

Forum theatre as an alternative strategy in the fight against HIV/AIDS

Placing forum theatre within the context of alternative policy processes



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'Action speaks louder than words'

Alvim Cossa – GTO Maputo

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Preface

This master thesis headed into a direction, which I never expected. During my bachelor anthropology and development studies and my master development studies, I always dreamed of doing a master research as an anthropologist in the ‘bush bush’ of Africa. Due to personal circumstances, it was impossible for me to do field research in Africa. Furthermore, I never thought about making a connection between theatre and international development studies. It was my brother, who is working with theatre for years, who inspired me to look at this connection. So this research was definitely not what I expected it to be, but now I can say that I never wanted it to be differently. I namely landed into the fantastic world of forum theatre.

There were different people of great help during the process of my thesis. In the first place, I would like to thank Alvim Cossa from GTO Maputo and Luc Opdebeeck from Formaat. You both inspired me to experience the world of theatre of the oppressed, with your strength and enthusiasm to use forum theatre against oppressions. Before the training experience of GTO Maputo, I had no idea what to expect. I had never expected to feel so embraced and overwhelmed by the inspiration you give me. Secondly, I would like to thank Paul Hebinck and Bettina Bock for supervising me. I never expected to learn so much from the process of writing a master thesis.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family. I would like to thank Jaap en Suzanne. You were both my inspiration to dig deeply into the world of theatre. Furthermore I would like to thank my parents for their inexhaustible interest and especially my mother for helping me to keep me focussed. And at last, Tim. I would like to thank you for correcting and helping me finishing this master thesis. Your jokes made me have a great time behind the computer.

Wageningen, 2011

List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
GTO Maputo	Grupo do Teatro Oprimado Maputo
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
NGO	Non-governmental organization

Abstract

HIV/AIDS is an enormous disaster and hits Africa incredible hard. Many HIV/AIDS interventions seem to fail in Africa, due to the use of a linear policy model. There are a lot of critics on the linear model and as a result a new thinking, on approaching policy processes in an alternative way, arose. McGee combined this new thinking into a conceptual framework. It seems that this framework avoids the pitfalls by which many HIV/AIDS interventions fail. This was the motive to search for an intervention within the HIV/AIDS problematic that suits the framework of McGee. Forum theatre, an interactive and participative form of theatre, seems to fit the framework of McGee. GTO Maputo, a Mozambican organization, uses forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS. This research is about the way the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo suits in the framework of McGee. These projects are studied through participation in the workshops and performances and by studying documents. In this study it will become clear that the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fits largely in the alternative approach of McGee on policy processes, but GTO Maputo does not use the full potential of the alternative approach on policy making.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, alternative policy processes, conceptual framework of McGee, forum theatre, GTO Maputo, Mozambique.

1. Forum theatre as an alternative intervention in the fight against HIV/AIDS

1.1 Introduction

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is a global disaster, which hits Africa immensely hard. Africa carries the major burden of this epidemic (Barnett & Whiteside, 2001, p. 125). AIDS kills in Africa ten times more people a year, than war does (Ibid, p. 10). It affects all segments of the population and many tens of thousands of people are dying daily. Despite decades of experiences with HIV/AIDS interventions, even the best-intended HIV/AIDS intervention programs often have little impact (Campbell, 2003, p. 1). Many programs have disappointing results, e.g. rising HIV infections, increasing stigma and an inconsistent adherence to treatment and support (Rohleder et al., 2009, p. 221).

Many HIV/AIDS programs fail, because they execute an already-specified plan of action with expected behavioral outcomes (Barnes, 2007, p. 532). HIV/AIDS programs often focus on the fact that individuals have to review their behavior and change it according to the advice of outside actors. These programs see behavioral change as a linear outcome from given external stimulus. However in many cases the views of the defined target group not coincide with the interventions of the practitioners in the field (Ibid). The visions of communities often mismatch views and ideas of practitioners. This is mainly caused by top-down interventions on communities. It seems that often policy is imposed and sustained by external actors and target groups are seen as passive recipients of aid (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002, p. 221).

McGee (2004) proposes an alternative conceptual framework and methodology to study interventions. In her view, interventions should be conceptualized as ongoing and socially constructed processes. McGee's approach is completely different compared with the approaches of many contemporary HIV/AIDS programs. Many HIV/AIDS programs use a linear way of policy making, which consists of two distinct phases: formulation and implementation as can be seen in figure 1.1. First expert policy-makers formulate the problem, gather information about the problem and decide what kind of solution is needed. Secondly expert policy-makers implement the already specified plan with expected outcomes. This causes projects to be inflexible when unforeseen problems arise.

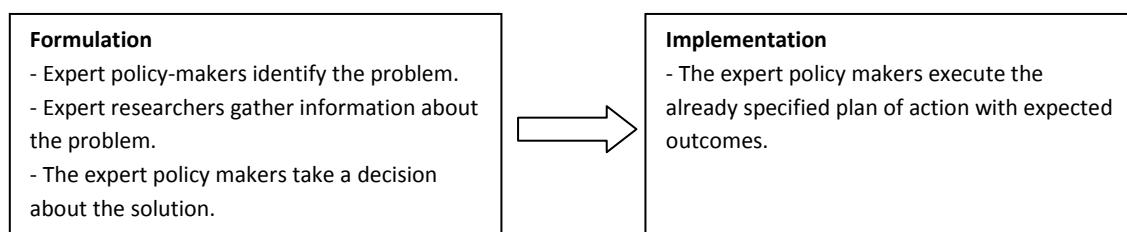


Figure 1.1 The two phases of the linear model.

Programs, which use the alternative way of policy making, have the potential to be much more flexible. McGee suggests that alternative policy making processes should be seen as dynamic instead of static. Hereby is not the knowledge of expert policy makers crucial, but the knowledge from actors who have other relations to the problems like HIV/AIDS patients. So the essence of McGee is to involve different kinds of actors and knowledge. When more relevant actors and knowledge is involved, the reality sketched by the intervention and the reality of the beneficiaries are much more likely to fit. Hereby it is essential to involve marginalized actors and the context. McGee thinks that

the participative method is not only more flexible, but also more democratic due to the involvement of more relevant actors and knowledge. This makes the alternative approach having potential to be much more effective than the linear approach. Therefore it is interesting to see whether there are certain programs focused on the HIV/AIDS problematic, which construct their intervention in this alternative way.

Performing arts have always been used all over the world for communicating political and social messages. Theatre is seen as a successful mean for illuminating difficult issues in fragile countries. Nowadays different forms of drama and theatre projects are practiced within the HIV/AIDS problematic by community-based organizations all over Africa (Mwansa & Bergman, 2003, p. 10). More and more organizations that work with theatre within the HIV/AIDS problematic use techniques of Augusto Boal. He is the founding father of 'Theatre of the oppressed', which is a form of participative theatre, whereby the discussion about the problems and the process of raising awareness and insights in the causes of the problems are more important than a concrete end result (the performance). It focuses on empowering oppressed people, by changing a monologue into a dialogue.

GTO Maputo is a Mozambican organization that uses the techniques of Augusto Boal within the HIV/AIDS problematic. They use the following technique: forum theatre. It is an interactive way of theatre making, in which the interaction between the stage and the audience is crucial. GTO Maputo is the starting point and center for theatre of the oppressed in Mozambique. GTO Maputo aims to involve communities in the search for solutions to the problems they face. GTO Maputo works on several themes in communities with strong taboos. Their main theme is HIV/AIDS, which hits Mozambique immensely hard. There are different clues which indicate that the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo seem to fit the thinking of McGee. Everyone can use forum theatre: illiterate or literate, with or without artistic talent. So forum theatre gives marginalized people the ability to express themselves. Furthermore the audience needs to participate on stage. Here forum theatre provides a safe space in which the audience can take control and try out solutions. So not only the knowledge of expert policy makers is considered important, but also knowledge of the audiences: the beneficiaries.

GTO Maputo constructs a mini policy making process in the alternative way McGee advocates for, by creating forum theatre performances in which the participation of communities is considered crucial to reach eventually behavioral and social change on a local level. This study is about the way the mini policy making process which GTO Maputo constructs with their forum theatre projects, fits in the thinking of McGee on alternative policy processes.

Before describing and analyzing the research situation, I will first describe the problem statement. Secondly I will elaborate on the theoretical basis for this research. This study is based on the sociological insights of McGee on policy processes. First the theoretical approach of McGee will be critically discussed in order to give the necessary insights in the alternative way she approaches policy processes. I will focus on the new conceptual framework of McGee, to show how this framework works. This will result in a manual which can be used to research and analyze policy processes according to McGee's view. Second the theoretical backgrounds of Augusto Boal's theatre of the oppressed will be described, by discussing how he uses theatre to fight oppression and reach

social change. There it will become clear, why specifically this form of theatre was chosen. The description of the reasoning of Boal, supports the following chapter about the HIV/AIDS theatre projects of GTO Maputo. At the end, the used methods to answer this problem statement will be discussed.

1.2 Problem Statement

Problem definition

There are a lot of critics on linear policy processes. A new thinking on policy processes is developed, where it is argued that interventions should be seen as on-going, dynamic processes. McGee makes this new thinking on policy processes concrete in a conceptual framework. She searches for interventions which approach policy in this alternative way. There are many problems with HIV/AIDS interventions, but forum theatre seems to have the potential to deal with these problems. It seems that forum theatre projects approach policy making process not as a linear issue, but in the alternative way the new thinking advocates for. This inspired me to look at the connection between the new thinking on policy processes and forum theatre. Is forum theatre an intervention McGee is looking for?

Objective of this research

The connection between forum theatre and the new thinking on policy processes will be researched based on the analysis of a case study. The case study for this research is the Mozambican organization GTO Maputo that uses forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS. The forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo can be considered as a mini policy making process, because GTO Maputo creates a dynamic processes with their forum theatre workshops and performances, by which they eventually aim to reach behavioral change on a local level. This research is about whether the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo can be seen as an alternative policy process. Within this study I aim to take a closer look at the interesting connection between the framework of McGee and the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo. I want to discuss to which extent forum theatre is a mean that McGee is searching for. The objective of this research is:

To place forum theatre within the context of alternative policy process, by analyzing and evaluating the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo within the framework of McGee.

Research questions

I want to reach the goal of this research, by answering the following central question:

To which extent do the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the context of alternative policy processes, especially with regard to the framework of McGee?

My hypothesis here is:

The forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the context of alternative policy processes, especially with regard to the framework of McGee.

To test whether the projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee, it is useful to have a

checklist. This makes it possible to check at what points GTO Maputo fits in the framework. Therefore the theoretical basis of this research consists of the elaboration and concretization of the framework of McGee, which results in the development of a checklist. The sub questions are part of the checklist. Therefore the operationalisation of the sub questions will follow after the elaboration of the theory of McGee.

1.3 Approaching policy processes in an alternative way

1.3.1 A new thinking on policy processes

Since the 20th century a new thinking on policy processes arised. The linear way of policy making, where policy is seen as a smooth, top-down process, is more and more criticized. Development projects, who base their interventions on the linear thinking, view their policy process as closed and controllable, by formulating and implementing policy according to their own simplistic ideas (Mosse, 2004, p. 661-662). The knowledge of dominant and powerful actors is often present, while knowledge of less dominant and powerful actors is absent. Dominant actors identify the problem and the concrete characteristics of the target groups themselves. In reality these characteristics and problems are more indistinct and blurred. This creates the risk that the realities sketched by the interventions do not match the realities of the people where the interventions are aimed at (McGee, 2004, p. 8-9).

So the essence of the problem with the linear thinking in policy making is the presence of one-way communication, whereby important actors - like HIV/AIDS infected persons themselves - are excluded from the policy processes, relevant knowledge is ignored and the knowledge that goes into policy is often distorted. Therefore policy should also be seen as a political process. Policy should just not be seen as a solution for a given problem. Policy should also contain the definition of problems, which contributes to the identification of the causes of the problem. The definition of the problem is a political moment, because it is not neutral. It contains value judgments. Causes of problems and guilty actors are identified, on which solutions will be based. Thus the definition of the problems should be done together. When policy makers define the problem themselves, a lot will go wrong (Fairhead & Leach, 2000, p. 54-56).

Mosse and Long are social anthropologists and sociologists criticizing the linear way of thinking, and advocating for a new thinking on policy processes. Their work is part of the basis of the alternative thinking on policy processes.

David Mosse (2004) argues that policy should not be developed as the starting point of an intervention, but rather as the end point and a result of social processes between diverse actors (Mosse, 2004, p. 639). Currently policy often serves to mobilize and maintain political support, rather than to focus on the practice of policy making to solve a problem. Firstly, interventions develop a convincing argument and a causal model, to justify the allocation of resources. Secondly, different interests of diverse actors, like governments, agencies, NGOs, research institutions and donors are brought together (Ibid, p. 648). These kinds of interventions are not driven by democratic processes between diverse actors, but by the demands of organizations and their need to maintain certain relationships (Ibid, p. 651-654). Mosse argues that it is important to realize that policy is not considered to be unimportant or that it has no effects. It is even more important than we realize, because it is central to what happens in the arena of development. Policy should thus be understood as an outcome of social processes between various actors (Mosse, 2004, p. 663-667).

Norman Long (2001) criticizes the linear way of policy making. He developed an actor-oriented approach, which focuses on the notion of agency, the strategies and the rationalities of actors and how individuals manage their everyday affairs in their specific life worlds (Long, 2001, p. 21). Social actors should not be conceived as passive recipients of interventions, but rather as active participants of intervention. The social actors deal with certain knowledge and interact with diverse actors (Long & van der Ploeg, 1994, p. 64). Long argues that actors engage actively in constructing their own life worlds (Long, 2001, p. 24). He advocates for the fact that the planned interventions with expected outcomes need to be demythologized and deconstructed. The policy making process should be conceived as ongoing, negotiated, experiential and meaning creating processes (Long, 2001, p. 25). The interventions should be understood as having multiple realities and build up by diverse cultural backgrounds and social interests. Interventions have blurred boundaries and are constituted by ongoing social and political struggles between various social actors (Long, 2001, p. 30).

1.3.2 Unpacking policy by McGee

1.3.2.1 Introduction

McGee endorses the ideas from Mosse and Long, and builds her theory upon these ideas on social processes between different actors as holders of agency. She developed a method to operationalise these alternative ideas on policy processes. McGee (2004, p. 7) designed a conceptual framework in which reality is seen as complex and dynamic, this makes an alternative understanding of policy processes possible.

In her conceptual framework, McGee argues that three different concepts play an essential role in (the understanding of) policy processes: actors, knowledge and spaces (2004., p. 8-9). Policy processes should be seen as complex and dynamic processes, where actors interact with their knowledge in certain spaces (Ibid, p. 8). McGee argues for the importance of involving marginalized actors and their knowledge into policy processes. Furthermore McGee argues that policy processes happen in a context filled with history, culture, political economy and power relations. These four elements shape the context and the spaces in which the interaction between actors and their knowledge exists (Ibid, p. 23). Out of those four elements McGee especially stresses the role of power. History, culture and political economy are more given facts within a certain context, whilst power relations are continuously present and influenceable within the relations between actors, knowledge and spaces. McGee is searching for programs who view their intervention as such a dynamic process (Ibid, p. 8), because they may offer solutions to the problems, by which many other programs fails.

McGee abstractly describes her alternative view on policy making. She gives detailed examples, but she does not clearly indicate where policy makers should pay attention to in order to make policy in this alternative way. Neither does she provide a guide on how to analyze policy processes. However, for this research this is a necessary element, in order to be able to study whether or not the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee. Therefore I made a translation from the broad abstract discussion of McGee into a description of how we should view policy processes in an alternative way. In my research, just as McGee does, the role of power is emphasized, due to the inseparable interplay between power and knowledge, and power and

spaces. Finally I will discuss two key points that I extracted from McGee's approach. These points are of utmost importance for an effective policy process: the inclusion of the marginalized and the involvement of the context.

1.3.2.2 How to look at policy process in an alternative way

McGee defines a policy process as a process whereby actors use knowledge to create possibilities and opportunities for other actors. These possibilities and opportunities result in actual behaviors, actions and interactions, which McGee calls spaces. The used knowledge contributes to the construction of boundaries of spaces. For example, a church might forbid the use of condoms because they say the bible is against it. So the knowledge of the church clearly determines the boundaries of the space – the fact that people are not allowed to use condoms. Here the church limits the behaviors, actions and interactions of people.

The knowledge used to create spaces determines the legitimacy of actors and knowledge within these spaces (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 295). Actors who create a space with their knowledge, affect the forms of knowledge that are produced and considered appropriate in a space and how certain actors with their knowledge can participate within it (Ibid., p. 292). For example an NGO worker with knowledge on the fact that HIV is spread by having sex without a condom, and who therefore knows that it makes sense to use condoms, is excluded from the space created by the church and its knowledge from the previous example. The knowledge from the NGO worker is considered illegitimate, inappropriate or irrelevant.

Some actors are obviously more capable of producing and spreading their knowledge than others. This results in the organization of certain voices and visions in a space, and in the exclusion of others (Brock et al., 2001, p. 35). Like the above described example the NGO worker will be less capable in spreading his knowledge, due to the dominant position and influence of the church on the population.

So McGee argues for the importance of critically looking at how certain knowledge influences the creation of spaces and how it influences the knowledge produced within the space. This is crucial for the match between the reality created by an intervention, and the realities of the people where the intervention is aimed at. Therefore it is important to study with what kind of knowledge spaces are created, which actors are present in the space, what kind of knowledge those actors possess and how they use this knowledge to influence others (Brock et al, 2001, p. 35). To understand how actors use knowledge to create spaces, below the three concepts – actors, knowledge and spaces - are further described. Also the role of power will be discussed below. At the end it will become clear that the overlap between actors, knowledge and spaces, is essential in creating a negotiation area for change in a policy process.

Actors

McGee argues that actors are involved in different levels within a policy process, from low to high. These levels can range from international agencies, to local governance. McGee suggests that a 'vertical slice' can be taken through the different levels of a policy process (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 8). McGee argues that actors are those who are located up and down a vertical slice, and have a role in policy processes. This can range from government officials to local community

members (Ibid., 2004, p. 9). The core of McGee's thinking is the involvement of all relevant actors. In doing so, McGee not only emphasizes the importance of identifying all relevant actors on the vertical slice, but also looking at the horizontal dimension by including actors from different societal sectors. On a local level these can include: churches, NGOs, chiefs, local population, etc. A HIV/AIDS project should for example include local patients, their relatives and traditional healers, which are not part of the official vertical slice.

Knowledge

McGee (in Brock et al., 2004, p. 11) uses a broad approach of knowledge. She argues that knowledge can range from official knowledge of national survey based researchers, which is 'produced' and is often perceived as neutral, through poverty narratives by diverse actors, to popular local knowledge based on peoples own experiences, which is 'constructed' (Ibid, p. 14). Her emphasis is on the constructed forms of knowledge. Discourses and narratives are important forms of knowledge, which are not natural, given or self-evident. Discourses and narratives are constructed. According to Sutton (in McGee, in Brock et al., 2004, p. 13) discourses can be defined as '*a way of thinking and looking, a system of values and priorities that marginalizes other possible ways of thinking. A discourse is a configuration of ideas which provides the threads from which ideologies are woven*'. Narratives differ from discourses, because they have a beginning, a middle and an end. Narratives are stories, while discourses refer to a wide set of values and ways of thinking. Narratives can be part of a discourse once the story is in line with the way of thinking of the discourse (Ibid).

The concept of knowledge is the essence in McGee's approach. In her thinking it is of utmost importance that different kinds of knowledge are used in the creation of spaces. Not only the produced knowledge by expert policy makers – as in the linear approach – but also the constructed knowledge of actors with a different experience in relation to the problem. This is crucial for the creation of a reality which matches the reality of the people the intervention is aimed at. Without this match, policy is unlikely to achieve its aim. Like for example HIV/AIDS projects using the ABC formula, which consists of advising people to abstain, to use a condom and to only have one sexual partner. These projects are executed on a large scale, without considering the local discourses and narratives in which for example the amount of sexual partner provides status.

Spaces

McGee argues that spaces are moments where events generate new and multiple opportunities and possibilities for actors. Spaces are filled with actual behavior, actions and interactions (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 16). In a space, relationships between actors can change, new relationships can emerge and they can create possibilities for change in a certain direction (Ibid, 18). An example of a space is a by an NGO created discussion group for local women about sexual behavior. The discussion group gives the local women the possibility to express their sexual problems, discuss them with each other and stimulates to create solutions together. Here the NGO developed a physical space in which local women are involved to express their problem and discuss possible solutions. But policy spaces do not exclusively have physical characters. A network on internet between gay people in Mozambique, in which they can make contact with each other and write blogs with their experiences, can also be seen as a space.

A policy process is not a space by itself, but it throws up many other spaces (McGee in Brock et al.,

2004, p. 16). Like the discussions groups for local women about sexual problems. The discussion groups might inspire the women to have informal meetings between each other, so they create other spaces in which they can discuss how they can support each other with other problems they face in their life worlds. Or the women might be empowered to start a conversation with their men about sexual norms and values, by which they advocate for the use of condoms. So a policy process should not be seen as a single space, it contains many different spaces, which are all interrelated parts of the policy process (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 18).

According to McGee (in Brock et al., 2004, p. 20) each space is permeated with a range of dimensions. These dimensions create a policy space and define its potential. McGee identifies five different dimensions (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 22):

1) *History of a space.*

How long does the space exist? How was the space created? And by whom was the space created?

2) *Access of a space.*

Each space has certain rules of access. Which actors are allowed into the space? What freedom of action do actors have within the space? And what can actors achieve in the space?

3) *Mechanics within a space.*

Mechanics focus on what actually happens within a space. Mechanics may be fixed practices that are often rehearsed, new behaviors or new actors' responses to old practices. What kind of mechanics are observable within the space? Who does what within the space? Against which background? And in which physical context?

4) *Dynamics of a space.*

These dynamics, like relationships, power relations and past histories, underpin the mechanics and affect the behaviors which occur within a space.

5) *Learning dimensions of a space.*

Spaces are arenas where actors can learn. An experience can create a learning effect and it can transform actors. Actors do not only occupy a space, but also use spaces to reflect on existing issues. What is learned from actual events for future actions?

To identify and characterize spaces, the dimensions have to be analyzed in two different ways. History and access of spaces can be derived from the basic characteristics and observations of a space. The mechanics, dynamics and learning dimensions cannot be concluded from actual empirical observations. These dimensions should be derived from the analysis of the empiric observations (Ibid, p. 21). The analysis of spaces provide a useful possibility to look at the daily politics and practices of actors who are engaged in the policy process and to examine the use of knowledge (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 15).

Knowledge and actions vary across different types and levels of policy spaces. Donor discourses often communicate national and higher level narratives. Interventions often use these national narratives to shape local policy spaces. McGee argues for the importance of looking how the local spaces have

the potential of influencing spaces on higher levels. Therefore she claims that it is necessary to research how knowledge and actions can influence the construction of the boundaries of policy spaces on levels other than their own. Hereby she advocates for looking at the importance of the vertical construction of spaces. With this vertical construction of spaces, McGee concentrates on the interaction between the spaces which exist on different levels, like local, regional, national and international. The core of this reasoning is that the spaces on the higher levels should learn from the potential of the spaces on the lower levels (Brock et al., 2001, p. 35).

Power

Power is interwoven with the way actors use knowledge to create spaces. Power determines which actors can use their knowledge to create spaces. Here McGee suggests that knowledge can be seen as a form of power, because the knowledge actors use, can determine what kind of spaces exist. Furthermore McGee argues that spaces are permeated with power, because certain actors are allowed to make use of the possibilities whilst others are excluded. Below the relation between knowledge and power and the relation between spaces and power will be further explained.

McGee argues that power is in two ways connected with knowledge. Firstly power determines what kind of knowledge is used to create a space. For example an NGO does a national survey among youths and they find out that almost no young man use condoms. Therefore the NGO starts a project about the distribution of condoms amongst young man. The NGO uses their official knowledge in their decision to distribute condoms to young man. The NGO has the money and therefore the power to decide to use the official knowledge in their project on distributing condoms amongst young men.

Secondly McGee argues that power is spread through discourses. Discourses contribute to the creation of spaces and determines what kind of actors and knowledge are seen as appropriate and useful in spaces. Therefore McGee argues that knowledge can be seen as a form of power. Like the previous example, the knowledge of the NGO – that it is important to distribute condoms to young man – determines that it is appropriate for young man to take and use condoms. Here is power present, due to the inclusion of young man and the narrative on the use of condoms, while excluding young women and other visions on the use of condoms. So by analyzing knowledge in spaces, power can be identified (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 277). Thus power has the possibility to reproduce itself through the use of discourses.

