectator and concentrates his observation on a determined point. In theatre the movement of the actors has to do what is done with the camera in the cinema such as to *break up the ritual* in such a way as to obscure its familiar form for example the tortured man reacts at a great distance from the torturer, two boxers fight at a distance. It is a question of breaking down a phenomenon into its parts, dismantling the mechanism so that the parts of that mechanism can be seen independently; to *break up time* which consists in placing the reactions before the actions for example, the fighter suffers the blows before he is hit. Thus one of the alienated characters performs his function within the ritual even though the member of the relationship is absent for example the servile employee goes on being servile even when he has no one to serve; the *multiple the optical perspectives* where the same ritual is reproduced in different optical perspectives for example a goal in soccer is shown by press photographers from different positions; to *apply to one scene the ritual of another* for example when one wishes to reveal the class-oriented nature of a certain church at a certain time, the priest-believer ritual is applied to a landlord-peasant relationship. It is a technique whose significance lies in its ability to reveal the true essence or relationships, eliminating all the deceptive exterior features; to *repeat the ritual* so that the spectator becomes aware of the strings that move this ritual; to *create metamorphosis* where an actor's changing his portrayal from one character to another can be done in such a way that,

through a slow transformation, the new character who appears in the actor maintains the characteristics of the previous one. For example a dog that becomes a soldier. When this is not desired, the change is effected by means of the "cut" (Boal.2000:194).

The process of the Forum Theatre;

With the help of the Joker, the participants write a loosely scripted plan of action in which the protagonist badly wants something that an antagonists thwarts. It is very important that the model should be based on a story agreed by the majority of the audience. The audience can choose any character they wish to appear on stage. Later, the actors will try to act out the scene once. The show is presented as if it were a conventional play. A certain image of the world is presented. The presentation is called the Model (Boal.1992:19).

After the model has been presented, the Joker will ask the audience if they agree with the solutions advanced by the protagonist. Usually they will say no. The audience are then told that the play is going to be performed for the second time, exactly like the first one but a little bit faster. The actors will try to bring the piece to the same end as before, and at this level the spect-actors are encouraged to change it, showing that new solutions are possible and valid. In other words, the actors stand for a particular *vision of the world* and will try to maintain that the world as it is and ensure that things go exactly the same way until an audience intervenes and changes the vision of the world *as it is* into the

world *as it could be* (Boal.1992:19-20). This is what Boal called an Intervention. It is vital to use speed of performance to generate a degree of tension among the audiences, otherwise no-one will change the play and it will come to the same end as before. The audience is informed by the Joker, that the first step is to take the protagonist's place whenever s/he makes a mistake, in order to try to bring about a better solution. All they have to do is approach the playing area and shout 'Stop!' Immediately the actors must stop where they are without changing position (Boal.1992:20). The audience must say where he or she wants the scene taken from. The actors then will start the scene again from the prescribed point, with the audience member, which is now known as the spect-actor, as protagonist. The actor who has been replaced does not immediately retire from the game but he or she would stay on the sidelines as a coach or supporter and encourage the spect-actor and correct him or her if s/he start to go wrong. From the moment at which the spect-actor replaces the protagonist and begins to put forward a new solution, all the other actors transform themselves into agents of oppression or if they already were agents of oppression, they will intensify their oppression, to show the protagonist (spect-actor) how difficult it is to change reality (Boal.1992:20). The spect-actor is trying to find a new solution, trying to change the world; meanwhile the actors are trying to maintain and uphold the situation as it was and force them to accept the status quo. However the important thing in this forum is not to find a winner but to learn and to train. The spect-actors, by acting out their ideas, train for 'real-life' action and actors and audience alike, by playing, learn the possible consequences of their actions.

They learn the arsenal of the oppressors and the possible ways and tactics of the oppressed. If the spect-actor gives in, then the actor will take up the role again and the piece will rapidly head back to the original or towards the already known ending. Another spect-actor can then approach the stage and stop the play and say where he or she wants the play taken from, and the play will start again from that point. A new solution will be explored (Boal.1992:21).

At some point, the spect-actor may eventually manage to break the oppression imposed by the actors. The actors (the characters) must give in one after another or all together. From this moment on, the spect-actors are invited to replace anyone they like, to show new forms of oppression, which perhaps the actors are unaware of. This then becomes the game of spect-actor/protagonist against spect-actors/oppressor (Boal.1992:21). Thus the oppression is subjected to the scrutiny of the spect-actors, who discuss ways of fighting it. All the actors, from offstage carry on their work as supporters or coaches, each actor continuing to help and urge on his or her spect-actor. The Joker must encourage both parties not to stop playing. The effect of the forum will be more effective if it is made clear to the audience that if they do not change the world, no one will change it for them and everything will turn out exactly the same. The knowledge, which results from the forum, will be the best that a particular human social group can attain at that particular moment in time. The Joker should not put any judgment on the solutions or outcomes. His or her job is simply to try to ensure

that those who know a little more get the chance to explain it, and that those who dare a little, dare a little more, and show what they are capable of.

When the forum is over; when the antagonists have been defeated and the problem has been solved or the solution has been accepted by most participants, the Joker proposes that a 'model of action for the future' be constructed. It is the final result or the best solutions achieved from the forum, where all or most of the audiences have agreed and are satisfied at that moment in time. This model of action for the future will be played out by the group of spect-actors (Boal.1992:21). One thing that has to be kept in mind is that, the word 'over' does not mean that the forum theatre must reach a solution, as long as the forum itself gathers a range of information and ideas relating to the solution to the problem, and the spect-actors agree to the outcome, then the forum can be considered complete. The forum play does not have to provide the answer. In fact, it is best if it does not – the more answers it provides, the less chance there is for audience participation (Schutzman M & Cohen-Cruz J.1994:36). It is not very important whether at its end the forum reaches a solution or not. Even if it does reach a solution, it may be good for the person who has proposed it, or good within the confines of the debate, but not necessarily useful or applicable for all the participants in the forum. The most important thing to achieve is a good debate, because what provoke the spect-actors into entering into the game are the discussion and not the solution which may or may not be found. As Boal said in the interview with Aleks Sierz (1995) in

the article *How to Play Boal*; "people discover needs they didn't think they had". Even though solutions can emerge in the forum, it does not mean that the session of the Theatre of the Oppressed comes to an end. The objectives of the Theatre of the Oppressed are to encourage autonomous activity, to set a process in motion, to stimulate transformative creativity, to change spect-actors into protagonists. The goal of Forum Theatre is not to create equilibrium but rather to create disequilibrium, which prepares the way for action (Boal, 1992:230). Its goal is to dynamise. This dynamisation, with the action, which results from it, destroys all the blocks which prohibited the realisation of actions;

It is not enough for a theatre to avoid catharsis - what is needed is theatre which produces dynamisation (Boal, 1992:35).

It is necessary to depict the *model of the future action* since this action will be experienced in reality in the immediate future. Such representation can help condense the results of the forum. In all debates a portion escapes the audience's memory. A representation can help to summarize it. However, certain precautions should be taken. If the model of the future action is suitable for all those present, its representation will serve as fresh and final stimulus for the real action. In the opposite case, one runs the risk of presenting an 'evangelistic model', recommending actions, which are impossible to realize in practice.

To simplify the understanding on the Forum Theatre process described earlier, the researcher has structured the process as in **Table 2.4**. One must

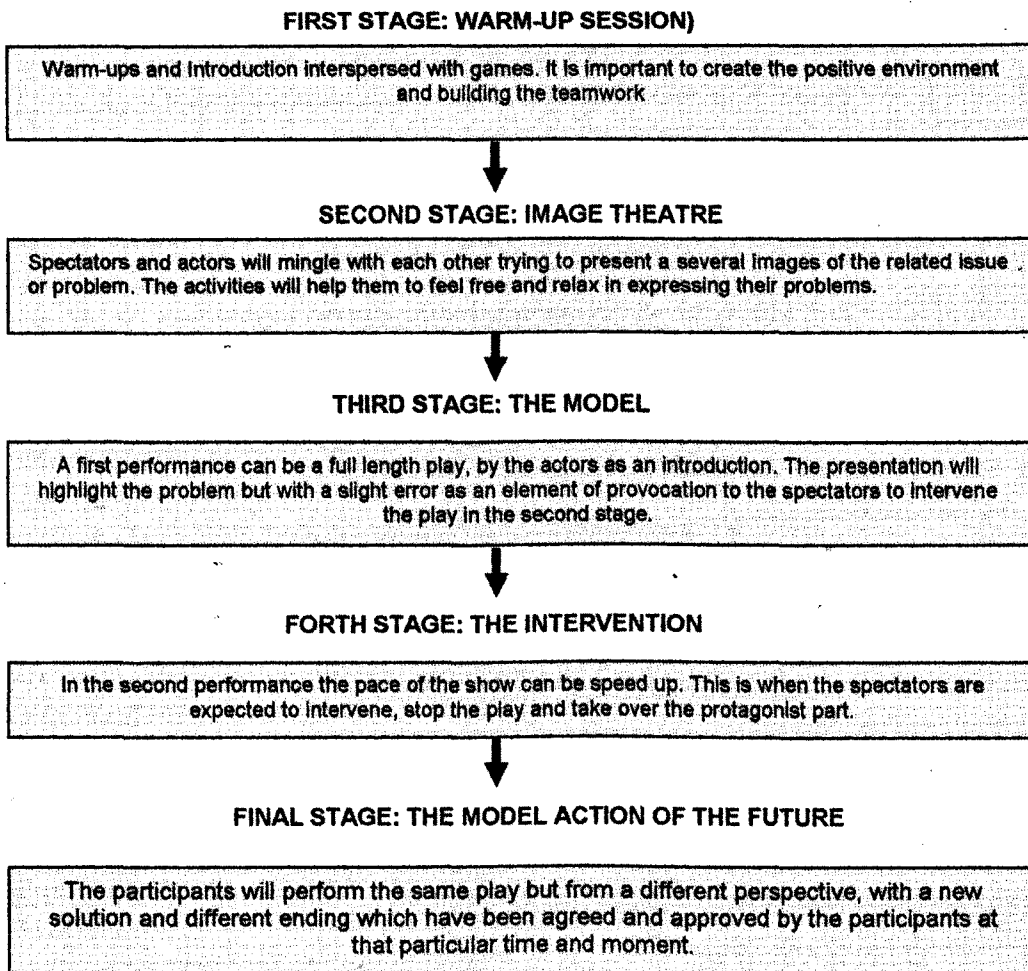
understand the Forum process before implementing the approach. Nevertheless, to understand that alone is not enough. There are several fundamental issues that need to be understood before one can proceed to use the Forum Theatre approach. Forum Theatre can only be done if there is a problem or an issue to discuss. It is important for a group to decide what the central idea is, what is the subject of the play and the subsequent forum is to be. The tendency of many communities is to include in the play everything that they can remember about the event. The result of this is that they will not know precisely what they are talking about. A forum is a question posed to an audience, seeking answers. The question has to be clear if we want the spect-actors to be able to intervene and offer alternatives. If we want the forum to enrich our understanding, the central idea must be perceptible to all. Otherwise, the spect-actor will decide to 'forum' other parts of the play than those relating to the central question being asked.

The issue or problems that need to be enacted must be clear, concrete, and urgent (Boal.1992:230). Urgent matters are of prime importance because that it will inspire the spect-actors to get involved actively. Debates, the conflict of ideas, dialectics, argument and counter-argument will stimulate, arouse, enrich and prepare the spect-actors for real action in real life. Thus when the model is not urgent that is to say when it is not about having to act in reality immediately on leaving the show, finding a solution is not of prime importance. Most probably it will distract the audience's attention and the audience will not participate or get involved at all.

Thirdly, the issue that have been chosen too must have the element of oppression not aggression (Boal.1992:225). We have to understand the difference between oppression and aggression. As being said earlier, oppression is very often interiorized and the oppressed can still liberate themselves. Oppression is a mental and emotional state which may or may not lead to a physical action. A person may feel oppressed but does not necessarily act against it. Aggression, however, is more often a physical manifestation. An aggressive person is often called thus as a result of his or her actions. Oppression may lead to aggression but aggression does not necessarily lead to oppression. If the model presents an aggression then the only way to solve the problem is by physical strength. That is totally against the concept of Forum Theatre to discuss, not to fight. The issue that is being presented must show that the oppressed still can have several choices of solutions.

Table 2.4

THE PROCESS OF THE FORUM THEATRE AND ITS OBJECTIVES



The element of provocation is crucially needed to motivate the spectators to contribute by getting up themselves and trying out their own ideas. Therefore, the play needs to be constructed as a provocation to the audience. We see a character, we see his or her problem, and we see them defeated by the problem (Boal.1992:225). The original solutions proposed by the protagonist must contain

at least one social error, which will be analyzed during the forum session. The error must be clearly expressed and carefully rehearsed in a well defined situation. The play must present a mistake, a failure, so that the spect-actors are aware of that and will be spurred into finding solutions and inventing new ways of confronting oppression. The process, called *hamartia*, was introduced by Aristotle in the *Poetics*. It originally meant any lapse from the ideal state of things, any missing of any target or error of judgment. It is vital that the protagonist, the oppressed person whose place is to be taken by the intervening spect-actor, encounters one or more visible oppressors. The search for the oppressors must not be random. The group, which is creating the play must have genuine knowledge of the problem and must present an organic vision of the situation in which all the elements are true. For instance, Oedipus's actual obstacle is Zeus, the father of gods. However, the conflict between the finite human and infinite divine, would be an unequal match. In this case, the dramatist resorts to a 'displacement' of the conflict where Oedipus fights first against Tiresias, then against Creon. The theatricality is born out of these conflicts and not out of the conflict of Oedipus versus Zeus. The same thing happens when the obstacle is Society, the Education System, and the Power of the State. The dramatist must pit the protagonist against the representatives of these abstract powers. Of course the Society is the oppressor, but who are the agents? The antagonist (the oppressors), does not necessarily have to be a known and an actual person, but he must exist as a concrete character and not an abstraction. One cannot present a character called 'Society' or 'Education' or 'State Repression', we

need to personify, to concretise in a person, a character, the means by which society, the education system or the repressive power of the state, oppresses the Protagonist.

The element of Catharsis also plays a crucial part in the Forum Theatre. The ability to empathise appears to be an essential quality of humanity as well as of effective drama. As Martin Esslin points out, *'without identification and empathy, each person would be irrevocably imprisoned within himself'* (Esslin, 1980: 131). Empathy can be defined as the ability to understand and share the emotions of another: to feel as others feel. In the context of theatre, empathy is the emotional relationship which is established between the character and spectator and which provokes, fundamentally, a delegation of power on the part of the spectator, who becomes an object in relation to the character; whatever happens to the latter, happens vicariously to the spectator. Boal believes in catharsis but is not very fond of the Aristotelian catharsis in his forum theatre. In the case of Aristotle, the empathy he recommends involved two basic emotions: pity and fear. The first binds the spectators to a character who suffers a tragic fate that is undeserved and the second refers to the fact that the character suffers the consequences of possessing some fault which we also possess. Empathy must be seen as a terrible weapon and most dangerous in the entire arsenal of the theatre. Its mechanism consists of two people (one fictitious and another real), two universes, making one of those two people surrender to the others' decisions. When a man chooses, he does so in a real life, when the

character chooses, he does so in a fictitious situation. This makes the man choose according to the unreal situations and criteria (Boal, 2000: 102). Fear and pity will eliminate the drive that the protagonist and the spectator have, to change society. In most theatre, the spectator remains unaware that this is occurring but is rather the 'victim, so to speak, of a hypnotic experience' (Willett, 1964: 78); s/he awakes from this having absorbed its messages, but without awareness of the ways in which s/he has been acted upon. This aesthetic of seamlessness reflects an ideological belief in the world itself as fixed and unalterable. To Boal, what is important is the desire to change society. The will exercised by the Protagonist, is a desire which the intervening spect-actors feel and will be ready to exert themselves to achieve, since they must enter into sympathetic relationship with him or her. The will belongs to the Protagonist, but must be shared by the community; it must be simultaneously an individual desire and a social will;

The essence of theatre is the conflict of free wills, conscious of the means they employ to attain their goals, which must be simultaneously subjective and objective. (Boal, 1998:58)

Theatre is no longer a place of fantasy, but rather a testing ground. The spect-actor invests in the dramatic action physically as well as mentally. In a Forum theatre, the space for dissection and debate occurs theatrically, within the frame of the performance itself. As each new intervention takes place, forcing the other actors to improvise and realign themselves in relation to the changing

action, the narrative is unmade and remade before our eyes. In this theatre the empathic identification and distanced observation exist alongside each other (Babbage, 2004:45).

In the conventional form of theatre, the actors' action is observed by spectators and there is also a code, the code of non-interference by the audience. They present images of the world for contemplation. The dramatic action is a fictitious action, which substitutes for real action. In terms of theatrical relationship, the actors act in *my place* but not in *my name*. In the Forum Theatre show, to be a spectator means to be a participant, intervening or preparing oneself for action. The code is interference and intervention. The images being presented are meant to be destroyed and replaced by others and the action shown on stage is a possibility, an alternative and the active observers are called upon to create new actions, new alternatives which are not substitutes for real action, but rehearsals, pre-actions which precede the actual action, the action we want to transform. In the Forum Theatre, anyone can intervene. The people who go on stage to try their alternatives go there *in my name* and not *in my place*;

It clearly follows that when an actor carries out an act of liberation; he or she does it in place of the spectator, and thus is, for the latter, a catharsis. But when a spectator carries out the same act on stage, he or she does it in the name of all other spectators, and is thus for them not a catharsis but a dynamisation. (Boal. 1992: 35)

The piece can be in such genres as realism, selective realism, or symbolism. Surrealism should be avoided since it is difficult for the spect-actors to intervene if they do not understand the problem presented in front of them. The genre does not have to be original, it can be a comedy and the comedy's function can throw light on the oppressive situation. Whatever the genre is chosen, the most important thing is that Forum Theatre should be good theatre; that the model in itself offers a source of aesthetic pleasure. Before the forum part begins, the show itself must be watch-able and most important is, it is well constructed. The model should be developed by means of the various Image Theatre processes, especially the sequences of technique, which end in the construction of the 'ritual' concretizing the subject being treated. Ritual is one form of approach to Forum Theatre, to the theatrical presentation of the Forum Theatre model, an approach to the staging, the setting of the play. Rituals determine the mask. It is a form which creates the theatrical condition to ensure that Forum Theatre is *theatre* first and foremost, and not solely *forum*. Very often the ritual contains elements which are causes of the oppression being treated and frequently liberation from oppression by necessity involves the rupture of its rituals. In the setting of a Forum Theatre model, ritual performs a function of enormous importance and also serves as an analysis of a given situation. The important things are always to look for the ritual that reveals the oppression. By contrast, other rituals may have no hint of the theatrical, or the stimulation about them. And the danger of a poor production is that it can seduce the audience into a spoken participation, verbal discussion about possible solutions instead of

doing it theatrically. The best way is not to try to stage or make use of the ritual in its literal form, but by recourse to other Image Theatre techniques to find images whose symbolism can concretize the subject in a theatrical form, while at the same time enriching it aesthetically.

When discussing about the space or stage to perform the Forum Theatre, Boal himself preferred it to be performed outside the theatre building;

Theatre cannot be imprisoned inside theatrical buildings, just as religion cannot be imprisoned inside churches; the language of theatre and its forms of expression cannot be the private property of actors, just as religious practice cannot be appropriated by priests as theirs alone! (Boal; 1998: 19)

Lope de Vega defines theatre as a passionate combat of two human beings on a platform (Boal,1995:16). The 'platform' has its primary function, which is the creation of a separation, a division between the space for the actor, the one who acts, and the space for the spectator, the one who observes. However, the separation also can occur without the platform existing as an actual object. All that is required is that within the bounds of a certain space, spectators and actors designate a more restricted space as 'stage'. Theatre does not exist in the objectivity of bricks, sets and costumes, but in the subjectivity of those who practice it and at the moment when they practise it;

The human being not only 'makes' theatre: it 'is' theatre...Theatre has nothing to do with buildings or other physical constructions... this human property

which allows man to observe himself in action, in activity (Boal, 1995:13).

It can be anywhere; a corner of the room, in the open air, or under the tree. Meanwhile, the rest of whatever space being used is 'the auditorium'. Boal called the interpenetration of these two spaces as the "aesthetic space", which contains three elements; plasticity, dichotomy and tele - microscopic (Boal, 1995:18). Plasticity is where everything is possible. It depends on creativity; a pile of boxes can be transformed into a house, dead people are brought to life, past becomes present, the future is today, the fiction is pure reality and the reality is fiction. It is like a dream. Dichotomy is when two spaces occupy the same place at the same time. These spaces are identical in terms of the event happening in a same auditorium, the people breathing the same air, being in the same town, and the same lighting illuminating both the actors and characters, but there is also a difference in terms of a distant world that has been created on stage. Action happens on stage meanwhile observation happens in the auditorium. Tele-microscopic, is how the theatre can bring to today, here and now, what had happened a long time ago, far from here. These properties can stimulate knowledge and discovery, cognition and recognition, and the process of learning by experience. These are the reasons that the Theatre of the Oppressed should be the initiator of changes, the culmination of which is not the aesthetic phenomenon but real life.

Conclusion

An innovative approach to public forums, Forum Theatre is rooted in the Brazilian popular education and culture movements of the 1950s and 1960s. It is designed for use in schools, community centres, trade unions and solidarity and grassroots organizations. The aim of the forum is not to find an ideal solution, but to invent new ways of confronting oppression. In Brazil and other parts of Latin America, as well as in India and Africa, Forum Theatre has been used with peasant and worker "audiences" as training in labour and community organizing and participatory democracy. The introduction of Forum Theatre as an interactive theatre approach, the creation of the Joker and the re-positioning of the actor-audience relationship where there would be no division between the actors and the spectators has acclaimed Augusto Boal, the founder of the Theatre of the Oppressed as one of the best-known practitioners in the world.

Chapter 3

Understanding Malay Adolescence; Development, Relationship and Culture

Introduction

Adolescence is a precious period in life that sometimes can bring happiness, joy and memories. At the same time, it is also a period of depressions, rebellion and confusion. Aristotle viewed adolescents as being impulsive, moody and controlled by their passion (Berzonsky.2000:13) In other words, adolescence is an era in which problem-solving, handling intense emotions and balancing conflicting expectations are a routine part of life. Adolescence can be a time of storm and stress, irrepressible joy and seemingly inconsolable sadness and loss; of gregariousness and loneliness; of altruism and self-centeredness; of insatiable curiosity and boredom; of confidence and self-doubt. Above all, adolescence is a period of rapid change internally (within the adolescent); physical, sexual and intellectual and externally (environmental) enforced by society (Conger, J. 1979: 6).

Adolescents and problems seem to be connected to each other. Much too often most adults especially the psychologists regard those problems as just an inescapable trend which is produced by the transitional changes from childhood to adulthood that it has appeared in every generation since the beginning of human societies. Even though adolescent problems have appeared for ages, but

it would be unfair to assume that today's problems are of the same color and dimension as they were years ago (Sargent.1964:8). It is also a fact that the modern adolescent enjoys a far greater measure of personal freedom than his earlier counterpart, but it does not make his problems easier for him to solve. The more complicated the modern world, the more he finds himself in a kind of 'no man's land', and does not know which route to adopt; whether to submit to conventions and traditions of many years' standing, or whether to assert himself against them (Sargent.1964:8). He too becomes uncertain whether he can resist authority without landing himself in trouble or, at least incurring the disapproval of parents and friends who may reject him because they disagree with his judgments and behavior.

There are several ways to define adolescence and many people seem to misunderstand the term itself. Some researchers, especially sociologists would prefer to use the word 'youth' while others prefer the words 'teenager' or 'adolescent'. The term *teenager* means only those in the teen years: thirteen to nineteen years of age. However because children especially girls sometimes mature physically before thirteen years of age there are some discrepancies. An eleven year old girl may look and act like a teenager, but a fifteen year old boy may still act and look like a child. The word teenager is actually of fairly recent origin. Subsequently the term has become popular in the vocabulary of laymen. Many young people object to the word because of its negative emotional connotations: a hoodlum wild, delinquent, incorrigible, and immoral. Margaret

Mead¹² objected to the term because it is too restrictive in terms of age. The term will be avoided in this study, where the designation *adolescent* is preferred (Rice, F. 1999:47). The word *adolescence* comes from the Latin verb *adolescere*, which means "to grow to maturity". The term *adolescence* first appeared in the fifteenth century (Berzonsky.2000:13). In most of common dictionaries like Oxford, quote the meaning as 'a state of being young', 'a young person between a childhood and adult' (1996:11). Adolescence describes aspects of people's social position, which are an effect of their biological age. However, it is difficult to define this age group precisely because we do not know at what stage people stop being children and become 'young people' and adult. If we try to categorize the adolescence as people between ages 13 – 19, again, we will face another problem. Many 15 year olds behave like children and many 18 year olds behave like adults. Sometimes people aged 15 are already behaving like adults and have started taking on an adult role. For most people, adolescence is only an intermediate state between being a child and being an adult. Daren Garratt in his article '*Youth Cultures and Sub-Cultures*';

To merely see it as the period between the ages of 12 and 20 is both misleading and inadequate. 'Youth' goes some way towards bridging the gap between the dependency of childhood and the independent 'freedom' of adulthood (Garratt in Roche, J & Tucker, S. 1997:144).

¹² Margaret Mead (1901-1978) made an empirical field study of a number of cultures and casting new light on the role of culture in personality development and socialization. She is best known for two books that are relevant to the study of adolescent development: *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1971) and *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1972). The former is important for it is devoted entirely to adolescence.

'Youth' is a process in itself, with its own sets of behavioral, psychological and emotional patterns. It is not merely a phase an individual goes through idly without any significant experiences. It is a stage where a child prepares to become an adult and assume adult responsibilities. Therefore, it is a crucial stage in human development.

The question 'what is adolescence' is one of definition and the precise nature of the definition is likely to vary from culture to culture (Geldard. 2005:3). In general, the adolescence period is the period when the individual is given to experimenting with life. He or she is endeavoring to determine what life is all about, what s/he can get out of it, and what s/he must contribute. An adolescent begins to question things, and becomes filled with honest doubt as to the real value of the customs and traditions of the family. An adolescent natural inclination is to venture forth on his or her own and to determine for him or herself the strength and weakness of his or her own personality. S/he disagrees with those who are older and supposedly wiser as to what s/he should do, where s/he should go, and whom s/he should seek for friends and companions. Adolescent is argumentative about matters pertaining to religion, social customs, and politics. S/he is shockingly indifferent towards his or her elders, questioning the value of manners, and not infrequently failing to maintain the family standard with reference to morals. However, the transition from one stage to the other is gradual and uncertain because the time span is not the same for every person. In other words, adolescence is likened to a bridge between childhood and

adulthood over which individuals must pass before they are to take their places as mature adults.

When we compare similar age groups in different societies or at different historical times, the picture is even more complicated. Taking on an adult role marks the end of adolescence for instance once they get married, have children, and work or have a career. Among traditional societies whose lives are little more than a following of instinctive behavior patterns, there is no period of adolescence. A child remains a child until puberty, and then as if he crosses a threshold, he becomes an adult. For puberty marks physical maturity and that is recognized as the sign of adulthood not only by the immediate family but also by the entire society. The same thing happens to a girl, once she reaches puberty, she has already been chosen as a wife by her future husband's parents, and has gradually learned to assume the daily responsibilities of a household. Malays define adolescence from the viewpoint of biology. A Malay becomes an adolescent when he or she is able to reproduce his or her kind. This often coincides with the coming of the first menstruation for the girls, and ends when they attain emotional and social maturity, marked by a willingness to take on adult roles. For most Malays the period may be said to end when the girl is married, and if not married, when she reaches her twentieth birthday (RoZIAH.1992:63). Some cultures have a normal age of majority when adolescents formally become adults. For example, in Japan there were ceremonies that celebrate adulthood typically occurring during adolescence

called *Genpuku*, and also in the Japanese calendar, the month of January is a month of celebration for adolescents who officially become adults. In Malaysia, before the awakening of the Islamic revival, the Malay practiced a puberty ritual known as *Menarche*, derived from Hindu cultural practices. For the country as a whole, the average age at *menarche* for Malay women is twelve years old (Hamid. 1987:11). Menstruation begins when a girl becomes *pandai* which usually means skilled or clever but in this case refers to the attainment of a developmental stage. At the same time, in Malay folk perspective, a girl who experiences her first menstruation is suddenly *sudah dewasa* (adult). The *dewasa* (adult) connotes that she is ready to reproduce or ready for marriage (RoZIAH.1992:64). So, again, cultural surroundings and the societal historical background play crucial roles in determining the pattern of behavior of the people.

It is quite difficult to get information on Malay adolescents' studies in Malaysia. Studies on Malay adolescent development are basically based on western theories. According to the American Academy of Child and Adolescence Psychology¹³, there are a series of developmental stages that everyone faces during the adolescent years. An adolescent's development can be divided into three stages; early (12 - 14 years), middle (15 - 16 years), and late adolescence (17 - 19 years). The normal feelings and behaviors of adolescents for each stage are described in **Table 3.1**. Although adolescents will naturally vary slightly from

13)

the descriptions below, the feelings and behaviors listed for each area are in general, considered the norm for each of the three stages.

Table 3.1 American Academy of Child and Adolescence Psychology.

Behavior	Stages of Adolescence		
	12-14 years	15 -16 years	17 - 19 years
Movement Towards Independence	<p>Struggle with sense of identity</p> <p>Moodiness</p> <p>Improved abilities to use speech to express oneself</p> <p>More likely to express feelings by action than by words</p> <p>Close friendships gain importance</p> <p>Less attention shown to parents, with occasional rudeness</p> <p>Realization that parents are not perfect; identification of their faults</p> <p>Search for new people to love in addition to parents</p> <p>Tendency to return to childish behavior, fought off by excessive activity</p> <p>Peer group influence interests and clothing styles</p>	<p>Self-involvement, alternating between unrealistically high expectations and poor self-concept</p> <p>Complaints that parents interfere with independence</p> <p>Extremely concerned with appearance and with one's own body</p> <p>Feelings of strangeness about one's self and body</p> <p>Lowered opinion of parents, withdrawal of emotions from them</p> <p>Effort to make new friends</p> <p>Strong emphasis on the new peer group with the group identity of selectivity, superiority and competitiveness</p> <p>Periods of sadness as the psychological loss of the parents takes place</p> <p>Examination of inner experiences, which may include writing a diary</p>	<p>Firmer identity</p> <p>Ability to delay gratification</p> <p>Ability to think ideas through</p> <p>Ability to express ideas in words</p> <p>More developed sense of humor</p> <p>Stable interests</p> <p>Greater emotional stability</p> <p>Ability to make independent decisions</p> <p>Ability to compromise</p> <p>Pride in one's work</p> <p>Self-reliance</p> <p>Greater concern for others</p>
Career Interest	<p>Mostly interested in present and near future</p> <p>Greater ability to work</p>	<p>Intellectual interests gain importance</p> <p>Some sexual and aggressive energies directed into creative and career interests</p>	<p>More defined work habits</p> <p>Higher level of concern for the future</p> <p>Thoughts about one's role in life</p>
Sexuality	<p>Girls ahead of boys</p> <p>Same-sex friends and</p>	<p>Concerns about sexual attractiveness</p> <p>Frequently changing</p>	<p>Concerned with serious relationships</p> <p>Clear sexual identity</p>

	group activities Shyness, blushing and modesty Show-off qualities Greater interest in privacy Experimentation with body (masturbation) Worries about being normal	relationships Movement towards heterosexuality with fears of homosexuality Tenderness and fears shown towards opposite sex Feelings of love and passion	Capacities for tender and sensual love
Ethics & Self-Direction	Rule and limit testing Occasional experimentation with cigarettes, marijuana, and alcohol Capacity for abstract thought	Development of ideals and selection of role models More consistent evidence of conscience Greater capacity for setting goals Interest in moral reasoning	Capable of useful insight Stress on personal dignity and self-esteem Ability to set goals and follow through Acceptance of social institutions and cultural traditions Self-regulation of self esteem

People especially adults sometimes misunderstand the behavior of the adolescent. They think that these young people are eager to behave badly and always act without thinking of the consequences. The predominant image of adolescence in society is of rebellion, moodiness and angst, delinquency, sinfulness, energy and excitement (Rice.1999: 71). Other ways of defining the adolescents' world are to approach it from various points of view: from the studies of biologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists (Nielsen, L. 1996: 5- 12). However, it is not the researcher's intention to say which theory is better than the other. Each theory has its own advantages and disadvantages. The theories differ in terms of which aspects of the adolescent are emphasized, including cultural experiences,

sexuality, psychosocial influences, cognition and reasoning, identity and so on. They also differ in terms of the factors or combinations of factors postulated as causal influences, such as biological evolution, cultural learning, disequilibrium, intrapsychic conflict, psychosocial conflict, and so forth. Clearly, no single theory has been able to completely capture the developing adolescent across different cultural and historical contexts (Berzonsky, 2000:26). One view alone gives only a partial picture, for after all, adolescents are biological, psychological, social and cultural beings: genetically controlled organisms, and psychologically and sociologically conditioned products of the family and society of which they are a part. To understand adolescents, one must stand in many places and look from many points of view. Furthermore, the reason to put in all the theories in the study is not to discuss them one by one, but for people to understand the development of adolescents as most psychologists and anthropologists did.

