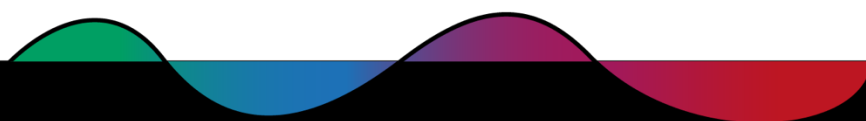


March
2024

GENERATIVE NARRATIVE WORKSHOP

SOLROUTES



Staging borders

Generative Narrative Workshop and Cultural Objects
Morocco Antenna – 1 node

M. Lovato

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Theater of the Oppressed as a participatory research approach

Theater of the Oppressed (Boal 2004) involves interactive dramaturgical practices that aim to reflect on situations of oppression. It aims to create a performance space in which the perceptions, knowledge, beliefs, practices and behaviors of a group of people gathered at a particular time and place around a topic under research are brought to light. Reflecting on the power dynamics present at various levels, Theatre of the Oppressed proposes to actively think about practices of denunciation, resistance to oppression, and thus proposals for emancipation: proposing the figuration of scenes of social injustice suggests the citizen to "not adapt" but to "transform" it (*Ibid.*).

Among the dramaturgical practices there are Forum Theater and Image Theater. The broad structure of the Forum Theater involves the performance of skits portraying a concrete situation related to a chosen theme that concerns the sphere of everyday life and contains power dynamics in its core. In Image Theater, participants quickly sculpt their own bodies or those of others to express attitudes and emotions. These images are then juxtaposed and "energized" or brought to life. In both practices, dynamic intervention by outsiders is required: the scene is then replayed with the audience invited to intervene, replace actors, ask questions, changing actions or speech. The scene is re-enacted by encouraging different unfoldings, interpretations that come to propose an active intervention in the dynamics of oppression.

As dramatic exploration takes place, audience members can make connections to their own experiences – that are experiences of oppression (internal or external). The dramatic and performative presentation of phenomena and problems can introduce alternative perspectives and ways of thinking, where different experiences are brought into dialogue in the face of an overwhelming problem and situation. On stage, therefore, a continuous process of negotiation takes place, where participants offer personal viewpoints, perceptions and interpretations: a space is created in which we observe how identities are "constructed, communicated, authorized and contested" (Kaptani et al. 2017).

The use of theatrical techniques initiates group dynamics that proposes a collective search for ways to intervene in oppressive situations and social injustice. By translating individual experiences into theater and reflecting on them through artistic methods, both actors and audience can creatively transform the unfolding of the scene in many ways, thus becoming "spect-actors" (Boal 1996) – the process of emancipation begins in the attempt to change representations, in these identities that are encountered we observe how they are linked to particular forms of social action (Kaptani et al. 2017). This interactive performance process can be understood as a collective brainstorming and research process that is shared and experienced by many people (Wrentschur 2021). The results of this process can generate various forms of action

outside the performance – in a path of collective empowerment. In this space, issues that can be difficult to talk about are addressed; it becomes a tool for reporting daily experiences of violence, marginalization that are difficult to verbalize (Maggie et al. 2018).

The theatrical experience stimulates participants' imaginative ability (Wrentschur 2021), proposing the development of symbols, narratives, new imaginaries. In this sense, Forum Theater can be seen as a dramatic and participatory research approach, in which dialogue, sharing, negotiation and association bring forth new imaginaries and new narratives of them. In this space, the category between researcher and researched breaks down, research becomes collective and marginalized people become co-producers of knowledge (Liamputtong 2007).

The Generative Narrative Workshop: setting and final considerations

In the framework of the SOLROUTES project, which in the practice of research and knowledge sharing aims to create "collaborative research objects in which participants will imprint their authorship" in order to "visualize the border landscape, explore the changing meanings and representations of Europe across routes, building a connection between acts of making (map/graph, sketch, drawing), storytelling and speech taking," the techniques of Theatre of the Oppressed emerge as a great vehicle for participatory research, collective reflection and co-production of knowledge.

The opening of the SOLROUTES team's fieldwork in Morocco tried to observe at the various routes crossing the country - crossroads of movements of transit, arrival, origin, return. Within this *carrefour* (Alioua 2013), looking for solidarity. Starting from the urban space of Rabat, we looked for solidarity with respect to two concepts: movement and settlement; better said: the **right to move** and the **right to stay**. Proposing a collective and participatory reflection on these issues, with the tool of Social Theater, led to the organization of the Generative Narrative Workshop. The GNW has been part of a research path in the Taqadoum neighborhood of Rabat, where a large population of sub-Saharan communities - settled or waiting "*to boze*" - is established, with different hopes: some to make it cross the *waya*, some to be able to regularize there. The young people involved in the Workshop have a migration background, they define themselves "adventurers" - having left Guinea Conakry at different times, they came together in Rabat. One of the participants has been here for two and a half months and has a Guinean passport, another has been here for three years and has only a UNHCR registration card. The meeting with Dado, an Italian theater trainer with a knowledge of Morocco and its languages, led to the concreteness of the Project: creating a Theater space where the sharing of individual experiences of adventurers could lead to the creation of shared imaginaries, collective narratives. A research tool that goes beyond the classic one-on-one interview, and allows going to the depths.

Through the connection with Th1o, a key actor for our research team, we managed to involve a group of 9 participants, sub-Saharan - 7 from Taqadoum, 1 from Salè, 1 from Kenitra, aged between 18 and 27, men. In proposing the initiative, the workshop was presented as a space for

autobiographical storytelling. Interested people requested a preliminary information meeting, held in Taqadoum the day before the workshop began. This step was important in strengthening aware participation in the project, as well as total freedom to take part in it. At the same time, it was the beginning of establishing as equal a relationship as possible: only after a private meeting they informed us that they would participate in the workshop. It was chosen to consider in the budget a daily economic consideration for the participants. The workshop schedule would not have allowed many to conduct the daily work, their only source of livelihood. It was chosen to give the amount on the first day, in order to prevent the presence of money from creating a sense of obligation to the workshop.