McGee argues (in Brock et al., 2004, p. 22) that spaces are permeated with power relations. These power relations become apparent, due to the exclusion of certain actors and knowledge and the inclusion of other actors and knowledge. Like in the above described example only the knowledge of the NGO workers is included, all other knowledge - like from the young men themselves about sexual norms and values - is excluded. And only young men are included, other actors - like young women - are excluded. So power can be found in the boundaries of spaces. The power relations are often hidden within the above described dimensions of spaces. Therefore the analysis of the dimensions of the spaces is important for the identification of power.

So it is essential in the approach of McGee to look at how power is held and wielded by actors in policy processes, how this contributes to the boundaries of the spaces and how the boundaries of

the spaces develop. An analysis of power within a policy process must focus on the way power influences the kind of knowledge used to create spaces, how knowledge is used as a form of power to create spaces and what kind of constraints and possibilities are present in the spaces (Cornwell in Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 278).

Negotiation area for change

Where knowledge, spaces and actors overlap, a negotiation area for change exists in the policy process. Here a negotiation area comes forward from the interaction between actors and their knowledge in certain spaces. The core of McGee's argument is to make a negotiation area for change as large as possible, by including as many relevant actors and as much relevant knowledge as possible. Here it is important that power is not only kept by the more dominant actors, but also given to other relevant actors. Once as many relevant actors and as much relevant knowledge as possible is included in a space, there are possibilities to negotiate for change.

So, for example, once an NGO tries to prevent the spread of HIV by giving empowerment training to local adolescents, it is important that the NGO involves the local adolescents and their knowledge in the training as well, e.g. by having discussion groups. In doing so the local adolescents and their knowledge will be involved in the creation of the space and the created space will represent the local adolescents and their knowledge. This makes it possible for them to enter a negotiation area, in which they will be able to negotiate for their desirable change. A negotiation area will only be present once all relevant actors and their knowledge are involved in a space and once all relevant actors have the possibility to express their voices. If there is no overlap between the actors, knowledge and spaces, there will not be a negotiation area to reach change. Like in a project that uses the linear model, where only expert policy makers and their knowledge is included.

The enlargement of the negotiation area is visualized in figure 1.2. The negotiation area is colored grey. It is important that this grey colored area is as large as possible. By trying to reach this, McGee aims to make the policy process more inclusive and open, by which the policy process has a better connection with the people the intervention aims to work for.

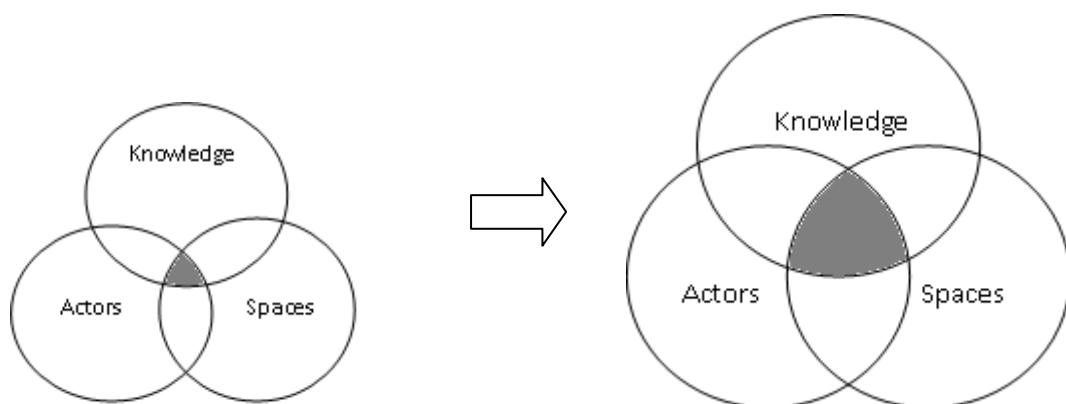


Figure 1.2 Making the negotiation area as large as possible.

1.3.2.3 Two key points for effective policy processes

I have extracted two key points from the approach of McGee, which are essential in making policy processes effective and creating a negotiation area to reach change. First for effective policy making is the inclusion of the marginalized actors. Secondly the involvement of the context is necessary in making policy processes effective.

The inclusion of the marginalized

McGee argues for the importance of determining the frame through which the policy subject, in this case HIV/AIDS, is defined and measured, and can be tackled. Contemporary linear policy often fails in determining this frame, because often only the dominant actors of the vertical slice are involved in the framing, whereas there is little to no attention for marginalized actors (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 276) (Brock et al., 2001, p. 35). Therefore policy processes have to be opened up to more stakeholders and to more diverse forms of knowledge, and specific attention must be given to marginalized actors (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 288). McGee argues we should not only focus on the dominant actors who are involved in certain policy processes, but we should also focus on the marginalized actors, who are often not included. Without the inclusion of the marginalized, there is a high chance on a mismatch between the reality as represented in the policy processes and the reality of the marginalized actors themselves.

McGee argues that marginalized actors can empower themselves in two different ways. First, once marginalized actors are included in creating spaces, they can enable their agency within these spaces (*Ibid*, p. 295). For example a theatre group invites marginalized people of a community to create a interactive performance about taboos in their community. In doing so the marginalized people have the possibility to make a play in which their own knowledge is included, like their local narratives about sexual abuse. This results in a space, which the marginalized people create themselves. They can enable their agency here, by showing other community member their view on subjects like sexual abuse. In this way change of power can be realized, because marginalized people decide what kind of knowledge is appropriate in the performance and who is involved in the interactive performance.

Second, McGee argues that marginalized actors should have more knowledge about policy processes. A greater capacity on thinking about policy processes, would improve the ability of actors to engage effectively in a policy process to empower themselves (McGee in Brock et al., 2004, p. 22). In the above mentioned example, the aim of the theatre project is to decrease taboos in the local community. The theatre group wants to reach this by creating dialogues and discussions between different actors of the community. When the marginalized people are aware of the aim of the theatre project and of their role in reaching the goal of the theatre project, they will better be able to influence the process and to keep the theatre group accountable if there appear to be problems in reaching the goal. This improves their ability to participate actively in the policy process of the theatre project. Furthermore it gives them the ability to empower themselves. Hereby marginalized actors are stimulated to further participate in policy and influence local processes.

McGee warns we need to assess whether there are opportunities for marginalized actors to get influence in policy processes or whether the marginalized will strengthen the power of the already

dominant actors (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 278/298). Therefore we have to ask the subsequent questions: Are marginalized actors represented within policy spaces? Will marginalized actors use new policy spaces to express their voice? Or if not, why? Are marginalized actors able to create a space where they stand for?

McGee advocates for the involvement of marginalized actors, but also has concerns with this inclusion (in Brock et al., 2004, p. 294). The inclusion of marginalized actors into policy processes might be a way of legitimating power from actors, who benefit from the façade of consultation, while consultative forms of interaction may lack in reality. Therefore McGee argues it is important to research the politics of inclusion (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 298). It is essential for the understanding of the dynamics of participation within policy processes, to analyze what kind of entry points and accompanying strategies are available for the involvement of actors in making policy priorities (Brock et al., 2001, p. 2). We should ask: How are the marginalized actors involved? What kind of entry points - the ways in which marginalized actors are involved in the policy process - are present? It is important to look at the way actors become involved in setting policy priorities. Without the right entry points, the inclusive poverty policies may be appealing, but are very distant from the lives of marginalized people with a higher chance of manipulation (Gaventa in Brock et al., 2004, p. 299).

The involvement of the context

The interaction between actors, knowledge and spaces do not stand apart from the context in which it happens. McGee (in Brock et al., p. 22-23) argues that the interaction of actors, knowledge and spaces take place in a context which is permeated with power, culture, history and political economy. According to McGee these cross-cutting concepts shape all aspects of the context and influence the way actors, knowledge and spaces interrelate. The role of power is already extensively discussed above, because of the influenceable relationship between actors, knowledge and power. The role of culture will be elaborated below, because in the case study of GTO Maputo culture plays an important role. The terms history and political economy refer to how historical and political economical factors shape a context. History and political economy are more a given fact. They shaped the context to what it is nowadays.

McGee does not explain how she views culture and how culture should be incorporated in policy processes. Therefore I will elaborate on the concept of culture, based on basic theories about culture, to create a vision on how culture will be viewed and used within this study.

Like Kottak (2006, p. 271) argues, it is crucial to realize that culture is created by humans. People do not acquire culture through their genes, but culture is acquired because persons are members of a society. People grow up in a certain society, where they are subject to specific cultural traditions. Culture can be seen as a feature of individuals as members of a group, where '*shared beliefs, values, memories and expectations link people who grow up in the same culture*' (Kottak, 2006., p. 272). The definition of Tylor gives a good overview on the concept of culture:

'Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any others capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871, p. 1).

Like Kottak suggests, it is important to notice that cultures are symbolic. Symbols can be verbal or nonverbal things, which have particular meanings and values for people who share the same culture. The symbols are not always obvious, natural or necessarily connected with what they symbolize (Kottak, 2006., p. 272). Symbols have a special meaning for people who share memories, values, and beliefs (Ibid., p. 285). Cultures have a set of core issues and central values which help to distinguish one culture from another (Ibid., p. 277).

There are different levels of culture – international, national and subcultures. Specifically the subcultures have a central role within this study, because GTO Maputo intervenes particularly at this level. Like Kottak argues, subcultures are '*different symbols-based pattern and traditions associated with particular groups in the same complex society*' (Kottak, 2006, p. 279). One nation may contain many different culturally defined groups. The term subcultures is often criticized, because many anthropologists views 'sub' as somehow inferior to other cultures. Therefore I will refer to this concept as 'local cultures' (Ibid).

It is important to be aware that gender is inextricably connected with culture, just like Schalkwyk (2000, p. 1) argues. Gender refers to the cultural difference between men and women, where the concept of masculinity and femininity are socially acquired (Connell, 2005, p. 8). Gender focuses on the social relations in which individuals and groups behave (Ibid., p. 9). It refers to the constructed differences between men and women. Culture shapes the expectations about the appropriate behaviors to women or men and about the relations between women and men (Schalkwyk , 2000, p. 1). Gender relations and identities are critical aspects of culture. Gender shapes people's daily life and it organizes a society. Next to culture, the concept of gender is of great importance in this research. GTO Maputo namely considers gender as crucial part of their forum theatre projects, due to the fact that the unequal power relations between women and men are of large influence on the way Mozambicans deal with HIV/AIDS.

1.3.2.4 Visualization of the conceptual framework

McGee developed a figure, to visualize her conceptual framework. While studying this framework for this research, two things became clear to me. First, McGee argues that the context of policy processes is permeated with four elements: power, culture, history and political economy. For this research, history and political economy are not that important as they shaped the context as it is nowadays. In the participative theatre projects of GTO Maputo no special attention is paid to history and political economy. Therefore these concepts will be, for this research, left out the conceptual framework. Second, McGee sees policy processes as complex and dynamic. Boundaries of spaces are blurred and convertible. The interplay between actors, knowledge and spaces is permeated with power and cultures. Therefore the circle of actors, knowledge and spaces are drawn as dotted lines in the figure. This emphasizes that this framework wants to embrace the complexity of reality, instead of seeing it as a simplified and easily understood reality. This is visualized below in figure 1.3. The left framework is the original one of McGee, while the right framework is the figure I adapted, and the one I will use in this research.

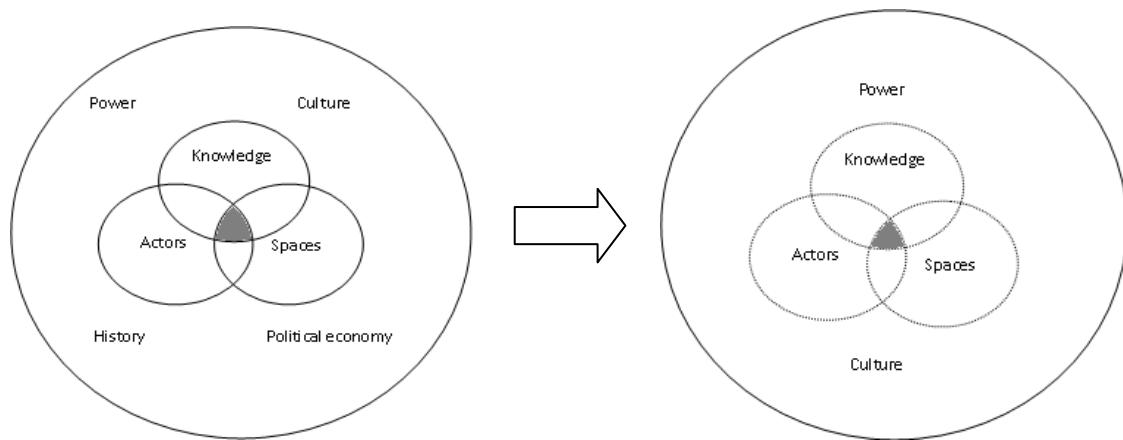


Figure 1.3 Visualization of the conceptual framework.

1.3.3 A manual to analyze policy processes according to McGee's view

Within this research, I aim to analyze to which extent the HIV/AIDS theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee. Therefore I created a checklist, to make it possible to check at which points GTO Maputo fits in the framework. The checklist consists of 8 closed questions which are based on the previously discussed framework of McGee. In order to answer the 8 closed questions, I created open questions. Each closed question is divided by one or more open questions. The answers on those open questions will show whether or not the questions of the checklist are supported by GTO Maputo. Therefore these open questions also function as the sub questions of this research.

Question 1 : Does GTO Maputo embrace the importance of involving all relevant actors and their knowledge in creating spaces?

- What kind of discourses and narratives are used to create spaces with the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?
- In which way does GTO Maputo use knowledge to create spaces?

Question 2: Does GTO Maputo use their spaces to influence the creation of spaces on higher levels?

- How does GTO Maputo use their spaces to influence the creation of spaces on higher levels?

Question 3: Does GTO Maputo acknowledge that knowledge is permeated with power?

- In which way is GTO Maputo aware of the fact that the knowledge that is used, is permeated with power?
- To which extent is GTO Maputo aware of the fact that the knowledge they use is permeated with power?

Question 4: Does GTO Maputo acknowledge that spaces are permeated with power?

- What kind of actors have access to the spaces concerning HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?
- What can these actors achieve in the spaces concerning HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?
- What kind of boundaries are present surrounding the spaces concerning the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

- How is power present in the spaces of the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?
- To which extent does GTO Maputo consider power as an important concept in the spaces?

Question 5: Does GTO Maputo include marginalized actors in their HIV/AIDS theatre projects?

- What kind of strategies does GTO Maputo use to involve marginalized actors into the spaces of the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?
- To which extent do the discourses and narratives which are incorporated within the HIV/AIDS forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo represent those who are in the margins?
- To which extent does GTO Maputo involve marginalized actors into the spaces they create?

Question 6: Does GTO Maputo give marginalized people the possibility to empower themselves?

- To what extent do marginalized actors have knowledge about policy processes of the HIV/AIDS theatre projects of GTO Maputo?
- To which extent do marginalized actors create spaces themselves surrounding the HIV/AIDS theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?
- How does GTO Maputo give marginalized people the possibility to empower themselves?

Question 7: Does GTO Maputo involve the local cultural backgrounds into their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects?

- How does GTO Maputo involve local cultures within their HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?

Question 8: Does GTO Maputo involve gender into their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects?

- How does the GTO Maputo involve gender within their HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?

1.4 Theatre of the Oppressed: Forum theatre

1.4.1 Introduction

Augusto Boal (1931-2009), an influential Brazilian writer and theatre scientist, was one of the first and unquestionably one of the most important theatre practitioners and theorists (Babbage, 2004, p. 11). He developed an influential theatrical approach: theatre of the oppressed. Boal is inspired by the ideas of Paulo Freire (1921-1997). Freire is called the greatest educator of his time (Taylor, 1993, p. 1). He was born in a Brazilian middle class family and became a lawyer. When he found out that the rights he studied, were the rights from the owners against the people who had nothing, he changed his career (Illich, 1987, p. 6). He became an educator, philosopher and political activator (Taylor, 1993, p. 1). He discovered the existence of a culture of silence among the Brazilian population, where authoritarian forms of teaching served to increase the dominant views in the world. Freire argued for a cultural invasion, to change the myths of the oppressors. The marginalized people needed to come out of the oppression by those who possessed power. Freire developed a controversial teaching method (Illich, 1987, p. 6).

Freire created an educational approach that centralizes participation, dialogue and self-

determination. He argues that teaching and learning has to happen within a democratic environment, where equality, human rights and mutual respect are key elements. In Freire's opinion, pedagogy is not only about learning about the content, but also about social learning. Furthermore students need to teach each other and learn from each other (Kester & Booth, 2010, p. 499). Freire argues that education should serve the oppressed, to let them overcome their subordinate position. First people have to realise how and why they came into the oppressive situation, then they will be able to change the situation. Here the oppressed have to acknowledge that they are responsible for their own liberation and that they play a central role themselves in their liberation process (Illich, 1987, p. 54). The classroom of Paulo Freire can be seen as the world of the oppressed, while the subject is the literacy of liberation (Taylor, 1993).

While Freire developed an education approach on his ideas, Boal used the thinking of Freire in a theatrical manner. Boal argues that theatre has a revolutionary potential, to reach social change. Boal embodies the thinking of Freire, by using theatre to make people aware of the local oppressive situations and the way they can find solutions. Boal designed different techniques to change a passive audience, into an active audience. Boal aims to create participative and interactive theatre, where the audience is stimulated to discuss oppressive situations and possible solutions. Boal argues that his theatre forms, can serve as a way to empower people (Balderston & Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). Below I will explain why I chose to involve the theatrical approach of Boal in this study. Here it will become clear how this kind of theatre seems to fit in the framework of McGee. Afterwards I will elaborate on the methods of Boal, by which he aims to change a passive audience into active participants.

1.4.2 Why theatre of the oppressed matches the new thinking of McGee

The techniques and methods of Boal are very interesting for this research, because they are the core of many theatre practices nowadays. Despite the fact that the book 'Theatre of the oppressed' was published in 1973, the methods and techniques are still useful. The theory and methods of theatre of the oppressed have been applied, adapted and reinvented all over the world, due to their flexibility and accessibility (Babbage, 2004, p. 11). Boal argues within his preface for the 2008 edition that in itself nothing has changed. Boal suggests that:

'It is the philosophical foundation of the whole system of Theatre of the Oppressed, so it cannot change, because I have not changed my opinions about theatre, about history, or about the voracious political systems that prevails in most part of this world' (Boal, 2008, p. ix).

Also many similarities with the conceptual framework of McGee can be drawn. Firstly Boal argues that theatre can be seen as a language everyone speaks, literate or illiterate, with or without artistic talent. Therefore theatre of the oppressed is of great use for oppressed people, to help them to express themselves (Boal, 2008, p. 96). Boal aims with his methods to empower the oppressed, by giving them means to find their own solutions for their problems (Balderston & Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). Boal argues that people need to be more aware of what is oppressing them, what the oppression consists of and how they can find solutions for the oppressive situation (Boal, 2008, p. 97). Boal wants to encourage the oppressed to become critical within their society and wants to stimulate people to become active actors in the change their consider desirable (Balderston &

Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). Boal centralizes the role of the oppressed, just as McGee does with the marginalized.

Secondly Boal argues that theatre should be given back to the public, to break down the barrier between actors on stage and spectators in the audience (Balderston & Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). Therefore Boal (2008, p. 97) supposes that audiences should not only watch a play, but they should act themselves. The audience should transform itself from passive spectators, into active actors who can transform actions on stage. The passive audience needs to participate in the action, take control, try out solutions on stage and discusses changes (Balderston & Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). Boal uses the term 'Spec-Actors', for the actors who are able to transform these theatrical actions (Boal, 2008, p. 97). Due to the participation of the actors from the audience on the stage, where the input of the audience is seen as crucial, Boal emphasizes the importance of getting input from the audience, like as McGee says that all the actors which are relevant within a certain intervention should be involved.

Thirdly Boal argues that theatre uses the human body as its medium. That is why theatre is more close to reality than any other form of art. But it is not reality (Prentki, 1998, p. 420). Theatre of the oppressed uses fiction and it provides the opportunity to let the audience give commentary on the fictional oppression on stage and to offer alternatives on the fictional oppression (Ibid, p. 419). Theatre performances can become '*a mirror through which the people can see themselves, their social situation, and the problems they encounter, in a fresh and stimulating way*' (Braun et al., 2001, p. 72). Theatre is a safe space to try out things. People can try out possibilities within this safe space, because the consequences will never be fatal. Theatre allows people to play roles different from reality; women can be men and farmers can be chiefs. Playing the role of another actor allows people to say things that would normally not be likely in their own voice (Prentki, 1998, p. 420). Even sensitive issues, which are too delicate to be discussed openly, can be explored within the safe space that is created on stage (Prentki & Lacey, 2005). McGee gives the concept of spaces an important role in her approach and Boal is also doing this by consciously creating a safe space, where people can practice for reality in a fictional way. It is not reality, but theatre of the oppressed aims to let it be closely related to reality, so people can try out new things in a safe space which they can later use in their real life.

Lastly, Boal argues for the importance of power, by centralizing oppressions in the performances. In oppressions, power relations are always apparent due to the inequality present between the oppressor and the oppressed. By creating a safe space, people can practice to change the power relations present in the performance on stage (Boal, 2008, p. 118). Boal says that the active actors of the audience need to free him or herself, by thinking and acting for him or herself (Ibid., p. 135). Furthermore, Boal argues that power is created by monologues. By stimulating the creation of dialogues, the power relations can be changed. Boal says that dialogue is democracy, where all opinions are possible (Ibid., p. xvi). The concept of power is for Boal essential in theatre, just like McGee argues that she thinks it is essential in policy processes.

This kind of theatre creates a policy process, by creating safe spaces on stage in which the audience is stimulated to take a leading role in changing the oppressive situation on stage. This is used as a starting point to actually change oppressive situations in real life. Thus forum theatre is a sort of trigger, which stimulates people to change monologues into dialogues. In McGee's terms, theatre of

the oppressed is used to create fictional spaces, which are utilized to motivate the audience to become owners of their own problems and to let the audience create other spaces in which they can change oppressive situations. So not only policy makers are included, also other actors who have other experiences with the problem.

1.4.3 Transforming passive spectators into active protagonists

Boal distinguishes four stages within his approach on changing a passive spectator into an active protagonist. Boal argues that '*the first word of the theatrical vocabulary is the human body, the main source of sound and movement*' (Boal, 2008, p. 102). Therefore first people should control and know their own body, in order to make it more expressive. Then people will be capable to liberate themselves from the position of a spectator and take on that of an active actor. Consequently people change from a witness into a protagonist and from an object into a subject (Boal, 2008, p. 102). The four stages are visualized in the following figure:

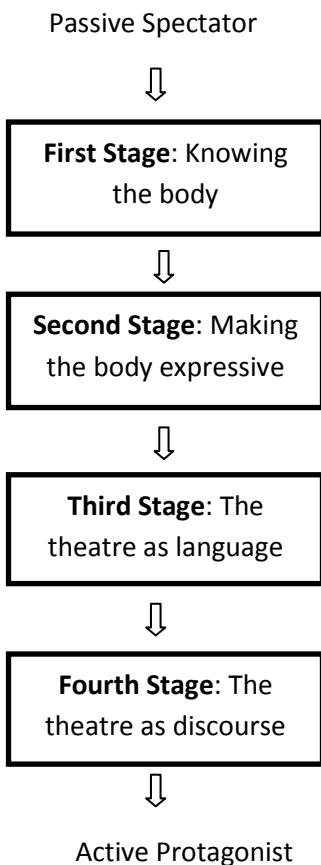


Figure 1.3 Four stages of transforming a 'passive audience' into an 'active protagonist'.

Below the techniques and methods of the first three stages will be discussed, as GTO Maputo uses these techniques and methods in its forum theatre projects. The elaboration on these three stages will illustrate the techniques and methods, which Boal uses to transform passive spectators into active protagonists.

1.4.3.1 First stage: knowing the body

People must control and know their own body, to produce theatre in a controlled manner. To be able to play someone else, it is essential to know your own body structure. It is important to make people aware of their body, the possibilities their body gives them and the bodily changes created by the type of work people perform. According to Boal it is necessary for people to feel the 'muscular alienation' imposed on their body by their work. The 'muscular alienation' is different for every sort of work, because the muscular structures differ. For example the muscular structures of a night security guard of a industrial area differ from the muscular structures of a typist. Security guards walk all night and accompanying muscular structures which facilitate the walking will be developed. While typists use their fingers and hands to type and therefore the muscular structures which facilitate the typing will be developed (Boal, 2008, p. 103). People who perform the same work, end up resembling each other (Ibid, p. 104).