The first theory is the biological views that dominated the beliefs and research on adolescence during early 1900s. One of the most important scholars of adolescence development was G. Stanley Hall, the first Ph.D. in psychology in the United States and the father of the child study movement in North America. He was the first to advance a psychology of adolescence in his two-volume treatise on the subject. According to Hall, during its development each human organism relives each of the stages that occurred in human evolutionary development. Adolescence marked a "rebirth". Humans, according to Hall, were

born first as members of the animal kingdom with selfish drives, needs, and survival concerns. During adolescence they were "reborn" as members of a civilized species concerned with social responsibility and the rights and welfare of others. Being altruistic and socially responsible sometimes required one to sacrifice and frustrate personal wants and needs. Hall described adolescence as a distinct and tumultuous time of life when our behavior is primarily determined by the way our species is genetically programmed. He believed that adolescents are genetically destined to be especially prone to rapid, rebellious and sometimes life threatening changes in behavior. Hall described adolescence as the period corresponding to the time when the human race was in a turbulent, transitional stage, a time of a great "storm and stress" (Rice.1999:56). He said that puberty is a time of great upset, emotional maladjustment, and instability in which the adolescent's moods oscillate between energy and indifference, gaiety and depression, or egotism and bashfulness (Berzonsky.2000:12). He outlined four major stages; *infancy* (first four years), in which the child re-enact the animal stage of development; *childhood* (five to seven), which corresponds to the cave-dwelling and hunting-fishing epoch of human history; *youth* (eight to twelve), the preadolescent stage of development during which the child recapitulates the life of savagery, but is predisposed to learn to read, write, draw, manipulate numbers and other subjects through routine practice and discipline; and *puberty* (thirteen to twenty-four), the period of adolescence. The end of adolescence marks a new birth in which higher, more completely human traits are born, a time corresponding to the beginning of modern civilization (Rice.1999:56). Hall's views

exerted a marked influence upon the study of adolescence for many years. Since development was controlled from within, parents were cautioned not to interfere, but to let the child pass from one stage to the other.

The second theory is known as the anthropological theory. In 1920s anthropologists began to study adolescents in non-Western cultures. This idea came into fully recognition through the research of anthropologists Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict. Their research revealed that adolescent behaviors varied considerably from culture to culture. As an anthropology student, Margaret Mead's doctoral dissertation was designed to test Stanley Hall's hypothesis that adolescence is universally a period of storm and stress. Her dissertation was conducted in Samoa, a small island in the South Pacific (Berzonsky,2000:13). The findings she reported indicated that Samoan adolescents experienced few problems and difficulties; in fact little significance or fanfare was associated with the adolescent transition. The theories have been called *cultural determinism and cultural relativism* because they emphasize the importance of the social environment in determining the personality development of the child. The way adolescents act and the problems they experience are relative to the cultural circumstances within which they live and develop. They pointed out that adolescence is not a particularly stressful or rebellious period in every society. Social institutions, economic patterns, habits, mores, rituals and religious beliefs vary from society to society. Culture is relative. The kinds of influences that mold the child depend on the culture in which the child grows up. How children are

socialized has an impact on how they think and behave when they become adolescents. The development of adolescence has much influence on three factors (Rice. 1999:67);

i. Cultural Continuity versus Discontinuity

Benedict's review of cultural studies of adolescence revealed that specific adolescent behaviors and problems did vary from culture to culture. However, in some cultures, like American and Western cultures, adolescence was a stressful and tumultuous time of life. In other cultures, the transition from childhood to adulthood was less problematic and stressful. The growth pattern of adolescence is relatively continuous with no abrupt changes from one age to the other. In non-stressful cultures, training and socialization was relatively gradual and continuous. For instance, a girl growing up in a traditional setting- one where her mother does not work outside of the home- who will herself assume that same traditional role when she subsequently becomes an adult. The games she plays as a child, her responsibilities helping her mother with the cooking and cleaning or taking care of younger siblings, are all gradual and continuous training and preparation for the role she will assume when she becomes an adult. When it is time to make the transition to an adult role, she is well prepared and experiences little turmoil or difficulty (Berzonsky.2000:14) In contrast, Benedict found that the training and instruction for youth in cultures in which adolescence is stressful tends to be discontinuous. There is a sharp break or distinction between what one does and learns as a child and the role one is expected to assume as an

adult. For instance, a distinction is made between the responsible work that adults do and non-responsible play of children. Of course, children may have chores or even part-time jobs like a paper route, but that is rarely seen as preparation relevant to their "real" life's work. In fact, with most Western adolescent, instruction and education take place in artificial learning context- schools- which bear little resemblance to the contexts within which they will work as adults. This principal of continuity of cultural conditioning may be illustrated with three examples suggested by Mead and Benedict. First, the responsible roles of children in traditional societies are contrasted with the non-responsible roles of children in Western culture. Second, the submissive role of children in Western culture is contrasted with the dominant role of children in traditional society. And thirdly, the similarity of sex roles of children and adults in traditional cultures is contrasted with the dissimilar sex roles of children and adults in Western culture. This was expressed as follows in **Table 3.2** (Berzonsky.2000:14);

Table 3.2

The Development of Adolescence – anthropological views		
	TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES	WESTERN SOCIETIES
CULTURAL CONTINUITY VS DISCONTINUITY		
Responsible and non-responsible roles.	They learn responsibility quite early. Play and work often involve the same activity. For example, by playing with bow and arrow, a boy learns to hunt.	They must assume drastically different roles as they grow up; they have to shift from non-responsible play to responsible work.
Submissive role & dominant role.	They do not experience the dominance-submission conflict.	They must drop their childhood submission and adopt its opposite, dominance, as they become adults.
Similarity of sex roles	They experience no real discontinuity of sex roles as they pass from childhood to adulthood. They have the opportunity to experiment and become familiar with sex. Therefore, by the time they reach adulthood, they are able to assume a sexual role in marriage very easily.	Infant sexuality is denied and adolescent sexuality is repressed. Sex is considered evil and dangerous. When adolescents mature sexually, they must unlearn these earlier attitudes and taboos and become sexually responsive adults.

ii. *Storm and Stress versus Cultural Conditioning*

Anthropologists challenge the inevitability of the storm and stress of adolescence by minimizing the disturbance of physical changes and by emphasizing the interpretation given to those changes. In relation to menstruation for example, one may teach that a menstruating girl is a danger to the whole community while another society may consider it as a blessing. So a girl who taught that menstruation is a positive development will react differently from a girl who is taught that it is a curse. Therefore, the stress and strains of pubescent physical changes may be the result of certain cultural interpretations

of those changes and not due to any inherent biological tendencies (Rice.1999:75).

iii. Cross-Cultural Views on Parent-Adolescent Relations

Anthropologists describe many conditions in Western culture that create a generation gap, but they deny the inevitability of that gap. Rapidity of social change, pluralistic value systems, and modern technology make the world appear too complex and too unpredictable to the adolescent to provide them with a stable frame of reference. Furthermore, early physiological puberty and the need for prolonged education allow many years for the development and assimilation of a peer-group culture in which adolescent values, customs and mores may be in conflict with those in an adult world. Mead felt that close family ties should be loosened to give adolescents more freedom to make their own choices and live their own lives. She also maintained that by requiring less conformity and less dependency and by tolerating individual differences within the family, adolescent-parent conflict and tension can be minimized (Mead, M. 1950:141). She also suggested that young people could be accepted into adult society at a younger age and that adolescents should be given a greater voice in the social and political life of the community. These measures would eliminate some of the discontinuities of cultural conditioning of children growing up in Western society and would allow for a smoother, easier transition to adulthood.

Unlike strictly biological theories, sociological theories developed by Skinner were based on the premise that most of how we behave and who we become during and after adolescence was determined by environmental influences. The theory concerned with the relationship between social and environmental factors and their influence on behavior (Rice.1999:71). Although sociologists do not deny that biological factors influence our behavior, they emphasize the impact that our experiences have on our development. Among the most important environmental factors are the kinds of behavior and ways of thinking that are reinforced or punished at home, at school, by our peers and by our society. Sociologists found that adolescents behaved in different ways according to the kind of families they came from. For example, adolescents from poor families were found to drop out of school, break the law, and get pregnant more often than adolescents from wealthier families. According to Skinnerian or behavioral psychology, most of an individual's behavior and attitudes are a result of the ways he or she has been reinforced or punished since birth. If adolescence is unique, it is mainly because teenage people are reinforced or have been socialized beforehand to behave in particular ways during this period of their lives.

Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters, two social learning theorists believe that process of observing the behavior of others and by imitating this pattern affects our behavior and attitudes (Rice.1999:71). This process of observing and imitating is referred to as *modeling*. People acquire new

behavioral repertoires and modify their social responses through the observation of models: parents or significant adults who help the adolescents to feel good about themselves. We imitate those people that we see receiving the kinds of rewards we ourselves would like to receive. As children grow, they imitate different models from their social environment. Young children imitate the language, gestures, mannerism, habits, and basic attitudes and values of parents as in the Malay proverb says; '*Kemana tumpah kuah kalau tak ke nasi*' (Gravy is poured on rice) (Brown.1959.132). School-age children may imitate some speech patterns or mannerisms of teachers and repeat a teacher's ideas about social or political problems in dinner conversation at home. As they grew older, entertainment heroes and peers become increasingly important as models, especially in influencing verbal expressions, hairstyles, clothing, music, food preferences, and basic social values. Imitation is important in learning such complex social behaviors as self-control, altruism, aggression, or sexual behavior (Rice.1999:71).

The theory also showed that when children watched unusually aggressive behavior in real-life model or a real model in a film, many of the children's responses were accurate imitations of the aggressive acts of the real-life model or of the person on the film (Rice.1999:71). Bandura and Walters showed that a number of factors in the home situation contribute to effective socialization. One is early dependency of children on the parents, so that children desire approval and affection. If dependency behavior is punished by a lack of affectional

nurturance or by parental rejection, socialization is delayed, hostility or aggressive behavior may develop and children experience less guilt and lack the capacity to control aggressive feelings when aroused. Another home factor that contributes to socialization they found to be the exertion of socialization pressure in the form of demands, restrictions and limitations. In other words, discipline. The parents of less aggressive sons limited the amount of aggression they would tolerate, they used more reasoning as a disciplinary method, and had higher expectations of the boys than did the parents of aggressive sons. Aggressive sons were encouraged to show aggression outside the home toward other children. Teenage boys who are very aggressive and antisocial often come from homes in which one or both parents acquiesced to the boys' whining, aggressive behavior from the time they were very young children. Bandura writes:

When a parent punishes his child physically for having aggressed toward peers, for example, the intended outcome of this training is that the child should refrain from hitting others. The child, however, is also learning from parental demonstration how to aggress physically... (Rice,1999:72).

- The intergenerational cycle of antisocial predispositions predicting from parents and grandparents to children and grandchildren is well established, especially for boys. There is evidence that children in these families are subject to an array of negative long-term outcomes, including low self-esteem, depression, alcohol problems, educational failure, unstable relationships and irresponsible sexual behavior (Lori:2000:142).

Most social learning theorists emphasize the role of reinforcement, or the responses of others, in influencing future behavior. Bandura expands on this idea, speaking of *vicarious reinforcement* and *self-reinforcement*. Vicarious reinforcement consists of the positive or negative consequences that one observes others experience. Observing that others are rewarded for aggressive behavior increases the possibility that the observer will also show aggression. Self-reinforcement is effective as external reinforcement in influencing behavior. Once the performance of a desired response pattern acquired a positive value, they could administer their own reinforcement. Adolescents who set reasonable goal levels of performance and reach that level feel proud and satisfied internally, become less and less dependent on parents and teachers to give them rewards (Rice.1999:73).

Bandura also questions the stage-theory assumption that adolescence is inevitably a period of "storm and stress, tension, rebellion". He feels that the description of adolescents with turmoil, anxiety, sexual tensions, compulsive conformity, and acute identity crises fits the actual behavior of only ten percent of the adolescent population (Rice.1999:73). He feels that responsible, happy, well-adjusted adolescents are more common than assumed, and that they are the consequences of having experienced a warm, supportive preadolescence in which firmness and socialization pressure in childhood slowly gave way to increasingly more freedom during adolescence. When marked changes occurs in adolescence, he feels it is due to sudden changes in social training, family

structure, peer group expectation, or other environmental factors, not to hormonal or other biological changes. Adolescence is not a separate stage, since human development is continuous from infancy to adulthood. The same principles of learning that explain child development are applicable to adolescent development, only the model and the environmental influences change. The work of social learning theorist is of great importance in explaining human behavior. It is especially important in emphasizing that what adults do and the role models they represent are far more important in influencing adolescent behavior than what they say (Rice.1999:73).

Psychoanalytic theory has been developed by Sigmund Freud, which is also known as the Freudian theory. According to Freud, the mature personality is composed of three structures; id, ego and superego (Berzonsky.2000:16). Virtually all behavior is an interactive product of the three structures. The id is the primary system and plays a major role in the development of the others. The id refers collectively to the basic urges, drives, and needs people are born with. It operates according to the pleasure principle. Immediate gratification is the primary aim of the id. For example, thinking about eating a lobster dinner rather than actually consuming it. Consequently, thinking driven by the id is irrational and is referred to as *primary-process thinking*.

The ego refers collectively to the control, regulatory, rational and inhibitory aspects of personality. It follows the *reality principle* and attempts to take into

account the demands and consequences of reality as well as personal wants and needs. The aim of ego is not to curb the id; it attempts to maximize pleasure by considering long terms as well as short term implications and consequences of actions. Thinking governed by the ego is referred to as *secondary-process thinking* (Berzonsky.2000:16).

The superego consists collectively of the values, standards, restrictions, and principles that people use to guide and evaluate their behavior. It consists of two components, the *conscience* and the *ego ideal*. The former contains restrictions and prohibitions – what one *should not* do - whereas the latter specifies the goal one *ought* to aspire to and how one ideally should act (Berzonsky.2000:17).

Anna Freud characterizes adolescence as a period of internal conflict, psychic disequilibrium and erratic behavior. Adolescents, on the one hand, egoistic, regarding themselves as the sole object of interest and the centre of the universe, but, on the other hand, also capable of self-sacrifice and devotion. They form passionate love relations, only to break them off suddenly. They sometimes desire complete social involvement and group participation, at other times solitude. The reason of this conflicting behavior is the psychic disequilibrium and internal conflict that accompanies sexual maturation at puberty (Rice.1999:62). At puberty, the most obvious change is an increase in the instinctual drives which have their source in the id. Because the id impulses

increase at adolescence, they present a direct challenge to the individual's ego and superego. The carefully constructed balance between these psychic powers achieved during latency is thrown into a shambles as open warfare breaks out between the id and superego. The ego, which previously has been able to enforce a truce, has as much trouble keeping the peace now as does a weak – willed parent when confronted by two strong-willed children who are quarrelling. If the ego allies itself completely with the id, no trace will be left of the previous character of the individual and the entrance into adult life will be marked by a riot of uninhibited gratification of instinct. If the ego sides completely with the superego, the character of the individual of the latency period will declare itself once and for all, with the id impulses confined within the narrow limits prescribed for the child, but with the need for a constant expenditure of psychic energy on emotionally charged activities, defense mechanisms, and emotional sympathy to hold the id in check (Rice.1999:63). Unless the id-ego-superego conflict is resolved at adolescence, the consequences can be emotionally devastating to the individual.

Similar to the behavioral and social learning theorists, psychoanalytic theorists believe that our teenage behavior and development are influenced by environmental factors, mainly by the kinds of experiences we have within our families during the first few years of our live. Unlike other theorists, psychoanalytic theorists put most emphasis on our early childhood experiences. Above all, how our “mothers relate to us in the first few years of our lives

supposedly shapes our ways of thinking and relating to people from then on. For example, adolescents who continually have trouble getting along or becoming intimate with people and becoming self-reliant have often had unloving, ambivalent, or overly involved relationships with their mothers during early childhood. These adolescents have apparently developed maladaptive way of reasoning and behaving around people based on problems in their relationships with their mothers as infants and preschoolers. If children's relationships with their parents are disturbed or the parents' marriage is unhappy, this affects their subsequent adult life. The ground is prepared for a predisposition to a disturbance of sexual development or to a neurotic illness. This is why adolescents' relationships with their parents are so important.

The Malay Adolescence; The Malay Social Tradition and Structure

In spite of the emergence of so many theories on adolescence and its development, still, adults' perspectives on adolescents have not changed specifically where adolescent behavior is concerned. Adolescents are grouped together by adults and defined as a group of people with behavioral and attitude problems. Adolescents have always suffered from the envious criticism of their elders. In general, there are similarities in adolescent behavior and the development around the world, but, still, in some countries especially in developing countries and the Third World nations where the culture and society are still bound in a 'traditional way of life', there should be and must be differences which sometimes could create misconceptions. The world of the

Malay adolescents, as has been generally mentioned in the first chapter, is connected to the whole structure of the Malay social tradition. The development of the Malay adolescent can only be understood after one understands the concept of Malays, the Malay family structure, and the social tradition of the Malay society at large because the system has been accepted as part of its culture. A few orientalist have misinterpreted the Malays behavioral patterns, viewing them as lazy, stupid, non-progressive, bad followers and conservative. These images were drawn by western colonialists based on a generalizations, assumptions and misconceptions. Many of these writers were not academics but clergymen and administrators who spent very little time trying to understand the culture of these people (Syed Hussein Alatas, 1981:97). Tom Pires for example, said that the Malays are lazy, and fond of entertainment. R.O. Winstedt said that the Malay is loyal to his friends as long as they can serve or interest him and an enervating climate prevents the Malay from cherishing great passions and undying enthusiasms (1923:87-88). Others who also shared the similar idea were Francis Light, R.J. Wilkinson, and William E. Maxwell.

Generally, the Malay people are a reserved people, given to ceremonious politeness that seems pointless to an outside observer (Noi.1990:43). Rules of behavior must be carefully observed within the family social structure. The family is a basic institution in society. It is a more than a mere organization of individuals or a network of social relationships. It performs many important functions both for the individuals who make up the family and for the society

itself. However, family structure, modes of family relationship, and the value orientations emphasized within the family have connections with larger realities, namely, the society and its framework of institutions as well as the environment within which the family exists (Tham Seong Chee.1979:88). Hence changes in society and the environment would imply changes within the family itself. It is within this broad framework that we shall view the Malay family. Like the non-Malays, the Malays have an extended family system. In other words, the family unit is not small, consisting only of father, mother and their children. This is an important institution of social security in a non-welfare state. All this reinforces the basic feudal and authoritarian character of the Malay community. This authoritarianism is shared by the Malays with the Chinese, Indians, and other peoples of Malaysia. It is manifested in respect for strength, authority and those in positions of authority. It makes Malaysia a comparatively easy country to govern, for the people are obedience-prone. Decisions are expected from above, not generated from below. Social rebellion and reformism against the upper class are typically initiated only by dissidents in the upper class itself. The feudal aspects of Malay society are evident in such things as respect for rank and the psychology of giving and receiving titles (Larson.1977:20). Titles, like *Yang Teramat Mulia*, *Yang Mulia* and *Yang Berhormat* are used in order to elevate a person in society and are commonly and fondly used deferentially to address the titled. The titled take pride in using their titles and do so in almost every occasion.

Socially, the majority of Malays live in compact *kampungs*, village communities featuring strong social cohesion and tight social control. It is only in the towns that Malays are more dispersed and that social control and cohesion are weaker, although even in the urban setting they tend to be clustered in *kampungs*. Tight social control of course has implications for individual behavior-political and otherwise. It contributes to ensuring conformity with the community's norms and values; the Malays are fond of, and highly value, consensus. The Malays of antiquity were associated with two traditions namely, the *Adat Temenggong* and the *Adat Perpatih*, both being named after the founding cultural heroes who were maternal brothers. The first, *Datok Temenggong Bendahara Kaya*, was born to a royal father and the tradition associated with him emphasized patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. The second, *Datok Parapatih nan Sabatang*, was born to a non-royal father and the tradition associated with him emphasized the rights of the female and matrilineal residence (Muhammad Arif Ahmad.1991:34).

Adat Temenggong was administered in the coastal and riverine regions of Minangkabau in central western Sumatra whereas *Adat Perpatih* was administered among inhabitants of the hills and valleys inland from the coast. The *Adat Temenggong* gave priority to male children especially in matters pertaining to inheritance; a practice which was to be further institutionalized when Malays accepted Islam as their religious faith. The law pertaining to inheritance then became formally prescribed within the *Hukum Faraid* (Muslim Law

pertaining to inheritance). The *Adat Perpatih* gave priority to females in the family in matters pertaining to inheritance. However, the central locus of the law of inheritance in this respect was ancestral land *tanah pusaka* (Tham Seong Chee.1979:90). The values and precepts of family life among the Malays therefore contain elements of both traditions. No doubt traditional organizational forms in *Adat Perpatih* areas are more clearly matrilineal, yet in the context of Malay customs and practices within the family, there exists more similarities than there are differences. This fact is most clearly seen in the areas of family structure and relationships; in the rite of passage observed; in prohibitions pertaining to food, dress, and social behavior; in ideals and beliefs relating to the socialization of children and various forms of sanctions used in correcting and moulding behavior. What is recognizably clear is that Malays refer to family life as being guided by *Adat*.

Adat play a major role in developing the structure of the Malay life from which Malays derive many ideas and relations (Roziyah.1992:58). The Malays strongly believe in traditional *adat* (custom). There is even an axiom which says "*Biar mati anak, jangan mati adat*" (it is far better that our children die rather than our *adat*) (Mahathir Mohamad, 1982:105). It has been noted by Noraini Abdullah in her study entitled *Gender Ideology and the Public Lives of Malay Women in Peninsular Malaysia*;

The Adat represents the formal and conscious beliefs of the Malays from which we can trace cultural and social production of ideas and relations in the wider society (1984:100).

Adat means compliance with the laws of nature; the conventions of society and the rules of etiquette. *Adat* is not a set of written laws or rules or the residue of philosophical discourse. It is a collection of sayings, precepts, and rules of social organization. The *Adat* is in fact the accumulated wisdom of the folk. Their way of life and behavior is basically influenced by the traditional custom system. Most of their values are embodied and learned from the legends, folk-tales, custom (*adat*) and proverbs of the society, for example, *Berani kerana benar, takut kerana salah* (You should be brave to face the fact if what you did is right and you should be scared if you are wrong); *Anjing dengan bayang-bayang* (A dog and its shadow); a folktale about those who are too arrogant will end with failure or disaster; *Pak Kadok*, a satirical folktale about a person who was too greedy to become rich and mortgaged all his property in a cock fight. Unfortunately, he lost everything he had; *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, a story about a legendary Malay hero during the Malacca Sultanate Empire who never disobeyed or was disloyal to his *sultan* (king) while even the king himself committed crimes against his subjects. What is conceived to be *Adat* is therefore right or correct procedure and in accordance with convention (Tham Seong Chee.1979:90). Within the context of human relationships, that which complies with the *Adat* is moral and ethically correct whereas that which contravenes accepted *Adat* rules is immoral, crude, inappropriate (Tham Seong Chee.1979:90). The *Adat* of the Malays reflects a rural-agricultural milieu. Thus the Malay family life is guided by a corpus of

values, precepts, and norms of behavior traceable to the *Adat* as a whole. Traditionally *Adat* law was regarded as the real law, whereas Islamic law (being institutionalized later) was regarded as the ideal law by which Malays are increasingly striving to order their lives. Certain patterns of socialization are characteristic in the Malay family. These continue to be important features in Malay family life. It is extremely difficult to systematize and separate *Adat* precepts regarding family life from those precepts which are associated with Islam. For instance, respect for elders is a precept in the *Adat* as well as in Islam. The elders should be honored, persons of the same generation should be equally regarded, and those who are younger loved. Concurrence of this nature allows Islam to reinforce or validate further an existing value precept. These precepts are important guides to proper social relationships as perceived by the Malays. Within the family itself the following precepts operate: mother should be loved, father should be obeyed, and relatives should be respected (Tham Seong Chee.1979:94).

In terms of kinship, the Malay family is bilateral. Formal naming normally shows a patrilineal emphasis in that children take the name of the father as his or her surname, but this is in the context of kin relations, not necessarily indicative of a preference for the relatives of the father. In any case this is confined to one generation. The propagation of lineage is not a feature of Malay family life. The Malay family may also be regarded as extended. Typically such a family would comprise the parents and their children of which one of the daughters is married.

The kindred or *saudara* however is much larger as it would include relatives on both sides of the parents as well as relatives acquired as a result of marriage contracted by the children of the family (Djamour.1965:29). The circle of the kindred may be enlarged by the inclusion of individuals not possessing actual kin ties with the family or kindred. The boundaries of the *saudara* therefore expand

Figure 3.3 The Social Structural of the Malay Family

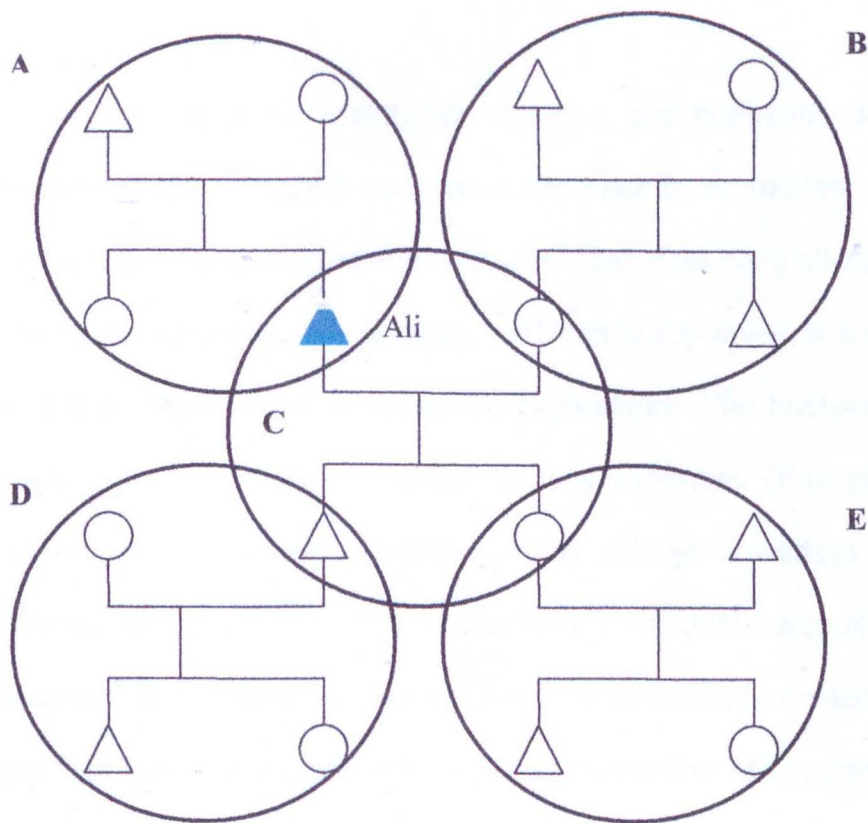


Traditionally after marriage, children do not set up home on their own. Rather, an extension to the house is built to accommodate the newly weds. The extended household is usually big and noisy with grandparents, siblings and their spouses and many grandchildren.

or contract as and when individuals join or leave the kindred. For example, in the **Table 3.4** (Yaacob.1991:27), Ali has his own family; C. He is also part of his parents family; A, or can also becomes part of his wife's family; B. This means

that Ali regards relatives of both parents as equally desirable. When Ali's children get married and having their own family, Ali can live with his children's family too; D and E. All five separated groups of nuclear families can developed and merge into bigger extended families. It depends on where Ali stands in the family, for example, when Ali and his family 'C' stay (nuclear family) with his parents' family 'A' (nuclear family), then the gathering will become an extended family.

Table 3.4 The Cross-Linkage of the Malay Family



In general, the structure of the Malay family is based on equalitarianism (Yaacob.1991:29). However the influence of Islam has distributed more power to

the husband (male dominance). The male, particularly the husband, is the leader of the family and carries more responsibility than others. The father is associated with authority and has full rights within the family. He is responsible for the well-being of the family, the conduct of his wife, and her relationship with others, and the upbringing of the children. He must offer a good example to his family and the people around him. As been stated by Rice;

It is important, for parents to be moral people themselves if they are to offer a positive role model for their children to follow (1999:526).

In terms of the distribution of tasks, the husbands do all the work that involves physical exertion such as in the *padi* fields, repairs, and carpentry. The husband will be labeled as not manly or weak if he does all the women's work. In a few circumstances, the females, particularly the wives, are responsible for and have the power over the household expenditure. The husbands need to consult the wives who act as the banker for any expenses (Yaacob.1991:43). Due to modernization and westernization, many women nowadays have job either in factories or companies. As a result these traditional perceptions on women are declining. Most women in Malaysia started demanding an equal status with men and this have created mixed opinions among the Malaysian especially among men. Nevertheless, female dominance in a family is not acceptable in the Malay society. A wife is supposed to obtain her husband's permission to absent herself from the home, but she usually goes about her work in the fields, visits kin and friends or shops in the town. The wife has a huge responsibility in educating and

bringing up the children. She should remain loyal to her husband and in turn, he must provide protection for her wife. She must obey her husband as long as the husband is loyal to her (Yaacob.1991:43). An excellent wife is the one who can manage her housework, her children and her husband well. Some people believe that the wife is no more than an *orang dapur* (she do all the housework and be a good housewife). This attitude can be clearly described in the Malay proverb which says; *however high her academic qualification in life she will always end up in the kitchen* (Yaacob.1991:43).

Socialization as conceived by Malay parents consists of two broad levels (Tham Seong Chee.1979:100). The first level refers to that period when the child is still dependent on the parents. Among Malays, children are highly valued; *"Like carrying a palm-full of oil"* (Sheppard.1992:144). Malay affection for children has been noted in several studies (Tham Seong Chee.1979:94). This is also not in conflict with Islam which not only values children but looks upon them as adding to the numbers of the *ummat* or followers of the Prophet (Alwi.1965:vii). The early years of socialization are thus a period during which the nurture and succor afforded the child is marked. Crying children are immediately attended to as in the Malay proverb; *Relationship is of the body, there is no relationship of gold: the love of mere relations is equal on both sides:a father's love adds to the store (of his children): a mother's love follows them everywhere: but the love which exists between friends is such that they will die together"* (Sheppard.1992:24). Children at this early pre-school age are regarded as "not knowing", particularly

in matters pertaining to right and wrong. Children are treated as children until they have reached the age of puberty. Within the family, the Malay child grows up emotionally secure but also dependent. This is the period that coincides with the pre-school and schooling years of the child. The dominating concerns at this period are religious upbringing and the fostering of family ties. There is no overt attempt to cultivate responsible behavior at an early age. The child is expected to be able to assume responsibility, develop understanding, and give support to dependent kin, especially younger siblings, as he matures.