The choice of location led us to the theater hall of the Pius X Catholic Church in the Agdal district, far from Taqadoum and Rabat center. The hall was the space where to work, the garden the place to relax, chat, make relationships. "Let's leave out of here what we don't want to take with us," was one of the daily messages before starting the workshop, beginning with presence with body and head in *here and now*. Having the space outside was important to give tools for lightness after emotionally intense sessions: those who did not feel like it or want to participate were free to leave and re-enter.

On February 27 the workshop begins: it starts with the circle, the shape that accompanies all sessions and symbolizes the style we want to keep. In the circle we speak mainly French, with numerous sessions in Pular (one of the languages spoken in Guinea) - that we Italians do not understand. However, everyone has the option of requesting a translation. The workshop proceeds with exercises from Theatre of the Oppressed, specifically Image Theater and Forum Theater, accompanied by games and activities designed to strengthen the group, relationships and trust. The discussion of the topic to be covered comes on the third day. After various exercises and a lengthy circle discussion, it was decided to work on the following issues: 1) the migrant life system in Morocco; 2) the beginning of the adventure; 3) Algeria; and 4) the disappeared in Ceuta. We would then take the various themes and tell/develop them through social theater techniques. Reactions to the various themes varied: two people objected to talking about Algeria, while everyone agreed to talk about the disappeared in Ceuta-specifically, about a friend of theirs who had been missing for a year. We noted the temporal progression of the proposed themes: the beginning of the adventure and Algeria (the past), life in Morocco (present), and the disappearance in Ceuta (one of the possible futures). Dado then proposes to deconstruct this very sensitive path, which in this story seems to conclude with the disappearance. We wondered a lot about how to handle this ending of the story -- is this how our theater journey wants to end? What impact would our tale, intimately linked to real experiences, have by terminating with the disappearance?

It is proposed to put the disappearance in Ceuta as the frame within which we tell our story. It is to our missing friend that this performance is dedicated, by us who are still here. The commemoration was a very intense moment: we choose three symbols that tell about the loved D., the water bottle, some clothes (a sweater and a jacket), a backpack. "You leave them away because they clutter up the waya passage," Tely explains. To those items, each person said something: prayers, songs, thoughts for his or her family. From this dedication, work continues on

the other themes – later, the participants choose not to talk about Algeria, but only about Morocco and Adventure.

On the last day we decided what form to give to the stories shared. The participants decided not to open the narrative to an audience - there was a perceived emotional load related to the shared experiences, which was probably premature to open to the outside. The presence of the video camera was discussed, proposed as a mediation between staging and a work on the image that narrates staging without being staged. The presence of the video camera was discussed collectively, no one showed doubts about it; the same with respect to the proposal to share the material also visual with the University of Genova. Since the appearance of the video camera, the dynamics have changed: the discourses have become more articulated, more elements have been brought in and different connections made. The video camera opened up the space where porter explain to the outside world, which is Italy in the University of Genova, an experience of oppression: in front of the video camera they talked about discrimination, freedom of expression, rights. The ways of taking the floor also changed-some participants, in the earlier more active days, became silent; others wanted to take more space.

The two groups staged two photos about the topics decided - these shots and the drawing of the commemoration become the representation of the cultural objects of our GNW. They are postcards from Taqadoun, looking back at the way we have come, the place where we live now, a friend who should not be forgotten. The moment of commemoration felt very intimate to us; pulling out the camera would have invaded an intense and almost sacred space -- we simply memorized it and then drew its symbolic features.

The first picture staged is called "The life system of migrants in Morocco" - Totorina, Toronto are the police officers, Trendy boy a civilian taking money for the sub-Saharan delivered to the police, Nayly and Djallu two sub-Saharan. The scene revolves around two situations of interaction between Moroccan authority and two sub-Saharan: Djallu has papers and is a minor, the police insist that he is not the one in the picture - he will be deported to Khouribga, with violence; Nayly has no papers and is twenty-eight years old, pays off the policemen and is released without violence. The scene is later discussed and reviewed by the audience, who then have the opportunity to interview the actors. During the interview, a trial of the policemen takes place: *do you have the right to treat people this way, to use violence? Do you have the authority to deport a minor? Do you have the right not to recognize the card issued by UNHCR?* The **right** comes out several times - the right to stay in Morocco, but also the right of the police to ask people for documents in their own country. Then an attempted recognition between Moroccans and sub-Saharan: in the mosque we are all the same, why are we different outside? Moroccans in Europe receive the same treatment as sub-Saharan in Morocco.

The second picture is called "le début de l'aventure": Tely, Mask Pro, and Mandy are walking. In front of the camera, they explain why they are leaving from Guinea: the demonstrations, the lack of freedom of expression, having seen friends die. The audience's questions to the three

adventurers are strong provocations: *is it freedom to end up in Europe sans-papiers? Wasn't it better to stay at home? Don't you know that the route can lead to death?*

Who is asking these questions? There is the camera in the middle, representing here an Italian (European) audience - Is it Italy that we want to hear these answers? - *yes, I know we die, but we die here too. It is me, who is running away from a dictatorship and the death of my state, that you are denying a legal way of migration* -. With the appearance of the camera, the significance of theater as a space of denunciation is reinforced, raising its voice when the audience is Italy.