Boal developed exercises to 'undo' the muscular structures of the participants. People have to study and analyze their muscular structures. Here it is important to make people aware of how their body is influenced by their work. People need to be able to disjoint their own muscular structures (Boal, 2008, p. 104). The exercises are developed to disjoint muscular structures and do not serve for the creation of muscular structures of athletes. The elaboration of one exercise will make this point clear. With 'The slow motion race', people need to run a race and have to lose. They should do this in slow motion, but they are not allowed to interrupt the movement or stand still. Furthermore they should make the longest step they can and their feet must raise above the knee. The effect to balance in each new position is very intense (Ibid, p. 105).

1.4.3.2 Second stage: making the body expressive

The second stage centralizes on the development of the expressive ability of the body. People express themselves through words, while the expressive ability of the body is underused. Boal developed games, which stimulate the use of bodily resources for self-expression. Like the game where all the participants receive a name of an animal which has to be expressed. Talking or making noises is forbidden. Consequently each participant must communicate through the body. Everyone tries to give a bodily expression and after ten minutes the participant must try to find their mates among the others. The game is over once everyone finds their mate (Boal, 2008, p. 106). It is not important to guess right, but rather that the participants try to express themselves through their body (Ibid., p. 107). The games can vary, like expressing occupation or professions instead of animals. Within this phase, it is important to encourage participants to invent other games and let them be active actors instead of passive recipients (Ibid., 108).

1.4.3.3 Third stage: theatre as language

People can start using theatre as language, when they are comfortable with their body and able to use their body to express themselves (Boal, 2008, p. 108). The third stage focuses on the transformation from passivity to action (Ibid, p. 109). Within this stage, Boal distinguishes three degrees. Every degree reflects a different level of participation of the spectator in the performance. Boal named the first degree 'simultaneous dramaturgy', the second degree 'image theatre' and the third degree 'forum theatre'. The level of participation of the spectator becomes higher in every degree (Ibid, p. 108). The three degrees will be discussed here.

First degree: Simultaneous Dramaturgy

This approach is the first degree of bringing spectators into the performance (Boal, 2008, p. 109). Boal suggests that the simultaneous dramaturgy creates enthusiasm among the spectators and tries to break down the barrier which separates the audience from the spectators (Ibid, p. 111). It specifically focuses on the involvement of the audience, without inviting them physically on stage (Ibid, p. 109). The people of the audience get the feeling that they can intervene within the performance (Ibid, p. 111).

Here a local person, who is present at a performance, proposes a problem situation. The performers on stage present a short scene of 10 to 20 minutes, with the help of scripts which are prepared before hand or as an improvisation. The actors develop the performance to a certain level, where the problem situation reaches a crisis and a solution is needed. The actors stop the performance and ask the audience to offer solutions. Then the actors on stage improvise instantly all the offered solutions from the audience. The audience has the right to intervene and correct the actions of the actors on stage. The actors are obliged to follow the instructions of the audience strictly. So the audience makes the play, while the actors performance it simultaneously. All the solutions are expressed through theatrical forms (Boal, 2008, p. 109).

Second degree: Image Theatre

Boal argues that the spectators have to participate more directly within this second degree. Boal distinguishes three phases here. Within the first phase, one spectator is asked to express his vision on a theme, which all the participants would like to discuss. The spectator has to express his view on the theme without speaking, but only by using the bodies of other participants. The spectator has to 'sculpt' the other participants into a group of statues, to make his or her vision on the theme clear. It is important to determine the position of each body in every details. No one is allowed to speak and only the spectator-sculptor can use his or her own facial expression to show the others what to do. After the spectator-sculptor is finished with 'sculpting' the participants into a group of statues, all the participants together discuss whether they agree with the 'sculpted' vision. Everyone has the right to act as a 'sculptor'.

The second phase starts, when the group of statues is most acceptable to all. Now the spectator-sculptor is asked to 'sculpt' the group of participants in the way, he or she would like to see the situation. Now the participant-sculptor should not sculpt the actual situation, but the ideal situation. Finally the participant-sculptor is asked how he or she would sculpt the group of participants, to show the transformation from the actual situation to the ideal situation (Boal, 2008, p. 112). So within the third phase it is important to show how the situation has to be changed. This is the most important part of this form of theatre, where participants show physically and visually their thoughts (Ibid, p. 114).

Boal argues that image theatre is one of the most stimulating forms of theatre, due to the capability of making thoughts visible and because of the easy way to practice it. Here Boal argues that it is important to notice that each word has a denotation and connotation. A denotation is the same for everybody, while the connotation is unique for each individual. If I say the word 'revolution', everyone will understand that this refers to a radical change. But at the same time, each person has his or her own personal conception of revolution which is influenced by a lot of different factors. The

image presented by the group of statues, mixes the collective denotation and the individual connotations (Boal, 2008, p. 115). So within image theatre all different kinds of connotations become clear by showing the images of people's thoughts (Ibid, p. 116).

Third degree: Forum Theatre

Within this last degree, the spectators intervene decisively in the action and try to change the action (Boal, 2008, p. 117). Forum theatre is one of the most popular techniques of Boal (Frasca, 2003, p. 228). Here the participants are invited to resolve the problem, by executing diverse solutions. All these solutions are analyzed (Balderston & Gonzalez, 2004, p. 71). With forum theatre Boal is not aiming to find an actual solution to a problem. His final goal is creating an environment for debating, not only through verbal communication, but also through performance (Frasca, 2003, p. 228).

In forum theatre, participants are asked to tell a story about a political or social problem. A 10 to 15 minute skit illustrates the problem. The solution for the problem is improvised or rehearsed and subsequently presented in the skit. After the skit, the participants are asked whether they agree with the solution. Boal suggests that at least some will say no. Then the performance will be played exactly like the first time. Now all the participants are allowed to replace any actors in the performance, to change the action in the way he or she thinks is necessary. The other actors in the performances have to respond to the possibilities in the newly created situation. The displaced actors will resume action, at the point the participant who replaced the actor indicates that his or her own intervention is finished. It is very important that the participant who intervenes, continue the physical action of the replaced actor. The participants are allowed to propose any solution, under the condition of executing it on stage. They need to work and act on stage, instead of staying in their seat (Boal, 2008, p. 117).

A short example of forum theatre will be given, to sketch an image of actual forum theatre.

A young man works for an exploiter in a fish factory. The employees are forced to work twelve hour shifts. The young man proposed the problem on how they deal with this exploitation. All the participants offered solutions. The young man suggested they would work very fast, to break the machines with the massive weight of the fish. Consequently the employees would have a two or three hours break, during the repair of the machines. The actors performed this scene. Afterwards the participants were asked whether they agreed with this solution. This was not the case and everyone had different solutions (Boal, 2008, p. 118). Then the second phase started and the performance was played again. One man argued for the use of a bomb. He replaced the actors who was portraying the young man and executed his idea of throwing a bomb. The other participants protested against this idea, because this would destruct the factory – their source of income (Boal, 2008, p. 118). The joker replaced the participant, until the second participant came on stage. He argued for a strike and convinced everyone to stop working. But this solution was impractical, because the owner found very quick other workers who would replace the strikers. Then a participant took over the role of the young man and suggest the establishment of a small union. This could help them to negotiate their demand. This solutions was judged best by the participants (Ibid, p. 119).

A joker is a crucial person in forum theatre. Jokers are involved in the creation of forum performances. A joker can help with the creation of a forum performance, by supporting the writing, the use of music etc. The joker coordinates the creation of the play, so everyone will be involved. Here jokers are forbidden to intervene in or to comment upon the content of a forum performance. Furthermore, jokers facilitate the execution of forum performances. He or she facilitates the involvement of the audience with the performance on stage. This is a crucial task, because there the participants can rehearse for solutions and create debate. The jokers have to be careful to not impose their own views. It is the task of the jokers to facilitate the process of involvement of the audience, and to avoid talking about their own opinions (Lungstad & Erikson, 2004, p. 3).

Boal suggests that in forum theatre no idea is imposed. '*The audience, the people, have the opportunity to try out all their ideas, to rehearse all the possibilities, and to verify them in practice, that is, in theatrical practice*' (Boal, 2008, p. 119). Even if the participants come to the conclusion that it would have been necessary to bomb all the fish factories in the area, this would have been right from their point of view. Forum theatre is not meant to show the right path, but it gives the means to let the participants investigate all possible paths (Ibid).

Boal argues that this theatrical form is a 'rehearsal of revolution'. The participant practice real acts in a fictional way. By attempting to organize a union, the participant is concretely organizing a union. The experience is concrete, within its fictitious boundaries. Boal suggests that a rehearsal stimulates the practice of the act in real life (Boal, 2008, p. 119). This kind of theatre would stimulate a desire of practicing the rehearsal into real life. Boal argues that '*the practice of these theatrical forms created a sort of uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks fulfillment through real action*' (Ibid, p. 120). Luc Opdebeeck, artistic leader of the participative drama organization Formaat, suggests that nowadays we should see it as a rehearsal of change. The times are different now. Currently, there are no more revolutions, but there are more changes present.

1.5 Methodology

This research consists of an in-depth and qualitative case study of the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo, whereby GTO Maputo is used to test the theory of McGee. I used a deductive approach, by which the theory of McGee was my starting point. Secondly, I created a hypothesis, by which it is argued that it seems that the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee. Thirdly, I collected data to test the hypothesis (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 168). Due to the fact that I use my data to test a theory, made me think about how this might influence the way I collect my data. This might have a disadvantage, because the already made manual might influence the way I would look at the workshops and the performances of GTO Maputo. During my data collection I was consciously working on doing justice to what I saw and heard, in order to not contaminate the stories I was told and the behaviors I had looked at with the theory I had in the back of my mind. I did this to prevent a tunnel vision. On the other hand, the already created manual provided me the advantage that I was able to collect specific information about the particular issues I was interested in (Ibid., p. 169). So the deductive approach created one big disadvantage, but also one big advantage.

Despite the fact that I used a deductive approach, the analyses of my collected data developed as a cyclic process between my collected data and the framework of McGee. I analyzed my collected data,

whereby I constantly reflected on the framework of McGee. This made me look more critically at McGee and how I had to understand her thinking and framework. This stimulated the way I elaborated and used the framework of McGee. Based on this I decided how to move on with my collected data.

The research activities I have undertaken, consisted of different methods. I started with doing literature research on the thinking and the framework of McGee, which resulted in the creation of a manual. Due to an exchange program between the Dutch theatre organization Formaat and the Mozambican organization GTO Maputo, I was offered the possibility to follow training consisting: workshops and the visit of two performances of GTO Maputo. I participated in the workshops and the performances, which made me able to observe and experience how these workshops and performances were executed. Furthermore, I had interviews and informal talks with the jokers of GTO Maputo. After the training I also had email contact with Alvim Cossa, the founder of GTO Maputo, by which he provided me with documents and answers on questions that came up. These used methods will be discussed below.

Used methods

Literature research is at the base of this research in two different ways. First I started this study with researching literature, to get an image about approaching policy processes in an alternative way. It became clear that the research on this subject is still in an explorative phase. McGee is namely searching for interventions, which approach their policy processes in an alternative way. A literature search on the framework of McGee resulted in a manual, by which can be checked whether the intervention of GTO Maputo fits in the framework of McGee. Despite the fact that I created the manual before I went to the workshops and performances of GTO Maputo, the manual kept changing, due to the fact that collected data inspired me to look again in a critical way at the work of McGee. The collected data gave me insights in how I should understand the thinking of McGee. Secondly the literature research also helped me in distinguishing different forms of theatre and it helped me to search which form of theatre seems to fits the framework of McGee best.

During the training at Formaat, I was offered the possibility to observe and participate in the workshops of GTO Maputo. The jokers of GTO Maputo used the same methods and techniques at Formaat, as they do in Mozambique. In Mozambique, it takes months of workshops to come to a forum theatre performance. But at Formaat, GTO Maputo used to two day training to come to a forum theatre performance. This enabled us to see in two days time how they do it in Mozambique. This made it possible for me to observe and experience how GTO Maputo uses forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS. Furthermore GTO Maputo did two performances, which they normally play in Mozambique. This gave me the possibility to observe and participate in these performances. During the workshops and the performances, I kept a logbook on all the things that happened, verbal but especially non-verbal behaviors. Here I wrote down all the interesting issues which I assumed to be important for the research.

During the training I had informal talks with all the jokers. I asked questions as short, simple and open as possible, to not miss any important information. These informal talks itself led to follow-up questions that were made up ad hoc and give me an insight in the way the intervention works. Furthermore I had semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Alvim Cossa. For the interviews and

formal talks I always used a voice recorder. This made it possible to fully concentrate on the interview. After the workshop days at Formaat, I returned home and during the process of analyzing my information, it became clear that it missed some information. So during the analyses period, I contacted Cossa by email to collect the missing information.

The following documents had a supporting role in this research: an evaluation report, scripts of the performances, films on the way GTO Maputo works and a manual of GTO Maputo. The evaluation report on GTO Maputo was created by Ernst & Young (2009). This evaluation is executed on behalf of a donor organization, Unicef. Furthermore the scripts of the two performances which GTO Maputo performed at Formaat, 'the suffering of women' and 'women', played a supportive role in this research. Furthermore I look at films which were created to highlight the way GTO Maputo works. Furthermore Cossa (2004) developed a manual. The manual consists of techniques and methods of theatre of the oppressed, adapted to the context of Mozambique. With these four documents, I started analyzing in a very structural way. I worked with categories, so I analyzed these documents, according to the manual I created.

Limitations

For the case study, I collected my data mainly from the training of GTO Maputo at Formaat. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity to go to Mozambique, to see how the workshops and performances of GTO Maputo are working over there. Therefore have not collected data on the actual execution of the forum theatre workshops and the forum theatre performances in Mozambique. Furthermore, it was impossible to research what the participants of the projects think about the projects. So the exchange programs made it possible for me to research the way GTO Maputo argues and shows how they use forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS, but impossible from the viewpoints of the participants.

To secure the validity of this research, whereby it is crucial that you measure what you aim to measure, it was very important to keep this in mind. I tried to describe the data I collected as integer as possible. Hereby it was very important for me to describe the data in such a way, that it is clear that I do not draw conclusions about subjects I cannot, based on the data. It is important to understand that in this research the vision and way of working of GTO Maputo is described from a viewpoint of the organization itself. Furthermore I tried to raise the validity of this research, by getting involved in the way GTO Maputo approaches their projects. This contributes to my knowledge on what GTO Maputo moves to do certain things in a certain way. Therefore I did not only use the training to collect data, but also afterwards I stayed in contact. This helped to increase the validity of this research, due to the input in areas in which I lacked data. Furthermore I tried to secure the reliability of this research, by collecting data from the different jokers. This made it possible for me to get a broad and more reliable image on how GTO Maputo works. At the training at Formaat, I was not only told how they work, but they also showed it. This made it possible for me to check whether they would do what they say they do, which contributes to the reliability of this research.

The structure of this thesis

This thesis has the following structure. Chapter two gives an overview on the organization GTO Maputo, whereby is elaborated on their ideas, visions and practices. To place this in the context in which GTO Maputo works, there I will elaborate on the background of Mozambique. Eventually here

it will become clear why GTO Maputo argues that they give the right impulse in the HIV/AIDS problematic with forum theatre. The third chapter consists of observations and experiences in the workshops and the performances. This serves to provide insights in the workshops and the performances of GTO Maputo. The second and third chapter are shaped in such a way, that the analyses in chapter four, flow forward from the elaborations on the case in chapter two and three. So in the last chapter, all the chapters of this thesis come together within an analysis. This chapter provides an analysis on how the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee and therefore serves to answer the research questions.

2. The Case: GTO Maputo

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the organization GTO Maputo. It will focus on the fundamental ideas, visions and practices of GTO Maputo. In order to place this research in the context of the area in which GTO Maputo works, this chapter starts with some background information on Mozambique. This has a supporting function for the further elaboration of this study. In the second part of this chapter GTO Maputo will be introduced. It provides a general insight in the organization, their goal, their activities and the use of forum theatre. The third part focuses on the way GTO Maputo uses forum theatre, as a strategy against oppression, in their fight against HIV/AIDS. Here will be first focused on the creation of the forum theatre productions and second on the execution of the forum theatre performances. Then will be focused on the organizational aspects. At the end, it will be clear how GTO Maputo uses forum theatre to create awareness and eventually behavioral change among the Mozambican people and how this relates to McGee's thinking.

2.2 The Mozambican context

2.2.1 A turbulent and violent history

Mozambique is located on the southeastern coast of Africa. It borders Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia to the north, South Africa and Swaziland to the south and Zimbabwe to the West. Maputo is the capital of Mozambique. The Portuguese colonized Mozambique in the nineteenth century, in an extremely harsh way. Exploitation and oppression was common. The Portuguese saw Mozambique as an overseas province (van der Veen, 2004, p. 48). The liberation front Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) fought for years against the Portuguese, but the Portuguese did not want to give Mozambique independence. But finally in 1974, after twelve years of fighting, the new government of Portugal changed their direction. In only several months, Mozambique rashly became independent in 1975, as almost the last country of Africa. Frelimo was the strongest liberation movement and therefore they came into power. At that moment, Mozambique was one of the poorest countries of Africa (Ibid, p. 51).

After the independence in 1975, there was no national unity. Frelimo was namely soon confronted with an opposition group, called Renamo (Mozambican National Resistance). A civil war was a fact (van der Veen, 2004, p. 51). This war was largely determined by the context of the Cold War. Frelimo received support from the DDR and the Soviet Union, while Renamo was supported by South-Africa and indirectly by the United States (Ibid, p. 52). The cold war kept feeding this local fire for a long time (Ibid, p. 51). Mozambique felt into big misery and the fight kept going on in the context of the Cold War. The civil war caused hundreds of thousands of deaths, created a large number of refugees and disrupted the whole economy. The civil war ended at the end of the eighties, simultaneously with the end of the Cold War. Both parties, Renamo and Frelimo, did not receive any more support from the West and the East. The two competing groups signed a peace agreement in 1992 (Ibid, p. 52).

At that moment, Mozambique was one of the poorest countries in the world. Despite the formal peace, the situation in Mozambique still remained very tense (van der Veen, 2004, p. 412). Frelimo

won the election in 1994 with a small lead. There was no national unity formed in the government, because Frelimo supplied the entire cabinet. Renamo, that represented a significant part of the population, was totally excluded. Mozambique stayed divided, which was dangerous for the unity of the country. This was very risky, but the Mozambican were too tired of the war to pick up the weapons again (Ibid, p. 141). Currently Mozambique is still struggling to change the dominant political system with a single political party, into a political system with multiple parties (World Health Organisation, 2009, p. 1). The distrust in the political situation is very high (The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, 2009, p. 4).

Mozambique is now one of the poorest and less developed countries of the world. At this moment, it is estimated that 23 million people live in Mozambique. 54% of the Mozambican population lives below the poverty line (World Health Organisation, 2009, p. 1). The life expectancy at birth is very low; 48.4 years. Only 3% of the population is older than 65 years. Mozambique faces a lot of challenges (The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, 2009, p. 3). Poverty influences a majority of the population and inequality is increasing. There are concerns about inequalities related to gender, wealth, poverty, illiteracy and access to government structures (Ibid, p. 6).

2.2.2 HIV/AIDS in Mozambique

The civil war destroyed nearly fifty percent of the public health sector infrastructure. Particularly in rural areas, the health system was devastated. From the end of the civil war, the reconstruction of the health system has been slow (Audet et al., 2010). This makes it difficult for Mozambique to respond adequately on the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Mozambique is currently one of the ten most HIV/AIDS infected countries in the world (UNAID, 2011, p. 1).

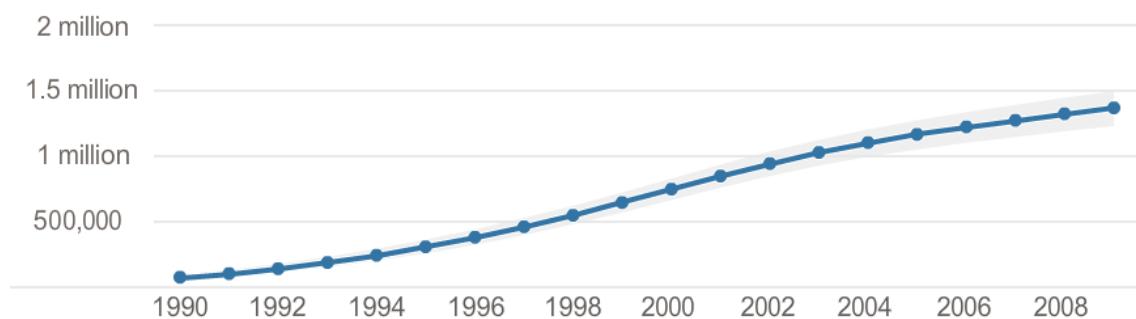


Figure 2.1 Number of people living with HIV/AIDS in Mozambique

Source: Jointed United Nations Program on HIV AIDS (UNAIDS) Epidemiological Fact Sheet on HIV and AIDS.
http://92.52.112.217/downloadpdf.htm?country_id=AFRMOZ&lng_code=en&pdfoption=epi

The first HIV case in Mozambique is diagnosed in 1986. Over the past two decades, the HIV/AIDS prevalence increased steadily, as can be seen in figure 2.1. The Mozambican government declared HIV/AIDS a national emergency in July 2004. It is estimated that currently 1.6 million people live in Mozambique with HIV/AIDS. Of the people between 15 and 49 the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is currently even estimated on 12%. Of the 1.6 million HIV/AIDS infected Mozambican, about 430.000 need urgently life-extending treatment. 500 Mozambican get daily infected with the HIV/AIDS virus. The AIDS deaths are estimated on 74.000 Mozambican annually (UNAIDS, 2011, p. 1).

The majority of these infected people has limited access to healthcare facilities (Audet et al., 2010). Fewer than forty percent of the Mozambican have access to healthcare facilities, and less than fifty of the births are supervised by skilled people (Beckmann & Pallavi, 2005, p. 10).

Risk groups

There are two different groups of Mozambican, that are extremely vulnerable to HIV infections. The HIV/AIDS prevalence varies extremely between the rural and urban areas of Mozambique, and between man and woman. The high HIV/AIDS prevalence among the rural population and women will be discussed below.

The HIV/AIDS prevalence increases specifically in the rural areas of Mozambique, where eighty percent of the Mozambican population lives (Beckmann & Pallavi, 2005, p. 9). The HIV/AIDS prevalence ranges there between 8 – 27%. They are higher in the central part of Mozambique (12%) and southern part of Mozambique (18%). These numbers are lower in the northern part of Mozambique (9%). Currently health care is available nationwide, also in rural areas. But the health care clinics are often far away from rural villages and the lack of proper roads and transportation hinders access to healthcare facilities. Furthermore these facilities often deal with supply chain management problems (Audet et al., 2010). This makes the rural Mozambicans more vulnerable for HIV/AIDS. Furthermore the lack of information provision also plays a big role with the exacerbation of the HIV/AIDS problematic in rural areas. Only 5% of the rural population has access to newspapers, only 12% has access to a radio and only 6% has access to a television. Furthermore the illiteracy is very high. 52,2% percent of the rural population over fifteen is not able to read and write. This makes it difficult to spread information in the rural areas of Mozambique by newspaper, television or radio.

Women do not only have a higher risk than men to get HIV infected, but it has also more devastating consequences for women than it has for men. Mozambican women are disproportionately impacted by HIV/AIDS. It is estimated that 58% of the HIV/AIDS infected adults, are women. Even three-quarters of the fifteen to nineteen years old HIV infected adolescents, are female. About 74% of the Mozambican females have their first sexual experience before the age of eighteen. Even twenty four percent of the women have sexual intercourse before the age of fifteen. The median age, to have the first sexual experiences, is 16.1 for women and 17.8 for men. The higher prevalence of young females may reflect a higher biological risk to contract HIV/AIDS, but is also connected with cultural and social factors. The influence of the cultural and social factors on the HIV/AIDS prevalence of women and on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Mozambique in general, will be elaborated below (Audet et al., 2010).

2.2.3 Factors in the fight against HIV/AIDS

It is plausible that there are certain factors that influence the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Mozambique (Audet et al., 2010). It seems that the following factors exacerbate the HIV/AIDS epidemic and make the fight against HIV/AIDS in Mozambican communities extremely difficult and complex: the polygamy and the young age of Mozambicans first sexual experiences in matrimonial and patrimonial societies, unequal gender relations, domestic violence, trust in traditional beliefs and healing, the damaging ritual 'widow cleansing', the enormous amount of different languages, the negative influence of religions and sexual relationship of young women with older men. Below a social and

cultural analyses of the HIV/AIDS situation will be made, by elaborating on the factors that exacerbate the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This will give an overview about the complexity of HIV/AIDS situation in Mozambique. Here it will become indirectly clear why specifically women and rural people are extremely at risk.