The Malay conception of responsibility and self-reliance is a strongly defined. Responsible behavior is valued and is largely instilled by "caretaking training"; a socialization technique which entails the elder siblings being assigned various responsibilities within the home such as looking after the younger siblings, affording them companionship, and acting as role models for the younger members within the family or kin group. Sibling relationships as mentioned by Rice (1999:420) are important in a number of ways, such as older siblings serving as role models for younger brothers and sisters, often as surrogate parents and acting as caretakers, teachers, playmates and confidantes. Finally older siblings often provide companionship, friendship and meet one another's needs for affection. The shaping of self-reliance as a desirable quality does not imply that the child should grow away from the family. Children who show self-reliance are admired but are also criticized if they reject help proffered to them. Children are expected to mutually support each other with

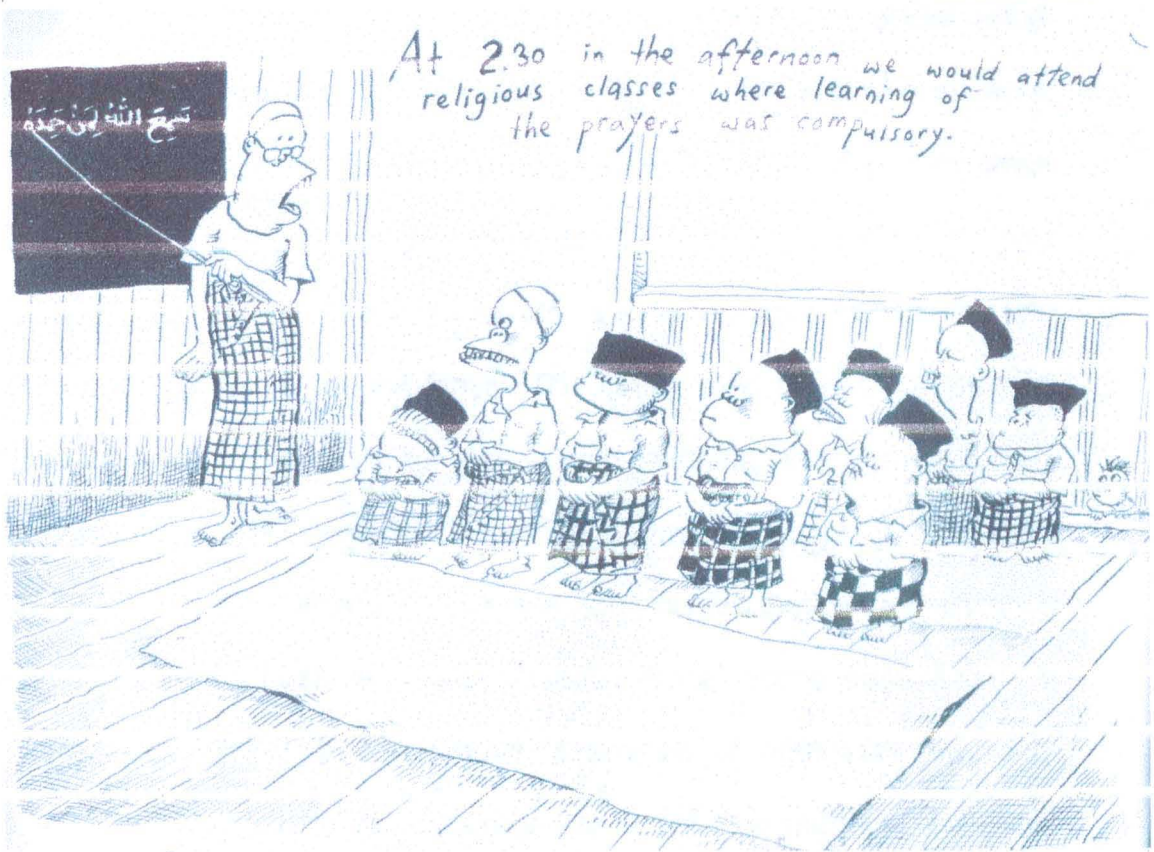
the younger looking up to the elder. Parents and elders are regarded as the most appropriate models of imitation and emulation. A child growing up alone without the care or companionship of siblings is to be pitied.

The second level refers to children who have attained maturity. Parents who have grown-up children show a marked shift of emphasis with regard to value orientation in contrast to parents whose children are still young. The concerns of parents at this stage of the socialization process are centered on work, marriage and morality. When the children have sought work or employment, the parents worry that the children may get involved in immoral activities such as consumption of liquor or drugs, gambling or gangsterism. Concern was also shown over children who were married. Parents consistently mention that children ought to guide their actions by faithful observation of religious precepts and the injunctions taught to them. Thus old and young are often reminded that acts of bad behavior represent a loss or absence of faith in religion. This is due in large part to the perception of Malays with regard to what constitutes their identity as a cultural group. Thus adherence to Islam has both symbolic and existential relevance. The latter relates to the religious values, precepts, and injunctions of Islam by which Malays order their lives, and the former to Islam as a symbol of Malayness (Tham Seong Chee.1979:101).

The impulse of the child is directed towards socially approved forms of behavior. Thus socialization is perceived as the process of gradual habituation to

behavioral forms which are socially approved and religiously idealized. This means in essence that the child is awakened first of all to the existence of certain social requirements in the family and the practice of certain religious rituals incumbent on the Muslim (Tham Seong Chee.1979:94). The child learns these through precept and imitation. Harsh words are rarely used and are considered improper and unnecessary. The child therefore gradually internalizes the various states of mind evoked by such words as *seگان* (shy, modest); *malu* (shame, immodest); *takut* (fear of reprimand, authority); *hormat* (respect); *kurang ajar* (lack of propriety, ill-mannered, lack of breeding); *taat* (loyalty and attachment); *hutang budi* (gratefulness, obligation, indebtedness); *budi bahasa* (tactfulness, good manners); *tolak ansur* (compromise); *penyesuaian* (mutual adaptation); *sopan santun* (respectfulness); and *tatatertib* (orderliness of behavior) (Tham Seong Chee.1979:94). Various sentiments and observances of a religious nature are also inculcated during the early years of socialization. Thus modes of prayer and the ritual requirements pertaining to prayer are taught assiduously. The doctrine of the unity of God (*tauhid*) is committed to memory through learning, prayer, and exhortation. The children also learn the difference between what is considered to be religiously obligatory (*wajib*) and recommended (*dipuji*) as against that which is disapproved (*makruh*) and forbidden (*haram*). The child acquires a sense of the all-powerful God and becomes conscious of the need to be religiously submissive. Socialization is thus quietist-directive, being emphatic

Figure 3.5



At the age of six or seven, a Malay boy is sent to a Koran teacher, to learn Muslim scriptures. He must master the Arabic writings, then words, then whole sentences and chapters (Lat. 1993:73)

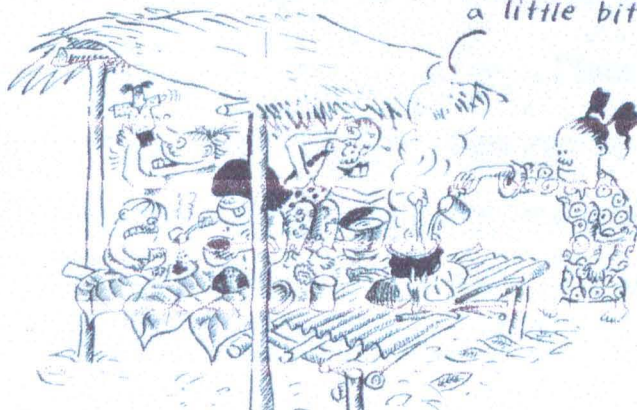
of certain desirable social and religious modalities of behavior considered to be proper, correct, and which conform to adult expectations. The religious and the social overlap or reinforce each other. As religious commitment is made during the early years of socialization, adolescent may never dare examine it or question it. They simply accept it and defend any attack upon it. Their reaction is defensive, holding on to what has been given, because of an unwillingness to question dogma (doubting is considered sinful) and because of fear of losing faith.

Children are considered to have significant economic and social value. They normally are expected to carry out chores, and to work with their parents. Once the parents are old, it is normal for children to take turns caring for them. The Malay proverb '*balas budi*' (to repay debts to) your parents is strongly adhered to by the Malays. The children too, are encouraged to take as role models the adults of the extended family. The Malay child begins socialization around the ages of five and six by playing and imitating adults in their daily activities within their households (RoZIAH.1992:59). According to Bandura (Rice.1999:528), internalization of values and rules comes through identification and modeling: children observe a relevant adult model acting according to a social norm and discover that the adult is praised or otherwise rewarded. Traditionally, female children are encouraged to adopt their mothers and aunts as role models and the male children their fathers and uncles. The male children aged between seven and ten years old are socialized to be rough and accumulate manly skills. However, they will not be pushed to do hard work that need physical strength but when they grow up they will be expected to help their father in doing the work. The female child is taught the tasks that are considered 'feminine'. For example she is trusted to help her mother in doing the housework such as washing, cleaning, picking vegetables from the kitchen garden, and minding the babies. At the same time she is taught to be well-groomed, and to walk, sit and speak in a feminine way (RoZIAH.1992:59-60). Ideal behavior for her potential roles as wife and mother is inculcated in a girl during her early years. She learns through being daughter and sister attitudes and behavior patterns for

a lifetime. She is taught to be dutiful, self-effacing, and modest, to have a strong sense of the proper way to comfort herself, particularly in the presence of men; and to know that her behavior reflects on her parents and other family members (Strange.1981:134). If a young woman is a hard worker, her mother will be credited; if she is lazy, it is assumed that her mother was remiss in training her. When the community criticizes the behavior of a child, they may see both parents as responsible, but the mother invariably bears more of the brunt than the father. When they grow older they will automatically take over part of their mother's responsibility in the house and the mother will be able to help the father.

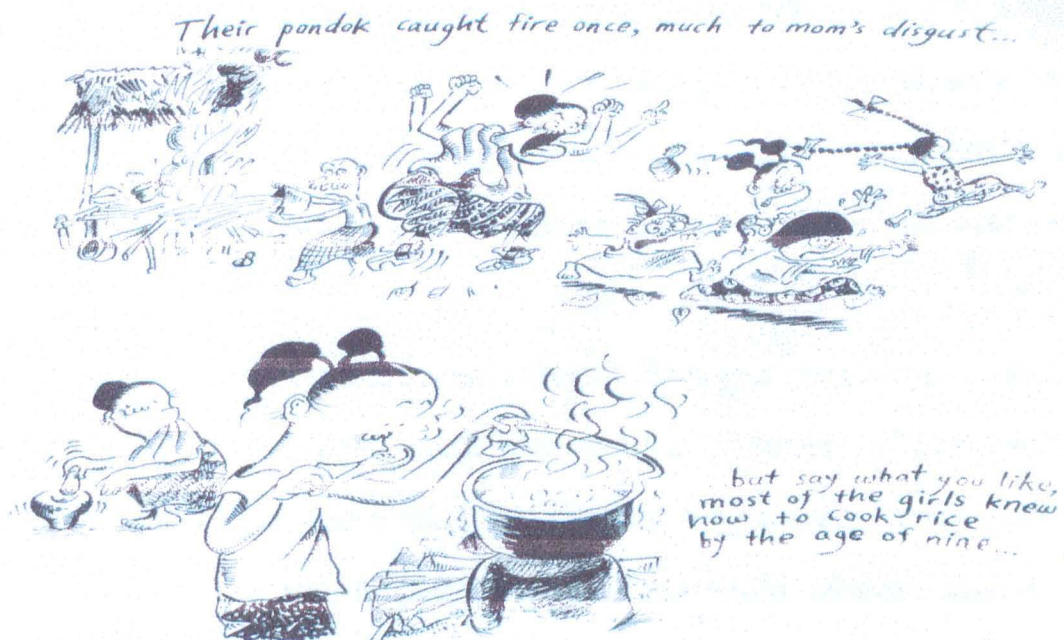


*The trouble with girls
was that they
also liked to steal
a little bit of rice...*



*... to cook
while playing
"masak-masak."*

(Figure 3.6) The young females always play 'masak-masak' (cooking) during leisure. They are playing and at the same time they learn the adult responsibility (Lat. 1993:55).



(Figure 3.7) Most of the young females are able to handle adult responsibility such as cooking for the family (Lat.1993:56).

All these responsibilities are part of the self developmental training process so that children will be prepared and confident when they grow up. Thus differentiation of sex roles and generational status has an important bearing on cognition vis-à-vis the development of children (Yaacob.1991:45). Frequent interaction offers opportunities for the communication of values and norms that are seen as meaningful by the adolescents, especially if the exchange is democratic and mutual. However, a one-sided form of autocratic interaction results in poor communication and less learning for the adolescent.

In terms of discipline and its use, stress is placed on the Malay concept of parental love. A child who loves his parents, especially the mother, is one who is obedient, cooperative and conforms to the wishes of the parents. Malay mothers

and fathers control their children's behavior in childhood by making use of two codes of conduct. One code is indulgent and implies near equality between parent and child, much as do asymmetrical but more egalitarian sibling roles. The child is given as many gifts as its parents can afford. When the child gets into difficulty around the house, parents help by explaining the child's source of discomfort to him. Soothing is not sufficient. With younger children, explanations tend to be one word exclamations: "hot", "sharp", "hurt" and "fall" (Banks.1983:133). Older children are told why they are sick, which spirits have been offended, or how to avoid danger in the future. Mothers always correct undesirable behavior by threatening to withdraw their love. Giving advise can be considered as the most preferred method among mothers. Reasoning and the use of religious precepts to correct misbehavior are also much preferred in contrast to caning, scolding, and the use of threats. A daughter's public behavior is judged more stringently than a son's actions. If a teenage girl and a boy who are not close kin are observed chatting together, both may be criticized by parents and others for behaving in an unseemly manner but "she is not *malu*" (has no sense of shame), while "he is *budak kacau*" (a bad boy in the semijocular sense that is accompanied by a smile and a what-can-one-do gesture) (Strange.1981:134). It is a mother's duty to train all her children to behave properly, but she is most concerned with how her daughter's act. A family's women bear its honor. Malay parents may be regarded as emphasizing love-oriented techniques of discipline as in the Malay proverbs; '*seperti ayam patuk anaknya*' (as a hen pecks her chickens) and '*seperti kerbau menanduk anaknya*,

dengan papar, tidak dengan hujungnya' (as a buffalo horns its calf with the flat of the horn and not with the point) (Tham Seong Chee.1979:95). In other words, the method of upbringing produces paragons of perfect manners and filial love and obedience (Winstedt.1923:88).

In the other code, sometimes parents are known to become upset and angry and to hit children with little warning. Parents explain this behavior by referring to the need for comportment in order to grow and learn. The strict and harsh code in child training is rarely seen but is always lurking beneath the surface when children are noisy, disorderly or appear to be disrespectful (Banks.1983:134). Children are expected to be obedient at all times and to behave well before their father. The authority of the father is inculcated in the child by the mother who cumulatively uses the father as an instrument of sanction, or the child is made to obtain permission from the father whenever anything of importance is planned (Tham Seong Chee.1979:97). Perception of the father as the fount of authority emerges gradually. By the times the child reaches adulthood, circumspection and respect are the twin psychological influences which govern his relationship with the father. While children are discouraged from contravening the norms of correct behavior as well as the expectations of adults, they are also encouraged not to cause harm or trouble to others. A degree of awareness is brought to bear on the importance of recognizing the rights of others, to steer away from bad acts that lead to lowering of one's self respect and to avoid committing any anti-social acts. Thus male

children are encouraged to be diligent and to avoid behavior which is harmful to themselves and to society. Female children are taught to be pious, unobtrusive, modest, good natured and responsible.

The Malay Characteristics and Its Problems

As has been explained earlier as a whole, the Malays social structure is unique and can be complicated to understand by outsiders. From the period of colonial investigation into the Malay 'personality' and 'world-view' to the modern period of state formation and nation-building, many scholars have stopped to probe into the lives of these people, to examine both cultural specificities and more universal features of organization and development. O' Brien (1883:145) sums up the Malay race as 'externally impassive' with 'extraordinary susceptibility and peculiar sensitiveness to the influence of what we should call the accidents of every day life', rather like Irishmen, extremely 'touchy' but nevertheless 'charming and loveable'. Significantly, these accounts of the 'Malay character' were not drawn from any serious research. Nevertheless, whether they were based on passing observations or intuitive gut-level reasoning, they helped to formulate the idea that the Malays in the Malay Peninsular, despite their different origins from the Malay Archipelago, shared certain social sentiments or value-preferences derived from *adat*, a generic term to include customary practices, social institutions, system of behavior, and processes of socialization into culture (Wazir Jahan Karim.1990:12-13). The ethical codes and value systems of the Malays, however, have never been studied or analyzed by scholars (Mahathir Mohamad.1982:183).

The Malay society has a set of rules based on a mixture of Islamic and *adat* (traditional customs) for them to follow and those rules have been accepted as part of the culture (Muhammad Ariff Ahmad, 1991:33). Nevertheless, some Malays confuse the teachings of Islam with the traditional customs, for example the tradition of circumcision among the Malay children. They believe that circumcision is a Muslim obligation (Winstedt.1961:112) although the ritual aspects of the practice are custom (*adat*). Although circumcision is part of the Islamic traditional custom and considered essential for personal health and hygiene, nevertheless it does not mean that it is obligatory for becoming a Muslim (Craig.1988:124). There are no verses in the Koran saying that circumcision is an obligation for every Muslim. Another example is the Malays' belief that it is a sin for youngsters to disagree or express dissatisfaction with their parents' orders or decisions. Islam, however, encourages the value of tolerance and negotiation between parents and their children. All this confusion can be related to the history of how Islam influenced the Malays during the rule of the Melaka Sultanate Empire. The influence of Islam on the Malays was tremendous. The Arabic language and culture which are part and parcel of Islam were absorbed by the Malays and caused drastic changes in their way of life. Adaptation of the Arabic script by Malay scholars resulted in increased literacy and an easier acquisition of the philosophy and sciences of the Middle East. Unfortunately, all the cultural and educational changes brought by Islam remained for the most part in the urban areas. Later on, when teachers moved into, and established religious schools in the rural areas, their teaching was

limited only to religion. Philosophy and sciences did not find ready acceptance. The influence of custom or *adat* and the strong animist beliefs of the rural areas limited Islamic teaching, and caused the practice of Islam to merge with Malay custom and its animist basis (Mahathir Mohamad. 1982:22-23).

As has been explained earlier, the Malays are generally a gentle people who have a 'community spirit' (Craig.1988:81). Friends, relatives and neighbors feel a responsibility to help each other in times of joy, need and grief as in the Malay proverbs; '*Hati gajah sama dilapah, hati kuman sama dicicah*' (Together we slice the elephant's heart, together we taste the heart of the mite), '*Ringan sama dijinjang, berat sama dipikul*' (Together we carry the light things in our hands, together we load the heavy burdens) (Brown. 1959:207). Courtesy, etiquette and good manners form an essential part of their everyday life. These values are reflected in the way they treat others and in the way they treat strangers- with respect and consideration. The formality and painstaking politeness of the Malays make frankness rare as in the Malay proverb; '*Kerana mulut, badan binasa*' (the body may die because of the mouth) (Brown.1959:74). It is impossible to be extremely polite and courteous without being self denying and humble as well. Good manners demand that criticism be minimal or indirect. The result of this self-restraint is that the Malays are invariably misinterpreted. When the Malays call foreigners *tuan*, or *master*, out of politeness, they are apt to be taken literally. The Malays, on finding that those whom they politely call "master" have in fact assumed the attitude of masters towards them, are

restrained by politeness from pointing out the obvious mistake. The unavoidable result, therefore, is a frequent misunderstanding of Malay attitudes, opinions, feelings, and beliefs and thus a misinterpretation by members of the Malay community, as well as by non-Malays of what Malays would like to do, intend to do, and will actually do (Larson.1977:180).

The Malay too, has generally been characterized as humble, self-effacing, and one who does not naturally seek to impose his will upon others and ever willing to compromise (Mahathir Mohamad.1982: 160). The Malay has been labelled as a 'shy' society with its own social code, which dictates the norms of conduct. The average Malay usually desires and leads a temperate life. In his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, in his attitude towards others and in his reaction to his circumstances and surroundings, there is always this quality of moderation. The 'good' Malay is always unobtrusive and self-effacing, unwilling to impose his will if it conflicts with others. He admires temperance and self-restraint; intemperance is not respected, and extremism generally rejected. Above all, he is polite and courteous. Just about the worst admonition that can be administered to a Malay is to charge him with being *kurang ajar*, lacking in manners. This means that he is seldom fully frank, will generally not call a spade a spade, and will never call it a 'bloody shovel'. Open criticism is not a natural response, aggression is normally sublimated. To express suggestions and offer solutions freely is not part of the Malay culture and habit. The society will never accept the idea of free speech. Furthermore, as Malaysia is a multi-ethnic

country with multi-cultural differences, questioning openly is strictly prohibited. The government has decided not to allow any free speech and free expression of emotion publicly since the bloody racial clashes in 1969. The Malaysian government is very firm about this and with those who try to manipulate the issue. The racial clashes of May 13th, 1969 in Kuala Lumpur between the two major races, the Malay and the Chinese, that killed hundreds of people, which were partly caused by the freedom of speech and expression of emotion has forced the government to declare a state of emergency and review the situation. The administrative system was revised and it was decided to maintain and uphold the regulations put in place during the communist insurgency¹⁴. The government decided that all Malaysians would be bound by the Internal Security Acts (ISA), and could be detained without trial, known as 'preventive detention; if they express anything subversive. Under the Sedition Act the electronic and printed media are not allowed to discuss openly any politically or socially sensitive issues (Major. 1991:140). Advice and criticism are not given directly but in an indirect manner, using subtle suggestions and circumlocution. Those who break the law will be punished. For example, in 1969, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia (1957- 1970) banned the controversial book written by Dr Mahathir Mohamad, *The Malay Dilemma*, which criticized the Malay bad attitudes and behaviour that have made them poor, lack of achievements

¹⁴ In the years preceding the end of colonial rule in Malaysia, a communist insurgency arose that agitated for independence more aggressively and violently than any of the nationalist forces that established in the country. The British colonial authorities responded with Emergency Regulations, the precursors of the Internal Security Act (ISA) that similarly provide for detention without trial. Malaysia retained the regulations at independence in 1957 but in 1960, the new parliament enacted the ISA, aimed at suppressing the insurgent militants who continued to mobilize particularly along the borders. The regulation is still active and used as a weapon to control any subversives element.

and incompetent compared to migrant Chinese in Malaysia and accused the Dr Mahathir of being non-Malay and his membership in the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) has been suspended (J. Victor Morais. 1982:143). The Malay is polite and humble and this politeness and humility often constrain him in many ways. The Malay social code contributes to making the Malays what they are today. However, there has been some new awareness among the Malays, with the introduction of the Neo-Malay concept or better known as "Melayu Baru", where the new dogma suggests that self-restraint and a desire not to displease do not make for an aggressive society. The world outside is getting rude. Frankness is the order of the day (Mahathir.1982:202). Still, the concept has still remained a concept in its conception and far from becoming an actual manifestation. Therefore, open criticisms and confrontations, as well as free expressions of opinions are still not 'the Malay way'.

In conjunction with this, the Malays too, have been seen as a group of people who would never disobey rules, as one saying goes; *pantang Melayu menderhaka* (not in a lifetime a Malay become a traitorous or A Malay is never disloyal). According to Malay legend, the ruler-subject relationship was underwritten by a contract between the ancestor of all Malay kings and the representative of Malay commoners. In return for unquestioning loyalty, rulers would respect the rights of those under them. Even if rulers were guilty of crimes against their subjects, the latter should not rebel but let Almighty God mete out a just punishment (Andaya and Andaya. 2001:338). Those who try to break the

'contract' are regarded as '*derhaka*' which comes from a Malay word meaning traitorous or disloyal. A good example would be the case of Datuk Subahan Kamal, the head of the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) Youth Public Complaints Bureau, who publicly criticised the welfare funds distributed by the Health Ministry as not being up to the mark. He also made several public complaints concerning those dissatisfied with the fund's management (News Straits Times Press (M), July 3rd 2004). His openness made him a "the disloyal son" of the country and he was immediately expelled from his post. The Malay society, especially the young, has been taught not to disagree openly with their elders. Those who disregard the teaching will be punished by the community and the consequence of their actions regarded as a disgrace to the whole family. Those who try to question things that have been accepted by the society will be labelled as '*derhaka*'. The adolescents are urged to read and listen to stories in Koran or any folktales that can help improve their manners. For example, *Si Tenggang*, a Malay folktale about a son who becomes rich and marries to a beautiful princess. However, he feels ashamed of his parents who are poor, and denies them as his parents. In the end he is turned to stone because he *derhaka* towards his parents. Another example is *Sultan Mahmud Mangkat Dijulang*, one of the famous Malay legends about an admiral who assassinates his Sultan (ruler) because the Sultan killed his wife for eating a forbidden fruit from the castle. Before the sultan dies, he curses the admiral that his lineage or family will not survive for seven generations. The admiral dies soon after that. The attitude of never disobeying the rules seems very good where it creates harmony and

stability in the family. In general the attitude is very helpful and gives many advantages to the government. However the attitude has a negative impact on adolescents too. They will never able to express their feeling, and their ideas. The attitude destroys their creativity, make them incompetent, and weak.

Hedonism has no place in the Malay code of ethics. To be preoccupied with worldly things, such as the accumulation of wealth, is bad as in the Malay proverbs says; '*takut titik lalu tumpah*' (Fear to fall, and you spill a lot) (Winstedt.1957:51). Some are afraid of amassing fortune because they do not understand the concept of finding fortune in Islam. Life is transient and is a time when one prepares for the hereafter. Worldly life is therefore dedicated not to pleasure or merriment but to serious religious thought and obedience to the injunctions of religion. There are a few Malay proverbs that refers to this; '*Mana tali tiada penghujungnya*', '*Hidup ini hanya mimpi*'. Pleasure, whether physical or mental is considered base. Nothing is done for the sake of pleasure alone. Physical pleasure is regarded as lowly and must be suppressed or at least hidden. Eating good food in excess is frowned upon, and the drinking of intoxicating drinks is forbidden by religion and partly by public disapproval. There is no Malay equivalent to the epicurean philosophy of 'eat, drink, and be merry' (Mahatir.1982:187). Despite the apparent reverence for life, the Malay does not seem to know what to do with it. In the more conservative rural communities life is almost exclusively a period of preparation for the hereafter. However it is doubtful that this is what is enjoined by Islam. This attitude is a form of escapism

from the realities of life, an insulation against the envy Malays feel for the prosperity of other races and other countries (Mahathir.1982:192). The dedication to the hereafter can help Malays to convince themselves that they are not missing anything in life if they do not have worldly goods.

The Malay is a fatalistic society. The society strongly believes in fate and destiny. The Malays' strong belief in fate is a major reason for the lack of advancement. They strongly believe that everything that happens in life is determined by fate and destiny and therefore the only good thing to do is to accept fate and destiny. This is another example of misinterpretation of the teaching of Islam which asserts that everything that happens in one's life has been decided by God. This concept is known as "pasrah" (accept without question) in the Malay society. This fatalism is very much in evidence everywhere and greatly affects the whole Malay value system. It ensures acceptance of everything, whether good or bad. It does not encourage resistance and certainly does not engender a rebellious spirit. If an attempt is made to do anything, failure is accepted with resignation. This whole philosophy is contained in the Malay axiom; "*rezeki secupak tak akan jadi segantang*" (One's lot of a quart will never become a gallon) (Mahathir Mohamad. 1982:158). In other words fate decides all and to strive to better one's lot is useless unless fate wills such betterment. This is the belief which causes the Malays to be unwilling to work hard. The acquisitive instinct is not a very popular concept in the Malay value system. They often say "Kais pagi makan pagi, kais petang makan petang"

(What you have is enough). This is an attitude which makes the Malays not very keen on striving for the best, and if they do try, they are quick to surrender to even the smallest of obstacles. When they are frustrated, they blame fate (Senu Abdul Rahman. 1971: 115). For example Pulau Pinang, has the third highest income per capita of the states in Malaysia after Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, and is the leading state in the electronic industrialization (Musa Hitam.1986:46). However, the competition and the involvement of the Malays compared to other societies in the business and industrial sectors is very low. They become separated out in their own country. The government has tried to help increase the Malay economic status by introducing the New Economic Policy (1970-1999) and New Development Policy (NDP), but the government too has its limitation (Musa Hitam.1986:47). Several strategies, programs, policies and opportunities have been prepared for the Malays to improve their social and economic status. For example the government has granted two million Malaysian Ringgit (RM) to the United States Corporation (*Koperasi Gabungan Negeri (KGN)*) to help Malays in the business and industrial sectors. As a result many Malays have become entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, by offering too much support results in the Malay becoming less committed and less competitive. To make it worse, the Malays have begun to develop a 'subsidy mentality' (Musa Hitam.1986:48). Again, that has against the purpose of the NEP and NDP. The NEP has long gone but still the involvement of Malays in various economic sectors is very low. This attitude continues in the way Malay parents raise their children, by not

encouraging their children to develop their acquisitive instincts." (Senu Abdul Rahman. 1971:81).

The traditional custom or adat which has bounded Malays for many centuries can be identified as 'the culture of silence' and has made the people, especially adolescents, oppressed without their knowing it existed (Senu Abdul Rahman, 1971:23). The constant restraint the Malay imposes on himself is unnatural. There is always an internal struggle, a conflict, and this conflict finds expression in a variety of ways. The first and most important result is a withdrawing into himself and his race. He is never frank except with those whose sympathy he can rely on absolutely. And he can rely absolutely only on his own people. His opinions as expressed to those not of his own kind are therefore different from those expressed to his own kind. Of course the difference only occurs when what he has to express to others is unpleasant or unpalatable. Where his true opinion will cause no unpleasantness or animosity, he does not hesitate to voice it to his own community as well as other communities. The conflict within him is potentially dangerous. It is perpetually seeking expression. As a result of expression the unpleasant feeling is run amok (Mahathir Mohamad.1982:118). Amok behavior has been synonymously connected to the Malay people. What could explain such behavior? Most cultural anthropologist who have considered the matter agree that it is a reaction to the tightly knit and generally extremely peaceful nature of traditional Malay society. Life in a traditional *kampong* (village) is lived in the constant presence of family members

and neighbors; privacy is virtually unknown, both as a concept and in practice. Decisions about all matters of importance are reached by consensus among all members of the community, with deference shown to the opinions of the old, the well-born, and the wealthy. Open disputes are frowned upon, and any display of anger met with instant disapproval. People are expected to be calm, reasonable, and community minded, and to avoid doing anything, by word or deed, that leads to interpersonal disharmony or psychological distress. Under those circumstances, anyone with a persistent problem, such as an unhappy marriage, jealousy, or unreconcilable dispute with a neighbor, had almost no way of venting his anger safely. Instead, he represses it and, if the problem is too strong to repress, after a while it may explode in murderous rage; running amok (Major.1991;146-147).

Conclusion

To rehabilitate the Malay adolescents, it is necessary for them to acquire new ways of thinking and a new system of values. Not to say that the existence of norms and values of Malay life are bad as Ruth Benedict states, people see the world through the eyes of the customs, the society and how they are thinking (Senu.1971:25). The Malay custom and norms successfully created stability in the Malay society, nonetheless some of the negative traditional customs have generated an inferiority complex among the Malays (Gullick.1987:367). They are always hesitate it in their decision-making and always negative about everything they do. However, to change the phenomenon is not that easy as the custom

has been strongly blended with the society as a Malay axiom saying; "*Biar mati anak, jangan mati adat*" (it is far better that our children die rather than our adat). Changes in attitudes, value systems, and ways of life would involve social-psychological changes, which require new adjustment techniques on the part of traditional societies, and these changes are often the source of stress and strain on their cultures. As Guthrie remarks;

A new school can be built with a set of foreign plans; roads can be constructed to meet universal specifications; factories, dams, television facilities, and government structures can be designed by visiting experts. But no one can make people modern as quickly or as completely as one can change the environment (1970:1).

Actually, in this case the researcher believes there is still a way to overcome the problem. In the researcher's opinion straight-forward changes would only create disharmony in the society. The best way to approach the problem without creating misunderstanding among the society is by using an indirect medium that would not directly 'attack' the structure but can reveal its underlying purpose. A way to allow the adolescents a temporary freedom to voice their emotion is through playing. Play is an active way to master anxiety, to learn socially adaptive behavior, and vicariously to satisfy human needs. Role play, for example, is very therapeutic, where the technique helps participant to appreciate and respect other people better and has a prominent place in many psychodramatic approaches. A participant in a role play is persuaded to become other characters beside him/herself. While becoming another character, s/he will

be able to study the character; to walk, to act, to think like the character, and at the same time s/he can develop a sense of understanding of the character. All role play includes the elements of 'as-if' and is an activity of central importance throughout life. These views are consistent with the theories of social psychologists such as William James, C.H. Cooley, and G.H. Mead who described personality development in terms of social interaction with generalized others;

When looking at the way others see me, I look at myself as in a mirror and thus I build my own image of myself. Through social interaction, role playing and role reversal with others, I learn to imitate their responses and thus I become an object for myself (this is Me). At the same time I exist as a separate entity (this is I) who initiates new and spontaneous responses and who represents the subjective, personal part of myself. Playing roles thus become a way in which to continually take on new roles, and a key skill in personality development. (Kellermann, 1992:118).

From a social learning theory perspective, the function of role play is slightly different. Here people acquire new behavioral repertoires and modify their social responses through the observation of models: parents or significant adults who help the individuals to feel good about themselves. From a psychoanalytic perspective, engaging in as-if and 'make believe' play helps the adolescent to develop a sense of self in relation to the outside world and to differentiate between what is inside and what is outside. Playing in a more structured way engages both the head and the heart. Learning through theatre relies on the active involvement of mind, body, feeling and spirit. Participants take on the roles

of other characters and experience different situations, so that their understanding of themselves, of others and of the world they live in grows. Boal once remarked;

In theatre we see and hear, therefore we understand. Herein lies the specific therapeutic function of the theatre (Boal in Feldhendler.1994:94).