Theater here becomes also a space for collective management of trauma, starting with the sharing of an individual experience that is received by the group, and reflected with others'. An experience that is acknowledged as collective, that recognizes forms of oppression and once pulled out proposes practices of disengagement. The language of fiction becomes a way of self-protection and non-exposure: stories are told in which the participants' lives take on distant forms, names, places, and are viewed from the outside. In this fictional space, new balances and different dynamics are imagined: in the play of roles, I (white woman) become the border in Ceuta but also a sub-Saharan migrant with an expired passport in her pocket, tugged by a black policeman. Central to this proposing spaces of reversal and rethinking is the difficulty of doing so in a context that Dado refers to as an "earthquake." The difficulty and delicacy of getting things out when we are not able to rebuild them later. The workshop participants shared a situation of oppression that is theirs now, they still live in an emergency context: how to talk about home when home is not there? "Around the rubble can we talk about rebuilding?" wonders Dado in post-workshop reflection. This is strong on the individual level: we talk about D., who disappeared in Ceuta-his disappearance is not just about him, his fate is not just about him; the theater proposes to acknowledge and deconstruct the power dynamics experienced, and it does so to people who will nonetheless go to the Chateau of Taqadoun tomorrow accepting to work for \$7 a day. The theater space becomes a tool for sharing and relieving the burden of oppression, but tomorrow when the theater is gone? A strong limitation in this is the short time available, which does not allow for continuity, even just relational, and does not give the dimension where to reconstruct things deconstructed.

Fieldnotes

Ethics Notes: The names given in the text are invented; the photos shown were taken with the consent of the participants, who agreed to share them.

Observation Diary Data

Fieldwork type*	Ethnographic Antennae
NODE Number*	NODE1
Name of the Observer*	Michela Lovato
Country*	Morocco
Place*	Rabat
Date(s)*	27022024 28022024 29022024 01032024

Hour	10:30/12:30, 10:30/12:30; 10:30/16:30, 10:30/16:30
Duration	12 h (of effective workshop)

Encounters list and Field Notes

Time of observation	People	Place	Role	Field Notes Commentaries
	Dado	Pio X church	Theater trainer	
	Montreal		Italian artist	
	Tely		Adventurer actor /	Key contact, he organized the group
	Mendy		Adventurer actor /	The second youngest
	Totorina		Adventurer actor /	He loves the Chief of Chiefs
	Djallu		Adventurer actor /	The youngest of the group
	Jon Toronto		Adventurer actor /	Wants to go to Toronto where his sister lives
	Nayly		Adventurer actor /	He lived for a while in Mauritania
	Black Machete		Adventurer actor /	He participates in only one session
	Trendy boy		Adventurer actor /	
	Mask pro		Adventurer actor /	He is a singer

Day One - February 27

Participants: Dado, Montreal, Michela, Mendy, Tily, Totorina, Djallu, Toronto, and Nayly.

We arrive that they are already waiting for us, missing only Toronto, who arrives at 2:45 p.m. saying the cab to wrong to leave him. I'm slightly annoyed by the delay, but it's sunny outside and a nice garden, I play pickleball with Tely while waiting.

We go in a circle - Dado makes it clear right away, and repeatedly, of the importance of feeling free in this space. It's a space where you don't do theater in a classical way, it's a space where you can say things. We have in the budget an economic return for the participants - 100 dirhams a day, for four days. Dado explains that we chose to put that in because we know that they lose a day's work to come to us, and that we know that it is strenuous economic conditions here in Morocco. He clarifies, however, that there is no working relationship between us, that they get the money simply for coming today, that they owe us nothing else, and that it is not for the money that we make theater. It is made clear that everyone is free to participate, sharing or not, that those who prefer not to come tomorrow are free to do so and are not forced to say things. We choose to use nonverbal language to tell each other if: we don't understand something, we agree or disagree, we want to take the floor.

First activity: everyone introduces themselves with a name (even a fancy one) and a gesture about how they are doing. Nayly and Djallu make a claw in the air with their hand-I guess it's the lion sign, but then they explain to me that it indicates the gesture of climbing the Ceuta *waya*, with the claws on their fingers.

Then the exercises on walking begin--we walk at tot speed, then walk for...

"you are in Taqadoum, you are walking"-what I notice: Totorina lifts her hood and starts walking more spectacularly; Tely starts touching her pockets, then pulls out the UNHCR document, holds it in her hand; the others also touch their pockets, walk faster.

Dado stops the scene and talks to some participants:

- What are you doing?

1: I go to a friend's house.

2: I'm going to look for work at the Chateau.

Toronto has a broom in his hand - Nut: what do you need it for? Toronto: to smash the heads of homeless people. Dado: and who are they? Toronto: they are Moroccans, they want my money.

Djallu is standing still with his hand raised - Dado: what are you doing? Djallu: I'm throwing a stone at a homeless man. He is in front of me with a knife, he wants to hit me.

Djallu is the youngest of the group and has a steady gaze.

It goes on, now we walk through Taqadoum and we have to meet a friend. I meet Tely, we go for coffee together - he tells me something that happened yesterday. Tely: "I was walking and a homeless man stopped me, started asking me questions and touching my shoulders, asking me if I was Ivorian. He wanted to take my phone but I had it in my hand, so he took my ID thinking it was money. but it wasn't money, it was my *papiers*!!! I went to request it back from him, I am very gratefull that he gave it back to me."

We start walking again, Tely asks, "Are we still in Taqadoum?" Dado confirms - Tely immediately pulls the document out of his pocket.

We start walking in a circle, taking turns whoever wants to go to the center and improvise a scene.