Matrimonial and patrimonial societies

There are a large amount of diverse ethnical categories in Mozambique. The ethnic groups are fluid and reflect their colonial history. Some ethnical categories are created by the Portuguese settlers themselves and all inhabitants of Mozambique were designated Portuguese in 1961. Currently the Zambezi River is roughly the border between the groups that live in the north according to the matrilineal descent principles, and the groups in the south that live according to the patrilineal inheritance model (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011).

Within the ethnical groups in the north of Mozambique, people have a lifetime membership in the group of the mothers. The ancestry goes through the side of the mother. After marriage, the man becomes part of the woman's family. In these matrilineal society, average age of marriage lies between fifteen and seventeen years of age (Kottak, 2006, p. 43). Within the ethnical groups in the south of Mozambique, people join the fathers group at birth and stay members throughout life. The kinship is determined through the line of the father (Kottak, 2006, p. 43). In these patrilineal Mozambican societies, the average age of marriage lies between eighteen and twenty one years old. In both the patrimonial and matrimonial societies, it is a cultural practice among these groups to have multiple partners for women in matrimonial societies and for man in patrimonial societies. The polygamy and the young age of marriage substantially increases the risk to transmit HIV (Audet et al., 2010).

Gender inequalities and domestic violence

In Mozambican societies are often unequal gender relations present. These unequal relations play a big role within the HIV/AIDS problematic. In Mozambique HIV/AIDS often has more devastating consequences for women, than for men. When someone is detected with the virus, women are often accused as the ones who brought HIV into the home. This may result in rejection or even abandonment by their families. Women are often seen as impure and as able to transmit illnesses to men. In this way of thinking, men are seen as victims of women. This is a traditional thinking, that became more pervasive since the outbreak of HIV (Audet et al., 2010).

Despite the fact that there is a lack of information about the nationwide number of domestic violence, it is known that domestic violence against women and girls is a common problem in Mozambique. Especially in patrimonial societies domestic violence against women and girls is an important issue. The Mozambican perceive issues like assault or abuse as a case which needs to be solved within the area of the family. The Mozambicans are in general very afraid to be open about the domestic violence issues. This is also the case with issues concerning HIV/AIDS. There is a closed atmosphere in Mozambique, where the Mozambicans are afraid to be open about these sensitive issues. There is a fear of family abandonment, community stigmatization and discrimination, when people become public with issues like domestic violence or HIV infections. This is very challenging when trying to prevent and treat HIV/AIDS (Audet et al., 2010).

Traditional beliefs and healing

It is common for many Mozambicans to believe that HIV is caused by witchcraft or curses. Therefore many infected persons go to traditional healers to receive treatment, instead of getting tested and treated from local health centers. These traditional medical beliefs and traditional healers contribute to the spread of HIV infection. Traditional healers often use unsterilized material, suggest to have sex with virgins to cure HIV or have sex with their clients themselves to cure them from HIV. This exacerbates spread of HIV. Furthermore these traditional beliefs and healers hinder the use of modern HIV/AIDS treatment. They discourage people to use modern treatment and care in medical clinics, so they are able to treat their infected client with traditional means. This is not the case for all traditional healers, but there is currently no relationship between these healers and the Ministry of Health to improve this problem (Audet, et al., 2010).

Widow cleansing

There are certain high risk activities, which are stimulated by local traditions and customs. There is one important cultural ritual, which exacerbates the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the middle of Mozambique. This ritual is called 'Widow cleansing' (Kutxinga Tindzaka ritual). The Kutxinga Tindzaka ritual is a death ceremony, which literally means the replacement (Kutxinga) of the waste (Tindzaka). With this ritual, the Mozambicans aim to clean a widow after her husband died. When a husband dies, his brother must have sexual intercourse with the widow, to clean her and to get rid of bad spirits. The ceremony marks the end of the grieving period of the women. Sometimes a widow might also marry the brother in a polygamous or monogamous marriage. It is crucial for this ritual to exchange fluids, so it is not allowed to use condoms. This results, in the middle of Mozambique, in an explosive growth of HIV/AIDS infected persons. The husband may have died to a HIV/AIDS related cause, the brother in law might be HIV/AIDS infected or the widow might be HIV/AIDS infected. Therefore the execution of this ritual gives a big chance on the spread of HIV (Audet et al., 2010).

Religions

During the colonial era, Christian missionaries were active throughout Mozambique. Prior to the independence of Mozambique, a small amount of the population was Muslim and one third of the population was Christian. After independence, Frelimo spread the message that people were free in following a religion. But in reality Frelimo persecuted more than 20.000 Jehovah Witnesses and they indirectly discouraged religious expression and organization. Frelimo changed their direction at the end of the civil war. Religious expressions and organizations are now re-emerged as a popular and important force (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011).

Currently, almost fifty percent of the Mozambican are practicing traditional religions (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011). Almost thirty percent are following some form of Christianity. The south and middle of Mozambique is populated with mainly Christians. The Christian religion in Mozambique is seen as a force that contributes to the exacerbation of the HIV/AIDS problematic due to the Christian church forbids the use of condoms and makes sexuality a taboo. Almost twenty percent of the Mozambican are Muslims. In the north of Mozambique, most people follow the Islamic religion. Within the Muslim communities, the HIV/AIDS prevalence is lower than in other communities. This is probably caused by the higher numbers of male circumcision, the more closed sexual relationships and the lower amount of people having sexual intercourse before marriage (Audet et al., 2010). Only

eighteen percent of the Mozambicans are not following a religion (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011).

Languages

The official language of Mozambique is a legacy of the colonial time, Portuguese. The Portuguese language is only spoken by twenty percent of the inhabitants of Mozambique, mainly in the larger cities. After Mozambique became independent in 1975, Frelimo wanted to evict the colonial language. Frelimo did not find a replacement, because not one language is spoken by a majority of the Mozambican (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011). There are 44 different languages spoken in Mozambique. Each ethnic group has its own language. It is common that each group speaks different dialects of the same language (Ndege, 2007, p. 3). The Bantu languages of Yao and Makua dominate the North of Mozambique. In the Zambezi Valley, most Mozambican speak Nyanja. The Tsonga languages dominates the south of Mozambique. Along the northern coast of Mozambique, most of the people speak Swahili. Furthermore Mozambique shares languages with surrounding countries. It can be concluded that Mozambique has a great linguistic variety (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011) this makes it complex for interventions because there is no universal language. For effective communication organizations have to deal with all the different languages.

2.2.4 HIV/AIDS policy of the Mozambican government

The HIV/AIDS epidemic poses major threats for the development of Mozambique (UNAID, 2011, p. 1). The economic development is strongly affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The majority of the HIV/AIDS infected Mozambicans are active labor forces. The already scarce human resources and human capital reduces due to the loss of these labor productive part of the population. It is estimated that in 2020, 2.2 million workers, seventeen percent of the total labor force is lost due to HIV/AIDS (Beckmann & Pallavi, 2005, p. 5). Furthermore the educational sector faces a lot of problems. The HIV/AIDS prevalence among teaching personnel is higher than among the general population. This results in a lack of personnel in the educational sector. But also children are kept out of school, due to the fact that children are needed for work to generate income. The expectation is that the pressure on children to work will become bigger, as the epidemic grows further and more parents will get infected and die (Beckmann & Pallavi, 2005, p. 12). The death of more parents will also increase the amount of Mozambican orphans. Currently, there are one point six million orphans. More than 380.000 of these orphans have lost their parents to HIV/AIDS. The expectation is that in 2015, one million orphans will have lost their parents to HIV/AIDS. The death of parents will also result in the deconstruction of households and extended families (USAIDS, 2011, p. 1).

The enormous problems posed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic, made the Mozambican government prioritize this problematic. The government centralized the prevention of the spread of HIV and the treatment and support for the infected and affected persons. From 2004 to 2009, the Mozambican government received \$835.6 million from international aid to support prevention, treatment and care programs. In 2008, the United States president made an investment of \$228.4 million through PEPFAR. The Mozambican government uses NGOs to spend most of the money. The investments resulted in an increase of people taking drugs and receiving treatment, and an increase of HIV prevention programs. But there is also a side effect present. There is more money available, than reasonably can be spent. This made corruption grow (Johnson, 2009).

The corruption is increasing mainly on a local level. A lot of programs from NGOs distribute food, goods and extra income to HIV/AIDS infected persons. It is very appealing for people as poor as in Mozambique, to steal these things. Health care workers are easily bribed, due to the low and often late paid salaries. By bribing these health care worker from the government, people receive false health documents to get food, goods and extra income. The health care workers of the government are not only bribed by ordinary Mozambicans, but also by employees from the Mozambican government. These employees are driven by the fact that they receive more salary when tested positive for HIV. Furthermore there is a lot of corruption on prevention activities in rural areas. These activities are difficult to monitor, due to the fact that they occur in remote areas. This drives organizations to request subsidies for rural programs. Due to the lack of monitoring, it is common that organizations make false reports and receive the money in a corrupt manner. Not only is the money often not spent where it should, also the data collection by NGOs is often inaccurate. NGOs often have an unrealistic picture of progression of their HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programs. NGOs have often outreaching targets, which are not realistic to achieve. This de-motivates NGOs to investigate fraud, which stimulates the increase of corruption (Johnsona, 2009). Unfortunately the aid is not working as it should be and as needed by the Mozambican population.

2.2.5 A complex situation

Out the above described social and cultural analyses from the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Mozambique, can be concluded that the HIV/AIDS situation in Mozambique is extremely complex and has different facet's. It appears that the Mozambican government fails to give the right impulses to the situation. The policy of the government is not working as it should. The Mozambican people become frustrated and are skeptical against the government. This complexity makes it a real challenge to successfully fight HIV/AIDS in Mozambique.

2.3 GTO Maputo

In this paragraph GTO Maputo will be introduced. GTO Maputo is an organization which tries to deal with the complex situation in Mozambique in an innovative way. Firstly the organization GTO Maputo will be introduced. Secondly GTO Maputo's approach of the HIV/AIDS problematic in Mozambique will be described.

2.3.1 Organizational structure, activities and goals

GTO Maputo is established in 2001 as a non-profit cultural association by Alvim Cossa, with the help of the Centre of the Theatre of the Oppressed in Rio de Janeiro, which was at that time coordinated by Augusto Boal. GTO Maputo has grown to become the biggest theatre organization of Mozambique. GTO Maputo has a national head office in the capital of Mozambique; Maputo. They have divided Mozambique in three provinces: north, centre and south. There are three jokers working in the head office, who coordinate each their own province. Each province is divided in districts. Every district has its own joker. These jokers coordinate the different forum theatre groups in one district. There are currently 167 groups. Every groups makes their own forum theatre performance. There are hundreds of actors actively involved. The organizational structure is visualized below, to show the enormous amounts of forum groups that fall under one head office and the amount of levels present in the organization.

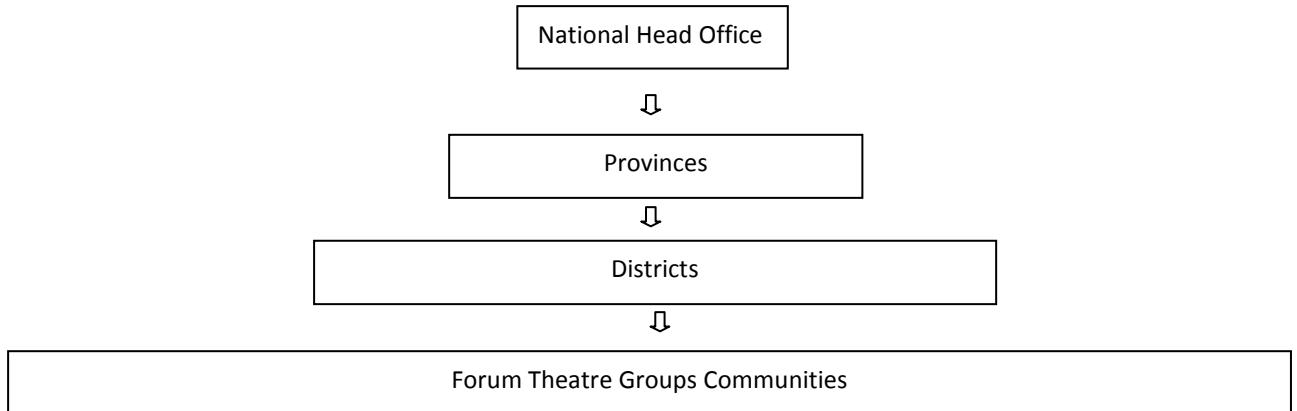


Figure 2.2 The organizational structure of GTO Maputo

GTO Maputo focuses mainly on the biggest problematic of Mozambique: the HIV/AIDS epidemic. At the moment, 10 percent of the people in the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo is infected with HIV/AIDS. This means that in each forum theatre group at least one person with HIV/AIDS is present. Within GTO Maputo, there is also a focus on others problems like sanitation and hygiene. Since this research concerns the forum theatre projects that focus on the HIV/AIDS problematic, this study will focus on those particular activities which are connected with this problematic.

GTO Maputo organizes workshops to train community theatre groups in Theatre of the Oppressed techniques. Then these groups set up participatory theatre productions, where HIV/AIDS is presented through an efficient and amusing mean of communication - forum theatre. Their forum theatre performances can be seen as an educational entertainment. They want to reach two different goals with these forum theatre productions. First, they aim to contribute to the creation of a cultural solidarity between people. Second, by spreading information through forum theatre, they try to make communities involved in searching collectively for solutions to their problems. Besides the forum theatre projects, they produce documentaries and video that can promote debate and they make radio programs with community radio stations. Since this study specifically focuses on forum theatre projects, the research will be limited to the workshops in Theatre of the Oppressed techniques and the forum theatre productions.

2.3.2 Forum theatre as a strategy against oppression

The frustration under the Mozambican people about the inability of the government to improve the HIV/AIDS situation, drove the founder and current artistic leader of GTO Maputo, Alvim Cossa, to search for innovative ways to deal with the complexity in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Cossa argues that GTO Maputo addresses the complexity of the HIV/AIDS situation, by giving the right impulse with theatre of the oppressed. GTO Maputo views forum theatre is an ideal and alternative tool in responding to the complexity in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Mozambique.

GTO Maputo uses forum theatre as an alternative communication mean. Everyone can use it, because it is an universal language. This participative and interactive theatre is used to share issues, to bring up ideas and to let people overcome their fears. It is about the creation of dialogues and discussions. During dialogues and discussions, GTO aims to raise awareness on the subjects that are important in the different life worlds and the perspectives of the audience. By raising the awareness,

they finally aim to achieve change in behavioral aspects. In a forum theatre production, GTO Maputo brings up oppressions in a very concrete way. This gives people the space to contribute input for change. In the forum theatre productions, GTO Maputo first shows the oppressions in the forum theatre. Second people have to think about the solution themselves. Like Cossa states:

'We give them handles, they have to act themselves afterwards'.

GTO Maputo works on a local level with the 167 different theatre groups. All the forum theatre groups work with the HIV/AIDS problematic, but concentrate this to their own specific context. In this way every group can deal with the local problematic and context in their forum theatre production. Cossa argues it is crucial to deal with different contexts, due to the different influences in different parts of Mozambique by gender inequalities, rituals, traditional habits, cultural norms and values and religion. Furthermore the local forum theatre groups all work in their own local language. Despite that each group addresses different problems in various languages in their forum theatre productions, there is a strong connection between all the groups of GTO Maputo in Mozambique, because they all speak the universal language of theatre of the oppressed. The forum theatre groups try to find possibilities for certain problems, by using an universal language of forum theatre everyone understands.

GTO Maputo clearly distinguishes themselves with their approach from other organizations. Cossa argues that a lot of interventions in Mozambique use popular talk, where slogans are used like 'why not: go to the hospital and test yourself'. While GTO Maputo wants to show the importance of the test instead of pushing people to do the test. A partner organizations suggested GTO Maputo to build tents next to the stage where GTO Maputo performs. Then people could get tested right after the show. This contradicts the viewpoint of GTO Maputo. People have to talk about it and then get tested voluntarily. GTO Maputo states that their alternative approach prevents them from making the same mistakes as regular HIV/AIDS prevention programs. If an intervention does not respond to the complexity of the situation, Cossa suggests that it can fail or make the situation even worse.

2.4 How forum theatre is used as a strategy against oppression

2.4.1 The creation of a forum theatre production

This paragraph serves to provide background information on the creation of the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo. Hereby will be focused on what kind of space, as McGee describes, is created by the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo. Here will become clear how this space, consisting of a forum theatre performance, is created: by what actors and with what kind of knowledge. So there will be focused on the way the forum theatre performances are developed.

2.4.1.1 Involvement of local community members

As mentioned, GTO Maputo has 167 forum theatre groups. The members of the forum theatre groups receive workshops and training from the jokers. The jokers learn the forum theatre groups about Theatre of the Oppressed and how to make forum theatre. The jokers facilitate the forum theatre groups, in developing a forum theatre performance. But it is up to the members of the forum theatre group to create the forum theatre performances. And it is up to them, to determine the

subjects they want to use in the performances. The members of the forum theatre groups consist of people who live in the local community. GTO Maputo recruits these people in two different ways. First, GTO Maputo cooperates often with other organizations in the districts. They approach members of those organizations, to get them involved in the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo. Second, the jokers go to the communities to keep castings. Here everyone of the community is invited to come to the casting.

Due to the fact that the members of the forum theatre groups are also actual members of the communities, these groups are closely involved with the communities. The members of the forum theatre groups live with the real problems every day. This makes it possible for the jokers to facilitate in finding the real stories. All the different stories from the forum theatre group members are put together, to eventually end up on stage. This guarantees that the forum theatre performances is in line with the way the community lives. A study of Ernst & Young (2009) also indicates the importance of the local community member as a part of the forum theatre groups, because then the people on stage will represent the daily reality, the local habits and the local norms. This stimulates the identification of the audience with the forum theatre performance and guarantees that the local community members feel more comfortable in discussing problems and possible changes.

2.4.1.2 The audience

There are two different ways in which forum theatre groups announces their performances. They announce their performances by writing on walls with chalk. Furthermore, the members of the forum theatre groups walk door by door and invite people to come to their forum theatre performance. For GTO Maputo it is important that there is face to face advertisement, because of the lack of information provision by television, radio and newspapers. In this way, they reach as much people as possible. They play their performances in public areas; e.g. open markets, schools, prisons, hospital, on the street. It is important that the people of the community do not have to come to the performance, but that the performance comes to them. GTO Maputo wants to make the performance easy accessible for the people from the community.

Currently, the forum theatre groups make one general performance for the entire community. This means the young children, adolescents and elderly watch one forum theatre performance. The study from Ernst & Young (2009) suggests that they should make different performances for children and adults because this would better safeguard the connection between the performances and the audience. Certain sensitive subjects would then be treated in different ways, like sexual subjects. This seems a very logical thinking, but it can also be dangerous. It is the power of forum theatre, to attract a broad audience. There are namely a large amount of different people involved in an oppression and possible change. By making forum theatre performances for specific target groups, this strength of forum theatre can be undermined, because people who play a role in a certain oppression might be absent. While it is very crucial for forum theatre performances that all the people who play a role in an oppression, are present at the performance. This stimulates changes and solutions from the oppressed people, but also from the oppressors.

2.4.1.3 Taking cultural backgrounds into account

This paragraph concerns an elaboration on the importance for GTO Maputo to involve cultural backgrounds of communities in the forum theatre performances.

Gender inequalities

Cossa argues that gender inequalities are strongly connected with the HIV/AIDS epidemic, due to the fact that the unequal power relations between women and men, are of large influence on the way Mozambicans deal with HIV/AIDS. Cossa, coming from a patrimonial community, argues man are seen as all rounder in these societies. Men feel too good, to get tested. Violence against women is common. His experience is that in these communities, women always are the first who get tested. Often men even do not get tested at all. If man do get test, they often keep everything secret. Man even steal medication from others, to avoid to be seen in the hospital. There is a strong taboo present, that no one can speak about these thing. Sometimes when the wife gets pregnant or sick, the husband tells his wife. But then man accuses their wives, by arguing that the wives found out first, so was also first infected. Due to these deeply rooted habits, norms and values, GTO Maputo takes these gender inequalities often as a central point within their forum theater performances. These unequal gender relations offer the possibility of showing an oppression, because there is an oppressor and an oppressed person present in an unequal situation.

Widow Cleansing

This death ceremony is seen as an important cultural practice for the Mozambican and it increases strongly the chance of spreading HIV/AIDS. Therefore it is important for GTO Maputo to use their performances to create a discussion about this damaging ritual. Due to the fact that this ritual is deeply rooted in the patrimonial communities in the middle of Mozambique, it is a big challenge for GTO Maputo to deal with it in forum theatre performance. Nevertheless, GTO Maputo forum theatre groups involve this damaging ritual in their performances. By showing the ritual and damaging effects to the communities, they try to create a discussion within the community. Currently there are already certain changes in the way the Mozambican execute this ceremony. Instead of having sexual intercourse with the brother of her deceased husband, the widow must watch the brother having sexual intercourse with his wife. Afterwards, the widow has to clean the sheets. It is still very cruel and humiliating for the widow, but it is already a step in the right direction. This made the chance of spreading HIV already smaller.

2.4.2 During a forum theatre performance

This paragraph concerns an elaboration on the execution of the performances by the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo. McGee advocates for the importance of working with spaces. Therefore here will be elaborated on the space which GTO Maputo creates during the execution of the performance. Here will be specifically focused on the importance of involving the audience in this space.

2.4.2.1 Creating one space

Cossa argues that there are two spaces present in a forum theatre production. The space of the audience and the space of the performers. The audience brings their space to the forum production from outside. Cossa argues that the Mozambican do not speak with each other about private issues that concern amongst others family or health situations. They do not discuss these issues within the community, not within friendships, not within families and even not within marriages. It is common that most Mozambican do not realize that others have the same problems as they face. Cossa argues that during the performances people often realize that their problems are not only important for them, but also for others in their community. The performances stimulate the creation of solidarity between people in the audience, because people realize that others experience the same problems

as they do. It is the shared experience from the audience that makes sure that there exists a certain awareness among the people.

The other space is present on stage. The performers prepare this space, where an anti-model is central. This means that the performance ends badly for the protagonist. Like in the performance 'The Suffering of Women' of GTO Maputo, where the female protagonist is not allowed from her husband to receive treatment from the hospital. The husband refuses to get tested for HIV/AIDS. Instead she ends up with her mother in law, who treats her with herbals to heal her from HIV/AIDS, and a husband who will not be tested.

There is always one joker of GTO Maputo present during a forum theatre performance. This person tries to make a connection between the space of the audience and the space of the performers, and is responsible for the interactivity between the audience and the performers. They want to create one space, out of the two different spaces. If one big space is created, people can practice to change the situation within that space.

The joker of GTO Maputo takes care of the dynamic and the interactivity between the audience and the stage. It is crucial that jokers do not say what they think about the situation. It is not a search to what is right or what is wrong. It is important that the joker focuses on the discussion and on what is applicable on that Mozambican community. The joker needs to let the audience search for a solution, that is appropriate for that moment, at that place. Instead of facilitating, a joker '*difficultates*' the process. This means that the joker should make it the audience not too easy. They have to ask critical questions. The jokers question all the solutions that audiences bring up, to come to a thorough and deep analysis. Here it is important that the joker orientates on the preparation of the future, instead of thinking about the past.

A joker of GTO Maputo carries out his or her task on the following manner. The joker starts with welcoming everyone and he or she explains the rules of the forum theatre. Then the forum theatre performance will be performed. After the performance, the joker starts asking questions to the audience. The jokers of GTO Maputo ask the questions in three phases, to start a critical discussion within the audience. This goes as follows:

1. The joker wants to get clear what the audience think that has happened.

What happened here? What did we see? Who is the oppressor? Who is the oppressed? What is the oppression?

2. The joker wants to start a discussion on how they recognize this situation.

What do you recognize? Do you recognize this?

3. The joker will focus on how people would change this situation.

What would you do, if this would happen to you? What manner do you see to change this situation?

When someone suggests he or she knows a way of changing the situation, he or she will be invited to perform that change on stage. Like Cossa argues: 'It is not about what you say, but it is what you do with it'. The spectator goes onto the stage and gets a material subject of the protagonist. This can

vary from a scarf to a dress. This is crucial, because this makes it clearly that the spectator takes over the role of the protagonist. The person from the audience performs his or her idea to change the situation on stage. Afterwards, the joker asks the audience how this has changed the situation. They aim to create discussion and a critical audience, by letting the audience themselves fill in the way they want to change the situation. The joker aims to let the audience participate, to let come together the different life worlds and perspectives.