For Boal, the therapeutic effect lies within the dynamic of seeing and being seen, in the recognition of the self and the other, and in the subsequent expressions of desire for change in everyday life. The theatre provides a special place for this process known as aesthetic space where fiction and reality exist at the same time, memory and imagination interplay creatively and spontaneously, and what happened yesterday, happens here and now (Feldhendler.1994:94). Theatre can be a medium of entertainment but it also can be a medium of therapy and social change. It is a kind of social therapy where people are not just watching the play but are also encouraged to participate and contribute ideas and solutions to the problems portrayed. In other words, it embodies the view that each person is responsible for his or her own actions and when problems arise, everyone should participate in finding possible ways of solving them and not merely rely on the authorities, politicians or academics to provide answers. Everyone has responsibility for him or herself, family, society and country. There are various kinds of interactive and therapeutic approaches available in serving this problem for example Psychodrama, Playback and Forum Theatre. Despite

the differences, they serve the same purpose which is to help individual or a group of people to explore and view their lives in various perspectives. They focus on action techniques where group members do not sit in a circle on chairs discussing life and its problems. Life is brought into the room and enacted using group members as the cast of the drama. The action that takes place in a group is a way of looking at one's life as it moves. It is a way of looking at what happened and what did not happen in a given situation. All scenes take place in the present, even though a person may want to enact something from the past or something in the future. Solutions are found to problems using the creativity and spontaneity of the group. It allows an opportunity to address moral dilemmas, to express our feelings, to be creative and to explore new ideas and ways of being. Boal also outlined the situation in his book *Rainbow of Desire* as;

On stage, all is permissible, nothing is forbidden - within the limits of the scene and the moment the free exercise of all asocial tendencies, unacceptable desires, forbidden behaviors and unhealthy feelings is allowed (1995: 38).

These approaches offer a group a platform, an audience and a chance to be heard. Its members can experience the power implicit in expressing emotion and create an opportunity for a positive understanding others, through voicing their own experiences on stage. By gaining a sense of their own power and self-worth, they are able to see the control they can have over their own lives and to recognize the choices available to them. It is the ability of theatre to transform the

inner-self, the group and the society at large that makes it so powerful and appropriates a medium for work with young people.

Despite the similarities of these approaches, the researcher believes that the Forum Theatre provides a little bit more. The advantage of having the element of audiences' direct intervention in the scenes makes the Forum somehow different. The spectators can challenge those structures portrayed by crossing the mythical line between auditorium and stage and becoming actors themselves, taking action to change the story they have just seen. The direct intervention allows audiences themselves to change what they think is wrong or do not like in the "reality" performed on stage. In the case of adolescents, intervention gives them the 'power' even if it is a temporary 'power', to change what they do not like about their lives. It allows them, even if for a short moment, to take control of their lives, to have the power to decide for themselves and not have to answer to adult authority. The intervening reality exists only on stage and within the area of performance. Therefore, there is no concern about facing consequences, which they would otherwise face in the real world, such as being arrested by the police or cajoled by parents. The forum provides a safe environment and proper audiences for the adolescents to express their emotions or ideas and feelings. In other words, their expression of emotion will not be regarded by adults as immoral or in contradiction to the social norms and *adat*. Forum Theatre can be a weapon for liberation among the adolescents involved. The forum can be a training ground for the adolescents to be brave to express

their feeling between themselves. They can discuss and find solutions to their problems in a creative way. They will not be a passive listeners and let others, especially adults, decide their lives. Forum Theatre has the element of healing that can be called 'supportive therapy' and one of its primary goals is to promote the adolescents' best possible, emotional and social functioning by restoring and reinforcing personal resources; to boost their self-esteem (Bloch. 1982: 19). Forum Theatre as a means to help break the 'silence', the openness is not only enjoyable and fun, but can be an effective way of helping the adolescents to develop their self-esteem and be brave enough to voice their feelings and ideas. And most important of all, they will have the opportunity to be involved and contribute ideas in handling their own problems. At the same time, it will give them a chance to rebuild their lives.

Chapter 4

Forum Theatre Workshops in the Rehabilitation Centers in Melaka and Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

Introduction

As has been discussed earlier in the previous chapter, the researcher believes that the Forum Theatre approach can be a solution to alleviate adolescents' problems. As like any other therapeutic approaches, Forum Theatre is believe to have the power to change people's lives. However, some people, especially the local theatre practitioners believe that the idea of using theatre as a medium for social change is unacceptable in Malaysian society. Despite this, the researcher believes that the idea to provide the participants a means of communicating their concerns and expressing their feelings can be achievable as long as a proper approach is implemented. This hypothesis can only be proved by conducting a workshop with appropriate participants. In this case, the researcher has decided to conduct the experiment with problematic adolescence in rehabilitation centres in various regions of Malaysia. Two rehabilitation centres known as Sekolah Tunas Bakti (STB) have been selected for this purpose, one in Melaka and another is in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

The STB Melaka was established by Lady Templer in 1953. In the beginning, it was known as the Sungai Lereh Girls School. It is a juvenile rehabilitation centre where girls from the ages of 10 to 18 who have committed severe or minor crimes are placed for a period of time (1 to 3 years) to undergo

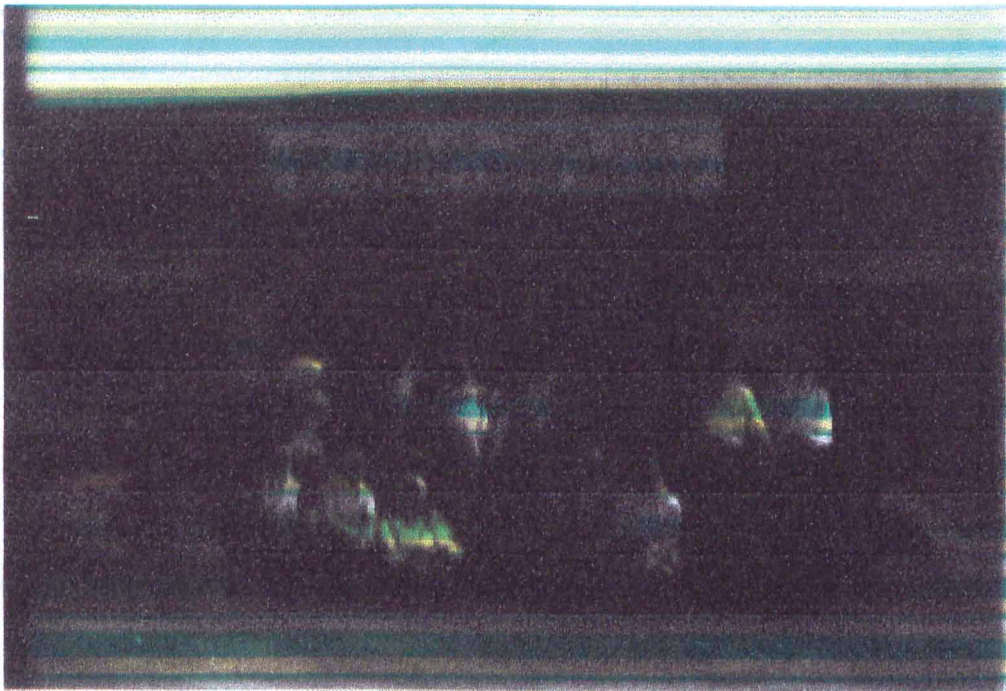
rehabilitation. The school is able to house 150 inmates at one time. Meanwhile, the STB Kota Kinabalu is situated in Jalan Tuaran, Sabah. STB Kota Kinabalu has moved to a new building, not far from its previous one, which was in a bad condition. The new school has been set up with facilities such as its own hall, canteen, mosque, playing field, hostel and administration building. In contrast to the STB Melaka, the STB Kota Kinabalu is a boys' rehabilitation centre. Most of them are between the ages of 12 to 18 years old. The capacity of the new school is around 70 to 100 inmates. At present, the number of inmates in the school is 70. The usual felonies committed by the inmates in both STBs is theft, drug abuse, breaking and entering, illegal racing and running away from home. Some of the inmates were sent there owing to non-criminal felonies, for example family crisis and family financial problems.

The practical Workshops

The basic structure of the workshop programme has been designed based on records provided by the STB and the Department of National Unity and Social Development (see Chapter 1, Table 1.5. page 38-44). The first Forum Theatre workshop was launched in Melaka in January 2004 and was held every Thursday, for two hours until March 2004. However, the second workshop in Sabah, which started in April 2004, was a one-week full-time. The differences of time length in both workshops are because each STB has the right to decide the time allowed for the company to conduct workshop activities with their inmates. In Melaka, the response from the administration was not very supportive

compared to the reaction received from Sabah, where the administration was very happy to accept visitors or anybody who wanted to undertake activities with the inmates. The researcher was unable to get approval for a one full week workshop in Melaka due to the lack of interest shown by the administrative staff in the STB. The principal of the STB Melaka was not very keen to receive any outsiders in the school. The researcher's group (later known as the company members) did not get full support from the school administration staff.

Figure 4.1



The members of the company posing in front of the Tunas Bakti School Melaka.

The researcher's intention of having workshops with the inmates was seen by them as a waste of time. Instead of having a one full week of activities, the programme in Melaka was adjusted for a once a week meeting. The Forum

activities that had been designed earlier for a one week full-time workshop therefore had to be adjusted to meet the new requirements. The full descriptions of the schedules of activities for both workshops are described in the **Table 4.2**.

Table 4.2

Workshops activities in the two STBs; Melaka and Sabah.

TUNAS BAKTI MELAKA	TUNAS BAKTI KOTA KINABALU
Workshop Phase 1- Warm-ups Week 1 Self-introduction - ice breaking <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Games – Unforgettable, Trust Circle, Making a Machine Self –introduce the company to the inmates and the purpose of the workshop Week 2 Self-introduction - Ice breaking (continue) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Games – The cross and the circle, minimum surface contact, Columbian Hypnosis. 	Workshop Phase 1- Warm-ups Day 1 Self – introduction - ice breaking <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Games – This is how I see myself, Unforgettable, an important event that shaped my life Self Introduction between the company and the inmates Sing a Nursery rhyme song.
Week 3 Developing the ground rules	
Week 4 Introduction to theatre games <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Vocal Training Physical exercises Playback Theatre Week 5 Introduction to theatre games - Improvisation <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Magic Box Change the Object Change the Action Simultaneous Dramaturgy 	Day 2 Introduction to theatre games <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Vocal training Physical exercises Day 3 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Vocal training Introduction to Playback Acting Day 4 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Playback Acting Day 5 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Playback Acting
Week 6 – Image Session Introduction to TO – Image Theatre	Day 6 – Image Session

a) Complete the Image Week 7 Introduction to TO a) Image of Power over b) Three wishes Week 8 Introduction to TO (continue)	Introduction to TO a) Images of Power over b) Three Wishes c) Psychodramatic Processes
Phase 2 – Forum Theatre Week 9 Perform the first model – <i>Titisan Air mata Langit</i> Week 10 Continue the Intervention session Week 11 Perform the second model – <i>Coretan Pengky</i> + the intervention session	Phase 2- Forum Theatre Day 7 a) Perform the model b) The Intervention session
Phase 3- Public performances Week 12 a) Presentation of the model of action for the future b) Evaluation session.	Phase 3 – Public performances Day 8 a) Presentation of the model by the actor b) Presentation of the model of action for the future c) Evaluation

The first meeting between the company members and the inmates in Melaka was very tense. This was the first time the company had encountered and confronted problematic adolescents. The company have never been involved in or exposed to this kind of situation before. The contradictions of their social background and culture made the company members flustered. The response from the inmates towards the group was indifferent. There was a divergence which was stopping the inmates from interacting or communicating with the company members. Furthermore, the single sex group, consisting only of girls, limited the pattern of behaviour and communication between them and

the company. This situation was also affected by the Islamic teaching that prohibited the free mixing of different genders in the same activity. However, this was inevitable as the school was built as a centre for female juvenile delinquents. Most of the activities conducted with the inmates had to rely on the female members of the company.

To deal with the tense environment in the first meeting, the workshop began with a self-introductory activity between the members of the company and the inmates. The technique used in the self-introduction session is the conventional approach; the verbal around the clock self-introduction. Everybody tells something about him or herself in the round. However, from the reaction and facial expressions shown by the inmates, the approach used was not interesting and even boring. The atmosphere became dreary and tense. The activity was brought to a halt. The style of self- introduction had to be changed. Instead of using inter-personal communication, the introduction process continued in the form of ice-breaking games. The inmates were divided into pairs with the company members acting as facilitators. The company introduced a game called *Unforgettable*. Each person in the group acted as an investigative reporter interviewing the other person. They were given 5 to 7 minutes to find out all they could about the other person. They memorised the information collected about the other person and then constructed a description that will make that person unforgettable to the rest of the group. They then switched roles. A certain amount of time was given to each group to tell what they had written. Some of the

inmates who did not pay much attention during the verbal introduction session began to participate and get involved actively in the session. They responded positively to the activity, the environment slightly changed, and some of the inmates began to enjoy the workshops. A short discussion on both activities was conducted. The verbal introduction which is commonly used in many workshops in Malaysia could not electrify the inmates. They feel turned off by the conventional approach. On the other hands, the latter activity was dissimilar to the activity the inmates used to have; the counselling session with their supervisor. The inmates responded in a different way when the next type of activity was introduced. Living in a rehabilitation centres with all the strict rules and repetitive activities must have developed an uninteresting cycles of lives among the inmates. By introducing a lot of games instead of using a verbal introduction at the beginning of the workshop made the activity look more appealing and exciting and attracted the inmates to participate and get involved in the session.

After a short break, the introduction activity was continued. The aim was to establish trust and respect among the inmates and between the inmates and the company members. They must understand that every member of the group, either the company members or the inmates, involved in the workshop were responsible for each other. Whatever they do or act will affect the rest of the group. In order to develop trust among the group members the first activity conducted was a '*Trust Circle*' (Anthony.1990:105). The inmates stood in a

circle, facing in, shoulders touching. Each member in turn entered the circle, closed her eyes, relaxed and leaned in any direction. The surrounding circle took the person's weight and passed her upright across the circle. The one in the middle must do precisely nothing and the group takes the weight. The others take responsibility for not letting her fall. The person in the middle surrenders responsibility to the others. However, the games unable to excite the inmates as some of them felt the game was infantile. The actual reason was the inmates felt apprehensive and not trusting their colleagues. To deal with the situations several other games were introduced include self-strengthening exercises and ways of creating a group, for example, '*Making a Machine*' (Anthony. 1990: 106). One member of the group was ask to get up and make a mechanical and repetitive movement; others join in, fitting in with the original movement one by one, adding their own until the whole group is physically involved. In the closing session, the researcher explained the purpose of the workshops, and the activities scheduled for the inmates. There was no feedback session from the inmates on the activity because as it was a first meeting, the researcher would prefer the interaction between the two groups be as enjoyable and informal as it could be.

In week two, the company had to re-evaluate the activities designed for the workshop. Some of the activities were unable to stimulate or motivate the inmates. Several ice-breaking games were introduced as the researcher reckoned that the relationship among the inmates and between them and the

members of the company were still loose and fragile. In terms of team building, the inmates were not very cooperative among themselves. The company concentrated more on ice-breaking games and developing group bonding such as *The Cross and the Circle*, *Minimum Surface Contact*, and *Columbian Hypnosis* (Boal. 1992: 62). These activities would help to unite the two groups, the members of the company and the inmates and create a sense of teamwork before the Forum Theatre approach could be introduced to them.

In week three, the atmosphere had changed. The inmates were finally able to communicate not only to each other but also with the company members. Guidelines for the workshop were constructed. The game employed for this purposes was *The Contract* (Clifford, S. & Herrmann, A. 1999: 62). Guidelines are vital so that group members feel safe within the structure of the project and are clear about what is expected of them. The inmates were divided into three groups consisting of five members in each group. With a piece of paper and a marker pen and with help from the members of the company, the group started listing rules for the workshop. Each group had to come up with five rules that they thought suitable and appropriate for use during the workshop. Each group then presented its ideas to the others. All the ideas were discussed, brainstormed and listed on a piece of paper, which then, were put on the wall as the rules to be followed by the inmates. They must obey the rules created and will be penalized if they break the rules. However the guidelines should be flexible and alterable, depending on the situation during the course of each workshop. Halfway through

Figure 4.2



Each group designed a group contract before they present it to others.

In week four, as the relationship between both groups; the members of company and the inmates became more intimate, the researcher decided to utilizes a more focused activities with the inmates. The inmates were exposed to theatre games and exercises. Some physical exercises and vocal warm-ups were introduced such as *The Breathing technique*, and *Tongue Twisters*. After a short break they continued with improvisation games such as *Magic Box*, *Change the Object* and *Change the Action* (Clifford.1999:100-101). After a while, the researcher decided to introduce a basic Playback Theatre technique to the inmates. The activity was crucial as it could help the company to gather more information and be able identify the inmates' problems, which can be experimented within the Image Theatre session. An amount of time was set to brief the technique and its relevance to the inmates' future activities. The inmates

short break they continued with improvisation games such as *Magic Box*, *Change the Object* and *Change the Action* (Clifford, 1999:100-101). After a while, the researcher decided to introduce a basic Playback Theatre technique to the inmates. The activity was crucial as it could help the company to gather more information and be able to identify the inmates' problems, which can be experimented within the Image Theatre session. An amount of time was set to brief the technique and its relevance to the inmates' future activities. The inmates must be able to understand the reasons of doing each activity as this will ensure their participation and contribution.

The Playback technique utilized has been modified appropriately for the inmates condition and situation. Instead of having a volunteer to come forward and share her story, every inmate was encouraged to contribute ideas from their seats on what and how the play should be performed. It was too early to invite the inmates to come forward and share their stories to the others. The inmates were not yet ready to get involved in any acting activity or performance. As an introduction, one of the company members volunteered to tell her story while the others spontaneously acted the scene once she had finished her story. When the play ended, the researcher invited any inmates to volunteer to share their stories with the group. One inmate volunteered to tell her story with the guidance from the researcher who acted as the conductor. It was about her feelings when she was brought into the STB. She chose three members of the company to represent her and her parents. Lacking of experiences and knowledge of the

technique among the actors affected the enactment. Nonetheless, the enactment enabled the inmates to watch her past experiences relive in front of her. In the closing session, the inmates shared their reflections on the activities of that day. The Playback activity became the centre of discussion among the inmates. Even though the acting did not represent exactly the real emotions of their situations, for the first time, the inmates watched their past experiences being re-enacted in front of them. One inmate was sad at the re-enactment but she was satisfied with the scene presented.

In week five, the researcher discontinued the Playback activity and instead introduced another activity similar to the Playback Theatre through which the inmates will learn that various types of therapeutic approaches that can be applied in coping with their anger and sadness. Another reason was that direct involvement by the inmates was necessary as it teaches them to be confident and able to face their problems. The activity appropriate for that purposes is known as a *Simultaneous Dramaturgy* where the inmates would suggest a storyline or plot for the play and determine the characters involved, and the actors spontaneously perform the action. The inmates must stop the scene if they feel that the actors do not do the right things or unable to express the right emotions and suggest appropriate solutions. One inmate volunteered to tell her story. It was about the life of a couple, who are in love and live together without being married, which is not allowed in a Muslim culture. The authorities caught the couple after receiving information from the community. The enactment

presented unable to satisfy the inmate. She was invited to take over the protagonist' or any other roles in the play. She hesitated to act but preferred to give her ideas from her seat. The play went on until they ran out of time and the activity ended without any proper solution. In the closing session, the inmates gave feedback on the activity they had seen and had been involved in. From this they recognized that lack of confidence and courage were part of the reason for the inmates not being involved actively on stage.

Week six was vital to the workshop. The inmates began to enjoy the activity. It was a time to introduce the games that Boal has suggested in the Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) approach. The inmates did some basic Image Theatre activities. The first activity was called *Complete the Image* (Boal.1992:130) in which they worked in pairs. A and B stand and face each other, shake hands and freeze in that position. A then steps out of the pose, while B remains frozen, arm outstretched. A takes up a new position in relation to B thereby, creating a new total image. A then freezes and B steps out. B takes up another position, in relation to that of A. A and B continue to take turns in this way together, improvising a series of possible relationships. They must create new images, not recreate the same set of images produced the first time around.

To ensure the effectiveness of the activity, it was necessary to focus on one specific theme. The activity continued with more thematic and structured image games about the family. In week seven and eight, the inmates did an

image game called *The Image of the Power-over (Oppression)*. Based on the structured questions (**Table 1.5**), the inmates presented several images that they felt had an impact on their lives. The aim was to reveal to the others as vividly as possible, without words, what the experience was like. The inmates were asked to find a place on their own in the hall and close their eyes and recall a situation in the past few years when they felt powerless or oppressed. Later, each one of them took turns in sculpting an image of their experience using the bodies of the other people without any verbal description. Each inmate completed the image by entering it herself, representing herself. The images created reflected several meanings; some showed images of caring parents, uncontrollable children, drunkard fathers and abusive parents (**Table 4.4**). After carefully observing all the images created, the inmates needed to identify one image that resonated most strongly with their current situation. They chose the image of a daughter who needs love and care but her parents are too busy with their work. They sculpted the image chosen and the inmate whose image had been chosen by the group, was allowed to change the scenario three times, one object at a time. The exercise was called *The Three Wishes* (Boal.1992:197) and the game was aimed in encouraging the inmates to become critically involved in problem-solving and trying to change the status from 'as it is' to 'as it should be'. Every change was discussed and criticized by everyone in the workshop. They then brainstormed by sharing their ideas on the image they have seen.

(Table 4.4)The 10 scenes

Rape

1. A teenage girl is walking alone at night in a dark alley
2. A teenage girl is leaving her newborn baby in a public toilet, in the drain or ditch or in the bushes.
3. A father is trying to rape his daughter when they were alone in the house.

Vandalism

1. A group of adolescents daubing on a wall and vandalizing.

Bullying

1. A girl being bullied by a group of older children

Delinquency

1. A group of adolescents smoking in a public or in a school toilet.
2. Two groups of adolescents trying to show off by being involved in an illegal race at night.

Parent-Adolescent Relationship

1. A daughter who needs love and care but her parents are too busy with their work.
2. Parents who control their children's lives too much.

Abuses

1. The drunken father always beating up his daughter while the mother did not do anything in her defence.

With all the information gathered from the activities, the members of the company discussed and constructed a plot for the play. The inmates were not ready to share their experiences openly with the members of the company. They did not trust their fellow colleagues and afraid that their stories would be heard by any of the staff in the centre. The culture of silent among the inmates also part of the reasons why there were no discussions on the construction of the plot of the

play. Even though the relationship between the inmates and the members of the company seem fine but the inmates still treated the members of the company as outsiders. It was not easy to have their confidence in a short period of time.

The group members came up with one play called "*Titisan Air Mata Langit*" (Tears from the Heavens), which concerns a conflict between parents and adolescents. The researcher decided to conduct a Forum with the members of the company. There were a few reasons for doing this. The action was crucial because the inmates were lacking of experiences in acting and have no experience in performing a play. The company had to create and enact the scene for them. Secondly, the company members needed some exposures to the technique. By having this activity among themselves could help the members of the company to understand the process and be able to work with each other effectively.

During the intervention session, not only the protagonist's role was replaced but the antagonists' roles too. This is because the actors (the protagonist and the antagonists) were unable to display the characters' emotions properly. The group members sometimes forgot the rules and the reason for doing the forum. Instead of focusing on the issue presented, most of them were interested in evaluating the acting. They were reminded on the rules of forum and to concentrate on the issue discussed. The show continued for nearly two hours. Finally, the group agreed with the solution and one of the company members re-

writing the play so that it could be performed with the inmates in the next workshop to evaluate their reactions.

In week nine, the activity began with a briefing on the Forum technique. Even though they had already experienced the process of Playback Theatre and Simultaneous Dramaturgy, the inmates, needed to be introduced to the particular rules and process of the Forum technique. Three characters were involved in the 'model'; the parents and the protagonist. A guitar was used to create the scene and connect one scene to another. One of the company members was responsible for playing it. It is also functioned as a tool to help in creating and developing the audience's imaginations. The inmates were emotionally touched and some of them cried as they recalled their own experiences. The Joker, played by one of the actors, informed the inmates that the play would be re-enacted and they must intervene whenever they saw any mistake or action that was not true to their experience. As the play developed, there were many interventions by the inmates but none of them was willing to come on stage. Again, instead of going onstage, the inmates merely suggested the action from their seats. They could not bear to be laughed at by their colleagues. They preferred the actors to do the acting while they provided the information from their seats. The Joker had to urge them to come onstage and show the actors what needed to be changed as that was the only way the problem could be solved effectively. This proved to be successful in provoking a few inmates to come up on the stage to participate even though the action performed by the

inmates was not much different from that presented by the actors. Soon after the play ended, there was a discussion on the Forum activity. The discussion reflected on the things that happened in the performance, especially the problem relating to the act of intervention. Most of the inmates knew that some of the facts presented in the play were not true but they felt that they had no reason to interfere or intervene in the play. They also felt embarrassed about acting in front of their colleagues and as they would definitely be laughed at. This was an example of the attitude of Malaysian adolescents. The culture of silence really affects the people especially the youngsters. Lacking of self-confidence and their self-esteem still caused them some problems. They would never express their objections or give ideas about what they had seen, even though they knew it was wrong, until they were forced to do so. This is why Forum Theatre needs to be introduced into the country so that the people can slowly learn and be educated to overcome their reticence, not through any formal method but rather through playing and acting.

On the closing day of the workshop the play was performed once more. However, one of the inmates introduced an interesting issue that moved the actors. She accepted the fact that they had problems with their parents but suggested that the real issue that bothered them concerned the centre itself. They regretted their bad behavior in the past and admitted that they deserved the consequences of what they had done but the real issue is their present experience. They were not satisfied with the treatment they received from most

of the staff, some of whom mistreated them badly. They felt it was pointless to complain about the matter because no one would listen to them. Their complaints were always treated as 'rubbish' and the inmates accused of trying to create bad impressions by telling stories critical of the school's management. The culture of silence not only had made the inmates unable to voice their problems, but has provided the power to oppress to the authorities.

In week ten another forum activity was conducted in which the problem focused on the issue of the school itself. The activity began with the inmates written down their feeling and dissatisfaction about the STB and the staff on pieces of paper without mentioning their names. This was to ensure the anonymity of the owner of the story and at the same time create a sense of security among the inmates because if they get caught they would be punished. The stories were read before the inmates. Surprisingly, every story revealed the same feelings about the school and its surrounding. The sense of hatred among the inmates was focused on the strict regulations and the way they have been mistreated by the staff of the STB. The inmates decided to enact the scene using Playback Theatre as the enactment could help the members of the company understand and share the inmates' feeling. The inmates chose one story, which resonate most of them. The play was to be enacted it in the next meeting.

The company members discussed the story among themselves, formed it into a play and decided who was to play whom. In week eleven, after narrating

the plot of the model the researcher invited the actors to enact the scene. The inmates need to be exposed to several kind of theatre techniques so that they would understand the benefit and the advantages of using theatre in their lives. The technique used was the Playback Theatre. The Playback Theatre technique not only could revive the memory of the events among the inmates but also interesting. The inmates were able to watch their past lives re-enacted in front of them. The scene was re-enacted several times until most of the inmates satisfied with the performance. The inmates actively intervened in the play. They changed the part that involved the staff behavior towards them. The researcher had not allowed the inmates to change the antagonists' role but the inmates insisted on changing them as they knew better the characters and the appearance of some of the STB staff members. In the closing session, the inmates expressed their satisfaction with what they have done earlier. At the same time, they also felt worried and scared about what will happen if the administrative staff know what they have been doing. The researcher had to explain the reasons for doing the forum and how it could help them avoid being accused or punished. The inmates had a chance to perform the *Model Action for the Future* in front of other inmates on the final day of the workshop.

The researcher decided to change the concept of presenting the Model Action for the Future. Instead of being performed solely by and for the inmates in the workshop, the play would be performed like a typical bourgeois play using all the facilities provided in the hall like the stage, setting, lighting and sound system.

The play was performed in front of other inmates and ~~parents~~. Both groups decorated the stage, rehearsed blocking and movements and practiced their vocal projection.

In the final week, 24 other group members from the KTR, including two officers from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), were invited to watch the performance at the STB. The staff members of the STB were also invited. Unfortunately, only the duty officer (D.O) was available while others were off-duty and were not interested in watching the play. This was very disappointing, as the staff should have shown some respect or interest in any activities that involved the inmates. The show began with a light performance from the UKM students. It was a dance theatre about a feast. The second segment was a short play prepared by the inmates; *Mendung Kelabu*. The story was about a distressed teenage girl trying to find freedom and love that she could not get at home. She got into trouble and was sent to the STB. The play is actually the prequel of the actual performance; *Coretan Pengky*, which they had done earlier in the workshop. The inmates did not inform to the company about the play. It was a surprised 'gift' from the inmates to the company. The courage shown by the inmates that day was incredible. The inmates really enjoyed the workshop and they could even produced their own play.

The final and the most important part was the *Coretan Pengky*. The play affected many people. The emotional expression shows by the inmates was so

real. Some parents even expressed the same feelings about the school and its staff. At this stage, it became evident to see how experience could infuse the acting. The company members, no matter how good they are at acting, still could not express the emotions as well as the inmates (non-actors). They took the chance of using theatre to express their emotions freely. They angrily exposed their dissatisfaction towards the school and its staff. Swearing and yelling became part of their performance, which could not be controlled as these were spontaneous. These actions were caused by the explosion of emotions that had been oppressed and trapped in their bodies for a very long time.

Soon after the performance ended, the researcher conducted the Evaluation session with the inmates involved. The company members and the inmates together voiced their feelings and emotions about the workshop activities and the performances. They were delighted to have been involved in the workshop. They felt very happy and felt relieved that they could voice their feelings freely. However, when they were asked whether they would like to use this knowledge later, most of them felt unsure. They were unsure that the society would ever recognize voices of dissatisfaction especially from adolescents. This is the truth every Malaysian has to accept. Regarding the future of the workshop, some of the inmates suggested that the contact hours of the activities should be increased from once to twice a week or to a one-week full time workshop. The two hours activities a week did not seem enough either for the inmates or for the researcher. There was not enough time to practice most of the activities

suggested in Boal's Games for Actor and Non-actors. Each game would probably need at least half an hour in order to be effective. With such a short time, to gather a proper feedback was impossible and it was difficult to analyze the impact of the approach on the inmates. A week after the workshop, the researcher re-visited the STB and discovered that the inmates involved in the workshop were punished for their 'misbehavior' during the final performance. The rehabilitation officer who was on duty on the day of the performance had filed a report on the inmates' behaviour during the workshop.

The first workshop was able to provoke a multitude of responses from the inmates. The researcher was able to conclude that as far as voicing out their dissatisfactions and unhappiness in a closed setting were concerned, the workshop was a success. However, when the setting is no longer "closed", in other words once the forum group has left the premises, and the inmates are once again left in the hands of the rehabilitation officers, they may be reprimanded for revealing administrative weaknesses in the school to outsiders. Furthermore, exposing the inmates to an introductory workshop only is inadequate. The researcher suggests that the workshops should be conducted continuously after the initial introductory workshop had been completed. The rehabilitation officers in STB should be required to learn the Forum Theatre techniques as part of their training and use it to really help the inmates in the rehabilitation process. The officers should not see Forum Theatre as a negative activity which merely causes unrest among the inmates.

Second Workshop in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah

The workshop in Sabah started in April 2004. The workshop did not receive any financial support from the targeted agencies so it was difficult to support the welfare of the company members for example the flight fares, food, transportation, and accommodation. Secondly, to preserve the quality of the workshop, only highly committed and efficient members were selected for the second workshop because mistakes were unaffordable during the workshop. The researcher chose four out of seven actors to go to Sabah. Experienced gained from the first workshop in Melaka did affect the company's decision in adjusting the workshop activities in Sabah. Several measures were taken into consideration in constructing the workshop activities in Sabah. The company visited and met the inmates in the STB one week before the workshop began to get some ideas of the inmates' situation, their current problems and to evaluate the environment of the centre. With information gathered during the pre-workshop visit, together with the experiences gained from the first workshop in Melaka, the company made some adjustment on the Forum approach. The differences of activities can be seen in **Table 4.2**.

Figure 4.4



(Figure 4.5) The new Tunas Bakti School Kota Kinabalu Sabah.

Figure 4.5



(Figure 4.6) The actors and the inmates have a photo session shortly before the final performance begins.

On day one, the workshop started with a general introductory session between the company members and the inmates. The reaction from the inmates

towards the company was predictable. Although they were not as aggressive as their colleagues in Melaka, still, they were very unreceptive. However, as the company members had already experienced this response before, they managed to adapt to the situation calmly. To remove hostility and build a good relationship with the inmates, the activity began with several introduction games like *This is How I See Myself*, and *Unforgettable*. In the previous workshop in Melaka, the use of games as a medium for introducing oneself proved to be more effective in developing the relationship among the inmates than using the common type of self-introduction. The environment in the centre was too stiff and dull. Activities like games proved to be more fun and enjoyable especially for the youngsters like the inmates. Before the session ended, the inmates were given a piece of paper and asked to write about themselves. The title was *An Important Event that Shaped my Life*. The writing, if they agree was to be discussed at the next meeting. In the closing session, no discussion was held, instead the researcher introduced a new activity, which had not been used in Melaka. This activity could help to develop the relationship between the two group members. The inmates were asked to memorize the nursery rhyme called 'Buih Sabun'. The inmates were divided into four groups and each member of the company taught his or her group the song and the way to sing it. The song was sang at the end of every session and was conducted by one of the inmates. The activity was introduced as the inmates in Kota Kinabalu seems to enjoy more on a leisure activities like singing and playing.