- Scenes of someone with a phone and someone stealing it;
- Scene of two drinking alcohol, they are drunk, they try to convince Tely to drink that she doesn't want to;
- Scene of an attack, Totorina is on the ground, the two run away. Two others arrive and help him, call an ambulance, Totorina is unconscious.
- Tely is arrested by a policeman, policeman is violent, badly slams him on a bench and makes him sign that he has no papers. Tely shows them to him, policeman insists that he is not the one in the photo - two policemen. Tely's friend arrives to try to defend him - mimes that he is the one in the photo. Police mimes that they will deport him and tell him not to come back.
- Scene of a young man, policeman stops him and asks for his ID, then leaves with his ID (steals it from him)-a third person arrives, gets money from the young man and takes it to the policeman who gives the ID back, patting the young man on the back.

- Cab driver, a participant asks to get on but he doesn't have money, makes sign that he doesn't even have money to eat - cab driver tells him he can't get on. Man gives migrant alms - now that he has money cab driver wants to let him get on but migrant says no, now he doesn't want to get on with him.

We are in a circle, Dado asks everyone for papers - then questions, about where you are from and what you do. First one says he's from Guinea and doesn't have papers- after him everyone says they don't have papers. Fifth shows ID- Comes to me, I say I'm Moroccan, Dado-cop is welcoming, invites me to eat cous cous at his place; ditto Totorina, introduces himself as Moroccan and plays along, accepts invitation to home-they speak in darija. Montreal introduces himself as Italian, Dado-cop cleans up on the floor to let him pass, other participants applaud.

Final: let's check in on how it went. All positive, a few observations about the place. Mandy says she didn't feel like talking much and telling, Dado reiterates to him that everyone is free to express themselves as they feel.

Tomorrow we will decide what we want to work on (what theme) and what form we want to take. Starts a very balanced discussion, on various positions - we pass the floor carefully, there is a lot of listening, at the end those who have not spoken are asked if they have anything to say (me too!).

I don't remember who is asking if it is possible to make a film, to be played by people who are not here as well.

Tely says to be careful how we communicate, so as not to create problems for people like them who are not safe. We understand what risks there are.

Totorina has a film ready that she wrote about the borders she crossed, she proposes to work on that.

Dado stresses the importance of starting with what we need to say - he touches his belly, saying "what do we need to talk about?"

Day 2 - February 28

There are 12 of us, there are three more people-Black Machete, Trendy Boy, Mask pro.

Someone is late, while waiting I'm outside chatting with Toronto - he tells me he didn't sleep well. "I don't sleep anymore, I fall asleep at 1 o'clock and wake up at 3 o'clock. Then maybe I sleep from 6 o'clock on." When I ask him why, he touches his head with his finger, saying he is stressed. He starts showing me pictures from his cell phone, tells me he hasn't heard from his family in 3 months-"there are gunshots...boom boom...the government cut off communication, I can't hear them." She has been living here for 3 years, she has a thick skin.

Let's start the workshop. The atmosphere is a little more dispersed today, perhaps because of the new people?

We start with group game activities: we pass each other an imaginary ball; the one who misses goes to the center and has to distract the others.

Then: there is a paper bag on the ground, it can become anything. In turn, everyone goes to the center: the piece of paper becomes a pillow, a chair, a cigarette, a boat, the sea under the paper.

Dado proposes a game about concentration, then we turn outward in a circle--with eyes closed everyone thinks about how he is-.

Game: on the stage someone comes up, and says... "who like me...", in the hall people move if they agree or disagree with the sentence. What came out: who like me loves sports..., who like me loves violence, who like me loves mom.

There comes a time to reflect together on the theme to be chosen. Those who have a theme to propose go on stage, in the room they move to four places: 1) near the stage if they agree to talk about it; 2) at the back who disagree; 3) in the middle who are indifferent; 4) outside who feel it might be a problem to talk about it.

Dado emphasizes that the important thing is to share what we think should be said, as themes-the form is secondary. "What do we feel in our gut?" Dado says to think about what we want to say "with the responsibility then of wanting to work on it through theater."

Totorina "Who like me wants to talk about the migrant living system in Morocco?" - 4 agree, 2 middle, 2 no.

Tely "Who wants to talk about the beginning of the adventure?" 6 yes, 1 against.

"Who wants to talk about what happened in Algeria?" 4 yes, 2 medium, 2 no - Totorina goes outside. Dado asks him if it is a problem for him to talk about Algeria, Totorina says no, that there is no point in proposing this topic because "it is the same thing as talking about the adventure," Djallu retorts that it is not the same thing, that "it means talking that you are in a house in the background and you jump out of the window because you are afraid that people/people will take you to the country." We sense that actually Totorina does not want to talk about Algeria, even if she does not express it verbally.

"Who like me wants to talk about racism in Morocco?", Tely objected and raised "Why don't we talk about racism in Guinea?", actually 6 agreed with initial proposal.

Trendy boy wants to make TV series

Tely: "Those like me who want to talk about the Guineans who ... those who died in Ceuta, that is, not dead, those who neither arrived nor returned ... ah the missing!" are all in agreement.

Mask pro wants to make music - is it theme or instrument? We agree that it is a form.

There are four macro-themes: Beginning of adventure; Algeria; life in Morocco; disappeared in Ceuta. Dado proposes improvisation on the themes, starting with "beginning of adventure."

Notes of what comes out - first improvisation, Tely alone, throwing things, hiding, running away. Second scene, there's Nayly from behind, from behind Mandy and Djallu run away and try to climb something. Totorina interrupts "We're talking about the beginning of the adventure, not the end" (referring to the fact that the symbol of climbing represents Ceuta), Djallu tells them they were representing the Algeria-Morocco border. the cops manage to catch Djallo, take away his shoes, money, phone and beat him. They load him into a van.

Third scene, there are two sides: on one side guys throwing flaming paper, on the other side people shooting. Protesters vs. police. one dead among protesters. "Everything was born in the

strikes. The adventure was born because we participated in the strikes - police, repression. Tely backpacks and leaves. Protesters capture a policeman, policemen capture a protester and start beating him in the station - Nayly goes there and pays the ransom. Toronto, who is part of the cops, takes off his hat and goes among the protesters - then he is the one who captures one - he is an Infiltrator inside. There is a lot of coordination.