2.4.2.2 Stimulating interaction

Alvim Cossa argues that the audience gets the ownership of the problems and the solutions during the forum theatre performances, because they get an active and decisive role in shaping change. The involvement of the audience with their own problematic, make that they get to control and take responsibility in their situation. This encourages the empowerment of the audience to become the owner of the present problems. The research of Ernst & Young (2009) suggests that participation of the audience in the search for solutions, is crucial in the eventual change of behavior. The involvement with the problems and the solutions stimulate local debates.

GTO Maputo stimulates the involvement of the audience during the play in two different ways. First, the audience brings forward the solutions for the oppressions which are present in the forum theatre performance. Someone from the audience comes on stage to present his or her solution. Second, the solutions will be discussed and analyzed with the audience. Cossa emphasizes during the training at Formaat, that it is for GTO Maputo important not to transfer knowledge to the audience. Furthermore, it is not about the subject that is discussed in the performances. It is about the process of opening up and being able to talk about difficult issues. This stimulates the raise of awareness on the problems in the communities, to finally reach change in behavior. Indirectly, this will contribute to a change in knowledge on certain subjects.

In Mozambique, most of the people do not know what theatre is. The performances of GTO Maputo are often the first theatre experience of the Mozambican people. Cossa argues that this makes it for the joker very difficult to achieve the involvement of the audience with the performance. People think that theatre might be a crazy thing. It is for GTO Maputo important to deal with this, because the involvement of the audience and the shared experiences of the audience are crucial in creating awareness of certain taboos. This is done in different ways. When a person suggests a possible solution, a lot of compliments and applause is given. When someone goes on stage, this person becomes extensively supported. This also stimulates a feeling of self respect and confidence of the person's who go on stage. During the performances at Formaat, Cossa explained they also use a positive energy move in these kind of situations. Here the arms to the front, the hands are opened and the everyone yells 'woooooooow'. This does not only stimulates the person who goes on stage, but is also stimulates the connection between the stage and the audience – the creation of one space.

2.5 The organizational aspects

Below will be focused on the organizational structure of GTO Maputo. The disconnection between the space of the local forum theatre groups and the space of the national head office will be discussed. Furthermore will be focused on the roles of other organizations and how they relate to

GTO Maputo.

2.5.1 Dangers of the enormous amount of levels

As mentioned before, it is very crucial for GTO Maputo to create forum theatre productions on community levels. Due to the enormous amount of local forum theatre groups, they are able to involve the context of the communities in the forum theatre performance. The study of Ernst & Young (2009) suggests that the audience agrees with the importance of working on this local level. This makes it for the audience easy to understand the play, because it is spoken in their local language. The audience indicates that their own problematic is highlighted in the performance. The discussions and the given solutions are seen as appropriate with regard to the norm and habits of the audience.

GTO Maputo also faces difficulties in working with so many local groups, due to the amount of levels present in the organizational structure of GTO Maputo and the enormous amount of local forum theatre groups. As mentioned GTO Maputo is coordinated from one national head office.

Mozambique is divided in provinces and each provinces is divided in districts. The 167 groups fall under these different districts. The study of Ernst & Young (2009) suggests that there is little contact between the different levels and between the different local forum theatre groups.

The organization is organized and coordinated from the head office and all the official documentation is stored there. But it seems that the higher the level of organization, the less knowledge there is about the work of the local forum theatre groups. The higher levels have limited knowledge about the activities in the communities. The study indicates that the local groups often have a certain disorganization, due to the insufficient communication with the higher levels. This can cause mistakes or problems, like applying success stories from one area to another area. This also highlights the disconnections between the different local forum theatre groups, because they do not exchange sufficient experiences.

Therefore Ernst & Young (2009) advocates for the need of more regular and permanent contact between the local, district, provincial and national level and the local forum theatre groups to create more exchange in term of experiences and knowledge. This can stimulate mutual learning and reduce the disorganization of the local forum theatre groups.

2.5.2 The role of other organizations

The cooperation with other parties

It is crucial for GTO Maputo to cooperate with other parties. This makes them able to facilitate the processes of change in awareness and behavior for a longer time. They do not only want to start the creation of discussion and dialogue, but they also want to give people to possibility for further concrete change. GTO Maputo is a mean to communicate about change. The other parties GTO Maputo cooperates with, are used as means to practice change. Almost every forum theatre group is linked to another organization. These organizations focus on the testing and the treatment. GTO Maputo performs with a forum theatre production and after a couple of days or weeks, other organizations offer people the possibility to get tested or people are offered to receive drugs. This is very valuable for GTO Maputo, because first the forum theatre gives space and time for discussion

about the HIV/AIDS situation. Second, the other organizations give people the possibility to change something concrete about their situation.

External donors

GTO Maputo cooperates with and is subsidized by different partner organizations. GTO Maputo feels a certain pressure from specifically one partner organization: Unicef. Cossa argues that they are lucky to be supported and financed by Unicef, but he suggests that it also has a reverse side. This is specifically about the frames they have to work in. Unicef argues for the importance of working on the area of water, sanitation, women and children as becomes clear in a survey of Ernst & Young (2009). GTO Maputo has to choose areas to work in, which are connected with the objectives of Unicef. Cossa is specifically interested in care – due to the accompanying dangers –, but they are forced to work within the framework of Unicef, which makes them unable to create forum theatre performances which focus on care. The pressure on GTO Maputo to focus more on water, sanitation, women and children is also reflected in the study of Ernst & Young (2009), which is commissioned by Unicef. They argue that the dominance of HIV/AIDS goes at the expense of other areas, like the right of children and issues with regard to water and sanitation. The study suggests that the forum theatre performances should also focus on other relevant issues, like the issues of hygiene and the right of children.

Church

Cossa argues that the Christian church in Mozambique is the biggest challenge for GTO Maputo. GTO Maputo fights for something, the Christian church does not agree with. The Christian church does not want people to talk about taboos, does not support change in traditional norms and in unequal relationships, while these are for GTO Maputo of big importance in the battle against HIV/AIDS. Therefore Cossa tries to build bridges between the ideas of the Christian churches and the ideas of GTO Maputo. They have to build a partnership with the church, because of the large influence of the Christian churches on Mozambican people. Then people can support their religion, but also look at change in the fight against HIV/AIDS. GTO Maputo creates a partnership with Christian churches, by using a story from the Bible into their performances. They use the story of 'The Prodigal Son' (see box 2.1). Every Christian worshiper in Mozambique knows that story.

Box 2.1 The Prodigal Son

A son asks his father for his part of the estate. The son travels with this money to foreign countries. He has sexual intercourse with prostitutes and lives a wild life. Due to the outbreak of a famine, the son gets broke. He is not able to find work, except as a swineherd. He decides to go back to his father. His father feels pity and welcomes his son with open arms. The father forgives him for the sins his son has done. The brother of the prodigal son disagrees with the father. He argues that he has always worked extremely hard, but never gets a reward. The father argues that his prodigal son was dead, but that they have to celebrate that he is alive again.

GTO Maputo uses this story in the forum theatre performances and makes a translation to the HIV/AIDS problematic. The forum theatre groups perform the story of 'The Prodigal Son'. In their performance the prodigal son gets HIV/AIDS infected due to the sexual intercourse he has with prostitutes during his wild life. If the bible indicates that the father welcomes his prodigal son back afterwards, GTO Maputo tries to rise a discussion whether the Mozambican should welcome people who find out they are HIV/AIDS infected after having sexual intercourse. In this way, GTO Maputo aims to make the HIV/AIDS problematic negotiable among the Christian Mozambican people.

2.6 Conclusion

GTO Maputo uses forum theatre as an innovative way to deal with the complexity of Mozambique in their fight against HIV/AIDS. Their approach is characterized with the interactive power of the forum theatre performances, where the participation of the audience is central. They view their intervention as educational entertainment. In the terms of McGee, GTO Maputo constructs and carries out a discourse in which the importance of raising awareness to eventually reach behavioral change is central. The essence of GTO Maputo thinking is that often discourses in Mozambican communities - like religion, rituals and gender patrons - are damaging and contribute to the increase of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. GTO Maputo reacts on already existing discourses in societies, where they disagree with. They aim to change these discourses by creating spaces in which discussions and dialogues between different community members about damaging discourses is stimulated. So GTO Maputo bases their discourse on already existing discourses. The methods of GTO Maputo are used to let different life worlds and perspectives of the community member come together and hereby eventually change existing discourses in the communities. The next chapter digs deeper into the methods used in the workshops and performances to achieve discussions and dialogues around existing discourses and what kind of spaces GTO Maputo creates.

Below will be shortly concluded how GTO Maputo uses forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS and how this relates to McGee's approach.

- 1) GTO Maputo argues that the input of the local communities in forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo ensures that the real stories and oppressions end up on stage. This guarantees that the local community members feel more comfortable in discussing the problems and possible ways of change. GTO Maputo is consciously working on the process of creating spaces with certain knowledge as McGee suggests, where GTO Maputo considers the involvement of local knowledge of crucial importance in creating the space of the forum theatre performance.
- 2) It is for GTO Maputo crucial that all the people who play a role in an oppression, are present at the performance. Not only the oppressed, but also the oppressors can discuss changes and solutions. By making the performances easy accessible and making one performance for the whole community, GTO Maputo stimulates the presence of the oppressors and the oppressed at the performances. McGee suggests that it is important to involve the marginalized actors and GTO Maputo goes one step further. GTO Maputo argues for the importance of creating a dialogue between marginalized and dominant actors.
- 3) GTO Maputo argues for intensive involvement of cultural backgrounds of local communities in the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo, just as McGee suggests. The different gender inequalities in the Mozambican society are central within the oppressions. GTO Maputo also focuses on cultural rituals, where the ceremony 'Widow cleansing' is seen as an extremely damaging ritual that needs to be dealt with.
- 4) The participatory forum theatre performances stimulate the interactivity between the audience and performance. By giving the audience an active role, GTO Maputo gives the local community members ownership of their own problems and possible solutions. The shared experiences create unity and solidarity between the people in the audience. This makes that they create possible

changes and solutions themselves, with each other. So in McGee's terms, the marginalized actors get the possibility to use their knowledge to create the space on stage.

5) In the organizational structure of GTO Maputo, is a disconnection between the spaces on the national level and the space on local level. The national head office has limited knowledge about the activities of the local forum theatre groups. So in McGee's terms, there is a disconnection between the different levels on which the spaces of GTO Maputo exist.

6) By cooperating with other parties, GTO Maputo makes it possible to facilitate the process of change for a longer period. GTO Maputo also cooperates with Christian churches (their biggest enemy in the fight against HIV/AIDS), so people can support their religion, but also look at change in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

3. The workshops and performances

3.1. Introduction

GTO Maputo visited Rotterdam on the 18th and 19th of may for an exchange project with Formaat. A two days training was organized in which GTO Maputo showed how they guide their forum theatre groups in making a forum theatre performance. During those two days I experienced how GTO Maputo uses forum theatre as an alternative approach in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Mozambican communities with strong taboos. At the 18th of may GTO Maputo also gave two performances which are used by their forum theatre groups in Mozambique.

This chapter provides an insight in the space which is created in the forum theatre groups through the workshops, and the space which is created in the performances given by GTO Maputo.

My observations from the workshop and performances will be described. Based on these observations the process of creating a forum theatre performance and the two forum theatre performances will be discussed. First I will discuss the workshop. Hereafter the two forum theatre performances that GTO Maputo performed, 'The suffering of women' and 'Women', will be discussed.

3.2. Analyses of the workshop

3.2.1 Introduction

GTO Maputo aimed with the workshop at Formaat, to show how the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo in Mozambique come to a forum theatre performances. During the workshop, they gave the opportunity to experience how the jokers of GTO Maputo guide their forum theatre groups in making a forum theatre performance. We worked towards a forum theatre performance in two days. In Mozambique this takes much more time, because there it is more difficult to bring up and discuss difficult and sensitive issues. This makes it a long process, because it takes quite some time to come to the key of the problems. Despite the fact we have been through an accelerated process to come to a forum theatre performance, we experienced the same process as they do in Mozambique.

Besides a power point presentation and movie about the way GTO Maputo works, the workshop consisted of exercises and games, which they also use in Mozambique. The exercises and games we did, can be divided in three different categories. First the introduction exercises and games, so the participants will get familiar with each other. Second, exercises and games for the stimulation of teambuilding, concentration and the consciousness of the body. Third, exercises specifically for the development of the forum theatre performance. Cossa (2004) wrote a manual with the techniques of theatre of the oppressed, which serves as a guide to lead the groups through the process of making and performing the performances. The manual describes all kinds of exercises, games and techniques which can be used by the jokers of GTO Maputo in guiding their forum theatre groups.

The workshop at Formaat was given by the artistic leader of GTO Maputo, Alvim Cossa, and by several jokers from GTO Maputo, Hermelinda Simela, Alfredo Carlos, Zaina Rajá and Patricio. They originate from different rural and urban regions of Mozambique and have different patrimonial and matrimonial backgrounds. But one thing connects them to each other, they all believe in the power

of theatre of the oppressed. Currently they are jokers and they all guide different forum theatre groups in Mozambique. The participants of the workshop had different backgrounds, from a social nurses, to employees of Radar antidiscrimination agency. They all came there with different motives. Some were professionally interested, because they would go to Mozambique themselves to start theatre projects, while others were interested in how theatre of the oppressed was used in Mozambique. Furthermore everyone had different experiences with theatre of the oppressed, some already worked a long time with the techniques, while others had no experience at all.

3.2.2 The jokers' manual

GTO Maputo uses the techniques of theatre of the oppressed from Augusto Boal as a base for their workshops. Cossa (2004) made a manual based on the ideas of Augusto Boal, but adjusted to the context and the reality of Mozambique. The adjustments are specifically made on the area they work in: health. The manual contains a set of exercises, games and techniques. The sets of techniques are used to stimulate discussion, making ideas and proposals negotiable and to clear up conflicts. Furthermore the manual gives a guide in how to prepare the performers and the audience to critically look at difficult situations. The aim is to encourage a passive audience to think about the past, the present and the find out what they want in the future. The manual gives background information, to show how forum theatre groups can work. But in the document it is argued that the content of the manual should not be taken for granted, because it is an incomplete document, open for feedback. Therefore the instructions and guidelines are no regulations which should be followed step by step. The jokers are encouraged to adapt the content of this manual, into the reality of the forum theatre groups they work with.

3.2.3 Introduction exercises and games

Cossa emphasis that the introduction exercises and games are very important in Mozambique, because the Mozambican are often shy. The participants are unfamiliar with theatre, which increases the fact that people are often very timid. In order to make the participants feel more comfortable the jokers of GTO Maputo use various exercises, like 'sing your name' and 'write your dream'. These exercises are also used to make the participants more familiar with each other.

The 'sing your name' exercise is often used to get to know each other. All participants stand in a circle and they have to sing their own name. Everyone has to sing his or her name in a different style. Like singing your name in hip-hop style, opera style or a self made style. During this exercise the participants immediately have to reveal themselves. This is also how I experienced it. I thought it was very scary and difficult to find a way to sing my name, but due to the enthusiasm of the jokers, I felt safe to express myself.

The 'writing your dream' exercise focused on people expressing their dreams, as can be seen in box 3.1. This makes everyone able to see where the others are dealing with in life. During this exercise at Formaat, one dream focused on the wish of travelling around the world, but was impeded by daily activities and lack of money. Another dream was doing volunteer work in Mozambique as an anthropologist, but this was hindered by the partner and the guts of doing it. All dreams were like this, doing something great / extending boundaries. Cossa argued that in Mozambique, the dreams are totally different. Dreams are more like: I want to have food for tomorrow. I want to visit a doctor. These are more practical dreams. Due to the fact GTO Maputo works in certain frame, this exercise

sometimes focuses on a certain themes, as HIV/AIDs or violence against women.

Box 3.1 'Writing your dream' exercise

The participants have to write down the following:

- What is your age?
- What is your dream?
- What prevents you from achieving this dream?

This should be done secretly. No one else is allowed to see it. When all the dreams are collected by the joker, he or she will read what is on the notes. Then is discussed, how everyone can help the person to achieve his or her dream. But the persons who wrote down the dream, is not allowed to defend him- or herself.

There are two dangerous pitfalls in this exercise which makes it difficult to remain anonymous. It is crucial that the dreams stay anonymous, because this makes that people feel more free to express themselves. But I noticed during the development of the workshops, that the anonymity was not guaranteed during this exercise. The disclosure of age together with the dream makes it easy to link the very personal and intimate dreams to certain participants. Cossa however argues that the age is crucial, because this influences how the dream can be achieved. Nevertheless, this clearly undermines the anonymity. Furthermore, it is difficult for participants not to defend their dream. Sometimes the owner of the dream sees that others do not understand their dream as it is meant to be. The rule is that they are not allowed to explain their dream. However this rule is easily broken, so the dream is no longer anonymous.

When discussing the exercises with all the participants, I was surprised about the honesty and innovative reactions of the participants. Useful dialogues and discussion arised, about how the owner of the dream would be helped. Everyone was very enthusiastic and wanted to give their advice. But Cossa argues that this is definitely not the case Mozambique. He argues that 60% of the Mozambican never went to school, which makes that they are not used to ask questions. In Mozambique, the jokers have to actively ask the participants to contribute.

3.2.4 Exercises and games to create openness

During the making of the forum theatre performances, GTO Maputo uses different exercises to warm up, to stimulate the concentration and to create consciousness of the body and mind. Here the aspect of teambuilding and group feeling are also of great importance. Like mentioned before, it is difficult to create openness in Mozambique. It takes a long time to make people feel comfortable, bringing up the real stories. Here trust plays a great role. The exercises are meant to stimulate the people to become more loose in the forum theatre group. So these exercises have a supporting, but crucial function concerning the making of the forum theatre performances. There are a lot of exercises and games, which are used for this purpose. Below some interesting exercises and games will be highlighted, to make clear how these exercises work in practice.

'The house game', shown in box 3.2, is used in Mozambique to start a workshop day. This game is used as warming up. This game requires a physical effort, whereby the participant have to act quickly. This results in a group of people running and jumping. Furthermore, everyone needs to react alert. There need to be focused on what the joker says and where the persons, who need to change, can find a new play. This warming up is not only meant physically, but also mentally. During the game at Formaat, I noticed that people tried to work together with others in order not to become the

person who remained alone. This stimulated a group feeling and team spirit, because everyone had to cooperate with each other.

Box 3.2 'The house game'

The game starts with making couples of three persons. Two persons stand in front of each other. They stretch their arms to each other and take each other hands. These two persons are now a house. The other person will sit in the house, between the two persons. Then the joker can scream three different words, which all three mean something different:

- Inhabitants: The persons in the houses have to switch houses.
- Houses: The persons who make the houses, have to switch.
- Thunderstorm: All the persons have to switch everything.

Be aware: there is constantly one persons too much in the game. If you do not want to remain alone, you have to act quick.

Another game, is the 'count game'. Everyone closes their eyes, stretches their arms in front of them and will walk around. One person starts the count. The count is followed one by one by others. The objective is to count as far as possible with the whole group. However as soon as two people count the same number, the count has to start over again from zero. This game makes that everyone becomes very conscious of their own body and the environment. If you do not watch out, there is a opportunity that you will bang into someone else. Furthermore it is for this exercise crucial to cooperate with each other. Everyone needs to pay fully attention to not bang into someone else by listening very well and walking carefully, and everyone needs to pay attention to not say a number at the same time. This stimulates the creation of a group feeling and team building.

A game used for building trust is 'the blind game'. For the blind game, there need to be couples of two persons. One person is blind and closes his eyes, while the other person is the guide and will lead the blind person. They go on a trip together. The guide will decide, what kind of trip it will be. There are two rules: the guide needs to take the blind person to three different places and the guide is not allowed to say anything. The guide is only allowed to make sounds. During this game at Formaat, the trips varied between swimming at swimming pools, drinking coffee in a bar, driving a Ferrari, going to a hairdresser, buying clothes and picnicking at a park. A crucial aspect here, is the building of trust. The blind person has to trust on his or her guide, while he or she completely loses all control. If the game is executed in a nice manner, mutual trust can be stimulated. Furthermore the blind persons are forced to become aware of their own bodies, because they are not able to see anything. Despite that this exercise strongly influences the creation of trust and the consciousness of the body, humor is also a large component. Not only the trips give room for funny moments, also discussing what the guide did with the blind persons can lead to double interpretations.

The sound and movement exercise and the land name exercise, described in box 3.3 and box 3.4, demand both an extremely intense focus and concentration, due to the difficulty of the game. When making mistakes during the sound and movement exercise, the flow was immediately gone. Making a mistake during the land name game, resulted in being kicked out of the game. These exercise serve to make the participants more focused and concentrated.

Box 3.3 'Sound and movement exercise'

For this game, there need to be couples of two person. To be clear, we now call them person 1 and person 2. Person 1 and person 2 count to three one by one. So person 1 starts with saying 'one'. Then person 2 says 'two'. Then persons 1 says 'three'. Then persons 2 starts with 'one' again etc. This is done till the joker says 'one'. Then person 1 will replace 'one' with a noise or physical movement. Then person 2 says 'two'. Then person 1 says 'three'. Then person 2 makes the noise or physical movement person 1 did before. Then persons 1 says 'two' etc. When the joker says 'two', the other person will replace 'two' with a noise of physical movement. When the joker says 'three', person 1 will replace 'three' with a noise or physical movement. Afterwards, all the couples will show their noises and movements for all the other people.

Box 3.4 'The land name game'

All participants are standing in a circle and have to mention one by one the name of a country or a city. Once done a person has to walk to somebody while watching to somebody else. The one who is being watched has to mention to country or the city of the person to whom is being walked. When you have it wrong, you are excluded of the game.

3.2.5 Exercises and games to make a forum theatre performance

During the training at Formaat, we went through three different phases in making the forum theatre performance as also done in Mozambique. Below these three phases will be discussed.

Santa Theresa Revelation

The first concrete step to make a forum theatre performance, is made by the exercise 'the Santa Theresa revelation'. There are couples consisting of two people. These couples have to discuss together who they will play. The criteria is that the people they will play are closely connected, like a husband and wife or mother and daughter etc. The couples agree to meet each other in a certain place, like a church or a market. Then both persons make up a revelation. Something is defined as a revelation once it changes the relationship between both actors significantly. Both persons do not know each other's revelation. For example, a wife can tell her husband that she is pregnant, while he says that he is gay.

It is for GTO Maputo very difficult to talk about taboos as sex, even with younger people. In Mozambique this exercise is used to break down taboos on issues that are normally not discussed. In this exercises, everyone is an actor. Therefore people are able to talk about issues, they are not able to talk about in their own person. Although it is indirectly, this makes it possible to discuss sensitive subjects. This exercise helps people to come loose from their normal pattern. During this exercises, subjects come forward which are important for the community. This offers the opportunity to move on to the next step in making a forum theatre performance.

Democratic choosing one story

The second step in making the forum theatre performance is finding consensus amongst the participants about the most urgent and important problem. GTO Maputo uses the following technique to do so: The participants make couples of two persons. These persons tell each other one true story, which they think is very important for them. It is allowed to keep the persons in the story anonymous, by telling that this happened to imaginary persons. The two persons discuss which story they both find more important and pick one story. Then two different couples get together and make one group. They discuss their stories with each other. These four persons have to decide, which story they find most important. The four persons choose one story. Then two persons out of each group, change with persons from other groups. The new groups consisting of four persons, have to discuss

the three remaining stories and finally choose one. GTO Maputo considers the outcome of this process as the most important and urgent problem within the community. In order to direct the process, boundaries are often set within a certain theme, like health.

Feedback sessions

The forum theatre groups start translating the chosen stories into an actual forum theatre performance. After making the first version of the forum theatre performance, different groups from the region come together, to show their performances to each other. Hereby it is central that everyone is allowed to give suggestions. It is not allowed to say what is wrong or what is right, but it is important to say something that might improve the forum theatre performance. Furthermore no one is allowed to defend their play. Cossa argues that feedback gets much more valuable in this way: "just listen, do not react. Take with you, what you think is relevant."