According to the Head of Staff in the STB Kota Kinabalu, as the inmates were not properly educated, some of them have problems in reading. The next day's session (Day 2) started with a physical and vocal warm up that Boal calls *the rhythm of respiration*. The vocal exercises are techniques generally of a more intellectual and sedentary nature. The exercises can be a very good in helping the inmates to project their voices, improved the communication skills, and even built self- confidence. They focus on such skills as the ability to speak clearly and concisely. The inmates gathered in a line and made sounds using the letters A,E,I,O,U, changing the volume according to the instruction given by the conductor (member of the company). In the next activity, the inmates were put into pairs and each one directed his partner who is a few metres away. The first inmate tries to adjust his voice to the distance. In the last vocal activity, the inmates were divided into two groups facing each other, and told to read aloud a local poem (Kakiku).

(Kakiku) – Consonant 'k'

Ka..ki..ku.. lu..ka.
 Lu..ka.. ka..ki.. ku
 Ka..ki..ku.. lu..ka.. kah
 Lu..ka.. kah.. ka.. ki.. ku
 Lu.. ka.. ka.. ki.. ku.. ka.. ki.. ku.. lu.. ka
 Lu.. ka.. kah.. ka.. ki.. kau
 Ka.. ki.. kau.. lu.. ka.. kah
 Lu.. ka.. kah.. ka.. ki.. kau.. kah
 Ka.. ki.. kau.. kah.. lu.. ka.. ka. ki. ku
 Ka. ki. kau.. ka.. ki.. kau.. kah
 Ka.. ki.. ku.. ka.. ki.. ku.. kah
 Lu.. ka.. kah.. kau.. ka... ki.. ku.. kah.. lu.. ka.. kah... kau
 Lu.. ka.. kah.. ka. ki. kau.. kah.. lu.. ka.. kah... ka.. ki.. ku
 Ka.. ki.. kau.. lu.. ka.. lu.. ka.. kah.. ka.. ki.. kau
 Ka.. ki.. ku.. lu.. ka.. lu.. ka.. kah... ka.. ki.. ku
 Ka.. ki.. kau.. lu.. ka.. ka. ki. ku.. lu.. ka

They were required to read the text syllable by syllable. The aim of doing this is to help the inmates focus on pronouncing the words in a correct way. The warm-ups and vocal training became part of their regular activities every morning before any other activities began. After a short break, the inmates continued the *rhythm* of respiration activity with the inmates lying on their backs. Slowly and deeply breathing in and out making an 'AAAA' sound. They did the activity several times. This activity teaches them to relax and concentrate. At the end of the workshop, the vocal and breathing activities able to improved some of the inmates who have problems in projecting their voices clearly. This was a huge achievement for the company members.

On day three they continued with activity from the day before - *An Important Event that Shaped my Life*. Some of the inmates wrote stories about their feelings towards their families such as lack of love, lack of attention and abusive parents. Again, the inmates were asked to tell their story to the rest of group if they wished to do so. As predicted, not every member of the group was willing to tell a true story about themselves. This may be due to the lack of trust or shyness among the inmates. The inmates, both in Melaka and in Sabah shared similar problems. They were vulnerable and their self-esteem was very low. Timidity and lack of confidence over-whelmed them. It took a lot of persuasion to convince the inmates to share their stories with the group. One inmate volunteered to tell his story but as he could not help himself from crying, he just stopped his story. He came from a broken family and never had a chance

to see his real father, who was always busy out-station working. He wants to find his father when he is release from the STB. The idea of having the activity was to create a better understanding among the inmates and between them and the company members. In return for his bravery in sharing his personal story with the group, the company decided to enact the inmate's story using the Playback technique. The researcher asked the inmate some key questions relating to his story, which were important for the enactment. After he had explained the process of Playback to the inmates, the chosen actors enacted the scene. The enactment was not perfect but able to stimulate the inmate's emotions. He felt sad and at the same time delighted to watch the event relived and the actors' performance of the play, especially, because the actor who played his role was very funny and interesting.

On day four, they continued with the Playback acting. The researcher explained that the written stories by the inmates would be used as the source for the enactment. In this context, the actual Playback technique, which relies on improvisation and spontaneous acting had been adjusted to suit the actors' capabilities and experiences. The actors had been announced the stories that will be performed the next day in front of the inmates but they were not allowed to discuss or rehearse the scenes. The scenes can only be discussed on the next day of the workshop. The actors were given two minutes to prepare themselves. Based on the 13 different stories created from the inmates' experiences, the members of the company enacted each story one by one. The researcher acted

as the conductor and explained each story without revealing the name of the writer. Each story was enacted for ten to fifteen minutes. The researcher stopped the activity after the enactment of six stories so that discussion could take place and the actors could take a break. Some of the action in the stories was not true to the reality of what happened, nevertheless, most of the inmates could recall their past experiences by watching the enactments. In reaction to that, these enactments raised some mixed emotions among the inmates; some of them blamed their parents and others blamed themselves for what had happened to them. The researcher did not give comment but noted down their reactions. It was important for the inmates to understand that the researcher and his company would not comment on their problems. Before the session ended, the researcher informed the inmates that it would be continued in the next meeting.

On day five, they continued enacting the rest of the stories. Instead of doing the Playback, they employed an adaptation of *Simultaneous Dramaturgy* and *Forum technique*. The idea of changing the activity was to expose the inmates to several other kinds of theatre activities. Another reason was to stimulate the actors' acting skills and creativity. Some modifications were made to the technique according to the needs and the situation at that time. The inmates needed exposure to an activity that would develop their confidence and courage. The researcher explained the rules and the process of the approach. The members of the company enacted the stories but this time the inmates were told to stop the play if they felt that the scene was not true. In one enactment,

one actor took the role of a person smoking syabu (drug) and purposely acted feeling high and dizzy. One inmate stopped her and informed the company that smoking syabu would not make her dizzy but it would make her feel more energetic. He was invited to take the role and show to the group what should have happened. He took over the role and the play continued. The play went on to the end without any other intervention. In other enactments no interventions occurred at all. In discussion of the activity the inmates explained the reason for not intervening in the enactments. Each enactment was based on a personal story of each inmate. Due to the fact that some of the inmates had not experienced the issue presented in the play, they could not empathize. The other reason was that the inmates felt too embarrassed to intervene in the play as they were afraid the others would laugh at them. The researcher notified the principal of the inmates' positive development and he agreed to allow the inmates to have a side trip to University Malaysia Sabah (UMS) as part of the activity to expose them to the outside world and to develop their self-awareness and confidence.

Figure 4.7



Each group is been facilitated by a facilitator. They discussed an issue based on a specific theme before creating an image desired.

Having a trip relieved the tension and created a good relationship among the inmates and between them and the members of the company. The visit was an educational one to the School of Arts Study, University Malaysia Sabah (UMS) where the inmates toured the studios, orchestra rooms, rehearsal rooms and the campus. The inmates had a chance to witness several cultural activities that were happening around the School. The idea of having a visit to UMS was to expose the inmates to campus life. Perhaps this would help to open their minds and give hope for a better future.

The company members also took the chance to have discussions on the project with Putri Hayati Megat Ahmad, a lecturer and a practicing counselor from the School of Psychology and Social Work, University Malaysia Sabah. The School also arranged a discussion with some of the UMS psychology students. The intention of the meeting was to share experiences of the adolescents' development issues and especially the Forum project. It was not surprising to receive some negative reaction from the university students on the issue of using theatre as part of therapeutic method. Most of them saw the function of theatre as nothing more than a recreational activity. The appreciation of the arts especially the theatre as part of therapeutic method was thought to be unacceptable as it is not yet a practice in Malaysia.

Day seven focused on the second stage of the first phase; the *Image Theatre*. The inmates undertook an activity called *Complete the Image*. They

were divided in two groups. The first group presented an image, while another group observed the image, identified anything that was lacking and completed it by involving themselves. Several general group images were presented such as a group of boys playing soccer, a scene in a market, a scene in a classroom and a group of boys going fishing. These activities helped the inmates understand the process of making Image Theatre and taught them to be more observant, creative and spontaneous. After a short break, they continued with a more structured and thematic activity. The activity is known as the *Image of Power Over (Oppression)*. Based on previous experiences in Melaka, the company believed that the urgent problem that needed to be focused on was about the inmates and the centre. The researcher believes that the current problem that the inmates were facing at that time was the problem about their situation and condition of living in the centre and their relationship with other STB staff members. Each group created an image based on what they had experienced in the STB, especially where they felt mistreated, dissatisfied and helpless. Each group had five minutes to discuss the issue, create the image and present it to the other group. The first image represented a situation in a classroom where a group of pupils were playing while the teacher was trying to keep them calm and concentrating on learning. The second image represented a situation where a staff member was punishing the inmates for smoking by making them drink some water from a bin. The inmates had to choose which images they prefer to enact in the forum. The second image was chosen by most of the inmates. They discussed the image and most of them expressed their dissatisfaction towards it.

They were given three chances to change and create an ideal image. The activity is known as *The Three Wishes*. The first group re-presented the image. The first change showed an image of the inmates refusing to drink the water. Some of the inmates disagreed with the changes because the staff can still force them to drink the water. The second changes involved the image of the staff punishing the inmates instead of asking them to drink the water. Again, the idea was rejected as there was no public beating allowed in the STB. The final change was inserting the Principal into the scene. Most of the inmates were satisfied with the final change because they believed that the Principal was a nice person and he would not allow the staff to punish the inmates by drinking the dirty water from a bin. Discussions were held on that issue. Several complaints have been made to the Principal but no action were taken.

That night, they continued to explore the same issue. They explored a basic Forum activity using Playback technique. The issue was enacted using the Playback Theatre with a slight modification. The enactment can be stopped and can be intervened by the inmates. The Joker explained the plot of the scene, conducted the performance and provoked the group members to intervene the play. In other words, the issue was not only enacted but also be discussed actively by the participants. One inmate volunteered to tell the story and the members of the company acted it out. The story was about *Bapak Skinhead* (Mr Skinhead), one of the staff members in the STB who is very cruel and hated by most of the inmates. One afternoon three inmates were doing their washing. Two

of them decided to smoke cigarettes, which they got from the gardener. One of the inmates decided not to join his colleagues. Suddenly the Bapak Skinhead appeared from nowhere and caught them smoking. Without further investigation, he punished all three of them by telling them to drink dirty water from the washing. One of the inmates was reluctant to drink and denied of his involvement in smoking. His reaction made the Bapak Skinhead angrier. The inmates were given two choices either they would drink the dirty water or be sent to the punishment room. The inmates chose not to be put into the punishment room and accepted having to drink the water. Unfortunately, Bapak Skinhead did not keep his word. After they drank the water, he sent them to the punishment room. The room is small, around 16' X 16' with no furniture, only an attached toilet. Food can be delivered through a small hole made for the purpose. It is similar to a cell but does not have bars. During the punishment period, no food was delivered to the inmates. The innocent inmate felt dissatisfied with the punishment and decided to write a letter of complaint to the Principal. Unfortunately, nobody listened to him. After the play ended, a discussion took place. The inmates felt they were treated like criminals and this created dissatisfaction and frustration among them.

The researcher announced that the scene would be re-enacted and the inmates must intervene, take over the protagonist's role and give solutions to the problem. The inmates were not allowed to change other characters as they did not represent the inmates' situation. The enactment began and when it reached

the part where the staff ordered the inmates to drink the water from the bin, one inmate stopped the play and took over the protagonist's role. He refused to drink and the staff member slapped him in the face. The others kept silent. The actor, who was previously replaced by the inmate helped the protagonist from the side. He provoked him to stand up to the staff member. The protagonist started answering back to the staff member who became angrier and punished him for offensive behaviour. The researcher, as Joker, stopped the scene and asked the audience if that action was possible in the STB. The inmates replied by saying, '*it happens sometimes*'. The play continued. The protagonist was punished several times. One inmate stopped the scene, replaced the protagonist and warned the staff member that his action would be reported to the Principal. In reaction, the staff member just laughed and told him that no one would ever listen and believe whatever the inmates had to say. The inmates were sent to the punishment room. The enactment ended with no solution given to the problem. Discussion took place soon after the play ended. The company had no difficulty in provoking the inmates to intervene in the play but no solutions were agreed and the oppression was still there. The inmates were unable to deal with their problem. The oppressor was too powerful to defeat. The inmates will never be able to confront the staff. One of the company members suggested using an agit-prop play to highlight the issue publicly. That was the only way to deal with the problem. The inmates will perform the play on the closing day. All the staff including the Principal, and the rest of the inmates in the STB will be invited to watch the play.

One member of the company was responsible for writing the play. Based on the written stories from the inmates, the play involves several different stages, with each stage having its own purpose. The first stage was about a boy who was sent to the STB by his parents because of his bad behaviour which was a result of his feeling alone because his parents were too busy working. He felt unhappy because of what his parents had done to him. This scene revealed that some bad behavior by the inmates is caused because of lack of love and attention from their parents. The parents should therefore also be blamed for what has happened to the inmates. The second stage was during his stay in the centre where he had to perform many chores such as washing, cleaning, praying, and studying. Everyday he had to do the same thing. He felt that his life was over and regretted what he had done. This was to express the inmates' dissatisfaction with the activities provided for them in the STB. The centre should provide some productive activities in order to develop the skills and self-esteem of the inmates. The third stages was about a vicious staff member who always yelled at the inmates and punished any inmate who he considered to have broken the rules without further investigation. One day, he caught the inmates smoking cigarettes in the toilet. The inmates were punished by drinking dirty water from the bin. Later the inmates were sent to the punishment room for the rest of the day without food. This was intended to expose misconduct practiced by some of the staff in the STB. The final stage was where the inmates made several complaints to the Principal regarding misconduct among the staff.

However, all the written complaints never reached the Principal's desk and no action was taken. The play stopped there.

The content of the play should represent the inmates' expression of emotion and needs before it was performed for public viewing. In order to achieve that, 'the model' was performed by the actors before the inmates the next day. In the intervention session, one of the inmates stood up, stopped the play, and took the protagonist's place. As had been expected, the inmate who took over the protagonist's place was the one whom the story was based on. He played the role as though the event was being repeated for a second time in his life. The play was stopped again and this time one of the inmates wanted to take over the role of the antagonist, who was the member of staff. Even though it was a violation of the Theatre of the Oppressed rule that only the role of the protagonist can be replaced, the researcher believed that the inmate might play the part better and be more realistic than the actors, as he, himself had experienced the event. After more than two and a half hours, finally the forum came to a solution. The inmates added the final scene in which the inmates prayed for happiness and hoped that the staff would be more tolerant towards them in future. This was a consequence of the strong Islamic teaching and belief of the society. The society are taught to pray and hope from God to help them to change their lives after all their hard work and effort. Most of the inmates agreed and were satisfied with the ending.

In the discussion session, the researcher asked the inmates if they would practice what they did in the play in the real life. One of the inmates responded that it was only a play. Things were not the same in the real life. They would never do the things they had done in the play. It is not so easy to change things in real life. Nevertheless, what had happened in the play would be kept for their own purposes and probably be practiced when they were released from the centre. Before the session ended, the agit-prop play, which was also known as the *model for the future action* would be re-enacted in a *selective realism* style by the inmates in front of the Principal and the rest of the inmates in the centre on the closing day of the workshop.

A few days before the closing day of the workshop, the members of the company were busy helping the inmates with their preparations for the play. However, the focus was more on developing the confidence and self-esteem of the inmates involved in the play. One of the exercises used was the *Swapping characters* (Boal.1992:220). The inmates swapped characters between them so that everybody gained a better understanding of other characters. Other activities involved voice projections and movements. The performance stage was decorated with a simple setting and furniture like chairs and drapes. As for the costumes, the inmates involved wore their official STB clothing (blue t-shirt and black trousers) and so as to differentiate the characters on the stage, several hand props were used such as a 'songkok' (a Malay traditional hat) was for the inmate who played the role of the staff and a neck tie for the role of principal. To

enhance the performance, one of the company members was to play a guitar to accompany the play. The researcher reminded the inmates that they must perform it as it really happened. The play was their voice and they must make the audience listen to them. The play could change their lives in the centre and may create a different point of view among the administrative staff and others who were watching the play. The inmates were very excited and ready to perform. They were willing to face any consequences.

The next day, the hall was full of inmates, the school administration staff, the principal and the candidates from the National Services Program. The show started exactly at 2.30pm. The inmates looked very confident. Even though they had little experience in theatre performance, which they gained during the workshop, they were able to perform it well. The acting was rather stiff but the message was clearly delivered. One of the actors acted as a Joker and did a brilliant job, even though sometimes she was a little bit emotional. Acting as the master of ceremonies, she opened the play with a song about the centre, created by one of the company members. The Joker stopped the play several times to clarify and to comment on some of the scenes and actions provoked several members of the audience to respond on the play. During the performance, intervention was not allowed as the inmates involved in the play were not prepared for it. At the end of the performance, the Joker incited the audience with the theme dealt within the play. The audience understood the play very well and felt sympathy and pity for the inmates. Some of them were shocked by what they

had seen and heard. They could not believe that the inmates had been mistreated by the staff.

One month after the workshop ended the researcher visited the STB to see the inmates' progress and discovered that the problematic staff has been transferred a week after the show. The inmates were much happier now and they hoped that the activity can be continued in the near future.

Conclusion

The Forum Theatre workshops in Melaka and Sabah were the researcher's first attempt to implement the technique. There were too many weaknesses in terms of application and techniques. Lack of exposure and experience among the company members meant that some of the activities designed in the first chapter did not work effectively in the workshop. For example, the psychodramatic processes such as the role-reversal, mirroring and doubling techniques required skills in acting and creativity which most of the company members did not possess. Even though the technique enabled the inmates to voice their emotions, the researcher had to conduct and lead most of the activities, which sometimes required a lot of time and energy.

Nevertheless, there are valuable lessons to be learned from these workshops. The most prominent is that the company cannot simply decide on the problem or issue for the participants before meeting them. Most of the inmates

have problems with their parents and have committed several felonies in the past but these were not the dominant issues that they wanted to focus on. The company learned not to depend too much on the information provided by the centre. Instead, the inmates must have the opportunity to decide for themselves the issue they feel important to discuss in the workshop. The experiences made the company members more mature and gave them a better understanding of the inmates' situation and environment. As a result, the next workshop in Sabah was more organized and more prepared.

The workshops done in the two STBs nevertheless did not provide ample enough evidence to evaluate the effectiveness of the Forum approach as a medium of expressing the emotions of the inmates. More workshops are needed before a final assessment can be achieved. However, those workshops can be seen as a useful trial and as an introduction for future workshops. However, as the saying goes: 'it is better late than never'. The attempt to practice a new technique in a different environment and with a company that initially had no knowledge of the Forum approach can be seen as a daring experiment. This effort will not be the last. More workshops will be held in the future. At that time, hopefully the researcher and his team will be better prepared and capable of contributing to the development of the technique in Malaysia.

Chapter 5

A Review of the Efficacy of the Technique Employed and the Construction of an Approach Appropriate for the Malaysian Context

Introduction

This chapter will review the efficacy of the adapted Forum approach employed in the selected rehabilitation centres in Malaysia and the problems that occurred during the implementation of the technique. During the workshops in both states; Melaka and Kota Kinabalu, the company has encountered problems some of which are related to the principle of the Theatre of the Oppressed and others the result of the Malay social traditional *adat* that has dominated the social structural system for years. Discussion of the problems and suggested solutions to these problems will help the readers to understand the reasons for and the process of the construction of new approach appropriate to the Malaysian context.

Problems Occurred During the Implementation of the Forum Approach

As the political and the economic situations in Malaysia are different from those of South America, the word *oppressed* is too extreme to be used or applied in Malaysia. Boal purposefully does not impose a definition of oppression from a particular ideological perspective, but the word 'oppressed' suggests a left-wing, community bias. What criteria should be used in determining whether a group is oppressed or not? Is it simply a matter of objectively measuring social deprivation

such as poor housing, unemployment, lack of educational opportunities or is it evident in more subjective qualities such as self-perception, or emotional resilience? No visible oppression can be seen anywhere in Malaysia. Even the people will assert that they are not oppressed although they have difficulties in life like jobless for example, because they do not know what that means. Whether we like it or not, politics do play a crucial part in people's lives but anything that has a connection with left-wing politics will be seen in Malaysia as bad and labelled as anti-establishment. The Malaysian government wants to believe that it has done its very best for the people and the country for the past 48 years since independence, and, as in other developed countries, it also likes to believe that Malaysia has achieved such social equilibrium that no one should be seen as the oppressor or the oppressed. Instead, the using of terms like 'discrimination and barriers' make more sense to the community because they are part of its everyday vocabulary. For this research, a more appropriate, liberal term suitable for Malaysian culture is 'power-over' taken from Starhawk (*Truth or Dare* (1988)). This term was occasionally used in the workshops in Malaysia where it successfully encouraged the inmates in the rehabilitation centres to take part and be more prepared to look at the power structures in which they live and the role they play in them.

Due to the lack of written and recorded references, it is difficult to fully understanding the actual process of the Forum approach. Forum Theatre and the Theatre of the Oppressed are new in Malaysia and only a few people understand

or have heard of the approach. According to Faridah Merican, an established theatre practitioner and also the founder of the *Actor's Studio*¹⁵ in Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, she is aware of the existence of the Theatre of the Oppressed but she agrees that not only is the approach new, but the lack of information especially regarding its application, has also made it difficult to be applied effectively in the country and is the main reason for the reluctance of many professional theatre companies like *Teater Asyik*, *Temple of Fine Arts* and the *Drama Centre* to accept the offer to employ the approach. It is difficult to find any written material or references such as books or recorded activities on the technique in any libraries in Malaysia. However it does not mean that the approach is impossible to implement, it just needs some time for the people to accept it. Even outside Malaysia detailed description and discussion of the process of the Forum Theatre is rarely available. Most written references are simply descriptions of workshops conducted by various practitioners around the world. Theatre groups like Mind the Gap in Bradford, and Cardboard Citizen in London¹⁶, claim for example, to have performed several workshops around the United Kingdom but were unable to supply any recorded material of their activities¹⁷. Neither the International Theatre of the Oppressed (ITO), based in Netherlands, nor other practitioners around the world such as Drama Box in Singapore who practice the Forum Theatre technique, could provide such

¹⁵ Actor's Studio is one of the few successful professional theatre group available in Malaysia. Situated in Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur. The group has involved in theatre and film and have performed several experimental English and European performances in all over Southeast Asia.

¹⁶ The researcher has contacted the company several times but there was no response from the respondent.

¹⁷ Several emails have been posted to the companies but there was no response from either company. The contact was made in year 2003.

material. Not until mid July 2005; one year after the workshop ended, could a few recorded materials be found, provided by the ITO¹⁸, of Forum activities by some practitioners around the world. Those who claim to have employed Forum activities should not only document their workshop activities but the process of the technique. Another way to cope with the problem is by providing sufficient video recorded material. All groups around the world who practice the approach should have their activities recorded so that collections of Forum Theatre material and the recorded material can be shared by others who are interested in practicing the technique. Recently, some recorded material can be found on the ITO website for anybody to download. Since there are many practitioners around the world that practicing the methods it is advisable for those who want to implement the approach to establish connections with professional practitioners such as the International Theatre of the Oppressed (ITO) in Netherlands and Centre of Theatre of the Oppressed in Brazil, or other professional groups available around Asia and Australia (**see Appendix 1; Theatre of the Oppressed Group in Asia & Australia**). A good networking system with these companies could help in supplying the information needed. The researcher believes that the reason that the Forum has a huge influence in many parts of the world such as the United States, in several European countries, and some countries in Asia, is not through written references, but mainly through conferences and workshops. Some states in America have played an active part in holding the TO conferences over the past few years and thereby expanded the knowledge of the technique. In the absence of any attempts to document the

¹⁸ The material can be found on the ITO website; <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index> .

process of Forum Theatre, the technique will not be easily learned by other practitioners, unlike other therapeutic approaches where the processes are widely exposed and can be found in many written sources.

The second problem lies in the experience and skill of the actor. Adaptability and spontaneity are the keys to the success of the Forum Theatre;

The actor must have physical style of playing which articulates their characters' ideology, work, social function, profession. It is importance that there is a logic to the characters' evolution, or else the audience will be inclined to take their seats and do the forum without the theatre- by speech alone, like a radio forum (Boal, 1992: 19).

In comparison with conventional theatre performance, Forum Theatre can be seen as extremely complicated. Boal has discussed this but there are several criteria that need to be achieved for a person to become a successful Forum actor. An actor in a Forum Theatre performance must be creative and able to master improvisation technique in order to present the play in a lively manner that will provoke audience intervention. The actors must achieve a high level of acting skills in order to be good Forum Theatre performers. To generate a Forum Theatre performance the actor is the provocateur, s/he provokes the audiences to intervene and involve themselves in the play. A Forum actor must be equipped with physical or vocal acting skills, knowledge of human behaviour and wisdom in shaping it. S/he must be skilled enough to maintain his or her character during improvisations and to sustain the forum performance when the feelings that

inspired it have faded. S/he must have the capability to provoke and must be able to stimulate the audience to get involved in the performance. During the Forum, actors must be extremely dialectical, creative and must be spontaneous in terms of encountering the spect-actors (Boal.1992:237). Without this kind of role, a Forum play would only be like any ordinary theatre performances.

In the research workshops, the activities were conducted by a group of amateur performers; university students, who had had experience in several theatre performances, but were not formally trained in basic acting and did not have any knowledge of Forum Theatre. Most of their acting experience was in performing realistic plays, which did not require spontaneous improvisation, no direct interaction with the audience and followed a clearly-defined dramatic structure. In realistic performances, the actor has the dialogue given to him and his role in the drama already has a clear form and pre-determined purpose. However, in improvisation acting such as in a Forum Theatre, the actor supplies the dialogue to a pre-formed scenario, or, in some cases, creates the whole play as he goes along, deciding what the scene is, how it develops, and how it closes and, in this, the actor becomes the dramatist. Even Boal's original conception of Theatre of the Oppressed does not emphasize the actors' expertise; yet, lack of theatrical training has for long time been seen to be a problem by many groups that wanted to present a Forum Theatre to a wider audience. In the Malaysian context, without enough acting experiences, it is difficult to enact or acting a play. This happened during the first enactment in the Playback activity in Melaka

where the actors struggled to improvise the scene. They were unable to relate their roles to each other effectively and as a result the enactment did not go as smoothly as it should be. Lack of creativity and spontaneity in improvisation and lack of knowledge and experiences in the technique were the major problems that made them unable to enact the scene smoothly. Without any proper or formal education in acting especially in improvisation, and without examples of Forum techniques, it was difficult for the amateur company members to practice the form. It became apparent that those groups around the world who employ the approach are made up of trained professional actors. This kind of professionalism probably occurred because from the beginning of his theatrical career, Boal himself worked with professional groups rather than with amateurs and has taken the matter for granted.

To cope with the problems, the actors need a lot of exposure and preparation in developing their acting skills. The researcher suggested the exercises taken from Boal in *Games for Actor and Non-actors*. The exercises are divided into five sections; the muscular exercises, the sensory exercises, the memory exercises, the imagination exercises, and emotion exercises. However all these exercises are inter-related. The muscular and sensory exercises can be varied which involve movements, body muscles and senses. An example for the muscular exercise is asking the actors to relax all the muscles in their bodies and focus their attention on each individual muscle. They bend down and pick up an object very slowly, trying to feel and remember all the muscular structures which

are employed in the accomplishment of these movements. They repeat the same action but this time mentally, without the object, pretending to pick it up and remember all the contractions and relaxations of muscles which occurred during the previous action (Boal.1992:42). An example of a sensory exercise is as follows. The actors swallow a spoonful of honey, followed by a pinch of salt and then a taste of sugar. Then they enact the same action without the original stimulus. They must recall the tastes and physically manifest all the reactions which accompany the absorption of honey, salt, and sugar. This can also be done with smells (Boal.1992:42). Other basic examples for muscular and sensory exercises are *The cross and the circle*, *Pushing against each other*, *musical chairs*, *slow motion Kangaroo walk*, *Leapfrog*, and *massages*. These exercises enable the actors to be aware of their muscles and to re-developed and heighten the body senses which Boal claims have suffered;

In the body's battle with the world, the senses suffer. And we start to feel very little of what we touch, to listen to very little of what we hear, and to see very little of what we look at (1992:61).

The emotion exercises became part of the actors' routine exercises at the Arena theatre. Everyday each actor used to do at least two or three such workshop exercises (Boal.1992:44). The exercises intended to abolish the so-called 'personality' of the actor like his mould and his pattern, and assist the birth of the 'personality' of the character in its own mould or pattern and enabled the actors to nullify their personal characteristics, in order to let those of the character flower. For example *Abstract emotion with animals* where the actors

set out from one emotion to arrive at the opposite emotion, then return to the original emotions by making noises of whatever animal they choose. The exercise can be done in two ways; the actor acts like an animal or the actor acts like a humanized version of the animal without losing her own human characteristics. Either all the actors can imitate the same animal, or each can imitate the animal of their choice (Boal.1992:207).

The memory exercises involve remembering and recalling chronologically all that happened during the day, with a maximum of detail, such as colours, faces, and weather. The actors must re-visualize almost photographically everything they have seen and rehear all they have heard. The simple way to do this exercise is to ask the actors, on their arrival at the theatre, to deliver a detailed account of what had happened in their lives since the previous day. For example the actor sits on the chair quietly and relaxed, eyes closed. The joker helps by encouraging him to recall everything that happened the previous evening before he went to bed. Each detail must make reference to bodily sensations like taste, smell, tactile sensations, shapes, and sound. If he is thinking about something he is eaten, he must move his mouth, lips, and tongue. The joker continues the probing, pushing the actor to recall what happened to him that morning. Every detail from the first time he woke up that morning until his arrival in the room that he is in at the moment. To make it more interesting the actors deliver a detailed account of an event in which they have both been involved. The versions then can be compared and they explore the reasons for

any differences in the accounts (Boal.1992:43). It is vital that this exercise is practiced with absolute regularity, as a daily routine. The point of this is not only to develop the memory but also to enhance awareness where everyone knows that they have to remember everything they see, hear and feel and thus develop their power of attention, concentration and analysis.

Finally, the imagination is a process involving the memory, emotions, concentration, creativity and improvisation. They form part of a psychic process in which one does not exist without the other. The exercises reflect each, for examples, *Tell your own story* where an actor recounts an experience that really happened to him. His colleagues then illustrate his story. The actor/story-teller must not intervene or make corrections during the exercise. They discuss the differences at the end of the exercise. The story-teller can compare his reactions with those of his colleagues (Boal.1992:134). Another exercise is *the dark room* where in pairs, actors sit in the dark with their eyes closed with a tape-recorder by their side. One gives the other instructions which the actor needs to imagine and describe in detail. When the exercise is over, the actor listens back to what he has said and tries to re-create the action and re-live the emotions a second time over (Boal.1992:203). Another game which can be use to disturb the mechanization of action and reaction is called *Opposite circumstances*. Usually the actor knows beforehand what he is going to say, do and hear. The actor gets used to going on stage without even thinking. To avoid this, the actor requires to play a scene in circumstances opposite to those he is familiar with. For example,

a scene of great violence is to be played in complete calm or play a naturalistic scene which is usually full of props, with words and no objects at all (Boal.1992:214).

Boal mentions that a Joker must be dialectical, able to identify the turning point in the play, and be creative in inviting the audience to the stage (Boal.1992:232). The Joker plays an important role in stimulating the audience's intervention. Considerable knowledge of the society and culture of the nation are part of the Joker's vocabulary and it is very unlikely that these skills can be learned in a short period of time. To be a dialectical and a skilful Joker usually also depends on the natural talent and ability of the performer. This idea is supported by Guthrie;

No art can be 'learned' by a person who has no talent in that particular field (1971:24).

Inability to master the skills can be a frustration especially among amateurs and sometimes it can create negative results for a forum workshop. The International Theatre of the Oppressed has developed an international group of 'Flying Jokers', who can travel anywhere in the world to help groups to organize themselves¹⁹. A group of pioneers who have been trained in the Joker System will come and teach the knowledge to the locals, which can be passed on and practiced among their own communities within their own countries. The

¹⁹ <http://www.internationaltheatreoftheoppressed.org.uk>

researcher believes that what the ITO is doing and has achieved is good but this is still not adequate to solve the problem. Firstly, the group of Flying Jokers need to travel all over the world to teach the technique. This would need a lot of financial support, which would most probably have to be paid for by the organizers involved. Furthermore, a few weeks of intensive training and learning will not help a person to become a good Joker or to be able to handle a workshop effectively. Secondly, the cultural differences and the complication in understanding the norms of societies could diminish the effectiveness of the solution. A better solution would be to have the process of a Joker's training in writing so that those who are interested in the approach can have access to it easily. Another solution to creating a successful forum would be by having a trained local people in the group or a group of trained facilitators with a local knowledge, who are aware of the surroundings and the needs of the society. Having a colleague from the same cultural group would give the group a bigger chance of being accepted because he or she knows the language, the culture, and its boundaries. For example in Canada, David Diamond with his Headlines Theatre had to hire a local woman and secretary, Levana, to be the Joker in his Forum sessions because he believed that she would contribute to the success of the activity better than would a skilled actor (Diamond.1994:35).