Other scene, Mask pro mimics a dialogue between him and a woman who cries and tells him not to go, that she is in danger of dying (finger gesture down her neck). "I have to go."

Other scene, totorina has money, two take his money and stand in corner of room, gesture to leave - there are three of them, one takes money and leaves. Cell phone, office, someone maybe making travel arrangements - paper, documents or money? They make arrangements to leave, argument; people talking at the bar, two couples in two places in the room. Totorina is a parent whose money was stolen? Follow-up phone call.

Ends the first part of improvisations. Dado says that already yesterday we saw the topic of migrants in Morocco together, so we can move on to the other topics, but we will do that tomorrow.

Briefing post between us:

- We notice militaristic attitude, power and control dynamics are represented; use of military language ("we are soldiers"), but there is no pyramidal structure among them;
- When talking about the beginning of the adventure, the reasons for the departure are not expressed, described protests but not explained why there are protests. The adventure begins with us making paper bombs.
- Exits temporal division: past (beginning of adventure, Algeria), present (life in Morocco), future (Ceuta);
- Ceuta is a place where you can disappear, disappearance is one of the possibilities of tomorrow--it is a sensitive issue, how do you carry it forward? we think it is important not to leave it at the end, Dado proposes to put it at the beginning as a commemoration--we dedicate this play to those who disappeared in Ceuta.
- Agdal Church space is outdoor space and safe.

Day Three - February 29

There are 11 of us; everyone is there except Black Machete; we still keep a chair for him in the circle. Totorina and Jon Toronto leave early.

Morning workshop:

We train body and voice. Spontaneously, Djallu starts shouting "Je m'appelle + everyone's name," everyone repeats from time to time. Self-management!

Overturned power dynamics, self-management.

Space walking exercises, stop and go, Amsterdam clown. Dionysus and giants game - the 2 strongest in the room (Totorina and Trendy buy) have to lift all participants one by one, they have

to try not to get lifted. Strategies: most hide, Tely camouflages, Nayly throws herself on the floor. Montreal proposes to block them, three of them try.

We sit in a circle to discuss. How do we want to enact the themes we have chosen? We have four possibilities for tomorrow, which will be the last day:

- 1) We organize a show and invite their friends and our friends;
- 2) We organize a show and they invite only their friends;
- 3) We don't do a show, we use a camera to take videos and photos;
- 4) We don't do anything, we just continue to workshop with each other.

A discussion begins, everyone takes the floor by raising their hand - if someone doesn't understand they make the finger sign. At one point they argue in chaff among themselves, we don't understand. They decide they don't want to invite their friends from Guinea, they tell us if we want we can invite our friends - but only Italians. Moroccans no. They decide to choose the third option, with the camera.

We have lunch together in the church garden, Mask pro sings lyrics he wrote, song about discrimination.

Afternoon workshop:

first exercises are aimed at bringing back concentration and strengthening the group. From a seated position with eyes closed we repeat the sounds we hear. We count aloud to twenty, when two say the same number we start again.

Dado proposes a moment on the issue of the missing. He proposes to do it first and then work on the other three who went out. He asks if they have anyone in particular in mind; Trendy boy says four of his friends went missing in Ceuta. Tely says they are talking about a friend of theirs who was staying in Taqadoum and whose trail was lost in Ceuta last year, his name was Daniel Oury. Dado suggests trying to represent the memorial for Daniel with objects.

They actually begin to represent the Ceuta border, in a very eventful way. Totorina comes out, Toronto starts messing with the balloon, then enters the border construction and is unstoppable. There is confusion, Dado doesn't quite know how to handle the situation. Montreal and I are asked to hold up a panel indicating the Spanish side of the barrier.

With chairs the border is built on the Moroccan side - the legs of the chairs are turned upward, indicating spurs. There is a space in the middle, Djallu throws himself on the ground "I make a dead man," Dado tells him that only objects should be in the scene. A mattress is placed by Trendy boy to indicate the cemetery. A cardboard box on the side indicates the police base instead.

A panel (held by Montreal and me, the only white people among the participants) indicates the Spanish border. Toronto adds a pole-"it's the radar that signals the police if there are people, in all you have a minute and a half before the radar beeps"-then a door-"this is where the Spanish police come out to pick up people and hand them over to the Moroccan police" "this door opens for the Spanish, for us it doesn't" "not even for the Moroccans does this door open." The border construction points to the whole room. There is frenzy.

From the themes that were proposed yesterday, this was the most voted - Dado says for this theme we all work together, for the others we will tell each other. Whoever wants to, otherwise does not participate and is free to go outside. Mandate: we symbolically stage the space of this theme. Enthusiasm a bit of flakiness, Toronto that is not there and then there is, Totorina goes out and comes back in, difficulty entering the proposed boundary. The construction of the border is rich in details - the Moroccan gate, the radar, the cemetery.

Dado calls everyone out. Okay, we have represented the frontier, the theme we want to say is the missing. Is there anything we can add?

Added items: backpack, jacket, sweatshirt, water bottle. Tely takes off his sweater and puts it there. To put the objects close together, they move the chairs: the frontier opens, the traces of the missing are carried further. Now in front are the symbols. "These are the objects one must leave behind when one begins to jump the *waya*, to lighten up. You only leave a layer on yourself."

The atmosphere is charged, there is silence. Do you want to say something? You can talk to objects. Prayers, thoughts? One bows and kisses clothes, Mandy bows and opens her backpack, takes a necklace and kisses it. People speak in French and chaff, many recite prayers - talk to Daniel. Mask pro sings a song. Many cry, even me.

Dado asks what feelings are there.