At Formaat, my group made a performance about a Christian couple. I played a wife who was mentally and physically abused by her husband. During the feedback session we got two important points of feedback. Firstly Cossa argued that it is important that the oppression needs to be very clear in order to convince the audience that something has to be changed about the oppression. The audience feel the pressure that something has to change. However sometimes the pressure on the oppressed is played so big, that the audience is not able to give suggestions for change. Cossa argues that in our performance, it was almost impossible for the women to change her situation. Therefore, Cossa argued that it is crucial that windows are present in the performances, that the audience can use. With windows, Cossa means that there need to be possibilities for the audience to change the oppressive situation. The second point of feedback was about the abused wife. The jokers of GTO Maputo argued that I did not have to play the wife so anxious and gloomy. I had to present the woman as a strong person, who has the assertiveness and perseverance to change the situation. After the feedback sessions I asked the jokers about this feedback point. What if the women is not able to express herself that strongly in real life? Then I would play a wife, which does not reflect the reality. The jokers argued that the assertiveness is crucial in the performances in order to stimulate the audience to be assertive as well. So therefore it is essential that the oppressed protagonists express themselves strongly. After the feedback session, we went improving our performance. In Mozambique this is done in the same way. After the feedback session, the improved forum theatre performances are given for real audiences.

3.3 Analyses of the performances

3.3.1 Introduction

The plays 'The Suffering of Women' and 'Women' are performed at night of the 18th of May at Formaat in Rotterdam. The performances were open for everyone and the stand with audience was filled with people, young and old. The joker of that night was Alvim Cossa. Before the performances started Cossa prepared the audience on the performances with exercises, so the audience would be able to focus on everything that happened in the performances. After these exercises, the performances were executed. Finally Cossa leaded the forum parts of both performances, whereby the audience was involved in bringing up solutions. Below my observations on these three different phases will be described.

3.3.2 Preparing the audience

During the introduction of the performance 'The Suffering of Women', Cossa told that it is crucial to prepare the minds of the people in the audience for the performances. This is also always done in Mozambique. He asked everyone who could stand up, to stand up. The light on the audience went on and Cossa told the audience that there was a problem in the performances that were going to be played and that help was needed from the audience to find solutions for that. Therefore it is important to have attention for everything that happens on stage. Cossa did two different exercises before the performances, the 'body part' exercise and the 'fist' exercise, as described in box 3.5 and box 3.6. Both exercises had the same set-up, but had a different content.

Box 3.5 'Body parts' exercise

Everyone is asked whether they are familiar with the names of different parts of the body: noise, knees and feet etc. The audience should put their right hand on the part the joker says.

But be aware: The joker can say something different, then he/she does with his/her hand.

Box 3.6 'Fist' exercise.

The audience should open their fist when the joker does and they should also close their fist when the joker does.

But be aware: The joker sometimes says something different, then he/she does with his/her hand.

The exercises were not only useful to stimulate the focus on the performances, but they were also entertaining and funny. A couple of times, Cossa did something different with his hand than what he actually said. This created hilarious situations in the audience, due to the fact that a lot of people did the wrong thing with their hand. Furthermore these exercises also stimulated the involvement of the audience with the stage.

3.3.3 The first performance: The Suffering of Women

The performance 'The Suffering of Women' starts with two women dancing and singing on marrabenta music, a form of native folk music, while three men are watching them. One of the women, Dalila, exchanges passionate glances with one of the men, Alfredo. Dalila's friend pushes her to Alfredo, but Dalila seems shy and ashamed. After some time, she gives in. Dalila and Alfredo stand between the men and the woman. Then Alfredo starts to sing and at the end of the song he asks her to marry her. After a discussion on having sex before or after marriage, Dalila and Alfredo get married. Dalila gets pregnant, and there exists a discussion between Dalila and Alfredo concerning care from the hospital and getting treatment in a traditional way. Dalila wants to go to the hospital, while Alfredo argues for traditional treatment. When Dalila goes secretly to the hospital, she finds out she is HIV infected. At the end of the performance, she informs Alfredo. He becomes furious and forces her to get traditional treatment. This story deals with different perspectives on sexual relationships, the inequality between women and men, different visions on HIV/AIDS and the role of traditional healing and modern medicine. Below my observations on this performance are described, to get a clear view on underlying layer of this performance.

Sexual relationships

In the performance, the perspectives on sex differ distinctly between Dalila and Alfredo. When Alfredo asks Dalila to marry him, there arises a discussion between them, on having sex before or just after marriage. Dalila wants to have sex only after marriage, and is supported by her girlfriends. Alfredo turns angry towards his friends, raises his voice and says that it does not make sense. His friends laugh and whisper that he should just say yes, because afterwards the rest is just talk.

It seems that Alfredo and his friends make fun about this issue, while Dalila and her friends take it very serious. Furthermore, it becomes clear that Dalila views a sexual relationship as part of only a marital relationship, while Alfredo is open for sexual relations without a marital relationship. This means that at that moment there is a great chance that Alfredo already had sexual relationship(s) and possible HIV/AIDS, while Dalila probably has had no sexual relationship before and has hereby a lower chance to be HIV/AIDS infected. This performance highlights different perspectives on sex by women and men, and here it seems that the women are more carefully in having sex than the men.

Gender inequalities

The title of the performance - the suffering of women - refers to the unequal situation, where a woman is stuck in a subordinate position. During the play, it becomes clear that there is an unequal situation present between the married couple Dalila and Alfredo. Dalila is dominated and oppressed by her husband. When Dalila turns out being pregnant, she and Alfredo discuss the possible sex of the baby. Alfredo says he would like to get a boy and Dalila says she would like to have a girl, but at the end Alfredo laughs and says it is only important that the baby is in good health. Then Dalila says she wants to go to the hospital, but Alfredo forbids her to do that. When Dalila keeps arguing for the importance of going to a hospital, Alfredo becomes very mad. Alfredo forces her to receive traditional treatment. Afterwards Dalila goes secretly to the hospital, where she finds out being HIV infected. In the final scene the oppression of Dalila by Alfredo becomes more severe, as can be seen in box 3.7. Here Dalila tells Alfredo that she went to the hospital and was tested HIV positive. Dalila gets support from Alfredo's sister. However Alfredo becomes verbal and non-verbal very aggressive, by raising his voice and pushing his wife on her knees to receive a traditional treatment.

Box 3.7 Part of scene 4 (see appendix for the whole scene)

Dalila: I went to the hospital.

Alfredo: Dalila, Dalila, what did I tell you? Didn't I say you shouldn't go to the hospital, what did they tell you to put you in such a state?

Dalila: The HIV test was positive, I'm sero-positive.

Alfredo: (*disturbed*) You see, they lied to you. I already told you to stay home because no-one in this house goes to hospital and you disobeyed. It could only lead to this.

Arlete: But my brother...

Alfredo: But my brother what? Shut up! What about yourself, what are you talking about, you were born in hospital? Weren't you born in the bathroom? I myself was born under that tree over there, so instead of judging the lives of others, you should take care of your household and your husband, now leave!

Arlete: But my brother, listen to my sister-in-law, she didn't...

Alfredo: (*furious*) Leave my house, Arlete (*turns towards Dalila*) I already told you that in my house things are resolved in this manner.

Alfredo forces Dalila down on her knees. Alfredo's mother enters who starts the treatment with herbs.

The inequality between Dalila and Alfredo became clear, due to the fact that Dalila constantly needs to do what Alfredo tells her to do. In the beginning Alfredo forbids Dalila to go to the hospital. When she secretly goes to the hospital, Alfredo becomes very angry. Alfredo keeps her short and forces her never to do something again that he forbid her. Furthermore HIV/AIDS is not discussable for Alfredo and he forces Dalila not to talk about it again. At the end Dalila follows the demands of Alfredo and it seems she will not be disobedient any more.

HIV/AIDS

When Dalila turns out being pregnant, she tries to convince Alfredo to let her go to the hospital to take a HIV test. He avoids talking about HIV and expresses that the HIV subject is not debatable for him. Here it becomes clear that it is not discussable for him to get a HIV test. It seems like he is very afraid of it. When Dalila goes secretly to the hospital, the nurse Emfremeira tells Dalila she is HIV infected. As can be seen in box 3.8 below, Dalila's disbelief is great. She is overwhelmed by this news and it seems that she had no idea she would possibly be infected. She assumed that strong, good-looking people would never get HIV/AIDS.

Box 3.8 Part of scene 3 (see appendix for the whole scene)

Emfremeira: I said your HIV/AIDS test turned out POSITIVE.

Dalila: *(in despair)* This can't be true, there must have been a mistake, this is not my test result, I can't have this disease.

Emfremeira: Mrs. Dalila, did you take the test before marriage?

Dalila thinks back on her wedding day and smiles.

Dalila: I had no need to. My husband is strong, good-looking *(nervously)* and he hasn't got this disease. How could I tell him "My love, let's take an HIV-test" I can't have this disease. This hospital is irresponsible.

Emfermeira: Mrs. Dalila. This disease is neither for fat, thin, good-looking or ugly people. This disease is for everyone. That's why we need to be aware of risk behavior. You have to tell your husband to come and take the test, because it doesn't help you to get treatment if your husband doesn't get it too. Please take these leaflets so that he may have better understanding.

Dalila: But nurse, how could I tell him this.

Emfermeira: You'll find a way, good luck.

Emfermeira leaves. Discouraged, Dalila goes up and down, with her hands on her head and on her belly, remembering the words of the nurse: "This disease is neither for fat, thin, good-looking or ugly people. This disease is for everyone. That's why we need to be aware of risk behavior." Dalila has tears in her eyes.

When Dalila is home again, her sister in law Arlete finds her in an upset state. Dalila tells Arlete she went to the hospital and is HIV infected. Arlete is furious and says:

'What? You have AIDS? You cheated on my brother, you are a whore, you're a no-good, you slept with all the men in the neighborhood. Pack up your things and leave this house, I don't want to see you anymore. Get out before my brother returns'.

Here it becomes clear that Arlete sees AIDS as a disease for bad people. Dalila succeeds to calm down Arlete, by saying that Alfredo was the first man in her life and that she never looked at anyone else but him. When Alfredo finds out Dalila was HIV infected, he becomes outraged. He says that they lied in the hospital about her status. It is striking that Alfredo does not say the word HIV or AIDS one time. It seems that Alfredo is afraid to talk about it. He is not open for discussion about it. This performance shows different perspectives on HIV/AIDS, but it seems that everyone fears the disease.

The perspectives on HIV/AIDS in this performances have one thing in common. Except the nurse from the hospital, everyone seems to fear the disease. Furthermore it seems that everyone sees the disease as something that cannot happen to them, but only happens to bad and weak persons. But there is a difference between the perspectives of Dalila, Arlete and Alfredo on HIV/AIDS. Dalila and Arlete admit that Dalila has HIV/AIDS, while Alfredo even does not do that. In this play there is a different perspective between women and men on HIV/AIDS. Women seem to be more open about

it than man.

Traditional healing

Dalila and Alfredo have different perspectives on traditional healing and hospital treatment. Dalila argues that at the hospital they can watch her health and the baby's health. The hospital can help to let the baby be born in good health. She argues for the importance of doing a HIV test, to look at their condition. It seems that Dalila has great trust in the hospital. On the contrary it seems that Alfredo is very suspicious and negative about going to the hospital. Alfredo says that in his house, no one goes to the hospital, never. He argues that his family does not need any doctor or any hospital. If there is something with the baby, they will call the mother of Alfredo. If she does not succeed, they will contact a medicine man, to let Dalila be treated with herbs in a traditional way. The box 3.9 shows how the discussion between Dalila and Alfredo develops, with Dalila advocating for a hospital visitation and Alfredo trusting on traditional treatment and despising the hospital.

Box 3.9 Part of scene 2 (see appendix for the whole scene)

Dalila: In order to be born healthily, it's necessary for me to go to the hospital and sign up for prenatal care.

Alfredo: Hospital? Here in my house, we don't go to the hospital.

Dalila: It's necessary, my love, so that our baby is born in good health. There they have several vaccines and can watch my health and the baby's.

Alfredo: Dalila, we never need to go to the hospital. If this child ever has any problem, we're going to call my mother.

Enter the mother with a handful of herbs and does a ritual, holding the herbs against the belly of Dalila and rubbing over it.

Alfredo: And if my mother doesn't succeed, we'll call the medicine man. *The medicine man comes in, doing a traditional dance and, goes around summoning the spirits while touching Dalila's belly.*

Alfredo: This goes to show that we don't need any doctor or any hospital.

Dalila: My love, I do appreciate that but at the hospital they can do various tests, we can do an HIV test to know about our condition. Look at Mrs. Celeste, she goes to the hospital and she's in perfect health.

Alfredo: Dalila, I already told you that in my family nobody gets treatment at the hospital.

He leaves the house in an upset state.

The discussion, described in box 3.9, shows how differently Dalila and Alfredo view traditional and modern treatment. It seems that Alfredo has a great trust in this traditional treatment, while he despises and fears the hospital. The opinion of Dalila on traditional treatment does not become very clear, but it becomes obvious that she has trust in the hospital. This might indicate that she does not trust traditional healing, but it does not become very obvious. In this play men trust more on traditional treatment, while women are more open for modern treatment.

3.3.4 The second performance: Women

The performance 'Women' is about a married couple, Joaquina and Vasco. The performance starts with Joaquina working in a hospital as a maternal nurse. Then Vasco and his friend Patrício, come on stage and have a discussion about the role of man in households. The next morning, Joaquina and Vasco wake up. Vasco commands Joaquina to do everything, from taking care of their wining child to taking care of everything for Vasco. This results for Joaquina in being late for work and she misses her own honorary promotion meeting. This play is about the inequality between men and women, where explicit domestic violence against women is present. There is a lot of tension present in this performance that emphasizes the unequal relationship between Vasco and Joaquina and the violence against Joaquina. Below my observations on this performance are described, to get a clear view on underlying layer of this performance.

Gender inequalities

When Vasco meets Patrício, Vasco tells that he is not able to rehearse his music often, due to the fact that he needs to look after his kids. Vasco reacts as follows: '*What are you saying? Are you sick?*' Patrício thinks it is not normal for a man to stay home and watch the kid, when the wife is working. Vasco tries to defend himself, by arguing that times are changing. Patrício is surprised and he starts singing a song (see box 3.10), to give Vasco advise about the situation.

Box 3.10 Song Patrício

"If I stop singing in the square.
Things I didn't dream in my belief.
This reasoning questions my power.
And what will become of me, oooh.
What will become of me.
If the world discovers I was never in charge again."

Patrício wants to say with this song that such changes undermine the power of man. This can result in the fact that man will no longer be in charge, as they are used to. What will become of man when they allow such things to happen? Patrício is very convinced this is wrong. After the song, Vasco sits down and considers the situation. Considering the way Vasco threatens his wife the next morning, it seems that Vasco follows Patrício's advice.

The next morning, Joaquina immediately jumps out of her bed when she wakes up. She heats water for the bath, makes breakfast, irons and sweeps the backyard. Then Vasco wakes up, stretches himself and does his morning exercise. From that moment on, Vasco starts commanding Joaquina what to do. Then the unequal relation between them becomes very clear. Vasco constantly makes denigrating and demanding comments to Joaquina, as can be seen in box 3.11. These commands seem to implicate that he has the opinion that Joaquina should do everything in the household, that Joaquina is not allowed to discuss this, that Joaquina should realize he is the breadwinner of the house and that Joaquina is responsible for the whole household.

Box 3.11 Demanding and denigrating comments from Vasco

1. For God's sake, I must say: is there no soap in this household so that you can give me just a bloody tiny bit of it for my bath?
2. Listen Joaquina, is it too much trouble to bring me a toothbrush or do you want me to leave with a smelly mouth?
3. Joaquina, bring me a towel, come on.
4. Joaquina, Joaquina, come on, give my son some bread. I buy this for him, it's good that you keep that in mind.
5. (Joaquina says she had to do so much) If time runs out on you, get up at midnight, dammit!
6. Joaquina, bring me my clothes for the love of God.
7. Joaquina, don't you have eyes to see? This damned shirt hasn't got a top button!
8. Joaquina. Bring me my hat.

Joaquina does everything she is instructed to do by Vasco, but it becomes clear she is very unhappy with the situation. When Vasco keeps ordering her to do things, she tries to defend herself various times, as can be seen in box 3.12. Here she emphasizes that she also has a job, where she is responsible for and that everything is too much for her. Joaquina sees it as an unfair situation, whereby she

argues that she thinks it is not right she has to everything just because she is a woman.

Box 3.12 Defending reactions from Joaquina

1. I have responsibilities too in this country, I'm a maternity nurse, so many pregnant women will be waiting for me right now. And I'm just running to and from here.
2. I've almost finished ironing it. Listen, I'm a person as well, washing the dishes, making you breakfast, sweeping the house, getting ready for my work and also taking care of the child...
3. (muttering) But how can one person do all this work? Just because I'm a woman?

After the defending reactions of Joaquina, Vasco starts to make comments in an even more dominant way. This results in that Joaquina follows in a subordinate way all the demands from Vasco. She does not react in a verbal way on the demands of Vasco, but her non-verbal behaviors seems to express that she is anxious, sad and desperate. At the end, Joaquina is late for work and misses the honorary promotion meeting, where everyone is waiting for her. When Joaquina finally arrives, the head surgeon says 'Late again, Joaquina', which implies that the situation is probably often like this one.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence against Joaquina is closely connected by the unequal relationship between Joaquina and Vasco. When Joaquina tries to discuss the gender inequality by saying 'just because I am a women', Vasco immediately reacts violently. He does not abuse Joaquina physically, but the violence becomes apparent through certain verbal and non-verbal expressions. He starts raising his voice, when making denigrating comments. He commands her and does not tolerate any protest. The pictures below show the aggression of Vasco and the subordinate attitude of Joaquina. Furthermore the domestic violence becomes apparent though the sphere on stage. The violent atmosphere is emphasized by long silences and sudden use of drums. This increases the tensions towards Joaquina.

In godsnaam, ik moet het zeggen: is er geen zeep in dit huishouden dat je me maar zo'n klein piepstukje kunt geven voor mijn bad?



"For God's sake, I must say: is there no soap in this household so that you can give me just a bloody tiny bit of it for my bath?"

Joaquina heb je geen ogen in je hoofd?
Dit verdomde shirt mist de bovenste knoop!



"Joaquina, don't you have eyes to see? This damned shirt hasn't got a top button!"

3.3.5 The Forum Parts

At the end of the performances, the joker Alvim Cossa came on stage and started the interactive forum parts. The forum part of 'the suffering of women' was done very extensively. Therefore, I will discuss here the forum part of the performance 'the suffering of women'. Below I will describe concrete how the forum part went, to illustrate how the involvement of the Dutch audience in the Mozambican performance developed.

Cossa started the forum part of 'the suffering of women', by telling the audience that the problems in the performance are common in Mozambique. Cossa asked the audience for help, to change something in the performance. However there was no reaction from the audience. Cossa therefore continued with explaining what he considers to be the problem in the performance: that the Mozambican do not go to the hospital, because they trust on traditional treatment. He asked the audience again: Is there a possible solutions? Do you have any ideas, how we can convince that man that she needs to go to the hospital? It again became quite, but finally a women in the audience stood up and went on stage. Cossa encouraged everyone to give her a big applause. The Dutch woman is welcomed on stage and her name is asked. Again Cossa asked everyone to give her again an applause.

The woman puts on the dress from Dalila and she intervened in the situation, before Dalila and Alfredo got married. When Alfredo asked the women to marry him, the women said 'Yes, but no sex'. The woman and the audience began to laugh, because of the mistake in language. Then the woman tried to explain that she wants him to get a HIV test, before they get married. Alfredo responded that he will get a HIV test, but only after they are married. Then the woman did not know what to say anymore and Cossa went on stage to thank her for the input. Cossa asked whether there were other ideas, that might work better. Another Dutch woman went on stage and she was welcomed with a big applause. She intervened in the same situation before Dalila and Alfredo got married, but she used different arguments. She went talking with the family and argued that it was very important to stay healthy. She also advocated for that fact that she wanted to wait with marriage, until they had an HIV test. But the family argued that if she would behave like that, Alfredo would never like her. So the second attempt to change the situation also failed.

The third attempt, was a very striking one. They also went back to the situation, where Alfredo asks Dalila to marry him. The Dutch woman from the audience said to Alfredo that she wanted to marry him but only if he would get a HIV test. Of course, he refused to do that. Then the woman said: 'Ok, then I will not marry you. Because I will only marry you if you do a HIV test. If you do not, I will marry someone else'. One of the performers of GTO Maputo, Zaina Rajá, brook into laughter. She could not stop laughing and said how hilarious she thought this was. No women would ever do that in Mozambique. Also the other performers of GTO Maputo looked flabbergasted to the way the woman intervened on stage.

It seemed that the three women, who tried to change the situation on stage, dealt with the problems from their own - Dutch - point of view. The given solutions were not reasonable and did not fit in the situations sketched on stage. 'The suffering of women' deals with taboos on issues that do not seem relevant for the Dutch, at least not for the present audience. The life worlds of the Dutch audience differed distinctly from the Mozambican problems which were sketched on stage. Therefore the

audience found it difficult to find solutions for the problems on stage. The lack of affinity with sketched problems became immediate clear, due to the lack of reaction, the lack of discussion and the lack of interaction. This created an surrealistic situations on stage, when the Dutch women tried to change the situation.

Therefore it was for Cossa impossible to create an interactional part, because of the lack of applicability of the performances on a Dutch audience. If GTO Maputo notices that the problems in a performance mismatches with the life worlds of the audience, they will change the performance. The performers have to put their own performance aside, to develop a new performance which results directly from the audience. The forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo use image theatre to develop a new performance. The audience is asked to make a statue of the problems they face in their society. In this way, they try to discover the actual issues the audience deals with.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided an insight in the space which is created in the forum theatre groups through the workshops, and the space which is created in the performances given by GTO Maputo.

GTO Maputo makes use of various techniques, exercises and games to make sure that the real stories of the local communities are represented during the play. These techniques, exercises and games are focused on getting the real stories from the communities on stage by making the participants feeling comfortable and open, so that they are able to contribute in the forum theater performance process. The various techniques, exercises and games are also used to make taboos and sensitive subjects, like sexual issues, discussable. The exercises and games specifically used for the creation of forum theatre performances, can be seen as tools to democratically come to an end result. Hereby all the forum theatre groups members have the possibility to express their knowledge. The most important issues end on stage in the forum theatre performance, due to a democratically system of picking stories. McGee advocates for the importance of using the right knowledge to create spaces which matches the reality of the people the spaces are aimed at. GTO Maputo works on using the knowledge of the local communities as representative as possible in creating the space of the forum theatre performances, so there will be a match with the reality of the audience.

GTO Maputo uses exercises and games to prepare the audience to get involved in the space created on stage. In the two performances of GTO Maputo which were analyzed in this chapter are the following subjects distinguished: HIV/AIDS, sexual relationships, traditional healing, gender inequality, domestic violence. These subjects are highlighted through the eyes of different actors on stage. During the execution of the performances at Formaat, the differences between the reality of the audience and the problems sketched on stage made it difficult for Cossa to create interaction and realistic input from the audience. This showed how important it is to adapt the spaces on stage to the local context and reality of the audience, otherwise the performance will not work for the audience. So if the knowledge used to create a space on stage, does not match the knowledge of the audience, the forum theatre part will not work as it is meant to be. While a match between the knowledge used on stage and the knowledge of the audience, makes it possible to create discussions and dialogues about existing discourses between community members.

4. Forum theatre as an alternative intervention against HIV/AIDS

4.1 Introduction

In the first chapter it became clear how the framework of McGee works and will be used to analyze the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo. The second and third chapter elaborated on the way GTO Maputo uses forum theatre in their fight against HIV/AIDS in Mozambique. These three chapters come together in this final analyzing chapter. The goal of this research is to place forum theatre within the context of alternative policy process, by analyzing and evaluating the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo within the framework of McGee. First I will evaluate the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo with the checklist developed in chapter one. Afterwards the findings will be used to answer the research question. At the end, recommendation for further research will be given.

4.2 Analyzing the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo

The essence of McGee's approach on alternative policy processes is the involvement of different kinds of knowledge in the creation of spaces. Not only the produced knowledge by expert policy makers, but also the constructed knowledge of actors with a different experience in relation to the problem. In order to make policy processes effective, all relevant actors need to be involved in the creation of spaces. This is crucial for a match between the reality created by an intervention and the realities of the beneficiaries and this makes the existence of a negotiation area possible.

For this research, I considered the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo as a mini policy making process, because GTO Maputo intervenes with their forum theatre projects on a local level to reach behavioral change. Different spaces can be identified in the policy making process of GTO Maputo. The space in which the performances are created, the space which is created during the execution of the performances and the spaces which flow forward from the previous two spaces. This study will specifically focus on the first two spaces, because this are the spaces directly created by the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo. These two spaces are the most crucial to study in order to judge whether the policy making process of GTO Maputo fits in the alternative approach of McGee on policy making, because all other spaces flow forward from these two spaces.