A creative and highly skilled Joker determines the success or failure of the Forum. A Joker must be able to provoke and invite the audiences not only to intervene but also to come on stage and suggest solutions to the problem. Boal

has listed several criteria that need to be fulfilled to become a good Joker. The Joker must be neutral and must avoid any actions that can manipulate the audience; the Joker should not decide anything and let the audience make the decisions; the Joker must always be alert for all 'magic' solutions and must be energetic and dialectic (Boal.1992:232). However, as a human being it is difficult not to make presumptions about other people or situations. So how neutral can a Joker be? The concept of the 'neutral' Joker cannot be looked at separately. A Joker does not work in a void, but develops the Forum play, or works with Image Theatre. The theatrical entity is never neutral because it is a representation of reality seen through the eyes of at least a Protagonist and an Antagonist. A forum play should tell the story of the passionate interaction of these characters, showing both will and counter-will. The audience must understand how the Protagonist's desires are oppressed and what the Antagonist's objectives are. With Image Theatre, a thorough analysis of the image(s) precedes an intervention stage in which the images come to life. The images will not be neutral, they will represent a reality which has social roots, otherwise they only represent an individual reality and they will not be interesting for the rest of the participants. There are three kinds of Joker attitudes to the interventions of the spect-actors which are the prejudiced, the biased and the partisan Joker. A prejudiced Joker already knows the answers she wants to see or hear and will block off any directions that are unsuitable. The prejudiced Joker produces very one-sided Forums in which the same scene is repeated over and over again. A biased Joker is a person who should have been in the audience and will replace

the spect-actor if the scene is not going the way she wants it to. She will judge some solutions as adequate and others as inadequate. These Jokers don't really ask the audience for their opinion about the chances of success of an intervention but follow their own agenda. They are basically educators in a classical sense in that they think there is a right way of doing things. And finally the partisan Joker looks for the strongest analogy between audience and Protagonist and starts from there. She will support the efforts of the spect-actors but will not refrain from asking critical questions. A partisan Joker is genuinely interested in what the audience wants and will explore it together with the audience. She is basically a facilitator. The actors will do a real job because they will offer a wide range of perspectives and create the real challenges for the spect-actors. It is however important to understand that a neutral Joker is indeed an ideal, perhaps even wishful-thinking. A Joker is inarguably human in mind, body and emotions. It is these human aspects which sometimes make it almost impossible for the actor playing the role of Joker to exercise neutrality and impartiality to the problem discussed.

In the previous workshop in Sabah the Joker's function have been adjusted and modified appropriate to the need and level of the actor. To help understand the Joker's functions more easily, the researcher has organized the Joker's structure of performance which has been modified from Boal original structure. The structure describes the functions on how a Joker should acts in facilitating a play. The functions have been divided into several categories as this

will make it easier to understand the process of each function. The divisions are described in the **Table 5.1** below;

(Table 5.1) The Joker's Structure of Performance

Joker's Functions	The Description of tasks	Elaboration
The Dedicator	He opens the play with an introductory explanation. He presents the cast, the author, the technique utilized and objectives of the play. During the closing, he informs the audience the theme dealt with in each play.	It can be a song, a poem or a recited text.
The Clarifier	Explains the point of views of those presenting the play. It can undo some scenes, correct them, bringing in others which do not appear in the original text to achieve greater clarity.	Written in prose. It can utilize any resources; slides, film, maps, newspaper
The Commentator	Connecting the episodes. He explains the audiences the change of each scene presented.	Written in Rhymes versus or poetry.
The Interviewer	To reveal to the audience the true state of mind of a character. He is the bridge between the character and the audience. The audience can ask questions directly to the character.	Stop the action momentarily and asks the character questions the audience wants answer.

There are five functions that a Joker/Conductor needs to accomplish while conducting the performance of a play. These are *the dedicator*, *the clarifier*, *the commentator*, and finally *the interviewer*. These functions can be generalized into three sections of roles. The first section consists of *the dedicator*, where a

Joker/Conductor becomes the master of ceremonies. He is responsible for explaining the process and the objectives of the play and introducing the cast and the company to the audiences. He is also responsible for closing the performance when the play comes to an end by inciting the audiences attention to the theme dealt with in the play. These roles can be delivered by singing a song or reading poetry. The second section consists of *the clarifier* and *the commentator* where he transforms his role from a master of ceremonies to an author of the play and a *provocateur* in which he clarifies any unclear scenes or actions in the play, undoes or redoes the scenes, makes some addition to the play and provokes the audiences to respond and intervene on the issue presented in the play. In the third section the Joker/Conductor becomes the mediator or a connection between the characters and audiences. His role breaks the fourth wall in the performance and allows the audiences to have a direct contact with the characters on stage where they can ask any questions of the characters.

Secondly, besides doing the warm-ups to de-mechanize their bodies, the company needs to re-consider their readiness before engaging with the inmates. The focus of the company's relationship with the inmates will vary depending on the nature of the group. The following are some questions that may be useful to ask before engaging with the inmates. For a new group, such questions can be how many people are there? Who has any experience in theatre and who has not? What may their needs be in this moment? Do any of them know each other?

What are the relationships between members like at the moment? What are the themes that need to be worked on? What is the company members' relationship in the group? Were the inmates have chosen to be in the group, or have they been 'sent'? (Taylor in Karp.1998:53).

The role of audience in Forum Theatre performances is different from the role of audience in conventional realistic theatre. '*Observe and act*' are the keywords in the Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal,1992:xxx). Boal claims that theatre can play a role in social change and his methods are aimed to inspire participants not simply to employ the language of theatre but also engage with the content and apply it to the reality of their daily lives. When Boal states that everybody is an actor and can be involved in a Forum play, the researcher feels that the idea is not fully acceptable. At this stage, it is also worthwhile to mention in this research the nature of theatre development in Malaysia. The genesis of the modern theatre in Malaysia can be traced back to the 1950s. Up until then the theatre in Malaysia can be said to have been still 'young and fragile'. Due to this, appreciation of theatre within the Malaysian society is still very low. The acceptance of theatre in the community as part of the way of life is still not yet developed. The ruling government is not really serious in developing a theatre culture in the country. Due to that there are rarely found any schools of acting in Malaysia. To make things worse, most of the theatre practitioners in Malaysia are not professional. The few professional theatre practitioners in the country were students who studied abroad and from there, gained their knowledge of acting.

The ratio between the professional practitioners and the amateurs in Malaysia is around 1:5 (Andika.1995:145). Actor training cannot be publicly implemented in Malaysia because any recognition of the free expression of emotion is still not fully understood or allowed in the community. The multi-diversity culture and the multi-racial communities have created sensitivity among the people. Although Malaysia gained its independence 48 years ago, still, the relationship between races in the country can be said as not 'harmonious' as it seems.

"...there never was true racial harmony. There was a lack of inter-racial strife. There was tolerance. There was accommodation. There was a certain amount of give and take. But there was no harmony. There was in fact cacophony, muted but still audible. And periodically the discordant notes rose and erupted into isolated or widespread racial fights (Mahathir.1981:5).

Furthermore, the traditional social system has made the Malays reserved and polite. Frankness is not part of their attitude. The multi-diversity culture and multi-racial communities in Malaysia prohibit a culture of free speech and expression of emotions. In the early workshops it was not easy to invite the inmates to intervene in the play and provide solutions. Their self-esteem and self-confidence are very low due to not only the environment in the centre but also the attitude described above. They were afraid to intervene and contribute ideas even among themselves although they had known each other for almost three years. The traditional system of *adat* has a huge influence, and is accepted and practiced by the majority of Malays. The concept of '*observe and act freely*' created a kind of cultural shock among the inmates involved in the workshop as

well as creating negative perspectives among the administrative staff who could not accept the idea of free speech or open criticism especially when it came from adolescents. Questioning openly is strictly prohibited. In the previous workshop in Melaka, although after a few sessions of activities the inmates finally intervened in the play, they had to face the consequences of their actions. Those inmates involved in the workshop were punished and accused of misbehaviour. The statement that Forum could provide a safer place for the participants to express their emotions here is doubtful. This raises the question of how well can the Forum keep the participants involved in the workshop safe? In the context of Malaysia, this is problematic.

On the other hand, the workshop in Sabah managed to encourage the inmates to confront and work out their major problem. Their central issue was about the behaviour of misconduct by one of the staff in the centre towards the inmates. The forum successfully exposed the bad behaviour of the staff member and he was transferred to another STB. To the inmates, the forum was their saviour because it enabled them to bring forth a problem which had been oppressing them for so long. However, for the staff involved, the forum has now become a tool of oppression. From the staff's point of view²⁰, the outcome of the forum workshop has made them the oppressed and the inmates who used to be the oppressed have become the oppressors. In the closed setting of the Forum, their "cruelty" and inefficiency have been exposed by the students and are now

²⁰ An interviewed with the staff mentioned in the Forum play a month after the workshop ended.

no longer a well-preserved secret. Therefore, the staff found themselves turning into the oppressed. This raises another question of how is it possible for the approach to be fair for everyone involved? As there is no definitive model of Theatre of the Oppressed, the Forum Theatre approach is also believed to be potentially used for abusing others. In other words, if not carefully monitored and conducted, the Forum Theatre can become a tool of vengeance and not improvement.

Due to the complication of the traditional social system among the Malays in Malaysia the concept of 'rehearsal for revolution', which is the main purpose of the Forum Theatre is inappropriate in the country. The society, especially the Malay, will never change its beliefs and attitudes as they are of the opinion that the customs and norms have successfully created stability among the community (Gullick.1987:367). If they will change at all, it may take a long time. As a result of these circumstances all the solutions suggested in the workshops will never change the reality as the society has been culturally taught not to accept any kind of self-expression of emotions and opinions. James Thompson states that;

These techniques, however, are often seen to be problematic because there is great difficulty in controlling external social and environmental factors...New behaviours and solutions discovered in the group work room do not necessarily translate into actions outside...Positive results often deteriorate after clients leave the programs (1998:37).

If anything is to be changed, it is more appropriate to change the purpose of Forum Theatre from a 'rehearsal for revolution' to a 'rehearsal towards creative and critical engagement'. Forum Theatre is believed to be more useful as a tool for training to develop the self-esteem and confidence among the participants. Through rehearsal experience of the possible means, even if these do not lead directly to change, they make the participants aware of their own potential to find other ways of living and being. Most of the inmates involved felt the same way, as each of them had learned many useful things that could enhance their lives²¹. They would prefer to keep what they had learnt in the workshop to themselves and practice it when they leave the centre. The most important thing for them was that they felt relieved after expressing their emotions. As Babbage mentions in her book *Augusto Boal*;

In practice this means that when a participant makes an intervention she is not necessarily rehearsing a strategy that she will specifically take forward into her reality... It is possible to view the intervention as a metaphor, 'the boss' representative of any oppressive figure or social force; from this perspective she is not fighting an individual but testing and developing her powers of resistance in a wider sense (2004: 103).

The Malay believes that not only that the Forum approach is contradicted by the traditional system of *adat*, but it is also contradicted by Islamic teaching. The Malay is a fatalistic Muslim and very sensitive. Anything that contradicts the

²¹ The responses were gathered during the Evaluation sessions.

norms and *adat* is also considered to contradict Islam. *They* believe that Islam discourages the people from speaking freely or expressing their emotion publicly outside proper channels. Anything that is not encouraged by Islamic teaching is considered improper and should be avoided. Furthermore the Theatre of the Oppressed as a weapon for liberation is believed to be highly influenced by the Marxist ideology (Boal.2000:92) and Marxist ideology is similar to Communist ideology, which is not acceptable in any Islamic country including Malaysia, where 90% of the population are Malays and Muslims. Even the ruling government too, is very sensitive of any communist influences emerging in the country. Furthermore rarely found any theatre groups from Islamic countries are practicing the approach except for a group from Pakistan²². The Forum is considered too radical as it focuses on free speech and expression of emotions, and a potential source of disharmony among communities in the country. This makes it difficult to get Forum Theatre to full recognition from the society.

The Constructed Approach

Due to the lack of useful written or recorded reference especially on the actual process of the Forum approach, the concept of the Forum workshop in Malaysia had to be constructed based on the researcher's basic understanding of the Forum technique after reading books which can only be found either in libraries in the United Kingdom or through electronic resources such as internet

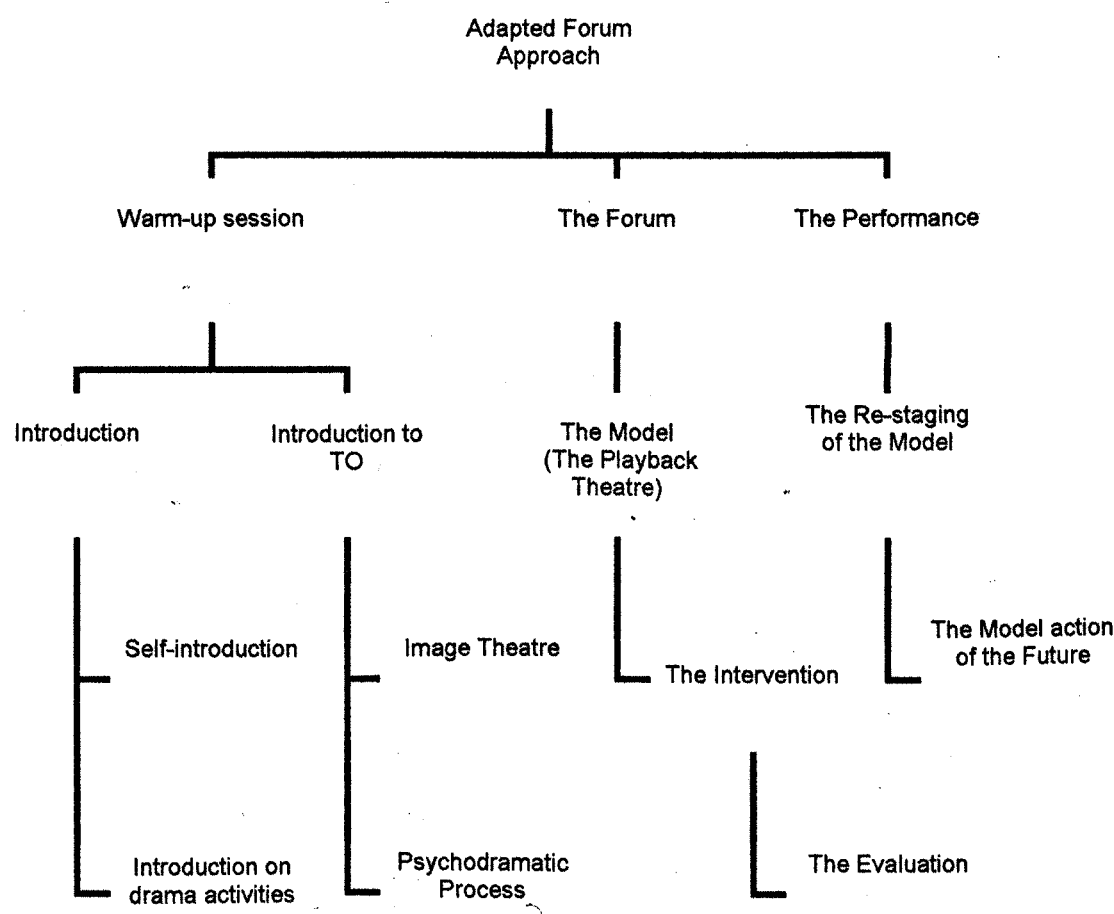
²² The data can be found in the Theatre of the Oppressed official website; <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org>.

sources. Also several other therapeutic processes have been adapted in conducting the Forum Theatre workshops suitable for the Malaysian context. The therapeutic processes used are taken from two major approaches, Psychodrama and Playback Theatre. Despite all the problems that are occurred as a result of the traditional customs which have developed an inferiority complex among the Malays, the adapted approach used in the workshop successfully encouraged the inmates to express their emotions and feelings of dissatisfaction. Problems, however, have been identified and some adjustments have been made to cope with them. The new adjustments and modifications of the approach are described below. The model is determined by several things such as the needs, abilities, and limitations of the participants, the researcher's interests and training, and the limitations of the space provided. The new adapted approach is divided into three general phases; The first phase is The Warm-ups, consist of two inter-related sections. The first section is the self-introduction and the introduction to drama activities; and the second section is the Introduction to the Theatre of the Oppressed which consists of two inter-related activities; Image Theatre and the Psychodramatic Processes. The second phase is The Forum Activities which consists of three stages. The first stage is the Model, the Intervention session and finally, the Evaluation session. The third and final phase is The Performances consist of two stages of performances which are the re-staging of the Model and the Model of Action for the Future (**Table 5.1**).

The manner of conducting a workshop depends on the individuals, situations and the objectives of the centre. However, the first thing that needs to be taken into consideration is the process of planning a workshop programme because a workshop will not work properly if there is no advanced planning and the lack of response and idleness among the inmates in the first workshop in Melaka had several causes. The first reason was that the company was relying too much on one-sided of information. The company pre-planned and designed the programme of activities based on the information and data given by the administrators of the STB and the Department of National Unity and Social Development of Malaysia (JKMM). It decided to concentrate on the issue they felt needed to be focus on. The activities designed were not suitable for the inmates' level and perceptions. For example, during the first week of the workshop in Melaka, the verbal self-introduction activity, which is a common approach and has been widely used in many workshops in the country failed to excite the inmates and was unable to create a good relationships between the two groups; the inmates and the company members.

Table 5.2

The constructed approach appropriate for the Malaysian context.



The inmates were unwilling to cooperate in the activities which they saw as too 'childish' and not suitable to their age-level. The activities too did not excite the inmates. The world view that the company shared was different from that of the targeted participants and as a result the company members had difficulties in understanding the inmates' characteristic, behaviour and their culture. Not until

the inmates were introduced to a variety of games and activities did the atmosphere start to change and the two groups became more acquainted with each other. Working with an established client such as the inmates in STB, who know each other and meet regularly, ideally the ideas for the project should come from them. The company members should be careful not to pre-judge what the concerns of inmates might be. The primary issues that need to be focused in the workshop should also come from the inmates, not from the administration.

During the introductory phase, the company must assess the inmates' response. For example, is it an active group or not? Is there any interaction between the inmates and between the inmates and the company members; what is the level of group cohesiveness? Ego power of the individual is very important. If the inmates have equal egos, they generally develop a positive interpersonal 'chemistry' or a 'common language', which greatly improves the positive outcome of Forum Theatre. For example, questions like 'How long have the inmates been meeting together?', 'How well do the inmates relate to one another?', 'How comfortable are they in group situations?' and 'Do they trust one another?'. Furthermore, by asking those questions it becomes possible to determine which exercises are suitable since each one varies in the amount of interaction and personal sharing that it requires. As the ability to concentrate varies with each person, these varying levels of concentration also need to be focused. Assessing these variable will help determine which exercises are appropriate and also how many should be used (Taylor in Karp.1998:52-53).

From there the company can move into selecting and adapting activities that are appropriate and suitable for the inmates at that moment. If the group does not have its maximum level of spontaneity available, any task its members undertake will not be fully completed and creativity will be minimal. The programme designed should also be flexible enough to allow development in new or unexpected directions. According to Remocker and Storch in their book *Action Speaks Louder: Handbook of Structured group Techniques*;

it is possible to put together a programme that suits the needs of the individuals who will be participating and it must be flexible because it will allow the opportunity for the programme to develop in a new or unexpected direction initiated by the participants rather than by the group leader (1992: 9-12).

The second reason for some lack of response by the inmates was that the company members did not understand the culture of the community. To conduct a workshop in Sabah for example, needs a lot of research and it is a very time-consuming compared to conducting one in Melaka. The culture and society in Sabah are much more complicated. Sabah is known as a multi-ethnic state. There are Bajau, Kadazan, Brunai, Jawa, and Suluk. These communities are known as *Bumiputra* (the son of the soil) and each ethnic group has its own *adat* and ways of living which must be respected. Meanwhile in Peninsular Malaysia, the division of races is not as complicated as in the East Malaysia. There are only three major races, which are the Malays, Chinese and Indian. The culture, is multi-racial and various social beliefs between community in the West and East

Malaysia are visibly different. It is very dangerous to ignore the sensitivity of each race. Language barriers sometimes caused problems between the two groups. Even though they speak the dialect versions of the same language (Malay), there are still irregularities in terms of vocabulary and several other linguistic discrepancies. It was not easy for one such defined group, such as university student-performers from West Malaysia, who are all Malays, educationally successful, and with secure backgrounds, to lead a workshop with another defined group in Sabah that came from a multi-racial society, from a less developed area, and is made up of members who have been labelled as 'failures' by their community. As the company do not have this knowledge and understanding of other societies, they were unable to 'invite' the audience to intervene in the play and the transitive response was not happening. The Forum workshop became more like a chat show where people offered verbal solutions to a problem based on their own experiences and understanding. In order to invite interventions from the inmates, the company members needed to be able to put themselves in the inmates' shoes. Research must be done on the culture of the targeted community. Frances Babbage points out that a well-researched Forum must be presented to a well-chosen audience and the practitioner must ensure that the material used is both immediately relevant and effectively mediated:

...the willingness to do this is dependent upon having themselves 'felt like that' at some time in their own lives. If the spectators cannot identify with the protagonist, they will struggle to replace her effectively (2004: 45).

Boal himself has conducted a vast amount of research with the help of his theatre group, Centro do Teatro do Optimido, whose members were mostly local people and who had spent years in the area. They spent a great deal of time in different areas and the data collected was gathered and discussed among themselves at the Centre of Theatre of the Oppressed (CTO) in Rio.

One way to gather the information needed is by using an approach that involves a creative group exercise. It is a modified approach taken from a sociodrama technique called the protagonist-centred technique (Garcia.2000:178). Instead of finding a suitable protagonist, the focus is on finding an immediate or urgent issue, which will be the main concern for the session. A group leader may give a short talk on some theme and tell a story that seems relevant to the inmates' interest in the hope that this stimulates them to explore an issue. The group leader may also talk to individuals in the group until he finds a similarity in some issues discussed, which can be shared by the inmates. Another approach is by listening to various issues of concern to group members. These are called *open tension systems* (Garcia. 2000: 177). Out of the group interactions and statements of specific members, one major issue will

seem to excite the group's interest most. This is the *shared central issue*, which provides the focus for the Forum exploration.

A workshop will not succeed without participants. In selecting participants for a workshop, there are special requirements for participation which must be stated and prepared by the company and the selection of the inmates must be carefully made by the centre according to those requirements. The size of a group is an important factor that must be taken seriously because some exercises are more effective when used with a large group of people and others are more suited to a small group. The size of a Forum group varies considerably. It can include as few as five members and as many as over a hundred, but it is better to have an optimal number of 10 to 15 inmates in a session. A group of this size has enough inmates to take the various roles required, yet is small enough for the group leader to attend to the emerging interpersonal issues evolving between group members. In larger groups, the active participation of individual members declines, and the groups have difficulty building cohesiveness. Secondly, experiences and age, which determine the points of view are also considered as an important requirement of participation. Age determines knowledge and experience, which play a crucial part in contributing ideas to the forum process. The group cannot afford to have a young participant mingling with adult participants because they probably might not be able to relate with the activities provided. For example, any issue on adolescence is best discussed by adolescents because they know more about themselves than

adults do. In Malaysia, conducting workshops with adolescents which include adults will make the workshop less effective. The adolescents will never contribute or participate when there is an adult present because the culture prohibits the adolescents from voicing their opinion in front of an adult. Although the diverse group may learn from one another, it is harder to achieve a consensus of priorities. An homogeneous group rather than a diverse group is best because it is possible to identify issues of shared importance and explore these collectively. Otherwise, there will be no intervention during the process because people from a different age groups and different backgrounds will not share understanding and will view the problem as neither serious nor urgent. If there is any intervention, the intervening spectators may not actually share that oppression and thus inadvertently antagonize rather than support the protagonist. (Boal,1994:114). In addition, if there are interventions involved, the cause is probably a result of the desire to show-off, which is prevalent among adolescents, as reported by Douglas Paterson in the Drama Review. Vol.38. 3 (1994).

In a workshop with a new group, it is important that the company communicates the style of the workshop to the inmates. This can begin through an introductory talk by the company leader conveying a sense of sincerity and warmth to encourage trust within and between the inmates, as well as increasing confidence in the abilities of the company leader. Issues of confidentiality need to be clarified, what is and is not permissible. Although most people expect their

sharing to be respected and to remain within the group, a consensus of what is actually meant by confidentiality is important. The company should always have a copy of their code of ethics available to the inmates (Taylor in Karp.1998:54). If these points are adhered to, the inmates will feel a greater sense of trust and safety, and will enable each other to share very personal and traumatic areas of their lives. One thing that should be remembered is that when working with a special kind of group like those in the rehabilitation centres, the company must make sure that the inmates are not under any strict supervision for bad behaviour as the workshop facilitators are not qualified to handle such groups or willing to accept any responsibility for any misbehaviour that occurs during or after the workshop. The centre, for example, should offer a line management, which ensures that accountability is clear and formalized. If not, the matter needs to be raised as a concern and a request made for the issue to be clarified. There must be clear agreement, instructions and procedures between the centre and the company before any workshop can begin. It is also useful to have an external supervisor who is familiar with the approach to oversee the process, make proposals and observe the inmates' progress. The supervisor does not have to be present at all time or get involved directly with the inmates. Good supervision and support is as important for the workshop as it is for the inmates.

Using warm-ups

There are several ways of doing the warm-ups, depending on the culture, country, region and context. In planning the warm-up programme, the company

should respond to the inmates and location rather than impose direction. In this adapted approach, the warm-up exercises will be divided into four classifications; introductory, physical, and intimate. The *introductory* exercises are a way to introduce the individual members to each other, and so begin the process of disclosure in a non-threatening way. These exercises are particularly useful with a new group. The group members can become more comfortable with each other and this will reduce the level of anxiety and so facilitate group cohesion. The *physical* exercises are designed to increase energy levels, introduce physical contact, allow the group to 'play' and reduce the level of anxiety. Finally, the *intimacy* exercises are designed to increase the trust amongst group members and to encourage intimacy in an appropriate and safe way, as well as to facilitate disclosure. The exercises are described in detail in this chapter, are inter-related and can be used according to the requirements of the situation.

As I have discussed above, the process of a Forum Theatre is based around one central issue, and therefore research on that issue need to be conducted in order to understand it, and to get a general idea of what the issue is really about. Only from that then can the basic structure of a programme can be developed. The company should follow the inmates and facilitate it rather than impose a direction on it. Dalmiro Bustos, a psychodramatist, once defined the group as the producer and the company as the co-producer (Taylor in Karp.1998:55). To be able to adapt, change these ideas and follow the inmates is not only more spontaneous but also therapeutic. This need to be emphasized, as

many companies come prepared with a list of warm-up exercises that they must put into effect, even if the group is following a different path. Even though to be prepared with ideas for warming up exercises is comforting for the company this is no doubt that it would create resistance, a lack of trust, cohesion and spontaneity. After all the company has to cope with not only its own uncertainty of what will occur but also that of the inmates too.

In general, the use of warm-ups is very important in facilitating a positive identity for the group. Working in a rehabilitation centre, the inmates already know each other, time must be spent on fostering a sense of 'the group' whereby barriers are broken down, they can share common ideas, concerns and goals and individuals gain a sense of belonging. The warm-up can be used to increase spontaneity, encourage trust and cohesion with a group. This cohesion allows for a greater communication, cooperation and trust between group members, creating a safe space within which members are free to express their differences and individuality without fear of exclusion. It is to prepare the inmates mentally and physically to focus on the session. As Karp suggests;

The warm-up serves to produce an atmosphere of creative possibility. This first phase weaves a basket of safety in which the individual can begin to trust the director, the group and the method. When the room has its arm around you it is possible to be that which you thought you could not, to express that, which seemed impossible to express. (Karp, 1995:296).

A workshop with problematic adolescents must be different from any other kind of workshop and it should be full of games and exercises. The games serve to heighten their senses and de-mechanize the body, to get them out of habitual behavior, as a prelude to moving beyond habitual thinking and interacting. Through playing games the inmates begin to notice their status in the group and how the group relates to them. Games require co-operation from everyone in the group and this makes individuals more aware of their own contribution. Bradbury addresses the importance of play as an agent of therapeutic change;

Play is a fundamental capacity of humans which provides access to the inner world where psychodramatic investigation can occur. It is also the seed bed in which the changes consequent on psychotherapeutic interventions occur. Within this, it is spontaneity and creativity which provide the trust towards growth (1995: 22).

So choosing a game which suits the energy level appropriate for the inmates is a skill which has to be learnt by the workshop leader. Some of the games and activities provided in this Forum approach have been successfully implemented with the inmates in the last workshops. Nevertheless, there were a few other activities that were unable to excite the inmates and had to be replaced with new activities which are believed to be more appropriate to the situations, level of acceptance and the needs of the inmates.

In the previous workshops the researcher divided the warm-ups session into two categories; the first session was the self-introduction and the introduction to drama activities. The self introduction was the ice breaking session where the company and the inmates could introduce themselves within the group. All these activities must be conducted in a way that can develop and create enjoyment and fun. Traditional ways of conducting a workshop like speeches, verbal introduction, explanation or lecturing should be avoided as this approach is too conventional and boring especially when dealing with troubled adolescents in rehabilitation centers. The length of each activity depends on the inmates, the situation and its surroundings.

When conducting warm-ups with a new group, it is helpful to begin the process in pairs, and gradually increase the numbers until the whole group is back together. This can reduce the anxiety of speaking in a large group, although an exception to this would be a simple name exercise. For example, if at the beginning the inmates are asked to share in pairs, they can be asked to join another pair, then a four. This can then be developed by asking the groups of four to find a way of showing what they have been sharing about the workshop, for example their hopes, fears, and how they want the group to be. These activities have ascertained to be effective in bridging the gap among inmates, building the teamwork, narrowing the gap between each member and are enjoyable. Other thriving game used for the self-introduction in the previous

workshops included *The child's dream - what I wanted to be when I grow up*, *The child's fear*, *What grown-ups wanted me to be*, *What am I?*, and *What do I want?* There are several games outlined in the appendices but these are just examples and it is up to the practitioner to choose his or her circumstances. As has been explained earlier, the choosing of games is up to the practitioners as long as it suits the level of the inmates. Other examples of games can be found in Chris Johnston *House of Games: Making Theatre from Everyday Life* (1998) and *Acting Out: The Workbook* by M. Cossa (1996), Augusto Boal. *Games for Actor and Non-actors* (1992) and. *Sociodrama; Who's in your shoes?* by Sternberg, P. and Antonina Garcia (2000) (**Appendix 2; Games**).

To create a safe environment for the workshop, group norms need to be set up during the warm-ups sessions. Establishing ground rules is a crucial step that needs to be taken prior to the carrying out of any activity. Many practitioners seem not to care or bother about this but it however, very important, especially when dealing with a special group like troubled adolescents in rehabilitation centres. These are vital so that the inmates feel safe within the structure of the project and have clarity about what is expected of them. The rules of the workshop must be explained to all the inmates. All of us are used to being told how to behave; in school, work, parents, the laws, all give us rules, which we have to abide by or be reprimanded accordingly. Usually these rules are phrased in the negative, such as 'don't run in the corridors' rather than in the positive, such as 'be safe and careful when moving around the building'. In addition, the

making of such rules excludes the young people as they are never in control of deciding these rules and rarely consulted in the process. At this level, the inmates need to be given a chance to set up their own ground rules. The inmates should be urged to construct the rules for themselves. They should decide their boundaries and the punishments. Establishing ground rules could create physical and emotional safety so that clear limits were defined. Another reason for doing this is to train the inmates to be disciplined, responsible for their actions and be honest to themselves and others. The ground rules should not be fixed. They should be flexible but that is not to say that this can be changed constantly but can be adjustable to the needs of the inmates and the situation at that moment.

Once the relationships among the inmates are improving and they are judged ready to engage in a more challenging activity, then *the introduction to drama activities* can be introduced. The introduction to the drama activities is where the inmates will be introduced to basic acting techniques which relate to educational and therapeutic modalities. Most Malaysians, especially the adolescents are new to theatre and unaware of any theatrical performances. The Malay parents do not encourage their children to get involved in any kind of theatre activities as it is considered a waste of time (Andika.1995.112). Inserting theatre activities into the workshop helps to introduce and expose the inmates to the variety of theatre games. The inmates can have a chance to experience the use of theatre for their self-development. The exercises have been divided into several levels; the basic exercises as an introduction, the intermediate exercises

which can help to enhance self- development, and finally the therapeutic exercises taken from the psychodramatic processes, which can help to cope with and ease the inmates' inner problems.