Tely-pity, we think of his family, they call us to ask for information and news and we don't know what to say; Toronto "one day we were playing soccer together and overnight he disappeared." We want to know what happened to him, it would be better to know if he is dead than to be left with this unknown, we would be relieved.

Cigarette break - Toronto shows photos of the border and describes it. He points to the cemetery "this is where we are". I ask him who is buried there - he says both Moroccans and sub-Saharan. Dado asks if it is Muslim cemetery "no no it is everyone's".

Other observations:

Toronto for the first part is alone, messing with the balloon. Then he puts on his sunglasses and goes to build the border, even in commemoration he keeps them on. Is the commemoration simulated? Real or fiction?

Immediately after the commemoration, Totorina and Toronto leave. Now we divide between the three groups: Beginning of Adventure, Algeria, Life in Morocco. participants divide only between Beginning of Adventure and Morocco, no one gets into Algeria group.

Image Theater Workshop - each group thinks of a photograph on the theme and represents it. Attention to details. When the photo is ready, the audience (the other group) gives an interpretation, asks questions to the protagonists of the photos, makes suggestions.

Photo about life in Morocco - there is Trendy boy, undocumented migrant, yanked by policeman Djallu. I am migrant with documents with phone in hand, Nayly blocks me from reaching Trendy boy.

To be a migrant with papers, Trendy boy gives me his passport, which I keep in my pocket.

Audience interaction: - question to Djallo about why he arrests Trendy Boy "he doesn't have papers", question about whether it's his fault "yes, it's his fault he doesn't have papers". - Tely went to policeman, "is there any need to pull him like that?" and policeman "who are you to talk to me like that? Give me the papers" Tely does not back down. He pays 100 dirhams to leave his friend and they leave. When money comes cops are super friendly. Questions to Nailly who blocks me, Dado about his relationship with sub-Saharanans "I have never had coffee with sub-Saharanans because I don't like them".

Scene two, about the beginning of the adventure - three people walking - Mask pro looks at ground (then back); Tely in middle with backpack, more swagger, assertive - Mandy, hood on head, looks at void.

Question to Mask pro - what do you think about? "I think about my family"; how come you don't have a luggage? "I didn't have the money to buy a backpack".

Tely - audience debate, who is it? He is the guide (he is the "guider"). 2 different views, trendy boy says he has map knowledge but needs to not go alone (everyone needs everyone), Djallo says no, only for money he does it, no solidarity.

Mandy has a sad look on her face, the audience says Tely probably took his phone (Tely replies "I'll give it back to you when we get there").

The scene moves. We are in Oujda, the three arrive at a house, Tely locks up and asks for payment. Mask pro pays and is given food, sits in a corner to eat. Mandy does not pay - Djallo and another arrive, support Tely, beat Mandy because she did not pay. He has no money "call your family to send you money" he doesn't want to - Tely smokes hash sitting down. Actor change - Djallo takes Mandy's place, takes phone to ask for money but really just wants to tell mom he has arrived, they beat him, he cries. Tely says "if Trendy boy (who is a peer of Djallo) convinces him to pay solves problem," he goes and manages to pay 200 out of 500. "it's his fault if he doesn't pay," Tely acts in his role. They give him half a cheese, money he pays is given by boss to henchmen, "I have no more to give you because he gave little." They come back and retaliate "this will be the treatment, based on how much you pay".

For closure let's play the wireless phone game, it lightens so. I look and Djallo now looks like a child.

Day 4 - March 1

Morning workshop:

There are eleven of us, everyone is there except Black Machete. Totorina and Trendy boy arrive over an hour later. We do various exercises for the group - start with music, we dance with eyes closed, individual dance that becomes collective. Game then "complete the picture" - one person stands in the center, others join in to complete the picture. Different images of violence and war, people with guns. Stage fights - people intervening to divide. Add some of his own: rain, traffic noise, baby crying. Nailly walk away and the circle is broken. "It reminds me of my two children."

Several games on Trust - in pairs, leading with hand (hypnosis), then all together - Mandy leading, can't go - Max pro takes over. At the end of the game asks what the game represented: trust, we found each other, listening.

Cab game without lights - one is cab with eyes closed, the other driver has to drive it. Music is added, cab can dance. Questions: which is easier, driving or being driven?

Answers: - it is easier to drive, but it is better to be driven so you dance; better to be driver because if you are car without driver you can't move. They often answer what is better, not what is easier. They tend to want to drive.

Sound chain game.

Lunch together.

Afternoon workshop:

We play a game to warm up the voice - in pairs, one shouts yes and the other no, I can/no you can't. Then it gets collective, half go to the center to shout yes I can/outside are the authorities "no you can't". Those who say they can (oppressed?) are inside the circle, they are all closer while authorities stand outside and are distant from each other; those inside could back each other vs. police but don't, little solidarity. It's more of an individual process - Trendy Boy convinced from Toronto, he's a cop and tells him "yes you can pass".

Let's have the graduation ceremony, everyone gets one on stage, signed by us - + photos and applause for everyone, even for Black Machete who is not there.

The diploma is a recognition for the work done and attendance in the previous days. Now we go to work on the themes, with everyone's freedom to participate or not.

We have a camera, we discuss together how to use it. 1) we don't use it; 2) we use it but keep the material to ourselves; 3) we share the material outside. We explain that the University of Genoa has a website and that you can share there, that it can be a space where we can tell about things if we want to. We are not obliged to share anything, but it can be shared there if we want. Everyone agrees with the third option.

Resuming with Image Theater, we split into the two groups. Camera appears. Scenes conditions of life in Morocco and adventure begins.

First scene, **life in Morocco**:

Audience interprets and comments.