These two spaces are physical areas in which possibilities and opportunities are given to community members to express their knowledge. By creating these two spaces, which on their turn generate other spaces, GTO Maputo aims to create dialogues and discussions about certain discourses and narratives. By creating these spaces, GTO Maputo develops a mini policy making process. Below will be elaborated on this mini-policy making process: how the spaces are created, what happens in the spaces, how power relations are connected with knowledge and spaces, what the role of marginalized people is and how cultural and gender aspects are involved. The answers below serve to support the conclusion of this research, where will be focused on the extent in which the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee.

Question 1 : Does GTO Maputo embrace the importance of involving all relevant actors and their knowledge in creating spaces?

What kind of discourses and narratives are used to create spaces with the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

GTO Maputo creates two spaces, which generate many other spaces. The first space is created once the forum theatre performances are created during the forum theatre workshops and the second space is created once the forum theatre performances are executed.

GTO Maputo argues that certain discourses and narratives in Mozambican communities contribute to the increase of the HIV/AIDS problematic. These discourses and narratives are related mainly to religion, rituals, health systems and gender patterns in local communities. GTO Maputo aims to change these discourses and narratives, by creating spaces in which the absurdity of the discourses and narratives are shown in forum theatre performances. Hereby GTO Maputo reacts on these already existing discourses and narratives in societies, where they disagree with. So GTO Maputo bases their discourses on already existing discourses and therefore GTO Maputo uses and carries out a sort of 'reconstructed' discourses.

GTO Maputo is able to reconstruct existing discourses and narratives of local communities, by working with local forum theatre groups in the space in which forum theatre performances are created. The local forum theatre groups consist of local community members. GTO Maputo recruits volunteers for the local forum theatre groups, by taking open auditions in communities and using contacts with others organizations. This results in the input of the local communities in the creation of the forum theatre performances, which ensures that the real stories and oppressions end up in the created spaces that the forum theatre groups will bring on stage. By doing so GTO Maputo is able to use the discourses and narratives of the local community members in the spaces in which forum theatre performances are created.

GTO Maputo has 167 forum theatre groups, which all work in different societies. GTO Maputo deliberately works with many groups, because Mozambican communities differ largely from each other in culture, religion, language etc. So the discourses and narratives which the forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo use and (re-)construct to create a space, in which a forum theatre performance is created, are based on the discourses and narratives in the local communities. This makes it possible to differentiate between the different communities and to involve the different gender inequalities or traditional health systems from each particular community. Thus the discourses the forum theatre groups (re-)construct and carry out depend on the community they work in.

The forum theatre groups of GTO Maputo are led by jokers. These jokers guide the forum theatre groups by making a performance. A joker is clearly instructed by GTO Maputo to act in a neutral way. This means they are not allowed to express their own opinions, as this would damage the process by which the forum theatre group members come up with the stories from their community. It is important that the joker facilitates the involvement of all the forum theatre group members in the creation of a forum theatre performance. The jokers use the manual that Cossa created as a guide.

The manual gives them handles to lead their forum theatre groups. Each joker uses this manual within its own context, in order to let the manual fit the community instead of letting the community fit the manual. So the jokers have a crucial role in giving the forum theatre group members the possibility to express their knowledge to create a forum theatre performance.

At Formaat, I noticed two different situations where the jokers did not remain neutral. In the first situation the jokers of GTO Maputo obliged the forum theatre group to present windows in their forum theatre performance, which could be used by the audience to change something about the oppression. In the second situation the jokers of GTO Maputo obliged the forum theatre group to play the protagonists in their forum theatre performances as strong and assertive. Even if the protagonists do not own such assertiveness in real life. The jokers argued that the protagonists should express assertiveness, because showing assertiveness will stimulate the audience to change situations. Such obligations can result in a mismatch between the reality on stage and the reality of the audience. So the jokers have a very important, but difficult task to execute.

Not only the jokers are of influence in determining what kind of knowledge is used to create spaces, also partner organizations play a role here. Especially Unicef determines partly the frames GTO Maputo has to work in. Unicef plays a significant role in determining what kind of discourses and narratives GTO Maputo (re-)constructs and uses in creating spaces. The knowledge of Unicef in Mozambique can be seen as official knowledge - e.g. statistics from surveys - produced by researchers. Hereby Unicef in Mozambique creates discourses and narratives based on official research. The discourses of Unicef consists of the ideas that it is important to work in Mozambique in the areas of water, sanitation, women and children. Unicef subsidizes GTO Maputo, because Unicef considers forum theatre as an effective mean to change certain discourses and narratives in communities, to increase awareness and to eventually reach behavioral change. Unicef supports GTO Maputo with the condition that they work in the following areas: water, sanitation, women and children, while GTO Maputo wants to work with the subjects care and health. GTO Maputo namely argues that local community members experience discourses and narratives around care and health as more damaging and therefore more important to deal with. But GTO Maputo is often forced to use the knowledge of Unicef - their official discourses and narratives - in creating spaces instead of using the experiential knowledge of the local communities.

The second space is created during the forum theatre performance, at the point where the performances is executed and the audience gets involved in the forum theatre performance by the jokers. The jokers facilitate in creating the space, where the audience searches for solutions to the problems which are presented on stage. The audience has to discuss what happened in the performance and how they see the problem. This makes it for the joker possible to check whether the reality sketched on stage, matches the reality of the audience. If a joker notices that this is not the case, the joker will use image theatre to find out the real problems of the audience. If the joker sees that the audience recognizes the situation, the audience is asked how they would change the situation. The narratives and discourses of the audience will come up here. Their knowledge becomes present and is used to create solutions. A neutral role of the joker is crucial in this process. In the performances at Formaat, the joker already explained the oppression to the audience before the audience was consulted. By doing so the joker damaged his neutral role.

McGee argues for the importance of not only involving the produced knowledge of expert policy makers in creating spaces, but also the constructed knowledge from actors with different experiences in relation to the problem. GTO Maputo acknowledges this importance, by giving local community members the possibility to express their knowledge in the space where the performance is created and in the space in which the performance is executed. McGee warns for the danger of the domination of the knowledge of expert policy makers in the creation of spaces. In the spaces GTO Maputo creates, the jokers have a vital role in getting the knowledge of the local community members on stage. The content of the spaces depends largely on the jokers. There are different indications that the role of jokers is sometimes not executed neutral and adequately during the forum part of a forum theatre performance, which can result in the exclusion of knowledge from local community members - the danger McGee warns for.

In the two forum theatre performances GTO Maputo clearly showed the different roles the actors have in the discourse reconstructed on stage. Hereby different opinions and visions on HIV/AIDS, health systems, domestic violence and gender inequalities become apparent. GTO Maputo clearly shows what kind of knowledge was dominant in the situations sketched on stage and what kind of oppression is present. The (re-)constructed discourses in the forum theatre performances show how events end badly for certain persons. This is the base for the creation of a space during the execution of the performance. The audience is stimulated to express their views on the oppression and to react on the (re-) constructed discourses on stage. By doing so, GTO Maputo tries to create discussion and dialogues about the damaging discourses and narratives in the communities, to raise awareness about these damaging discourses and narratives and to eventually reach behavioral change.

In which way does GTO Maputo use knowledge to create spaces?

GTO Maputo actively (re-)constructs discourses and narratives of the local communities to create spaces in which the forum theatre performances are developed. The jokers of GTO Maputo give the members of the forum theatre groups the opportunity to give input in creating these spaces, in order to create forum theatre performances with the narratives and discourses of the forum theatre group members. Due to the fact that the members of the forum theatre groups are also members of the local communities, GTO Maputo argues that the real stories end up on stage. During the execution of the forum theatre performances, the jokers create a space in which the input of the audience - the discourses and the narratives of the local community members - is essential. This makes it possible for the joker to create discussions and dialogues about existing discourses and narratives.

There is one great danger McGee warns for, namely the risk that dominant expert policy makers create spaces instead of other relevant actors and their knowledge. In the case of GTO Maputo, there are two kind of expert policy makers present that might be a danger for the inclusion of all the relevant actors and knowledge: Unicef and Jokers. Firstly Unicef determines largely what kind of discourses and narratives are (re-) constructed in the creation of the spaces in which the forum theatre performances are developed. By doing so, they seem to exclude relevant experiential knowledge. Secondly the jokers of GTO Maputo have to execute their role in a neutral way, to guarantee the inclusion of the knowledge of the local community members. This seems to be very difficult and therefore this might result in the exclusion of relevant actors and knowledge.

Despite the dangers caused by the role of the jokers and the influence of Unicef, there are great similarities between the spaces GTO Maputo creates and the spaces McGee advocates for. The essence of McGee's thinking is the involvement of all relevant knowledge in creating spaces, instead of only official knowledge from expert policy makers. GTO Maputo advocates for the inclusion of the knowledge from local communities in creating the spaces in which the performances are developed, to guarantee that the reality sketched on stage matches the reality of the audience. Hereby GTO Maputo creates spaces during the execution of the performances, in which actors get the opportunity to reflect on existing issues and to learn from this. So the forum theatre projects are not just entertainment, but educational entertainment. GTO Maputo aims to create dialogues and discussions, to stimulate people to look critically at the dangers of existing discourses and narratives.

Question 2: Does GTO Maputo use their spaces to influence the creation of spaces on higher levels?

How does GTO Maputo use their spaces to influence the creation of spaces on higher levels?

GTO Maputo is coordinated from one national head office. They divided Mozambique in 3 provinces and each province is divided in districts. The 167 groups fall under these different districts. It became apparent that there is little contact between the different levels and between the different local forum theatre groups. The higher the level of organization, the less knowledge there is about the work of the local forum theatre groups. So the national head office has limited knowledge about the activities in the local communities.

McGee advocates for the idea that spaces on higher levels, like spaces created on a national level, should learn from the potential of spaces on lower levels, like spaces created on a community level. Therefore McGee argues for the importance of looking how local spaces have the potential of influencing spaces on higher levels. In the organization of GTO Maputo, there is a disconnection between the different levels. There is limited knowledge of the local communities in the national head office and a lack of interaction between the national head office and the local forum theatre groups. More regular and permanent contact between the local, district, provincial and national level would help to create more exchange in terms of experiences and knowledge. Furthermore if the head office on national level knows how the spaces on local level work, they can use it to advocate for an alternative approach on policy processes on a national level. By doing so they can advocate for an alternative way of policy making, by showing the importance of involving many relevant actors and as much relevant knowledge as possible. This seems currently not the case, due to the lack of contact between the national head office and the local level.

Does GTO Maputo use their spaces to influences the creation of spaces on higher levels?

GTO Maputo is not doing this and is not able to do this, due to the lack of contact between their national head office and the local forum theatre groups.

Question 3: Does GTO Maputo acknowledge that knowledge is permeated with power?

In which way is GTO Maputo aware of the fact that the knowledge they use to create spaces is permeated with power?

McGee emphasizes the strong connection between knowledge and power. Power determines what kind of knowledge is used to create a space and power is also spread through knowledge. So power has the possibility to reproduce itself through the use of knowledge. In three different ways it becomes apparent that GTO Maputo is aware of the inseparable connection between knowledge and power.

Firstly the influence of power on the use of knowledge in creating spaces, becomes apparent in the relation between GTO Maputo and Unicef. Unicef subsidizes GTO Maputo under the condition that GTO Maputo works in the areas Unicef considers of importance. Here GTO Maputo is often forced to use the knowledge of Unicef - their official discourses and narratives - in creating spaces instead of using the experiential knowledge of the local communities. GTO Maputo acknowledges that the power of Unicef - caused by the financial support - determines what kind of discourses and narratives are (re-)constructed and used in the creation of the spaces. Here GTO Maputo feels oppressed by Unicef, but they need the financial support.

Secondly, in the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo unequal relations are present between an oppressor and an oppressed. Here the oppressors use certain discourses and narratives, by which they claim certain decisions. The oppressed reconstruct certain discourses and narratives, by which they try to influence the oppressors. However it becomes clear that the knowledge of the oppressors is dominant over the knowledge of the oppressed, due to the fact that the claims of the oppressors are followed. Like in the performance "women", where a husband oppressed his wife. Due to the existing gender patterns in a community, the power of the husband determines that his knowledge is conceived as dominant and valid, while the claims of the wife are subordinate and invalid. So here again GTO Maputo acknowledges that it is important to realize that power influences whose knowledge counts in what kind of situations.

Thirdly GTO Maputo gives the audience the opportunity to use their own discourses and narratives to give input for the solutions of the problems stated in the forum theatre performances. By letting them create fictional spaces, GTO Maputo tries to empower and support them, to be owners of their own problems and possible solutions. So GTO Maputo gives the audience the power to use their knowledge in creating spaces. The audience is given the opportunity to reconstruct the existing discourses and narratives in their society, by stimulating them to go on stage and change the oppressive situation. GTO Maputo gives local community members the possibility - the power - to use their knowledge in creating spaces. Due to the fact that power has the possibility to reproduce itself through the use of knowledge, the local community members are able to get more power in the spaces in which the forum theatre performances are executed.

To which extent GTO Maputo aware of the fact that the knowledge which is used is permeated with power?

Based on the above it can be concluded that GTO Maputo is well aware that the use of knowledge is permeated with power, as McGee suggests. This becomes apparent in their relationship with Unicef. Furthermore GTO Maputo tries to show it to local community members, with the oppressions presented in the forum theatre performances. Here GTO Maputo gives the local community members the power to shape the fictional space on stage themselves.

Question 4: Does GTO Maputo acknowledge that spaces are permeated with power?

What kind of actors have access to the spaces concerning HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

In the spaces in which the forum theatre performances are created, GTO Maputo argues that everyone can participate in the auditions by becoming a member of a forum theatre group. But in general GTO Maputo acknowledges that these people are the more active members of a community. Theatre is namely new for most Mozambicans, therefore auditions are mostly visited by already empowered community members. Nevertheless, everyone is allowed to do audition.

GTO Maputo argues that it is crucial that all the people who play a role in an oppression, should be present in the space during the execution of the forum theatre performances. Not only the oppressed, but also the oppressors should be there. This makes it possible to create dialogues and discussions. Therefore GTO Maputo makes the performances easily accessible. GTO Maputo makes one performance for the whole community. This stimulates the presence of the whole community and especially the oppressors and the oppressed at the same time. So everyone in the community is allowed and invited to come to a forum theatre performance of GTO Maputo.

What can these actors achieve in the spaces concerning HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

The members of the forum theatre groups can use the creation of spaces on stage as a way to express the problems they see in their communities. GTO Maputo uses exercises and games to stimulate openness of the members of the forum theatre groups. This is done by teambuilding, concentration exercises and exercises to create consciousness of the body and mind. The members of the forum theatre groups can contribute to the spaces created on stage, by using their knowledge about the present problems in their communities. GTO Maputo advocates for the fact that all knowledge is welcome and all knowledge should be perceived as having the same value.

GTO Maputo aims to achieve a decrease of oppressions in local communities, which is inseparably related to the decrease of power relations. GTO Maputo wants to change unequal power relations between people. The audiences are given an active role in the spaces in which the forum theatre performances are executed. The audience is stimulated to express their vision on the sketched unequal power relations, which can result in a discussion and dialogue on possible solutions. In this way the audience gets ownerships of their own problems. By letting the audience themselves fill in the way they want to change the situation, they can use that space to change certain situations in the way they want. By doing so, GTO Maputo gives the audience the handles - the power - to practice

on stage a change of the unequal power relation.

What kind of boundaries are present surrounding the spaces concerning the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

In the framework of McGee it becomes clear that the boundaries of spaces are determined by the inclusion of certain actors and their knowledge and the exclusion of other actors and their knowledge. In the case of GTO Maputo the created spaces have almost no boundaries as they try to involve as many relevant actors as possible and as much relevant knowledge as possible in their spaces.

GTO Maputo argues that everyone is allowed to audition to become a member of a forum theatre group. By doing so, they try to include the voice of the local community in the creation of the space in which the forum theatre performance is developed. However GTO Maputo obliges their forum theatre groups to work within certain themes, like HIV/AIDS, health care etc. This creates boundaries, because this influences what kind of knowledge is appropriate in a space - like health care - and what kind of knowledge is not appropriate - like domestic violence. So GTO Maputo tries to involve as many relevant actors and their knowledge as possible, but by determining the theme in which the forum theatre groups have to work, they create boundaries in which knowledge is allowed. It has to be related to the theme.

Furthermore GTO Maputo advocates for the importance of making forum theatre performances for a broad audience. Everyone from the community is allowed and stimulated to come and be involved in the space during the execution of the forum theatre performances. Here it seems no boundaries are present, as everyone is allowed to come to the performances and to express their visions on the oppressions presented.

The jokers have a crucial role during in setting the boundaries of the spaces, during the entire process, as they guide the process on the spot. The jokers play a big role in the creation of the boundaries of spaces, because they are responsible for involving the voices of all relevant local community members. They have to make sure that no relevant actors are left out of the spaces.

How is power present in the spaces of the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

GTO Maputo gives the members of the local forum theatre groups the handles to create a forum theatre performance with their knowledge. Herewith the power of creating a space is put in the hands of the members of the local forum theatre groups.

Furthermore, GTO Maputo tries to empower the audience, by giving them the possibility to use the spaces to change situations the way they want to. GTO Maputo is consciously working on giving power to the members of the local theatre forum groups, by letting them create the performances. And to give power to the audience, by letting them discuss and create solutions. GTO Maputo thinks this is crucial to eventually reach behavioral and social change.

To which extent does GTO Maputo consider power as an important concept in the spaces?

McGee states that spaces are permeated with power relations. This becomes apparent due to the exclusion of certain actors and knowledge and the inclusion of other actors and knowledge. GTO Maputo seems to be well aware that power has a great influence on the spaces they create, because they actively anticipate on the inclusion of certain actors and knowledge in the spaces they create. This is the core of their forum theatre projects. GTO Maputo aims to reach behavioral change, by giving local community members the handles and possibilities to change oppressive situations. Hereby GTO Maputo gives local community members the power to change unequal power relations, by letting them practice change in a fictional space created on stage.

Question 5: Does GTO Maputo include marginalized actors in their HIV/AIDS theatre projects?

What kind of strategies does GTO Maputo use to involve marginalized actors into the spaces of the HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?

The theatre performances of GTO Maputo are always about oppressions. The identification of oppressors and oppressed actors depends on the context in which the forum theatre performances are developed and executed. Here the influences of matrilineal and patrilineal principles play a big role. Communities in the north of Mozambique follow the matrilineal principles, while communities in the south live according to the patrilineal model. So in the north of Mozambique, man are more marginalized, while in south of Mozambique, women are more marginalized. This influences for a large extent the content of the oppression. This makes that identification of marginalized actors and the oppression that end up on stage, can differ per community.

GTO Maputo aims to show the oppressions in a very concrete manner. In this way, the situations of the oppressed become very clear. Afterwards a discussion is started with the audience. The joker arranges this involvement. He acts as a 'difficultator', to stimulate a critical view of the audience on the situation. This involvement is used to contribute to the change of the oppressive situation. GTO Maputo involves the marginalized by performing an unequal situation between an oppressed and an oppressor and by creating a discussion between the oppressed and oppressor to change the unequal situation. GTO Maputo aims to express clearly the oppressive situation of marginalized actors. So GTO Maputo has two strategies to involve marginalized persons. Firstly by clearly expressing oppressions in a forum theatre performances. Secondly by involving the audience in identifying the oppressions and by stimulating the audience to come on stage to change the oppressive situation in the fictional space.

To which extent do the discourses and narratives which are incorporated within the HIV/AIDS forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo represent those who are in the margins?

In the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo, an oppression is performed. Here the vision of the oppressed and the vision of the oppressors are explained, as becomes clear in the performances 'women' and 'the suffering of women'. The conflicting discourses and narratives of Joaquina and Vasco, and Dalila and Alfredo are extensively elaborated in the performances, so there is a clear vision on the different perspectives. So not only the discourses and the narratives of the oppressors

are incorporated, also the discourses and the narratives of the oppressed – the marginalized – are incorporated. The context of a community determines what kind of discourses and narratives of marginalized actors and the oppressing actors are used in a performance, because these can differ between communities.

To which extent does GTO Maputo involve marginalized actors into the spaces they create?

It can be concluded that GTO Maputo pays a lot of attention in involving the marginalized in their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects, as McGee advocates for. GTO Maputo tries to create a dialogue between dominant actors and the marginalized. So GTO Maputo does not only focus on involving the marginalized, they focus on the dialogue between the marginalized and the dominant actors. The oppressive situations – and identification of the marginalized and dominant actors - can differ between communities, due to a different context. So the oppressions expressed in the forum theatre performances differ between different forum theatre groups. However GTO Maputo does not make extra efforts to get the marginalized doing auditions for their forum theatre groups or to get the marginalized visiting their performances.

Question 6: Does GTO Maputo give marginalized people the possibility to empower themselves?

To what extent do marginalized actors have knowledge about policy processes of the HIV/AIDS theatre projects of GTO Maputo?

Before answering this question, it is important to discuss shortly what kind of policy process GTO Maputo creates. GTO Maputo uses forum theatre performances to create discussions and dialogues in local communities about existing oppressions. First, GTO Maputo creates a space in which the forum theatre performances are developed by forum theatre members, which are local community members. Second, GTO Maputo creates a space during the execution of the forum theatre performance, in which the audience is stimulated to express their voices and to check whether the reality sketched on stage is the reality of the audience. By doing so GTO Maputo aims to change the situation of the marginalized actors, by creating dialogues and discussions between local community members about oppressive situations. Eventually GTO Maputo's aim is to change oppressive situations and to eventually reach behavioral change. The question is how much knowledge the marginalized have about this process.

During the execution of the forum theatre performances, the joker of GTO Maputo elaborated extensively on the forum part. The joker explains what the purpose is of forum theatre performances: changing the oppressive situation on stage, free the oppressed from the oppressions etc. In this way, the jokers inform the audience about the goal of the performance. This gives marginalized actors knowledge about the goal of the performances and gives them the possibility to express their opinion if the reality sketched on stage does not match their reality. However GTO Maputo does not explain to the audience, including marginalized actors, that they eventually want to reach behavioral change by creating dialogues and discussions between different community members. So the marginalized actors receive from GTO Maputo just partly knowledge about the policy process of the forum theatre projects, while McGee argues this is important in the

empowerment of marginalized actors. The opportunities given to the audience - including the marginalized - during the execution of the forum theatre performances are expressed very clear, while GTO Maputo does not explain the marginalized about the eventual goal - creating discussions and dialogues in order to create behavioral change - they aim to reach with the forum theatre performances.

To which extent do marginalized actors create spaces themselves surrounding the HIV/AIDS theatre workshops and performances of GTO Maputo?

GTO Maputo gives marginalized people the opportunity to create fictional spaces on stage in which they can try to change oppressive situations, like McGee advocates for. The marginalized people become empowered during the creation of a fictional space. They receive handles to practice change in a safe space on stage. By doing so GTO Maputo stimulates the marginalized actors to change their perception of oppressive situations and to increase their trust in their own ability to act. It is GTO Maputo's intention to motivate marginalized actors to create spaces themselves in real life, in which they try to change oppressive situations. Like mentioned before this research focuses on the two spaces GTO Maputo creates. So whether the marginalized actors use these fictional spaces to create other spaces in real life is a very interesting issue and will therefore be recommended for further research.

How does GTO Maputo give marginalized people the possibility to empower themselves?

In McGee framework becomes clear there are two different ways in which an intervention can give marginalized actors the possibility to empower themselves: by giving them knowledge about the policy process and by giving them the opportunity to create spaces themselves. It can be concluded that GTO Maputo only gives marginalized actors partly knowledge about the policy process. However they offer marginalized actors the fully potential to create a space in stage in which they can practice change according their own vision. The intention is that marginalized actors are motivates to create spaces in real life, where they can undertake action in changing situation.

Question 7: Does GTO Maputo involve local cultural backgrounds in their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects?

How does GTO Maputo involve local cultures within their HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?

In the framework of McGee it becomes clear that the involvement of cultural backgrounds is crucial for making a policy making process effective. GTO Maputo pays extensive attention to the involvement of local cultural backgrounds into their policy making process. Once local cultural backgrounds are not taken into account, GTO Maputo argues that an intervention will not work. The inclusion of cultural backgrounds is necessary to match the realities created on stage and the reality of the audience. The involvement of cultural backgrounds of the communities in the forum theatre projects is possible, due to the input of the local community members in the forum theatre groups. The involvement of local cultural backgrounds becomes explicitly apparent in the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo.

GTO Maputo argues that local cultural systems are often closely related with damaging discourses and narratives in local communities. Therefore it is necessary to involve cultural systems - like traditional healing and the widow cleansing rituals - into the forum theatre performances. The forum theatre groups incorporate cultural traditions and rituals as a provocation. By doing so GTO Maputo has the intention to show the absurdity of certain cultural systems and the necessity to change these issues. Eventually they intend to create change into these cultural systems. So the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo are permeated with cultural systems.