For a start, basic exercises suitable for the inmates who have not experienced any theatrical activities are physical and vocal projection. The physical and vocal exercises used in the previous workshops are as described. The inmates lay down on with their backs on the floor. They breathe in slowly and then breathe out slowly. They place their hands around the ribcages and feel how the air fills the lungs and pushes out the ribcage. They repeat this ten times. Another physical exercise is where the inmates pretend their mouths are like rubber bands that can stretch in the following sequence: right, left, down, up, and drawn in like an old person's mouth. They also purse out their mouth like a fish's and then stretch in all directions. In the next exercise the inmates repeat the sequence, "ah,uuh,ooh,eeh" (the four basic vowel sounds) two to three times. When say *ah* the jaws should be very loose and relaxed, the mouth hanging open but without strain. They also do some tongue twister exercises like *Ular Lari Lurus, Pokok Kopi Popi, Yellow Lorry Red Lorry, She sell a sea shell on the sea shell store and Selfish Shellfish*. Physical and vocal exercises can be varied, depending on the company and the inmates involved in the workshop. The physical and vocal exercises can be based on local words or verse as they are easier to adapt and to be followed by the inmates.

There are a few other theatrical activities which develop the inmates' creativity and improve their self-esteem. For example, the game called *The reconstruction of the crime*, where a group of inmates rehearse a scene in front of others. Whenever the inmate comes to a moment where he considers important, she can turn and speak directly to the audience, in character, justifying his actions in the scene such as 'I am saying this because I feel such and such an emotion'. While s/he is speaking, everyone else in the scene freezes (Boal.1992:213). Another activity is called *Invisible characters* where a scene is played with one or more of the inmates invisible or not on stage. Since the inmate on stage cannot see them, this forces her to listen and use her imagination. She is obliged to imagine the dialogue which is unsaid and the movements which are not made (Boal.1992:217). It is necessary for the actors to show how the activities work before applying them with the inmates.

There are several activities available that can help to develop the inmates' creativity and self-esteem. In this research two suitable activities have been suggested which are the Simultaneous Playwriting Technique and the Simultaneous Dramaturgy. These activities are more structured and more focused. The first activity is where the inmates can watch several short plays; stories of 'power-over' presented by the group of actors, then the inmates can choose one of them and propose several solutions to the problems and the actors will act it out. The inmates too, can stop the play if they feel something is not right with the play and can give their suggestions. These solutions are acted

out one after the other, during which each inmate has the right to interrupt and rectify the improvised action and dialogue of the actors. In other words the inmate becomes the "author" and the actor transforms his ideas immediately into a theatrical scene. This is a warm-up for the inmates before a more structured and more thematic activity is introduced. The inmates at this stage will not be invited to come on stage and replace the actor. These exercises will help the group to be more creative and alert to the issues presented in front of them and also to prepare the inmates for more complicated and more structured activities later on.

Simultaneous Dramaturgy is more like a forum activity. It is a basic introduction to Forum activity before the actual Forum can be conducted. The activity is similar to the previous activity; the *Simultaneous Playwriting Technique* only this time the inmates need to intervene and give solutions by taking over the protagonist's role. This activity can only be conducted after the participants have been familiarized with Simultaneous Playwriting activity. Simultaneous Dramaturgy is where one of the inmates is approached by the actors and asked to suggest a subject for the scene, which will be improvised by the actors. The actors will perform the scene up to the point where the central issue comes to the foreground. Actors then stop and the Joker will ask the inmates to suggest the solutions. The inmates must come on stage and take over the protagonist's role. This activity is used to identify the problem that is recognized and shared by the

inmates as oppressed and the problem will be used and become the central focus in the Forum activity (Schutzman, M. and Cohen-Cruz, J. 1994:102).

The introduction of the Theatre of the Oppressed comprises of two inter-related activities which are *Image Theatre activities* and *Psychodramatic processes*. The inmates should be told the general background of the Theatre of the Oppressed, its function and the purpose of having a workshop with the inmates. Again, to make the workshop more interesting and accessible, such information on the aims and functions of the Theatre of the Oppressed, and also explanations about the rules of the game can be interspersed throughout the games and exercises. The first exercise known as Image Theatre uses the human body as a tool of representing feelings, ideas and relationships. The inmates will discover how to use their bodies or those of others in sculpting to create anything from one person to large group image sculptures that reflect the sculptor's impression of a situation or oppression. There should be no verbal expression. Several kinds of Image Theatre can be used depending on the surroundings, culture and the perception of the inmates. The inmates can begin to work aesthetically and suggest a subject for images themselves. They will depict a real life dilemma, which in its unresolved form is recognized by the group as oppressive. They should describe several situations using their own bodies. They must sculpt their bodies and form several images, which they think relate to the subject matter. Some exercises which are simple and not embarrassing can arouse the least resistance. One of the activities is known as *Image Games*. The

activities have been successful in involving the inmates actively in portraying several general images. The activity can be varied depending on the practitioners' experiences and the level of the inmates. In the previous activity known as *Complete the image*, the inmates were divided into pairs. In pairs the inmates are labelled as A and B and they stand and face each other, shake hands and freeze in that position. A then steps out of the pose, while B remains frozen, arm outstretched. A takes up a new position in relation to B thereby, creating a new total image. A then freezes and B steps out. B takes up another position, in relation to that of A. A and B continue to take turns in this way together, improvising a series of possible relationships. They must create new images, not recreate the same set of images produced the first time around (Boal.1992:130). Other activities available are like *Ball-games* where the inmates are divided into two teams and play a match without using a ball, but acting as if there was one. A referee must check to see if the imaginary movements of the ball correspond closely to the real movements of the inmates and should correct them if necessary (Boal.1992:131). This kind of activity can create and improve creativity and spontaneity among the inmates. Other activities available can be found in Boal's *Games for Actors and non-actors* for examples *Boxing match*, *Character in Movement* and *Animals* (Boal.1992:130-135). These activities are invariably highly physical interactions designed to challenge the inmates to consider what they are hearing, touching, and seeing. These games serve to heighten the senses and de-mechanize the body, to get out of habitual behavior, as a prelude to moving beyond habitual thinking and interacting. Thus, they will

also become actively engaged with other inmates, developing relationships and trust, and having a good time. However, not every game provided is suitable for every group. A practitioner needs to carefully select the games, which he feels are reliable and suitable for the culture and its environment.

The next activity is more structured and thematic. *Images of Power Over* are focused on several thematic issues suggested by the inmates. The activity is the enactment of several images portraying oppression or potentially oppressive situations. The process of the game is based on 3WH (WHO, WHAT, WHERE). 'Who' refers to the list of how many people are needed in the scene, their ages, their relationship to one another, and their relevant background. The inmates can use their own names to avoid confusion. 'What' refers to the actual content of the scene, and each inmate should approach it in term of his or her WHO. However, this section can be modified to meet the specific needs of the group and its experiences with the issues presented. 'Where' refers to the scene taking places in a suggested location. Each inmate has to enact an image of oppression or potential oppression based on the 3WH questions. To be more specific the issue enacted should focus and reflect on an issue happening in the STB. Each inmate must enact an image using the bodies of their colleagues and complete the image by entering into it representing him or herself. In the previous workshops this activity was useful in helping the inmates to express their emotions and feelings without having to say them out aloud. It is also very useful in helping the inmates to cope with their negative attitude. The Malay adolescents when

engaged in conversation, frequently have thoughts or emotions that they never mention to the person with whom they are speaking. Many things go through their minds that are not voiced aloud. It is valuable to hear what people are thinking and feeling. By playing this activity the inmates can develop the closeness of sharing each others' problems. This activity can be used by the practitioners as a basic platform to identify the issue that is shared most by the inmates which can then be used in the next activity.

According to the previous experiences in Melaka and Sabah, the self-reliance, confidence and frankness among the inmates were very low. The secluded and rigid environment in the centre has affected the ability to act and the ability to think among the inmates. Feelings of distrust and suspicion are obviously seen among them. These problems became part of the reasons of the ineffectiveness of the Forum approach conducted in the last workshops. To cope with the problems a few therapeutic processes taken from the psychodrama technique have been adapted to the previous Forum workshop. Several exercises suggested by Boal in his *Rainbow of Desire* have been implemented during the workshops. However lack of confidence and understanding of the approach made the researcher reluctant to apply the approach. Instead he felt more comfortable in using the therapeutic processes in psychodrama as he had some experiences in handling the process.

Nevertheless, the implementation of the therapeutic processes seemed unable to stimulate the inmates and had to be abandoned. The main problems were caused by the lack of confidence and creativity among the actors as they had no experience in handling the technique. Time constraint also contributed to the problem as the actors had not enough time to practice the technique properly. However, that is not to say that the technique is inappropriate at all. The technique has so much to contribute and it is believed to be able to deal with problems that have bounded the inmates and the Malay adolescents.

The therapeutic processes focus on active techniques where group members do not sit in a circle on chairs discussing life and its problems. Life is brought into the room and enacted using group members as the cast of the drama. The action that takes place in a group is a way of looking at one's life as it moves. It is a way of looking at what happened and what did not happen in a given situation. All scenes take place in the present, even though a person may want to enact something from the past or something in the future. Solutions are found to problems using the creativity and spontaneity of the group. The shared issue which has been identified earlier through the *Images of Power-Over* can be discussed further by using several psychodramatic processes. The first therapeutic activity is *Doubling*. The *Doubling Technique* is the 'heart of psychodrama' (Lousada.1998:208) and can be played by one or more group members. The double is a mind/feeling reader. He or she is a person whose role

is to tune into the enactor's unexpressed thoughts and feeling and express them. The double is the enactor's hidden voice, one's truest self (Garcia.2000:186). The double helps the enactor to realize and acknowledge what she is thinking and feeling. As the technique is not known by the inmates it is advisable not to let the inmates but the trained actors to become the double as the role requires sensitivity, empathy and understanding of counter-transference (Lousada in Karp.1998:210). The double positions himself behind and slightly to the side of the person for whom he doubles. The double takes on the posture and gestures of the person so that he may more readily tune in to how the enactor is feeling. The double assists the enactor in finding words to express feelings and thoughts that s/he previously could not adequately express. For example, Aminah has her fists clenched and is speaking sweetly to Sarah. Her double standing by her, clenches her fists and says aloud, "I'm controlling myself, Sarah but, look, I am annoyed at you." If Aminah is feeling as her double has indicated, she repeats what her double has said. If she is not feeling that way, she corrects the statement. Sarah responds to whatever Aminah says to her. Sarah does not respond to the double as that is Aminah's *inner voice*. The double can be used in a variety of ways. Some of these are to supports with statements that affirm the enactor and validate his or her thoughts, feeling, opinion and actions. For example, after Ahmad says, "Hey, Jeff, give me your keys. I'll drive home. I didn't drink tonight and you did," his double says, "I'm glad I spoke up. I feel safer now." The double reinforces the appropriateness of Ahmad's actions. Secondly, when an enactor demonstrates through body language that she is feeling some things

that she is not saying, the double verbalizes those feelings. For example, Lina tells Andy she really enjoys his company. However, she is sitting as far away from him as she can get. She has her arms folded and her legs crossed. The double says, "I like you, but I'm not ready to get close yet. Don't rush me!" Thirdly, the double can also help an enactor by magnifying her feelings. For example, Lina is softly telling Jennifer, "I'm a little disappointed that you didn't invite me to your birthday party. All the other kids in the class were invited." Her double says, "A little disappointed? I am hurt that you don't like me!" (Lousada in Karp.1998:210).

Another appropriate technique that enables the inmates to express their feelings or emotions in a safe way is the *Role-reversal*. Role reversal is known as 'the engine of psychodrama' (Lousada in Karp.1998:211). Doubling is the first step towards role reversal. It represents the establishment of the ego. Without enough ego development it is difficult to engage in role reversal. There has to be a sufficient sense of the self in order to experience a sense of the separate other. The Role-reversal technique is believed to have many purposes and can be useful in coping with the culture of silence in Malaysia. Role-reversal is a special approach to bring hidden processes to the surface. Role-reversal partly comes about through imitation, and partly by exploration. Role-reversal is the process by which the protagonist temporarily becomes someone or something else by adopting the position, characteristics and behavior of the other. Role reversal also enables the protagonist to see the world from the perspective of the other

person or to put it in layman's terms "to be in someone else's shoes"; 'They see themselves from the other person's perspectives' (Kellerman. 1992:90). To learn the skill of role-reversal, the inmate (protagonist) must now become the other role. He is assisted by the group leader who will interview him as the other person to guide him into role. For example s/he will ask, 'what is your name, your age at the time of the scene; what is a word to describe the sort of person you think you are? How about you describe your relationship with the protagonist? How are you feeling about this? The technique can be used for several purposes (Garcia.2000:186). Firstly *to develop empathy*; Role-reversal provides the inmate with the capacity for participating in the feelings or ideas of another. Nothing helps an inmate understand a character better than 'to be in that character's shoes'. Role-reversal requires that the inmates switch roles, A becoming B and B becoming A. By taking on each other's roles, the inmates can understand each other's dilemmas and feelings better. *It shifts perspective*. Sometimes enactors perceive the situation they are dramatizing solely from their own viewpoint. The group leader calls for a role reversal to allow the enactor to look at his or her situation in a new light. This will help the person to discover a new way to view the circumstances and look at a particular situation from a different angle. *It develops understanding of the situation*. There are times when you feel the enactor does not seem to understand the larger context of a situation. Role reversal can be used to help the enactor understand the situation better by taking the role of a character and facing the challenges faced by the character in that situation. *It allows enactors to answer their own questions*. When enactors ask a

question, reverse roles and let them answer their own question. Often when we ask a question of someone else, deep down we know the answer ourselves, even though we don't think we do. Answering their own questions forces the enactor to search deep within themselves for the answers. *It enables enactors to see themselves as their fellow enactors see them;* Role-reversal allows the enactor to understand how others perceive him or her, to feel how others see the enactor when he is acting out a role. Finally, *it helps enactors to have a catharsis;* Role-reversal can help an actor become a character which he has difficulty playing, maybe because his own character is very different from the role he has to play. By acting out the reversed role, he must go beyond his own nature and personality.

In the previous workshop in Melaka, the inmates could not and did not know how to express their emotions of dissatisfaction. The traditional social system which has created the culture of silence has affected the Malay adolescent and made them oppressed. Most of them expressed their anger and frustration by hurting themselves; cutting their wrists using sharp things such as knives and broken glass. Although this phenomenon is normally occurred among inmates in the rehabilitation centres and other prison settings in Malaysia but by introducing a special kind of approach hopefully it can become a medium for the inmates to express their emotion of dissatisfaction. A suggestion to deal with the problem is by using the *The Empty Chair* activity. An empty chair can be placed before the group. The group leader asks the group members to imagine that

someone or something is in the chair. Then he asks them to make a statement to who ever is in it. They may stand behind the chair or may speak to him from their seats, giving him advice. This use of the empty chair helps the inmates to warm up to issues they can explore in an enactment. The empty chair can also be used during the enactment. For example, Ali is angry enough to punch Samy. To express the emotion, bring in an empty chair and a pillow and let him pound the chair as if it were Samy. This allows the enactor to vent his feelings, yet not hurt anyone. One of the values of empty chair work is that one does not get a negative feedback or response that one gets from a human being. Therefore, people can often express themselves more fully than when confronted with a threatening person. Once they feel more comfortable expressing their feelings in this way, it is easier to do so with people. There are other therapeutic processes available that can be applied with the inmates. These approaches can be found in the **Appendix 2; Games**.

At the end of each activity mentioned earlier there should be a closing session where the inmates sit together in a circle and share their feelings and emotions towards the activity they have undertaken together. The session is called *The Sharing*. Sharing is a time for relating personal experiences and associations related to the enactment and the whole-group experience. This is a time for self-reflection. It is not the time for analysis of the action, of what the protagonist did or did not do or say. This is the province of processing or supervision. If analysis of the process begins, it is vital for the group leader to

intervene by telling or reminding the inmates of the task of sharing- sharing the identifications and promoting group interaction and process. Useful expression can also happen non-verbally for example through a glance, squeezing the others' hand or by an embrace. This action may help the words to come and facilitate the process of verbal sharing. Just by holding a group member who has been profoundly moved can give him/her a sense of containment. Containment and holding is a primary task of the group process and can provide the necessary phase of integration of inner strength before further exploration. In the researcher's personal point of view, a non verbal sharing can feel comforting, welcoming and warm. However, this non-verbal sharing activity is not a compulsory to be implemented. It depends on the culture, participants and their relationships with others.

The second phase is the *Forum*, which consists of three stages, the *Model*, the *Intervention* and the *Evaluation*. This phase will be the focal point of the workshop. At this level the company has to make sure that the inmates are already familiar with the Forum technique. The first stage in this phase is the presentation of the *model*. In the previous workshop, Playback was successfully used in performing the model. The issue or the problem identified must be shared by most of the participants and the Playback can focus on that issue. One volunteer from the inmates will tell the stories based on an issue which has been agreed by the majority of the inmates. The volunteer will tell the story to the

group based to the questions asked by the Joker/Conductor and soon after he has finished, the Joker/Conductor will asks him or her to choose actors to play the key roles. The interview ends and the Joker/Conductor explains the storyline or the plot to the audience before the performance begins. This is to make sure that the audience know in advance the issue focused on in the scene and for the actors to understand and prepared for the enactment. Then, the Joker/Conductor hands the story over to the actors with an injunction: "Let's watch!". It will be more interesting if the opening begins with a song sung spontaneously by the Joker/Conductor. There is no discussion. The actors silently position themselves for the opening of the scene. To understand more on the Joker's functions please refer to **Table 5.1**. During the enactment, the Joker/Conductor and the protagonist watch from the side. When the scene is over, the actors pause in place. The Joker/Conductor invites the volunteered participant to comment. If the enactment was not true enough to the essence of the story to satisfy him/her, the Joker/Conductor may ask the actors to redo some or all of it, incorporating his/her corrections. The scene can be repeated several times until s/he feels that the actors have presented the proper 'reality' of oppression. The duration of time length of the performance should be less than half an hour.

Before the intervention session begins, the inmates must be briefed again on the rules and the structure of the activity. They must be informed about their role in terms of contribution, interaction and intervention. The mode of the presentation will be changed from 'a one way street' to 'a two-way street'.

Instead of sitting passively and watching the play, the audience must become active, intervene and contribute ideas for solving the problem. Contribution of ideas should not be done verbally but have to be followed by action because that what makes the Forum Theatre different from any ordinary theatre. The inmates must be informed that the problem solving is their responsibility. Their future lies in their hand and they must make their own decision. To create an intervention, the activity must be done only with the inmates involved. The existence of any outsiders will jeopardise the understanding and the trust that has developed among the inmates.

As the workshop is drawn to a close, there should be a session known as the *evaluation session*. This activity is taken from the method of psychodrama;

Give truth and receive truth; give love to the group and it will return love to you; give spontaneity and spontaneity will return
(Moreno.1953:114).

The evaluation session is a vital element of the process. Without it, there is no real learning and no awareness of transformation. Evaluation consolidates what has been learnt. Evaluation is also part of the outcome where the participants can see their mistakes and be able to learn from them. The evaluation session is seen as a must because the inmates have undertaken the training; they have applied their skills and run the workshop in various settings. They are in a different place to where they set out from, with skills and

experiences. They need to look back at where they have come from, and see how far they have come and what changes they have made. In other words, they need to reflect on their experiences, and evaluate what they have learnt and achieved. The inmates need to be reminded that all the values and skills they have learned from the workshop are very valuable lessons for their future lives. Evaluation can be done in a number of ways either by using a traditional method like the use of an evaluation form, where the inmates fill in an actual forms provided by the company (**Appendix 3; Evaluation Form**), or a verbal sharing where the group reassembles in a circle. The inmates and the company members are included in the circle as a way of reinstating each individual as a group member. Sharing takes place face to face across the circle. Or by using a more interesting way like a group work activity for example the *Smiles, Frowns and Lightbulbs* where the inmates are gathered around the flipchart. On the flipchart, create three columns, headed Smiles (☺), Frowns and Lightbulbs. Explain that you are going to ask them to call out aspects of the course that they thought were good or worked well (smiles); those that were bad or difficult (frowns); and moments of inspiration or learning (lightbulbs). It is important to mention that one person's smile is another person's frowns or lightbulb, and vice versa, and that things can therefore appear in more than one column (Clifford.1999:202). Also, this is like an ordinary brainstorm in that there is no censoring, and everything is written down.

Another interesting sharing activity that can be applied is the *Small Group; Images* (Clifford,1999:203). The inmates can be divided into smaller groups of four or five. Ask each group to create three images each:

- a) the best moment of the project
- b) the worse moment of the project
- c) the funniest moment of the project

In order to do this, they spend some time discussing their individual responses to these questions. About ten minutes should be given to this. The images can then be a composite of all their answers, or they can select one as being the most representative that resonates for all of them. When each group has created three images, they are shared with the rest of the group. The other group members are asked to guess what the images are referring to, and the group shows the images to explain, where necessary. Some of the images might be overlap, offering a shared experience of those moments.

Before moving on to the third and final phase; the Performances, which is the forum performance, some consideration should be given to the space where the forum workshop is conducted. Space is an important factor to consider in conducting the workshops. It provides the inmates with a living space which is multi dimensional and flexible to the maximum. This is a place where spontaneity manifests in creative action in the here and now, yet also in 'dramatic time' for

example the drama can explore, through play, the past, present and future. The stage is also a microcosm of the Cosmos and shares qualities with the most ancient stages of shamanic and healing, sacred ritual;

The stage can be anywhere in the world and be transformed in the twinkling of an eye from here to the inside the human heart (Casson in Karp.1998:86).

The living space of reality is often narrow and restraining, they may easily lose their equilibrium. On stage they may find it again due its methodology of freedom- freedom from unbearable stress and freedom for experience and expression (Casson in Karp.1998:73). The space suggested for use in the Forum workshop in Malaysia can be divided into two kinds which are the space for the workshop and the space for the performances. For workshop purposes, all activities can generally be done in any space available. Roger Grainger, a practicing drama therapist, also proposed a similar idea;

First of all it should be a space that outsiders or non-group members will not easily invade. It should be big enough in width and height in order to create series of spaces. It should be quiet enough... above all it should be a space that 'gives rise to character'. (Jennings, S; 1994: 7)

However, it does not mean that any kind of space is applicable. To have a workshop in an open field is totally unacceptable because it will cause problems in handling activities and participations. The previous workshops were held in a

dining hall and a sports hall which were impractical and difficult as they were too big and the inmates were easily distracted by the passers-by and the other inmates playing near them. A proper place should be big enough to accommodate the inmates, with no obstacles of unwanted furniture around, and also must be isolated from any uninvited disturbances, for example, a classroom, a training studio, and a squash arena. Blatner states the space 'should at least approximately 12-15 feet in diameter' (1973:8). Remocker and Storch also responded to it as;

Whatever facilities are available, it is important to remember that the suitability of the chosen environment will impact directly on the effectiveness of the exercises. (1992: 13)

This means that the space should be used only by the inmates for the specified time so they can concentrate and focus on the work in hand, and not be interrupted by people going in and out, or other activities as stated by Wiener²³;

It will need to be private enough so that participants feel that they are not overlooked or heard (1995:9).

The group needs to feel ownership of the space for this time, so that they can express themselves in the activities without being interrupted or laughed at.

²³ Ron Wiener is a psychologist by training who is at present an Associate Consultant at the Department of Adult Continuing Education at University of Leeds, and a freelance training consultant.

However, in the third phase (Forum Performances), the mode of presentation will be different. The concept of presentation and space will be transformed from a workshop basis into a more structured performance. There will be two types of performance. The first is the restaging of the *model* by the members of the company, and the second is the performance of the *model of action for the future* by the inmates. The play will be performed as a one-act play on a proscenium or raised stage. Although they are not designed for theatrical performances, most STBs do have proscenium stages and even some of them have been equipped with stage lighting and audio systems. The presentations of the two *models* require a proper rehearsal, general setting and illumination, in other words all the technical requirements of a proper theatrical performance. Both models will be performed like ordinary theatre performances, complete with all stage lighting and sound equipment, if possible. Although these are not essential they do add much to the work. The support of illuminations could enhance the quality of the performance. Colour symbolism is useful; red can signify or facilitate the expression of anger; blue may be used for dreams; yellow can be sunlight. Being able to dim the lights at moments of intimacy may facilitate catharsis and colours add atmosphere which in turn may help the inmates to get more in touch with the emotions. In the absence of such equipment the lighting can still be varied: electric lights can be switched on and off. The Forum performance must be good theatre. It must be a source of aesthetic pleasure and be watchable and well-constructed (Boal, 1992:227). Boal stated that;

Ideally the set should be as fully developed as possible, with a minute detail and as much complexity as is necessary...this also applies to the other elements of the staging (1992:235).

Nonetheless, the costume should not be too elaborate. It should be simple and easy to take on and off. To differentiate the roles, the use of hand props are essential.

To achieve that quality, enough time should be given, for example two days to prepare for performances. The presentation of the model will not be much of a problem as the actors are experienced enough to handle themselves. The focus should be on the presentation of the model of action for the future. The company must help the inmates in polishing their blocking, movements and acting. The actors will act as supporters during performance, if needed. As most of the halls available in the STBs are not acoustically designed, an extra effort should be focuses on vocal projection training. The play will be performed in front of a general audience. However, in these two performances there will never be any intervention. This is crucial as the participants are not ready to be judge or questions by any outsiders on their action onstage. The issue and the solution presented in the play has been agreed by the participants' during the workshop and audience must respect that outcome. The idea of having the performance is to give the public audience a chance to see the actual process of transformation that occurred during the Forum workshop. They can make the comparison between the two performances; the same plot but with different ending, and how

the issue is going through a process of 'dismantling', developing and is finally transformed from *the model* to become *the model of action for the future*. Performing the play on a proper stage and to a larger audience will help to promote and expose the Forum approach to the public. Furthermore, the Malaysian society would prefer to see and evaluate the end product of anything that has been achieved as it helps them feel more fulfilled and satisfied.

A Joker is not part of the character in the play and it never will. But s/he can take over any role s/he feels needs more clarification. The most important is that the Joker must focus on to his or her main concern role as a facilitator, a provocateur and the connector between the audiences and the performers. Having a stage performance in Malaysia the physical stance of the Joker is extremely important and need some considerations. If the Joker is onstage, most probably what will happen is that his or her actions will be regarded by the audiences as part of the play. This will make the gap between him/her and the audiences wider. It is better for a Joker to be mix among the audience as this will ensure the non-existence of the fourth wall. By having a Joker sitting among the audiences will help to stimulate the audiences' reaction better, s/he would be able to sense the audiences' reactions toward the action on stage and can bridge the gap between the performers and the audiences.

Conclusion

The Forum Theatre technique has its useful features. However some of the principles of the Theatre of the Oppressed are not universally applicable and need modification. Nobody in Malaysia knew or had heard anything about Forum Theatre before. Discussions were held with several theatre practitioners in Malaysia regarding the methodology and approaches and most said that it would be difficult because of the culture of silence that has bounded the society for years. As discussed in the previous chapters, Malaysian societies, their cultures and even their adolescents are very 'reserved' and 'closed'. They might be the last people to get up on the stage and intervene in theatrical action. However if the model is right, if it is true to life and is sufficiently effective in making the people angry about the treatment of the protagonist, then they will come up on stage, especially when a first brave spect-actor has broken the 'ice'. Despite of all the problems, the adapted approach appeared potentially able to stimulate the inmates to confront the culture of the silence. Although their actions cannot be said to successfully change the 'old habit of being silent', their capability in expressing their feelings and their emotions of dissatisfaction among themselves can be seen as a stepping stone to the birth of a new attitude and a new society. It is too early to say whether the approach could create a huge impact on the society as a whole but the impact that the approach has left with the inmates shows that it is not impossible and can still be achieved. What has been experimented with in the workshops can be improved provided enough time is

given to the adapted approach and can be implemented effectively in the country.

The courage of the researcher and his group in experimenting with the approach has to be acknowledged. The experimental use of theatre as a medium of expression of emotions among troubled adolescents in rehabilitation centres was an excellent approach which has never been tried by any other theatre practitioners in Malaysia. In terms of expression of emotion it was a success. As mentioned by David Diamond, the director of Headlines Theatre;

The richest and most productive way to work with the oppressed groups is to help them find their own voice, not to speak for them. When individuals don't express themselves emotionally for long periods of time, they get sick; communities are the same. One way for our communities to heal is for all of us to take back our rights of healthy collective expression. (Cited in Schutzman M & Cohen-Cruz J.1994:35)

The workshops proved that the adapted Forum Theatre approach is applicable and suitable for Malaysians to voice their emotions of dissatisfaction. But then the process of the approach inevitably needs some adjustment. It must be flexible and must evolve. As a whole, the Forum approach constructed in this research will not be a medium for a social change or revolution but it will be a medium for creative and critical engagement. To use the approach as a medium of social change in Malaysia is too early and difficult to be implemented. The Malaysian mentality is still hard to accept the new idea of using theatre as a tool

for social change. It will take a long time to be accepted. However, for a start, the approach can be applied in a small group of people. The main purpose of the approach is to help a group of people to confront their weaknesses. The approach also can be a platform for the participant to identify their weaknesses, to train their skills of encountering the problem and to acknowledge their strength in confronting their problems. The approach proposed in this research cannot be said to be the final and fixed as a large number of experiments still need to be conducted before a fully appropriate adaptation can be constructed. A local approach like *Dekon*, a combination of monologue and acting, might be useful in the adaptation of the approach. However more research need to be done to prove it. Nevertheless, by proposing an appropriate structured approach the researcher can help others who wish to employ the technique in future. At the same time, the existence of the approach and its description can solve the problem of insufficient reference to the technique in Malaysia. Overall, Forum Theatre needs to be adaptable for international use and, changes must be made in its approach and technique, depending on the country, the culture and the society in which it is being performed. To make sure that the influence of Forum Theatre will grow, we must allow it to absorb new approaches or allow it to be modified by others without changing the basic rules and techniques. By embracing the view of theatre as a medium of social change we can help to transform the theatre as an effective applied art-form and contribute to the social development of the country in the future. Theatre can provide an opportunity for

ordinary people to address moral dilemmas, to express feelings, to be creative and to explore new ideas and ways of being.

Bibliography

Books

Abah, O.S. *Performing Life; Case study in the Practice of Theatre for Development*. Nigeria. Bright Printing Press. 1997

Allain, P. and Jen Harvie. *The Routledge Companion to Theatre and Performance*. Oxon: Routledge. 2006.

Alwi bin Sheikh Alhady. *Adab-Tertib*. Singapura. Malaysia Publications Limited. 1965.

Andaya B.W. and Leonard Y. Andaya. *A History of Malaysia* (2nd ed). Hampshire. Palgrave. 2001.

Antonio Darder, *The Passion of Paulo Freire in the Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed Conference* , April 24, 2004

Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* (trans. W.D. Ross). In R. McKeon (ed). *The Basic Works of Aristotle*. New York. Random House. 1941

Asher, S. & Coie, J. *Peer rejection in Childhood*. New York. Cambridge University Press. 1990.

Babbage, F. *Augusto Boal*. London. Routledge. 2004.

Banks, D.J. *Malay Kinship*. Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Inc. United States of America. 1983.

Barker, C. *Theatre Games; A New Approach to Drama Training*. Great Britain. Methuen Ltd. 1977.

Barranger, M.S. *Theatre: A Way of Seeing*. (4th ed), United States of America. Wadsworth Publishing Company. 1995

Bengston, V.L & Starr, J.M."Contract and Consensus: A Generational Analysis of Youth in the 1970s." In *Youth: The Seventy-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Part 1. (Ed) R.J. Havinghurst and P.H. Dreyer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Berzonsky, M.D. *Theories of Adolescence in Adolescent Development*. (ed) Gerald Adams. Oxford. Blackwell Publishers. 2000

Berry Kathleen S. *The Dramatic Arts and Cultural Studies: Acting Against the Grain*. New York. Falmer Press. 2000

Blatner, A. with Blatner, A. *Foundations of Psychodrama; History, Theory and Practice*. (4th ed), New York. Springer Publishing Company. 2000

Blatner, H.A. *Acting- In*. New York. Springer. 1973

Bloch, S. *What is Psychotherapy*. Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1982

Boal, A. *Theatre of the Oppressed*. (new ed.) Charles A. (trans). London. Pluto Press. 2000

_____. *Legislative Theatre*. Adrian Jackson (trans). London. Routledge. 1998

_____. *The Rainbow of Desire; the Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy*. Adrian Jackson (trans). London. Routledge. 1995

_____. *Games for Actor and Non-actors*. Adrian Jackson (trans). New York. Routledge. 1992

_____. "The Joker System". *Tulane Drama Review*. 14 (2). New York: School of Arts, New York University. Pg. 92. 1970.

Bradbury, S. That illusory hotbed of change. *Journal of the British Psychodrama Association*, 10 (2). 1995

Brake, M. *The Sociology of Youth culture and youth Subcultures*. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1980

Brecht, B. and Brook, P. "To be or Not To Be". In: Mitter, S. ed. *System of Rehearsal*; Stanislavsky, Brecht, Grotowski and Brook. London: Routledge. 1992.