Police: Totorina (blue jacket, chief), Toronto (orange hat), Trendy boy (black cap, civil).
Migrants: Nayly (green jacket, no papiers), Djallu (white-gray jacket, has the papiers).

Dialogues:



1 - Staging of "The migrant life system in Morocco".

Totorina describes, "He is a policeman (trendy boy), he is a sans-papiers (Nayly). They (Toronto policeman and Djallu) are arguing, I am the police chief." Totorina to Toronto, "okay hold him by his jacket" he takes Djallu's ID in his hand. Tely interjects from the audience, "The police chief has to look at Djallu and say 'It's not you!' (the one in the photo of the document)" "Shout!" Totorina "*mashi anta!* (is not you, in arabic)"

Dado asks questions to Toronto policemen and Totorina who reply "we are working, we can't answer".

To Djallu (migrant): what is your name? D: Djallu. Dado: this is theater, you can change your name. D: My name is Jack. Dado: how are you doing? D: It's not going well. Because they took my papers. Dado: But is that you? D: yes it's me (x3).



He goes to Nayly, tugged by policeman Trendy boy, and points at him. D: what country are you from? Public discussion: Guinea/Senegal/Mauritania. He is 28 years old, been here for 8 years. "How do you feel?" He is very angry.

D: how are you doing? Why are you holding your hand over your face? N: Because the police hit me. It happens every day like that.

Now Dado points to Trendy Boy, "who is he?" audience: He is for the police, but he has no uniform, because he is not an officer, he is a civilian who takes money for the migrants he takes. He does it as a volunteer activity. He is a civilian, for every sub-Saharan he takes he has a percentage. It is for the sub-Saharan he eats.

Tely turns to Trendy boy-police officer: do you have a card indicating that you work for the police? yes. Can you show it to us? No I'm busy right now. "Because we think you don't have the card".

Tely: is that any way to keep it? Just because you have to ask him for his papers you have to yank him like that? Why did you hurt him? Trendy boy: because he wanted to run away. Tely: but does that still seem like the way? What's the big deal?

Scene continues: Djallu keeps insisting that he is the one with the document, Toronto yanks him. Trendy boy takes Nayly to the police chief. Violence. Chief makes Djallu and Nayly bow down, Djallu is beaten. Nayly has no papers, gives money to Totorina and is released with pats on the back. Back to Djallu "you are not the one in the picture," he is put in a truck - Toronto empties his pockets.

In the truck, Trendy boy driving, Djallu sitting held down and shut up violently by Toronto. They pull him, tug, sit on a bench. They get back into the truck and leave.

Dado interviews Trendy boy and Toronto who are inside the truck: D: are you happy because of what you did or are you happy because you made money? TB: I'm happy because I get the money. D: is it normal to treat people like this? TB: Yes. A Toronto: D: good morning, are you happy? Did you have a good day? T: alhamdulillah. Today is Friday. D: did you go to the mosque? T: yes. D: are

there a lot of sub-Saharanans? T: sure, there are many, that's normal. D: is the mosque for everyone? T: yes of course, the mosque is for everybody.

They get up, go to police chief who pays them. They argue because they want more money. They leave.

The audience has the possibilities to interview the actors.



2 - Interviews to actors.

➤ Tely to Djallu: T: Where did they deport you to? D: to Khouribga. T: and did they give you anything to eat? D: no. T: they didn't give you anything. D: no, they took my money. T: how much money did they take from you? D: 300 dirhams. T: how old are you? D: 15. T: ah so you are a minor.

➤ To Toronto - Tely: Monsieur, why did you do this to the boy who is a minor? He had the papers. T: he didn't have them. Tely: and why did he say he had them? Toronto: he wasn't the one on the paper. Tely: but there is his picture on the document. Toronto: it wasn't him. He didn't have

anything. (aggressive tone). Don't talk to me like that, I work, okay? You have no right to ask me anything. Tely: you are authorized to treat a child this way?

Totorina intervenes: here we are in Morocco and this is the law, this is the country. it is mandatory here aveve the papers. Tely: but UNHCR gives papers to migrants, and these papiers allow them to move freely. Toronto and Totorina again emphasize that not Djallu has no papers. Tely: but he is not 18 years old.

- To Trendy Boy - why do you treat him this way? Trendy boy: I had to trap him because he was running away. He asks him again for evidence that he is a policeman. Tely: does it seem normal to trap someone like that? Trendy boy: it's not normal.
- A Nayly: why don't you have papiers? N: it's all business. They ask you about 100 dirhams, and then they let you go. Totorina: that's it, that's Morocco.
- Dado to Totorina and Toronto. D: today is Friday, a beautiful day. Do you have anyone from the family who left? In Europe it is full of people from Morocco, do you have anyone there? T/T: yes, of course. D: and how are they? T/T: some do some don't. We have people from the neighborhood there. D do they have papers in their pockets? T: not all of them, but they have problems. D: who doesn't give them papers? France? T: not only France, all the countries in the European Union. D: and isn't that the same thing that happens in Morocco for sub-Saharanans? The condition of young people leaving everywhere? What is the difference between Monsieaur Nayly and your brother who left for Italy? T: These are Africans! Morocco is something else. (they speak in Arabic). it is a different thing for Moroccans in France, here Africans are many many many.
- Dado: policemen beating undocumented Moroccans, is that normal or not? T/T/TB: it is not normal. D: ah so Moroccans beaten in Europe because they don't have papers is not normal, but sub-Saharan friends beaten here is okay? T: that's another thing, they are Africans. It is a problem to have all these Africans, before the city of Rabat was different, it was better when they were not there. D: think, it's the same thing Europeans say about

North Africans, "it was better when they weren't there." T: Morocco is Maghreb, it's not Africa. It is something else. Tely: but look at the geography. T: Morocco is not Africa; is there couscous in Africa? Aaah no!