Question 8: Does GTO Maputo involve gender into their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects?

How does GTO Maputo involve gender within their HIV/AIDS forum theatre workshops and performances?

In Mozambique gender inequalities differ between the different geographical parts of Mozambique. Therefore GTO Maputo approaches the problems surrounding gender inequalities, according to the local vision on gender. This is possible, due to the input of the local community members in the forum theatre groups. Gender inequalities are highlighted in the oppressions in the forum theatre performances. GTO Maputo considers gender inequalities of crucial importance, because gender relations are in most cases the basis of oppressive situations. As counted for the involvement of cultural backgrounds, the involvement of the gender patterns are crucial as well for the match between the reality sketched on stage and the reality of the audience. Furthermore GTO Maputo involves the different gender patterns in the performances as provocation to show the absurdity of the unequal gender relations. This makes it possible to eventually create discussion about existing narratives and discourses in which the gender patterns are interwoven.

4.3 Conclusion

The objective of this research is to see to which extent the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the framework of McGee. The main question for this research is:

To which extent do the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the context of alternative policy processes, especially with regard to the framework of McGee?

The accompanying hypothesis is:

The forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo fit in the context of alternative policy processes, especially with regard to the framework of McGee.

McGee proposes an alternative conceptual framework and methodology to study interventions and their policy making processes. Policy making should be conceptualized as ongoing and socially constructed processes. Policy making processes are developed by actors, who use certain knowledge to create spaces. Power is inseparably interwoven with the interaction between actors and knowledge in creating spaces. The essence of McGee's thinking is the involvement of all relevant actors and their knowledge into policy making processes. In her thinking it is of utmost importance that different kinds of knowledge are used in the creation of spaces. Not only the produced

knowledge by expert policy makers, but also the constructed knowledge of actors with a different experience in relation to the problem. This is crucial for the creation of a reality which matches the reality of the beneficiaries. Another key point which is of utmost importance to make policy processes effective is the involvement of the context. So taking into account the specific cultural, historical and economical situation.

For this research the forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo are considered as a mini policy making process, because GTO Maputo intervenes with their forum theatre projects on a local level to reach behavioral change in communities. Different spaces can be identified in the policy making process of GTO Maputo. The space in which the performances are created, the space which is created during the execution of the performances and the spaces which the previous two spaces generate. This study is specifically focused on the first two spaces, which are physical areas in which possibilities and opportunities are given to community members to express their knowledge. By creating these two spaces, which on their turn generate other spaces, GTO Maputo aims to create dialogues and discussions about certain discourses and narratives. By creating these spaces, GTO Maputo develops a mini policy making process.

McGee's thinking gives insights in policy processes. Thus by looking at policy processes with the vision of McGee, a policy process can be analyzed. McGee formulates conditions to which a policy process needs to meet, in order to be effective. Based on the analyzes of the HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects of GTO Maputo the conclusion can be made that the policy process GTO Maputo creates, has in general great similarities with the way McGee argues effective policy processes should be like. GTO Maputo creates spaces in a non-conventional way, to stimulate discussions about damaging discourses and narratives about HIV/AIDS. By doing so GTO Maputo seems to largely meet the condition of McGee.

The spaces, in which the forum theatre performances are developed, are created with the knowledge of forum theatre groups members that live in the local communities, to guarantee that the reality which is sketched on stage matches with the reality of the audience. Local discourses and narratives of local communities are used and reconstructed, to create the forum theatre performances. In the spaces created during the execution of the performances, the input of the audience - the discourses and the narratives of the local community members - is crucial for GTO Maputo. This makes it possible for the audience to reflect on existing issues, because they discuss their own discourses and narratives. The essence of McGee is that relevant actors and their knowledge need to be involved in the creation of alternative spaces. Thus the way GTO Maputo creates spaces, is definitely the way McGee advocates for.

McGee views power as inseparably connected with policy making processes and especially with the use of knowledge in creating spaces. GTO Maputo is aware of the fact that their mini policy making process is permeated with power and anticipates on this. The connection between power, knowledge and spaces as McGee advocates for, becomes apparent in different ways. The most striking ones, will be shortly elaborated here. Firstly the relationship between GTO Maputo and Unicef. Here GTO Maputo acknowledges that the subsidies provided by Unicef, gives Unicef the power to determine what kind of discourses and narratives are (re-)constructed and used in the creation of the spaces. Furthermore GTO Maputo shows the relationship between knowledge and

power, by demonstrating oppressions in the forum theatre performances. Here GTO Maputo shows that power determines what kinds of knowledge is considered valid and legitimate in a certain society and what kinds of knowledge is considered invalid and illegitimate. Also GTO Maputo gives the local community members the power to shape the fictional space on stage, which results in spaces in which local community members have a role in determining the inclusion and the exclusion of actors and knowledge. Here they show the community members that power can reproduce itself through the use of knowledge.

In the thinking of McGee, the involvement of marginalized actors is considered crucial for effective policy making processes. GTO Maputo pays a lot of attention on involving the marginalized in their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects. GTO Maputo shows oppressive situations in a very concrete manner in the forum theatre performances, to demonstrate the subordinate positions of the oppressed persons. By doing so they try to create dialogues and discussions between dominant actors and marginalized actors. Furthermore McGee stresses the importance of empowering the marginalized by letting them create spaces themselves and by giving them knowledge about policy processes. GTO Maputo gives marginalized people the opportunity to create fictional spaces on stage in which they can try out to change oppressive situations. However GTO Maputo only partly gives knowledge about the policy process of their forum theatre projects. The opportunities given to the audience during the execution of the forum theatre performances are expressed clearly, while GTO Maputo does not explain the marginalized about the eventual goal of the projects.

McGee views the involvement of culture crucial for making a policy process effective. GTO Maputo involves local cultural backgrounds of the communities they work in, because damaging discourses and narratives in local communities are closely related with local cultural systems. They show cultural traditions and rituals in the forum theatre performances in a way that provokes. Furthermore GTO Maputo gives gender patterns a high priority, by taking the gender inequalities as a starting point of the oppressions on stage.

Despite the fact that GTO Maputo is making their policy process in an alternative way, there are certain issues in which the theory of McGee does not match. Here GTO Maputo does not use the full potential of the alternative approach on policy making. There are different hiatus present in the spaces GTO Maputo creates.

McGee warns for a great danger which can disturb effective policy making processes. Namely the risk that dominant expert policy makers create spaces instead of other relevant actors, who have different relations to the problem. GTO Maputo involves the actors who have different relations with the problems in creating spaces: the local community members. However there are two kind of expert policy makers present that are a danger for the inclusion of all the relevant actors and knowledge: Unicef and the jokers of GTO Maputo. Unicef determines largely what kind of discourses and narratives are (re-)constructed in the creation of the spaces in which the forum theatre performances are developed. By doing so, relevant experiential knowledge is excluded. The jokers of GTO Maputo have to execute their role in a neutral way, to guarantee the inclusion of the knowledge of the local community members. This seems to be very difficult in practice and therefore this might result in the exclusion of relevant actors and knowledge. So the influence of Unicef and jokers can hamper the involvement of relevant actors and their knowledge in the creation of spaces.

McGee argues that there should be interaction between the spaces that exist on different vertical levels, like local, regional, national and international. Here the essence is that the spaces on the higher levels should learn from the potential of the spaces on the lower levels. GTO Maputo lacks consistent contact between the national head office and the local forum theatre groups. There is no consistent knowledge at the national head office about what happens on the local level. While McGee finds it very important to have a good network between these levels, because national levels can learn from the potential of local levels.

According to McGee, one of the two key points for making policy processes effective, is the involvement of marginalized actors in the policy making process. GTO Maputo pays a lot of attention in involving the marginalized in their HIV/AIDS forum theatre projects. However GTO Maputo does not make extra efforts to get the marginalized doing auditions for their forum theatre groups or to get the marginalized visiting their performances. In order to achieve a greater inclusion of marginalized people as McGee promotes, it would be good for GTO Maputo to pay extra attention on marginalized people in their strategies to get them to doing audition and to get them visiting the performances.

Furthermore GTO Maputo gives marginalized people opportunities to empower themselves by giving them the possibility to create a space to try out solutions, however GTO Maputo does not provide the marginalized with explicit knowledge on how the policy process of their intervention works. McGee argues that this would promote the empowerment of marginalized actors.

Thus GTO Maputo is initiating an alternative policy making process, by creating spaces in which the local community members play a great role in using and (re-)constructing discourses and narratives. Despite there are certain dangers present, which might damage the policy making process, GTO Maputo seems to create spaces which McGee supports. Once as many relevant actors and as much relevant knowledge as possible is included in a space, McGee suggests that there are possibilities to negotiate for change. The negotiation area for change should be as large as possible, by including as many relevant actors and as much relevant knowledge as possible. Here it is important that power is not only kept by the more dominant actors, but also given to other relevant actors. GTO Maputo focuses on the inclusion of other kinds of knowledge - not only expert policy makers knowledge, but also knowledge from local community members - by which they create the conditions for a negotiation area. Hereby they give the forum theatre groups members and the audience the power to contribute to the creation of the spaces. By doing so they use the spaces as a learning area, by which they stimulate local communities to discuss damaging discourses and narratives which contribute to the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

4.4 Recommendations for further research

This research was done in the Netherlands. The recommendation for further research consists of field study in Mozambique. Here two specific points come forward from this study that seems to be very interesting to research in a field study in Mozambique.

First, the execution of the role of the joker is crucial in the creation of the forum theatre

performances and the execution of the forum theatre performances. Therefore it is very interesting to study the role of the joker and how this role is executed in practice in Mozambique. It is very useful to check whether they are in neutral persons or whether they abuse their power to give certain direction in the projects. Like McGee argues, is the right knowledge used to create certain spaces or do some actors use their power to let their knowledge count in creating certain spaces.

Second, this research was about the vision of GTO Maputo. It is also very interesting to research the visions of the audience of the forum theatre performances. It is very useful to research how they view the forum theatre performances, whether they argue that the forum theatre performances fit in their reality and how they use the performances to express their voice. Thus it is interesting to research how participation in the projects offers perspectives of actions. In doing so, further research should focus on the spaces which are thrown forward from the spaces GTO Maputo creates.

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Appendix

1. Interviewguide

Introduction

1. Thank you for participating in this interview.
2. Briefly explain the goal of the research. (Whether HIV/AIDS Theatre of the Oppressed on the HIV/AIDS problematic is an intervention that fits in an alternative way of making policy).
3. I would like to ask you some questions about the way GTO Maputo work and how you think about certain issues. I have seven topics I would like to ask questions about.
4. How long will it take?
5. Do you have any more questions?

Creating the performance

I would like to start asking questions about the creation of the performances.

1. Which persons are involved in creating the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic) from GTO Maputo?
2. What kind of background knowledge do these persons use in the creation of the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic) of GTO Maputo?
3. Whose ideas & visions on HIV/AIDS are incorporated in creating the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic) of GTO Maputo? What kind of visions & ideas are that?

Topics of performances

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the content of the performances.

1. Which subjects of the HIV/AID problematic are covered in the performances?
2. Why is chosen for these subjects?
3. Who decides which subjects are dealt with in the performances?
4. Why are these the persons deciding?
5. On which background knowledge do those persons base their decision on which subjects to be dealt with in the performances? (for example experimental knowledge or educational knowledge).
6. To which extent are visions on HIV/AIDS from marginalized persons incorporate in the topics?
7. In which way are the different HIV/AIDS subjects dealt with in the actual performances?

Audience

I would like to ask you some questions about the audience that visit the performances.

1. What kind of audience visits the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)? (Ask about: sex, age, status.)
2. Why are those kind of people coming to the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
3. How is potential audience approached/stimulated to visit the performances about (the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
4. What kind of strategies are used to involve the audience in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
5. In which ways does the audience participate within the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
6. How does the audience use the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic) to express their

voices?

Marginalized

I would like to ask you two questions about the involvement marginalized actors in your project.

1. To which extent is the involvement of the marginalized in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic) considered to be important?
2. In which way are the marginalized involved in the performances on HIV/AIDS? (How is their knowledge and how are their ideas/visions used?)

Spaces

McGee argues that there are spaces within the policy process, which consists of possibilities that result in certain behavior and actions. Therefore I would like to ask you the following question.

1. What kind of possibilities does the HIV/AIDS theatre project offer to their audience?
2. What kind of behavior and actions result from these possibilities?
3. What kind of concrete changes result from the behaviors and actions?

Power

1. To which extent are power relations involved in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
2. How are power relations put into discussion in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?

Culture

1. To which extent are local cultures involved in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
2. How does the HIV/AIDS theatre project involve culture in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?
3. How does the HIV/AIDS theatre project involve gender in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?

Policy knowledge

This is my final question. McGee suggest that people should have knowledge about policy process (. Therefore I would like to ask you the following questions.

1. To which extent does the audience have knowledge about the policy process instead of only HIV/AIDS knowledge?
2. To which extent is knowledge about the policy process considered important by GTO Maputo?
3. To which extent is knowledge about the policy process involved in the performances (about the HIV/AIDS problematic)?

Do you have any more questions?

2. Scripts of the forum theatre performances of GTO Maputo

The suffering of women



First scene

Background music, enter women, dancing the marrabenta, while the men watch them. Dalila and Alfredo exchange passionate glances and the friends of Dalila push her forward to meet Alfredo. She signals that she feels like it, but is also ashamed. After some time she gives in. Dalila and Alfredo stand in the middle between the men and the women and Alfredo starts to sing.

Alfredo: For your love, I would be able to catch a bullet with my chest

While the men make images of catching bullets with their chests, and the women stand by happily and in admiration

Dalila : responds with a song too. Oh my love, I always want to be yours, yours for ever

The women go 'corro tchruruuu'!

Alfredo : singing. I always want to be your knight in shining armour, to carry you for all your live

Lifts up Dalila and makes a circle, carrying her on his shoulders. The men and women clap their hands in joy. Alfredo puts Danila on the floor and says: Will you marry me?

She smiles and turns towards the women, who nod "yes" with their heads

Suzana : Accept, but sex only after marriage

Alfredo is among his friends, eagerly awaiting the reply of his loved one

Dalila- I do, but sex only after marriage

He turns nervously towards his friends and says:

Alfredo: She says she accepts, but sex only before marriage. That makes no sense.

Roberto: Accept, afterwards the rest is just talk.

Alfredo turns towards Dalila and says

Alfredo: I accept!

All sing the popular wedding song “a muchato I number one, I number one, I number one”. Meanwhile the friends of the bride and bridegroom help them to get dressed for the wedding and suddenly they turn around and find themselves in the middle of the stage, take each others’ hands and kneel.

Alfredo: I do

Dalila: I do

Everybody’s happy and sings and lets out cries of joy in front of the wedding couple. They dress them in the clothes for the next scene in which Dalila is pregnant and strokes her belly, just like her husband.

Second scene

Dalila: (happily) It’s going to be a girl

Alfredo: No, it’s going to be a boy

They talk at the same time, discussing what the gender of the baby will be.

Dalila: (nervously) I just cannot cannot be nervous, it’s going to be a girl.

Alfredo – (lovingly) It’s OK love, it’s going to be a girl and it’s important that he is born in good health.

Dalila: In order to be born healthily, it’s necessary for me to go to the hospital and sign up for prenatal care.

Alfredo: Hospital? Here in my house, we don’t go to the hospital.

Dalila: It’s necessary, my love, so that our baby is born in good health. There they have several vaccines and can watch my health and the baby’s.

Alfredo: Dalila, we never need to go to the hospital. If this child ever has any problem, we’re going to call my mother.

Enter the mother with a handful of herbs and does a ritual, holding the herbs against the belly of Dalila and rubbing over it.

Alfredo: And if my mother doesn't succeed, we'll call the medicine man.

The medicine man comes in, doing a traditional dance and goes around summoning the spirits while touching Dalila's belly.

Alfredo: This goes to show that we don't need any doctor or any hospital.

Dalila: My love, I do appreciate that but at the hospital they can do various tests, we can do an HIV test to know about our condition. Look at Mrs. Celeste, she goes to the hospital and she's in perfect health.

Alfredo: Dalila, I already told you that in my family nobody gets treatment at the hospital.

He leaves the house in an upset state

Dalila: But my love...

On the other side of the stage is a parallel scene at the hospital. A nurse gives a pregnant woman an injection and some pills. Dalila disobeys her husband and goes to the hospital.

Third scene

Nurse: Mrs. Dalila, how is the baby?

Dalila: (smiling) He's doing fine, nurse, he even moved today.

Emfermeira: That's good, I already have your test results here. The urine test is fine.

Dalila: Nurse, I never sit down on public toilets.

Emfermeira: Your hemoglobin is also fine.

Dalila: I always feed myself very well, my husband makes sure nothing fails in our household. He satisfies all my desires.

Emfremeira: But Mrs. Dalila, your HIV/AIDS test turned out positive.

We hear a loud drumbeat.

Dalila: (in disbelief) What?

Emfremeira: I said your HIV/AIDS test turned out POSITIVE.

Dalila: *(in despair)* This can't be true, there must have been a mistake, this is not my test result, I can't have this disease.

Emfremeira: Mrs. Dalila, did you take the test before marriage?

Dalila thinks back on her wedding day and smiles.

Dalila: I had no need to. My husband is strong, good-looking *(nervously)* and her hasn't got this disease. How could I tell him "My love, let's take an HIV-test" I can't have this disease. This hospital is irresponsible.

Emfermeira: Mrs. Dalila. This disease is neither for fat, thin, good-looking or ugly people. This disease is for everyone. That's why we need to be aware of risk behavior. You have to tell your husband to come and take the test, because it doesn't help you to get treatment if your husband doesn't get it too. Please take these leaflets so that he may have better understanding.

Dalila: But nurse, how could I tell him this.

Emfermeira: You'll find a way, good luck.

Emfermeira leaves. Discouraged, Dalila goes up and down, with her hands on her head and on her belly, remembering the words of the nurse: "This disease is neither for fat, thin, good-looking or ugly people. This disease is for everyone. That's why we need to be aware of risk behavior." Dalila has tears in her eyes. The happy sister-in-law enters.

Fourth scene

Arlete: My darling sister-in-law, what happened, are you sad? *(worried)* Did my brother beat you? Say something Dalila!

Dalila: Sister-in-law, you're my friend, aren't you? Can I trust you?

Arlete: Sure, Dalila, you know we have been friends since childhood, you can trust me. What happened?

Dalila: I went to the hospital and took the HIV-test, it turned out positive, I'm sero-positive.

Arlete: What? You have AIDS? *(lets go of her)* You cheated on my brother, you are a whore, you're a no-good, you slept with all the men in the neighborhood. Pack up your things and leave this house, I don't want to see you anymore. Get out before my brother returns.

Dalila: Arlete, it's me, look at me, my sister-in-law, my friend, you know your brother was the first man in my life. I never looked at anyone else but him, I can't believe you're saying all this. Put yourself in my place, what would you do?

Arlete is touched by Dalila's words, Alfredo enters, sees his wife crying and scolds his sister.

Alfredo: What is going on in this house? Arlete, are you arguing with your sister-inlaw?

Arlete: No, my brother.

Alfredo: Well, what's going on then?

Arlete: Well, my brother, my sister-in-law has something to tell you, speak, sister-inlaw.

Alfredo: Dalila, what's going on?

Dalila: I went to the hospital.

Alfredo: Dalila, Dalila, what did I tell you? Didn't I say you shouldn't go to the hospital, what did they tell you to put you in such a state?

Dalila: The HIV test was positive, I'm seropositive.

Alfredo: (*disturbed*) You see, they lied to you. I already told you to stay home because no-one in this house goes to hospital and you disobeyed. It could only lead to this.

Arlete : But my brother...

Alfredo: But my brother what? Shut up! What about yourself, what are you talking about, you were born in hospital? Weren't you born in the bathroom? I myself was born under that tree over there, so instead of judging the lives of others, you should take care of your household and your husband, now leave!

Arlete: But my brother, listen to my sister-in-law, she didn't...

Alfredo: (*furious*) Leave my house, Arlete (*turns towards Dalila*) I already told you that in my house things are resolved in this manner.

Alfredo forces Dalila down on her knees. Enters Alfredo's mother who starts the treatment with herbs

START OF THE FORUM

Women



1st scene

At the hospital Joaquina listens with affection to a patient in despair

Paciente: (panting) Nurse, my daughter is sick, she didn't sleep all night, help me please

Joaquina: Calm down, Misses, everything will be all right, I'm going to watch over her and give her treatment. Come with me (*they leave*).

2nd scene

Patrício is rehearsing music when his friend arrives.

Vasco: Patrício my friend, rehearsing as always. Why these efforts?

Patrício: Hey Vasco, long time no see. You know very well I can't live without my music and suddenly I'm having very little time to rehearse. I need to look after the kids, while my wife works and because of the traffic jam, she's a little late.

Vasco: What are you saying? Are you sick? And you say this as a matter of fact, as if it were something normal for a man?

Patrício: Vasco my friend, times are a-changing. My wife has to work and it's my obligation as a husband to help her, not even counting the fact that they are my children. You're not going to tell me that you would be able to leave the children be just because your wife isn't at home.

Vasco: Ha, you're surprising me, my friend, and in order not to annoy myself with your household issues, which have nothing to do with men, I'm going to give you some advice through some music I wrote, which should be sung by all men. Play me a melody!

Patrício plays a melody and Vasco sings.

Vasco: "If I stop singing in the square.
Things I didn't dream in my belief.
This reasoning questions my power.
And what will become of me, oooh.
What will become of me.
If the world discovers I was never in charge again."

He leaves and Patricio sits down again, wondering.

3rd scene

The cockerel crows, the day is ready to begin. Joaquina, nurse of the maternity hospital, married to Vasco Lequence, sergeant of the Republican Police, jumps out of her bed running. She has to take care of her husband and endure her whining child. She puts water on the stove for the bath, makes breakfast, heats the iron with coal, sweeps the backyard. Her husband wakes up, checks the time, stretches himself and does his morning exercise.

Marido: Joaquina, is the bath water ready yet?

Joaquina: I'm at it!

Marido: After all, what are you thinking? The water should have been ready in the bathroom already.

She drops everything she's been doing to take care of her husband's bath water.

Marido: (from the bathroom) For God's sake, I must say: is there no soap in this household so that you can give me just a bloody tiny bit of it for my bath?

Panting the wife comes running with a piece of soap to begin with.

Marido: Listen Joaquina, is it too much trouble to bring me a toothbrush or do you want me to leave with a smelly mouth?

Joaquina comes running to bring a toothbrush.

Marido: Joaquina, bring me a towel, come on.

Joaquina: I have responsibilities too in this country, I'm a maternity nurse, so many pregnant women will be waiting for me right now. And I'm just running to and fro here.

The couple's whining son enters, demanding bread.

Marido: Joaquina, Joaquina, come on, give my son some bread. I buy this for him, it's good that you keep that in mind.

She gives the bread to her crybaby and tries to iron her husband's uniform.

Marido: Stepping out of the bathroom .Are my clothes ready?

Joaquina: I've almost finished ironing it. Listen, I'm a person as well, washing the dishes, making you breakfast, sweeping the house, getting ready for my work and also taking care of the child...

Marido: (interrupting his wife) If time runs out on you, get up at midnight, dammit!

Joaquin: (muttering) But how can one person do all this work? Just because I'm a woman?

Marido: Joaquina, bring me my clothes for the love of God.

While she takes the clothes to her husband, the whining son comes in, demanding food.

Joaquina: (doing a singsong on the head of the crybaby) Quiet my son, your mother's going to give you food, did you hear your father?

Marido: Joaquina, don't you have eyes to see? This damned shirt hasn't got a top button!

Joaquina lets the son be, who cries his heart out, and hurries to solve the button question. The son enters smiling with a plate of food in his hand. He crosses the scene. The husband, with his uniform already on, looks into the mirror and exhibits his newly ironed police uniform when suddenly...

Vasco: Joaquina. Bring me my hat.

The sympathetic and zealous wife, brings the hat immediately and helps her husband putting it on

Vasco: (dryly and thick) I'm gone.

Joaquina looks at her husband who marches away police style, looks at the clock and leaves the scene running. She is late for the honorary health promotion meeting where they are waiting for her.

Fourth scene

At the hospital the head surgeon gives a speech and calls for Joaquina to be promoted, notices that she's not there and finally promotes another nurse in her place.

Head Surgeon: Welcome to the promotion ceremony of the nurses who have stood out during the entire past years and for that reason we are going to give them a promotion. I will now read the names of the promoted ones. Joaquina Matavel (silence). Now that Nurse Joaquina is not here, we are going to promote Nurse João Constantino.

Joaquina arrives panting and everyone turns towards her, the head surgeon says: Late again, Joaquina.

START OF THE FORUM