Brown, C.C. *Malay Sayings*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1959.

Brook, P. *The Empty Space*. London: Penguin Books. 1968

Byam, L. Dale. *Community in Motion: Theatre for Development in Africa*. London: Bergin and Garvey. 1999

Casson, J. The Stage in *The Handbook of Psychodrama*. Karp. M., Paul Holmes and Kate Bradshaw Tauvon. London. Routledge. 1998.

Caspi, A. Elder, G., & Herberner, E. Childhood personality and the prediction of life course patterns. In L. Robins & M. Rutter (Eds), *Straight and devious pathways from childhood to adulthood*. New York. Cambridge University. 1990.

Cattanach, A. *Drama for the People with Special Needs*. London: A & C Black Ltd, 1992

Chris, Johnston. *House of Games: Making Theatre from Everyday Life*. London. Nick Hern Books. 1998

Clifford, S. and Herrmann, A. *Making a Leap: Theatre of Empowerment*. United Kingdom: Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd. 1999

Coleman, John C. *The Nature of Adolescence*. London. Methuen & Co Ltd. 1980.

_____. *Adolescents and the Schools*. New York. Basic Books Inc. 1965.

John C. Coleman. *Relationships in Adolescence*. London. Routledge. 1974.

Coleman, J.S. *Adolescents and the Schools*. New York. Basic Books Inc. 1965.

_____. *The Adolescent Society*. New York. Free Press. 1961.

Compas, B. & Wagner, B. Psychological stress during adolescence. In M. Colten & S. Gore. (Eds), *Adolescence Stress*. New York. Aldine De Gruyter. 1991.

Conger J, John. *Adolescence: Generation under Pressure*. Great Britain. Multimedia Publication. 1979.

Cossa, M.,Fleischmann, S.S.,Grover, L.,Hazelwood, J.L. *Acting Out: The Workbook*. Washington D.C. Accelerated Development. 1996

Craig, J. *Culture Shock*. Kuala Lumpur. Times Book International. 1988.

Darder, A. "*The Passion of Paulo Freire*". Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed Conference. April 24, 2005

Diamond, D. Out of the Silence: Headlines Theatre and Power Plays in *Playing Boal* (ed) Schutzman, M. and Jan Cohen-Cruz. London. Routledge. 1994.

Djamour, J. *Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore*. London. Athlone Press. 1965.

Douglas A. Thom, M.D. *Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems*. London. D. Appleton-Century Company. 1936

Dreyful, E.A. *Adolescence: Theory and Experience*. Ohio. Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co. Columbus. 1976.

Emunah, R. *Acting for Real: Drama Therapy. Process, Technique and performance*. Great Britain: Routledge. 1994.

Erikson, E.H. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York. Norton Publication. 1968

Esslin, M. *Brecht: A Choice of Evils*,London. Eyre Methuen. 1980.

Farid Mohd. Onn, Changing Roles and Transformation in Traditional Malay Society in *Dunia Melayu*; Occasional Papers No.1. Pusat Bahasa

Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. 1986.

Feldhendler, D. Augusto Boal and Jacob L. Moreno in *Playing Boal; Theatre, Therapy, Activism*. Schutzman and Jan Cohen-Cruz (ed). London. Routledge. 1994.

Fox, J.(ed) *The Essential Moreno: Writings on Psychodrama, Group Method, and Spontaneity by J.L. Moreno*. New York. Springer, M.D. 1987.

Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.(trans. Myra Bergman Ramos), New York. The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc. 1970

Frith, Simon. *The Sociology of Youth*. Great Britain. Causeway Press Ltd. 1984

Frost, Anthony & Yarrow, Ralph. *Improvisation in Drama*. London. Macmillan Education Ltd. 1990.

Gary, I. *The Art of Play; The New Genre of Interactive Theatre*. Portsmouth: Heinemann. 1997

Gallup, G.H. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion Survey, 1976-1977*. Vol. 2. Wilmington, Del. Scholarly Resources, 1978.

Garcia, A. and Dale Richard Buchanan. Psychodrama. In *Current Approaches in Drama Therapy*. (ed) Lewis, P and David Read Johnson. Illinois. Charles C Thomas Publisher Ltd. 2000.

Geldard, K. and David Geldard. *Counselling Adolescents*. London. Sage Publications. 2005.

Gullick, J.M. *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Singapore. Oxford University Press. 1987.

Guthrie, T. *On Acting*. Great Britain. Studio Vista London. 1971.

Guthrie, G.M. *The Psychological of Modernization in the Rural Philippines*. Institute of Philippine Culture, No. 8. 1970

Haas, R.B. ed. *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education*. New York. Beacon House. 1949

H. Edelston, J.C. Read, A.M. Dry, D.A. Ogden, M. Morice, and W.E. Sargent. *Adolescent Problems; Their Nature and Understanding* (Eds) Great Britain. W.E. Sargent. Horder and Stoughton Limited. 1964

Hall, S. *Adolescence*. New Jersey. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs. 1904.

Hamid Arshat. *Titisan Zuriat*. Kuala Lumpur. Wira. 1988.

Harrop, P. (ed) *Techniques of the Theatre of the Oppressed; A User's Directory*, Powerhouse 1 Showcase Theatre. Wakefield. University College Bretton Hall. 1996

Hayman, R. *Techniques of Acting*. London: Methuen Ltd, 1969

Hechinger, G., and Hechinger, F. *Teenage Tyranny*. Conn. Greenwich. Fawcett Publications. 1963

Holmes, P. *The Inner World Outside: Object Relations Theory and Psychodrama*. London. Routledge. 1992

J. Victor Morais. *Mahathir; a Profile in Courage*. Kuala Lumpur. Eastern University Press (M) Sdn Bhd. 1982

Jennings, S. (ed) *Drama Therapy with Children and Adolescents*. London. Routledge. 1995

Jennings, S. *The Handbook of Dramatherapy*. London. Routledge. 1994

Johnston, C. *House of Games; Making Theatre from Everyday Life*. Great Britain. A Nick Hern Book Limited. 1998

Karp, M., Holmes, P., Tauvon, K.B. *The Handbook of Psychodrama*, London. Routledge 1998

Kellermann, P.F. *Focus on Psychodrama; The Therapeutic Aspects of Psychodrama*. London. Jessica Kingsley Publishers. 1992

Kershaw, B. Review of Legislative Theatre. in *Theatre Research International*. Vol.26. (2).2001.

Larson, B.R. (ed) *Issues in Contemporary Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur. Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd. 1977.

Lat, *Kampong Boy*, Kuala Lumpur. Berita Publishing Sdn Bhd. 1993.

Leo B. Hendry, S. Janet, G.L John, & G. Anthony. *Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles*. London. Routledge. 1993.

Lori, D.A Like Father like Son? Predicting Male Adolescents' Adjustment From Parents' Distress and Self-Restraint in *Adolescent Development* (ed) Gerald Adam. United Kingdom. Blackwell Publishers. 2000.

Lousada, O. The Three-layered cake. in *The handbook of Psychodrama*. (ed) Karp, M., Paul Holmes and Kate Bradshaw Tavon, London. Routledge. 1998.

Magill, T. *Applying Boal in Belfast: Two Contrasting Case Studies*, Contemporary Theatre Review, 1995, Vol.3 Issue 1

Mahathir Mohamad. *The Malay Dilemma*. Kuala Lumpur. Federal Publications Sdn. Bhd. first published: 1970. 1982.

Major, J.S. *The Land and People of Malaysia and Brunei*. New York. HarperCollins Publishers. 1991.

McLeish, K. (trans.). *Aristotle; Poetics*. London. Nick Hern Books. 1999.

Mda, Z. *When People Play People; Development communication through Theatre*. London. Zed Books. 1983.

Mead, M. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York. New American Library. 1950.

Mead, M. *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies*. New York. American Library. 1935.

Milling, J. & Ley, G. *Modern Theories of Performances*. New York. Palgrave. 2001.

Moreno, J.L. *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*. New York. Beacon House. 1953.

Muhammad Arif Ahmad. Nilai Hidup Masyarakat Melayu. In *Dinamika Melayu*. Singapore. Majlis Pusat Singapura. 1991.

Muro, J.J. *Youth: New Perspective and Old Dimensions*. Ohio. Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co. Columbus. 1973.

Musa Hitam. *Nasionalisme; Krisis dan Kematangan*. Petaling Jaya. Pelandok Publications. 1986.

Musgrove, F. *Youth and the Social Order*. Bloomington. Indiana University Press. 1965

Nielsen, Linda. *Adolescence; A contemporary View*. Florida. Harcourt Brace College Publishers. 1996.

Noi, G.S., Meena Mylvaganam, Cheryl M. English (ed) *Malaysia; Culture of the World*. Singapore. Times Book International. 1990.

Noraini Abdullah. *Gender Ideology and the Public Lives of Malay Women in Peninsular Malaysia*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Washington. 1984.

Novelly, M.C. *Theatre Games for Young Performers*. Colorado. Meriwether Publishing Ltd. 1985.

O'Brien, H.A. 'Latah'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Straits Branch, 11. 1883.

O'Neil, C. *Drama World: A Framework for Process Drama*. Portsmouth Heinemann. 1995

Plant, M. & Plant, M. *Risk-Takers; Alcohol, Drugs, Sex and Youth*. London. Routledge. 1992

Redington, C. *Can Theatre Teach?; An Historical and Evaluative Analysis of Theatre in Education*. England. Pergamon Press. 1983

Remocker, A.J. and Storch, E.T. *Action Speaks Louder; A Handbook of Structured Group Techniques*. 5th ed. USA: Churchill Livingstone, 1992.

Rice. F. Phillip. *The Adolescent; Development, Relationships and Culture*. 9th ed. Boston. Allyn and Bacon Inc. 1999.

Ruqaiyyah Waris Maqsood. *Living with Teenagers; A Guide for Muslim Parents*. London. TA-HA Publishers Ltd. 1995.

Salas, Jo. Playback Theatre: A frame for Healing. in *Current Approaches in Drama Therapy*. (ed) Lewis, P. and David Read Johnson. USA. Charles C Thomas Publishers Ltd. 2000.

Sargent, W.E. *Adolescent Problems*. London. Hodder and Stoughton. 1964.

Schutzman, M & Cohen-Cruz, J. (ed). *Playing Boal; Theatre, Therapy, Activism*. London. Routledge. 1994

Senu Abdul Rahman. *Revolusi Mental*. Kuala Lumpur: UMNO Publications. 1971

Sheppard, M. (ed). *The MBRAS book of over 1,600 Malay Proverb*. Monograph No.22. Academe Art & Printing Services Sdn Bhd. 1992.

Skinner, B. *Science and human behaviour*. New York. Free Press. 1953.

Starhawk. *Truth or Dare*. New York: HarperCollins. 1988.

Sternberg, P. and Antonina Garcia. *Sociodrama; Who's in your shoes*. USA. Praeger Publishers. 2000

Strange, H. *Rural Malay Women in Tradition and Transition*. New York. Praeger. 1981.

Syed Hussein Alatas, *Mitos Pribumi Malas : Imej Orang Jawa, Melayu dan Filipina dalam Kapitalisme Penjajah*. Kuala Lumpur : Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. 1989.

Syed Hussein Alatas, *Siapa yang Salah; Sekitar Revolusi Mental dan Peribadi Melayu*. Singapore. Pustaka Nasional Singapura. 1972

Syed Husin Ali. *Orang Melayu: Masalah dan Masa Depan*. Kuala Lumpur. Penerbitan Adabi Sdn Bhd. 1979.

Taylor, D. *Theatre of Crisis; Drama and Politics in Latin America*. Kentucky. The University Press of Kentucky. 1991.

Taylor, S. The Warm-up in *The Handbook of Psychodrama*. (ed). Karp, M., Paul Holmes and Kate Bradshaw Tavon. London. Routledge. 1998.

Tham Seong Chee. Social Change and the Malay Family in *The Contemporary Family in Singapore*. (ed) Kuo, E.Y.C. and Wong A.K. Singapore. Singapore University Press. 1979.

Thompson, J. (ed) *Prison Theatre; Perspectives and Practices*. London. Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd. 1998.

- Thompson, D. (ed) *Oxford Dictionary*. USA. Oxford University Press. 1996.
- Wazir Jahan Karim. Introduction: Emotion in Perspective. In *Emotion of Culture*. New York. Oxford University Press. 1990.
- Willett, J. *The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht*. London. A Methuen Drama. 1996
- Willett, J. *Brecht on Theatre*. London. Methuen. 1964.
- Wilkins, Paul. *Psychodrama*. London. SAGE Publications Ltd. 1999
- Wiener, R. *Using Sociodrama*. Leeds, The Department of Adult Continuing Education University of Leeds. 1995.
- Winstedt, R.O. *The Malays, A Cultural History*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1961.
- Winstedt, R.O. *Malay Proverbs*. New York. Paragon Book Gallery Ltd. 1957.
- Winstedt, R.O. *Malaya; The Straits Settlements and the Federated and Unfederated Malay States*. London. Constable & Co. Ltd. 1923.
- Yaacob Harun. *Keluarga Melayu Bandar; Satu Analisis Perubahan*. Kuala Lumpur. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. 1991.
- Yankelovich, D. *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 70's*. New York. McGraw Hill. 1974
- Yardley-Matwiejczuk and Krycia, M. *Role Play: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage Publications. 1997.

Articles and Theses

Aleks Sierz. *How to Play Boal*. Red Pepper: March 1995

Andika Aziz Hussin, *Sejarah Perkembangan Teater Malaysia 1950-1990*.
B.A Thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi. 1995.

Brown, Kate H., and Diane Gillespie. "We Become Brave by Doing Brave Acts: Teaching Moral Courage Through the Theatre of the Oppressed," *Literature and Medicine*, Vol. 16, No 1.1997

Crow & Etherton. *Popular Drama and Popular Analysis in Africa*. 1980

Karp, M. An Introduction to Psychodrama, *Counselling*, 6 (4): 294-298

Kidd, Ross. From the People's Theatre for Revolution to Popular Theatre for Reconstruction: *Diary of Zimbabwean Workshop*. 1984

Leung, P.W., & Wong, M.T. Can Cognitive distortions differentiate between internalizing and externalizing problems? *British Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 39. 1999.

Marcia Pompeo Nogueira. *Theatre for Development: An Overview*. Research in Drama Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2002

Ott, N. Theatre of the Oppressed: cultural Action for Freedom. In *Contemporary Theatre Review*. Vol.3 (1). 1995.

Paterson, Douglas L. *A Role to play for the Theatre of the Oppressed*, The Drama Review, Fall, Vol. 38 Issue 3. 1994

Roper Organization. "Sex...Marriage...Divorce: What Women Think Today. *U.S. News & World Report*, 21 October 1974.

Roziah Omar. *The Malay Woman in the Body: Research on Body, Reproduction, reproductive cycle and Rural Malay Women of Melaka, Malaysia*. Ph.D. Thesis. Berkeley. University of California. 1992.

Schab, F. "Work Ethic of Gifted Black Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. September 1978.

Sophie Unwin. (interviews). Augusto Boal; Force for Change. *Resurgence*, Issue 204.

"Being a 'Bad Guy' to Get Things Done", The News Straits Times Press (M), Saturday, July 3rd: 2004

Unwin, S. Theatre of Optimism in *New Internationalist*. April (3). 2001.

Video Tapes

Coping with Violence and Aggression, University of Leeds. (V/T 310)

Drugs; A Family Matter (V/T 826)

The Developing Child Adolescence: Social and Emotional Development. Mod 30. Magna Systems 95 West county Line Road, Barrington, Illinois. (V/T 855)

Internet Sources

American Academy of Child and Adolescence Psychology
(<http://education.indiana.edu/cas/adol/development.html>) [Accessed 12 April 2003]

Arendt, Cole. *Theatre of the Oppressed*, Christianity Today, Vol. 40 Issue 2
[Online] Available: <http://www.web17.epnet.com>. 1996 (Accessed 12 March 2003)

Boal, A. <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index> 2004 (Accessed 20 May 2005)

Lavender, Andy. *Theatrical Utopia*, New Statesman & Society, Vol. 8, Issue 336 [Online] Available: <http://www.web18.epnet.com>. 1995 (Accessed 12 March 2003)

International Theatre of the Oppressed
<http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index>. (Accessed 22nd February 2004)

Picher, M.C. *What is the Theatre of the Oppressed* [Online] Available: <http://web.archive.org>. (Accessed 6 December 2005)

Theatre of the Oppressed Techniques: Forum Theatre [Online] Available: <http://web.archive.org> (Accessed 6 December 2005)

Appendix 1 (Theatre of the Oppressed Group in Asia & Australia)

1. Philippine Educational Theatre Association
61 Lantana Street
Barangay Immaculate Conception
Cubao
Quezon City
1111 PO Box 463 Manila
PHILIPPINES
2. Big Circle
Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies
N0 10, Kynsey Terrace
Colombo 08
SRI LANKA
3. Interactive Resource Centre
48-N Model Town Extension
Lahore
PAKISTAN
Email: interactivetheatre@hotmail.com
4. CTO-Korea
107-69#301 Seho-Ku
Banpo-Dong
Seoul
KOREA
Email: shinlee@shinbiro.com
5. Carnival of the Oppressed
PO Box 103
Northgate
4013 QLD Australia
6. Omniax Drama and Performance
10 Ebrill St
Jamboree Heights
4074 Brisbane
Queensland
Australia

7. David Wright
Lecturer in Social Ecology
School of Social Ecology and Lifelong Learning
Hawkesbury Campus
University of Western Sydney
Locked Bag 1797, Penrith South DC NSW 1797
AUSTRALIA
Email: david.wright@uws.edu.au

8. Drama Box
14A-C Trengganu Street
Singapore 058468
REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE

Appendix 2; Games

The Warm-ups Games

The warm-ups games proposed below are directly taken from the several sources. Nevertheless they are flexible and still can be changed and modify depends on the need and the suitability of the group.

1. Boal, A. Games For Actor and Non-actors (trans. by Andrian Jackson). Routledge, London. 1992.

1. One story told by several people

An actor starts a story, which is continued by a second actor, then a third, and so on till the whole group has taken part. At the same time another group of actors can silently act out the story as it is told.

2. One line spoken by several actors

Each actor say one word of a particular line (chosen in advance), trying to give it the same inflection as it would have if the line was being spoken by a single person. To make it easier, the actor can, at the start, say the whole line in her own way, and the others try to imitate her, while each in turn only uttering a single word.

3. The child's dream - what I wanted to be when I grew up

Half the group write their names on pieces of paper together with the name or description of the person, hero, or mythical figure they dreamt of being when they were children; the other half of the group watch. First, the participants move around the playing space using only their bodies to show the main characteristics of the characters they are playing. They must reveal what fascinated them about this dream when they were children, using only gesture, facial expression and movement, all at the same time, but without at this stage relating to one another. After a few minutes, the Joker tells them to look

for a partner. Then they start dialogues with their partners, but without saying anything which will obviously reveal who their characters are. After a few minutes of this, the Joker tells them to change partners, and the new couples engage in a dialogue, each person maintaining and developing his own character. Then after the same period of time, a third partner is chosen. When this is over, the Joker reads out the names of the participants one at a time, and those in the group who were watching the game, as well as those who were playing it, must describe the characteristics they saw in that person. They should not try to guess the actual name of the childhood aspiration, but rather try to describe how the person they were watching behaved, because this will reveal what he really wanted to be or what capacity she wanted to develop in herself, using the name or image of someone real or fantastic as the vehicle for that aspiration. After the first half of the group has acted their childhood dreams, the second half do the same.

4. *The Child's fear*

The same rules as the previous game, with two differences: (1) the participants must play the character or thing which frightened them, not themselves being afraid; (2) when they engage in dialogue with their partners they must try to frighten them, just as they were frightened of the characters they are playing when they were children. The chosen character must be concrete, a person, an animal, a 'tangible' ghost, etc.; for instance, instead of 'fear of darkness', they must play the person or thing they are afraid of, hidden in the darkness. Even if the fear is something like 'fear of being struck by lightning' they should try to play the person who wanted to strike them.

5. *What grown-ups wanted me to be*

The same as the preceding games. This allows each person to compare what they actually are with what their elders expected from them.

6. *What am I? What do I want?*

Each person writes down on a piece of paper three definitions of themselves; they should not add their names. What am I? A man, a teacher, a father, a husband? Which comes first? What does each person choose? What do I want? To be happy, to travel, to be rich, to win elections, what? The Joker collects all the pieces of paper and analyses, systematises and reveals their contents to the group without identifying anyone.

7. *The cross and the circle*

The participants are asked to describe a circle with their right hand. Large or small, as they please. Stop. Ask them to do a cross with their left hand. Stop. Ask them to do both at the same time. It is almost impossible.

Variation.

Aske the participants to describe a circle with their right foot. Still continuing to make circles, then ask them to write their first name in the air with their right hand at the same time.

8. *Columbian hypnosis*

One actor holds her hand palm forward, fingers upright, a few centimetres away from the face of another, who is then as if hypnotised and must keep his face constantly the same distance from the hand of the hypnotiser. The hypnotiser starts a series of movements with her hand, up and down, right and left, backwards and forwards. The partner must contort his body in every wat possible to maintain the same distance between face and hand. The hypnotiser must force her partner into all sorts of ridiculous, grotesque, uncomfortable positions.

9. *Minimum surface contact*

Each actor studies configurations of his body which bring its surface into minimum contact with the floor, varying the options and exploring all the possibilities. The passage from one position to another should be done very slowly, to stimulate all the muscles which intervene in the transition, and to allow the actor to take stock of what is happening. After a few minutes, ask the actors to get into pairs. Each actor must touch his partner's body and lean against her, at the same time maintaining the minimum contact with both partner and floor. The actors must counterbalance each other. Their two bodies must move slowly and continuously, at every juncture trying to find a new position, a new arrangement, which must then be changed for another. Afterwards, ask them to get into groups of four or more.

10. *Complete the image*

Work in pairs. A and B stand and face each other. Shake hands and freeze in that position. A then steps out of the pose, while B remains frozen, arm outstretched. A takes up a new position in relation to B, thereby creating a new total image. Now A freezes and B steps out. B then takes up another position, in relation to that of A. A and B continue to take turns in this way, together improvising a series of possible relationships.

2. Clifford, Sara and Anna Herrmann, *Making a Leap*; Theatre of Empowerment. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London. 1999.

1. *Magic Box (101)*

Ask people to find a space on their own, sit down in it and close their eyes. Imagine that there is a box in front of them. What does it look like? Is it large? Small? What is it made of? Keeping their eyes shut, ask them to follow the imaginary shape of the box with their hands. Now get them to open the box. Is there a lock? Do they need a key? How does the box open? What is inside the box? How do they feel? Ask them to pick up the object up in their hands

and feel it. Is it heavy or light? Put the object back and close the box. Ask them to open their eyes.

2. *Change the action (100)*

Ask the group to stand in a circle. A volunteer enters the circle and begins to mime an action which is easily recognisable by the group, such as brushing their teeth. The next person comes into the circle and asks the person miming 'What are you doing?' the person miming does not answer truthfully, but lies, saying completely different action, for example 'Playing the piano', and then they exit the circle centre. The person now remaining has to start miming the lie, until a new person asks them 'What are you doing?' at which point they tell a new lie. Continue until everyone has had a go.

Variation

Ask the group to stand in a circle. A volunteer enters the circle and begins to mime an action. The next person enters the circle and has to copy the action and then change the context of the mime, for example the action of climbing a ladder could be changed to someone doing aerobics. Continue until everyone has had a go.

3. *Change the Object (100)*

Ask the group to stand in a circle. Introduce an object, such as a chair, to the circle and ask people one by one to enter the circle and mime a use for the object which is different from its real use, for example as a typewriter or a piano or a shoe. Encourage people to be as imaginative as they can and not to censor their own ideas.

4. *Storytelling (104-105)*

a) One word Story

Ask the group to sit in a circle. Explain that as a group you will make up a story with each person adding one word. Depending on how large your group

is, decide on how many times you will go round the circle before ending the story. Ask for a volunteer to start.

b) Whose story is it anyway?

Get the group into pairs and ask each pair to tell each other a story about a time when they were naughty as a child. Now ask each person to find a new partner and to tell them the story they were told by their last partner as if it happened to them. Continue this three or four times. Gather the group together in a large group and ask each person to tell the story they just heard in the last round of exchanges, as if it is their own.

Does each person recognise their own story? How have the stories changed? Why have the stories changed? What elements of the story have been lost? Make it clear that the stories people share will be heard by the whole group and encourage them not to use a story which is too personal.

3. Sternberg, P. and Antonina Garcia, Sociodrama; Who's in Your Shoes (2nd ed). Praeger Publishers, USA. 2000

Therapeutic/ psychodramatic processes

1. Role Reversal (p:58-59)

When it is time for a role reversal, say to the two enactors, "Reverse roles." Instruct them to;

- switch places
- take on each other's body posture
- try as much as possible to assume the other character's personality
- be careful not to caricature each other

Be sure to return the enactors to their own roles before the end of the enactment. Once the two have reversed, ask the enactor to repeat the last

thing that was said before the role reversal occurred. In other words, Rob says, "That's silly, Pam". The director tells them to reverse roles. After they do, Pam as Rob says, "That's silly, Pam". The repetition of the last line before the reversal is very important. For one thing, it anchors the dialogue after the momentary break in action caused by the reversal. Also, no one has to try to figure out how to start the action going from new roles. For another it provides an opportunity for the enactor to hear what he or she has just said from a different perspective or to answer a question if he or she has asked one. Finally, the repetition gives the person speaking a jump on getting into the role and the other person a few moments to regroup so he also can feel secure in his new role.

You can call for role reversal between enactors as frequently as necessary. Before you end the session, be sure to reverse them back to their own roles.

2. *The Double (p:61-64)*

Stand to the side of and slightly behind the person for whom you are doubling. You need to be where you can easily see the person's gestures and facial expressions, yet far enough out of direct vision not to be a distraction. Once you have positioned yourself, take on the person's posture and gesture. This will help you to tune in to how the person is really feeling. When you become aware that the enactor is not expressing some thought or feeling that she apparently has and you feel is germane to the enactment that is the time to make a doubling statement or action. After you have made the statement, instruct the enactor to repeat the statement if it reflects how she feels or correct it if it doesn't. It is essential that the enactor repeat or correct what has been doubled. In this way, she acknowledges what she is experiencing. Since the double represents the inner voice, the other enactors don't respond to it. Although in reality they hear what the double says, they respond only to what the enactor says.

When you are doubling, try to tune in to what the person's inner self is saying. When you speak, keep your doubling brief, a couple of sentences, at most. If you do lengthy doubling, the enactor will have forgotten what you have said by the time you have finished and will be unable to repeat it.

At any time you may ask a group member to come to the playing area and double for an enactor whenever they feel in touch with some feeling an enactor is not expressing. This encourages all to warm up and take an active role in each enactment as they feel moved to do so.

3. *Asides*

In the course of an interaction the protagonist makes comments directed at the audiences and, using direction of head or holding up a hand, indicates that the other person in the interaction ordinarily would not be privy to these disclosures. Thus hidden thoughts and feeling may be expressed in parallel to overtly expressed thoughts.

4. *Mirror Technique*

The protagonist stands back and watches while the role he had just been portraying is replayed by an auxiliary, serving a function like a videotape playback but without any equipment. The protagonist must not be caricaturized.

5. *Replay*

Scenes may be re-enacted with changes in order to experience more ventilation, a happier ending, a more effective interpersonal strategy, etc. the setting, the participants, the protagonist's behaviour or another person's behaviour may be varied. It is best to change only one variable at a time.

6. *Soliloquy*

The protagonist shares with the audience the feelings and thoughts that would normally be kept hidden or suppressed.

a. Variations –

1. having the protagonist soliloquize with a *double* as the two walk around
2. having the protagonist talk to the an auxiliary in the role of a pet
3. converting the inner dialogue into an encounter with an empty chair auxiliary playing a wiser, future self.

Appendix 3 – Evaluation

Written questionnaire is a useful way of asking people to reflect individually on their own experiences. Include this evaluation in the time you have set aside, rather than allowing people to take the forms home to fill them out. They can be anonymous if they wish, which means they can be honest. Ask people to sit separately, and not to confer while they are filling the questionnaires out. Give them enough time to fill out the forms without hurrying.

An Example of Evaluation Questionnaire Used in The rehabilitation Centres in Malaysia

Part 1

Please fill in the blank with an appropriate answer.

1. How do you feel being an adolescent?
2. What the most problems do you worry about?
3. How do you cope with your problems?

Please tick (/) in the appropriate box

4. Do you have the right to voice out your feeling to your problem?

[] Yes

[] No

If No, give a reason.

5. Do you have any discussion with your parents regarding your problems?

[] Yes

[] No

If yes, in a month, how many times have you talk to them about your problems?

[] Once

- [] Twice
[] Three to Five times

6. Do you have any discussion with your counsellor regarding your problems?

- [] Once
[] Twice
[] Three to Five times

7. Most adult do not understand adolescents' problem quite well?

- [] Agree
[] Disagree

Why?

8. Have you heard about the Theatre of the Oppressed?

- [] Yes
[] No

9. Do you think all those activities that you did during the Image Theatre session was very helpful to you?

- [] Yes
[] No

How?

Part 2

Please indicate in each section of this question whether you Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD), or are undecided (U).

10. Are you feel free to express SA A D SD U
your feeling during the Forum session? [] [] [] [] []

11. Forum Theatre (FT) could help
to release tension.

[] [] [] [] []

12. You could express your problems
more through playing games

[] [] [] [] []

13. In term of expressing out problems,
FT is rather more effective than any
ordinary counselling.

[] [] [] [] []

14. FT can improve your level of self-
esteem

[] [] [] [] []

15. FT should be introduce to public

[] [] [] [] []

Appendix 4; Ground rules

Trust Circle (Clifford. 1999:.55)

A) one to one

Everyone finds a partner who is roughly the same size as them, and labels themselves A and B. B stands approximately one foot behind A. B is facing A, with one foot behind the other and her/his arms up, ready to catch A. when A is ready, she/he falls back into B's arms. A must use her/his feet as a pivot, keeping the body straight and both arms by her/his side. Repeat this a few times, increasing the gap between A and B, so the fall is further. Swap roles.

b) Small group trust

Get into groups of at least five participants, standing in a circle. Ask for a volunteer to stand in the centre of the circle with their eyes closed and their hands either by their side or across their chest. The rest of the group stand with one foot behind the other so they can support the body weight of the volunteer. When ready ask the volunteer to let himself fall, pivoting from their feet, allowing the group to move him/her back and forth around the circle. If the volunteer feel relaxed and confident, then widen the circle. Swap after a few minutes. Give everyone the opportunity to be in the centre.

List of Abbreviations

BMP	Board of Malaysian Psychologist
CTO	Centre of Theatre of the Oppressed
ISA	Internal Security Acts
ITO	International Theatre of the Oppressed
JKMM	Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat Malaysia
STB	Sekolah (School)Tunas Bakti
TO	Theatre of the Oppressed
UPM	Universiti Putra Malaysia
USM	Universiti Sains Malaysia
UMS	Universiti Malaysia Sabah
UKM	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
UNIMAS	Universiti Malaysia Sarawak
UMNO	United Malay National Organization

List of Tables and Maps

1. Map 1.1: Malaysia	7
2. Map 1.2 : Schools of Tunas Bakti (STB) in Malaysia	25
3. Table 1.4: The Model structured for the workshop in Malaysia.	46
4. Table 1.5 : Images of Power-Over.	47
5. Table 2.1 : The Arsenal of the Theatre of the Oppressed	69
6. Table 2.2 : The inter-relation of forms in the Theatre of the Oppressed.	80
7. Table 2.3 : The Elements of the Forum Theatre.	86
8. Table 2.4 : The process of the Forum Theatre and its objectives.	112
9. Table 3.1 : American Academy of Child and Adolescence Psychology.	127-128
10. Table 3.2 : The development of the Adolescence	134
11. Table 3.4 : The Cross-Linkage of the Malay Family	151
12. Table 4.2 : The Workshop activities in the two STBs; Melaka and Kota Kinabalu	184-185
13. Table 4.4 : The 10 scenes – Images of Power-Over	195-
14. Table 5.1: The Joker's structure of performance	237
15. Table 5.2 : The constructed approach appropriate for the Malaysian context.	247

List of Figures and Charts

1. Chart 1.3: Vicious Circle of Offence	28
2. Figure 3.3 : The Social Structural of the Malay Family.	150
3. Figure 3.5 : The religious obligatory among the Malay adolescents	157
4. Figure 3.6 & 3.7: Social learning among the Malay Adolescents	159-160
5. Figure 4.1 : The Company posing in front of the Tunas Bakti Melaka.	183
6. Figure 4.3 : The group designed a ground rules.	190
7. Figure 4.5: The new Tunas Bakti School in Kota Kinabalu	205
8. Figure 4.6: The company and the inmates in Kota Kinabalu posing before the final performance.	205
9. Figure 4.7: Each group of inmates is facilitated by one company member.	211