I am a little anxious about the presence of the camera, I don't know what impact it has. I follow very little.

Second photo, **The beginning of the adventure**. Same photo as yesterday, Tely in the middle, Mandy on the side with hood, Mask pro on the side with water bottle in hand.



3 - Staging of "The beginning of the adventure".

Pieces of dialogues:

Mask pro - "thinks a lot about family".

Who is Tely? Audience: he is one of their friends. He is the one who knows the route, knows the direction. Dado: how does he know it? Audience: because he has already done it or got information from his friends. So he brought two friends with him.

➤ To Mandy - he is sad to leave. Toronto: is this your first time trying to leave? M: yes, it is the first time. T: how old are you? M: 15 years old. T: and how come you are leaving so young? M: because I can't watch my friends die anymore. I

can't take it anymore.

- To Tely, questions: how old are you? Twenty years old; Q: what do you have in your backpack? T: I have some clothes, some water reserve. This is my first time taking this road. Q: do you know where you have to go? T: the next stop is xx in Mali.
- Mask pro: I think every day about my family, I left to find a future. Why did you decide to leave from your country? MP: because there were many demonstrations, and many problems.
- Toronto: what guarantees that you will arrive? - MP: it is an attempt. T: you could have stayed at home instead of taking the road to Europe. Mask pro: no I had to leave because of the demonstrations.
- Tely: what about you? Tely: it's the same as my brother said, the demonstrations... you can't talk, because when you try to talk... so we want freedom.
Toronto: but what guarantees that you will come to Europe and have freedom? Because then you arrive in Europe and you are sans-papiers, is it freedom? Tely: the destination is not Europe, it's freedom of expression. I want to find a better life, more specifically freedom, where I can speak, I can share my thoughts. At home there is not; that is the destination.
Toronto: Do you know that the route is difficult, that people die? Tely: I know there's a lot of suffering, but you don't know how many people have died in my neighborhood because of the military, the Guinean military hitting us young people. because of the president-what's the problem in my country? That you can't talk.

Toronto: It's not that you have been influenced by your friends' friends who are in Europe and maybe they put pictures of the Eiffel Tower on social media? Tely: no I am not interested. The decision to come was when my friend died.

Question about documents-if you don't have documents how will the Guinean authorities recognize you? How are you going to cross the border if you don't have the documents to do so? Tely: I don't know, I will see.

Bonne chance.

Toronto and Totorina are the main ones asking questions, taking the space in front of the video camera. Here Tely is seen as someone who knows the way but does not take advantage of the other two. Provocations from Toronto: why are you leaving? Don't you know you are going to death? Don't you know it's dangerous? Do you have papers? And if you don't have a passport, how are you going to tell it's you?

Observations on camera presence:

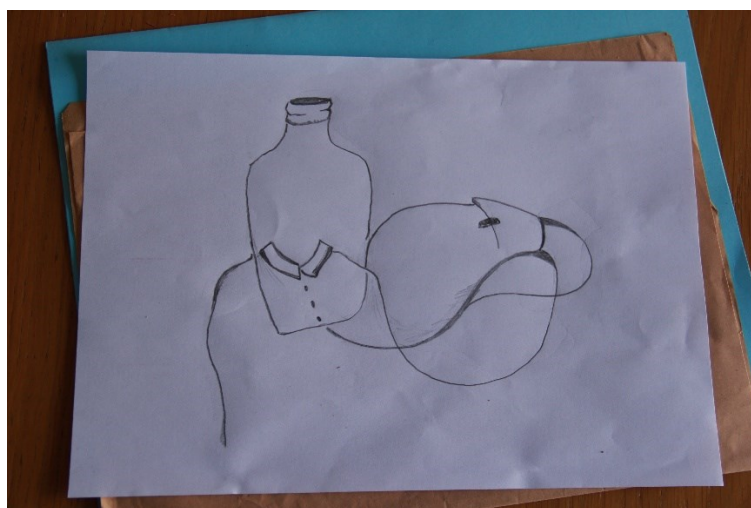
Group dynamics change, "big" totorina and toronto expose themselves more, Mandy silent for example. More articulate discourse, e.g. Tely explaining that there is no freedom of expression in Guinea, more focus on explaining things. Video camera becomes way of telling things outside.

As we are taking the group photo Modeste, priest of the church, enters, without asking permission he steps into the circle. It bothers me personally - he interjects saying we are good and we are not alone, I perceive it as an invasion but the participants seem okay.

Closing: there is a Backpack in the middle - what do you take with you from this workshop? "I learned," "I am always alone when I work, I have friends here," "good for the future," "useful," "now I have friends who are not from my country." Djallo closed it and took it with him.

Cultural Objects

POSTCARD 1- POUR CEUX QUI NE SONT NI ARRIVÉS NI RENTRÉS



4 - The memorial for D., disappeared in Ceuta. Water, backpack, sweatshirt: "You have to leave them because they clutter the waya climb" Tely.

POSTCARD 2 - LE DÉBUT DE L'AVENTURE



5 - Qu'est-ce que tu as dans ton sac à dos ?

POSTCARD 3 - LE MODE DE VIE DES MIGRANTS AU MAROC



6 – Mashi anta!

Cultural Object Data

Fieldwork type*	Ethnographic Antennae
NODE Number*	NODE1
Name of the Collector(s)*	Michela Lovato
Country*	Morocco
Place*	Rabat
Date(s)*	01032024

Authors' Personal Data*

Code*	Image
Author*	People On Move
Gender*	Male
Age*	18-27
Citizenship*	Guinea Conakry
Has the agreement/consent on the use of cultural object given in the framework of ERC SOLROUTES	Yes
Other Relevant Data	The group that produced the cultural objects consists of a group of eight adventurers who shared life in the Taqadoun neighborhood.

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