EMPOWERMENT OF CHINESE (ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE) YOUTH THROUGH POPULAR THEATRE

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines theories of delinquency and the history of the Chinese community in Vancouver in recognition of the fact that they are important to the development and establishment of effective programs for Chinese ESL (English as a second language) youth. Without a clear understanding of how we have arrived at the current situation in youth work, it is difficult to separate the symptoms from the problems as they pertain to Chinese ESL youth. Existing programs focus on approaches to "integrate" and "incorporate" youth into Canadian society, yet it is not always clear if the goals of "integration" and "incorporation" are a help or hinderance to Chinese ESL youth.

Programs targeted at "transformation", such as popular theatre, may be more effective since they deal with problems at a socio-political and historical level. Such an approach also deal with the concept of power and analyzes the "covert institutional violence" that exists in society and strives for long-term changes at a structural level. The hypothesis put forward in this study is that a popular theatre program would have a positive effect on the self-esteem of Chinese ESL youth.

The research uses a pre-test - post-test design. One group of 15 participants from a single Vancouver high-school was referred to the popular theatre program by school personnel. The Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory was administered at the beginning and the end of the program to provide quantitative data on the change in self-esteem level of participants. Interviews with 3 of the participants were conducted and transcribed to provide qualitative data. It was found that the change in general, social and overall self-esteem was significant at the 0.005 level while other self-esteem sub-categories did not show a statistical significance at the 0.10 level. Analysis of the qualitative data obtained from the interviews identified 3 themes in the responses given by the interviewees concerning the popular theatre program: a) opportunities for expression; b) shared life experiences; and c) learning new ideas in order to take action. The results were consistent with the quantitative data as well as the ideas and techniques of popular theatre. The results suggest that programs targeted at "transformation" are effective at raising the self-esteem level of Chinese ESL youth.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

OPPRESSION IN SALTWATER CITY

Examining the history of the Chinese in Vancouver is vital to understanding the current issues relating to Chinese youth and the overall Chinese community. It is only through examining the history of the Chinese that the oppression and personal problems that exist in the Chinese community can be understood as being the result of the covert institutional violence (i.e. structural, political, historical and economic factors) as opposed to some inherent quality within the individual or the community.

Vancouver, over thirteen decades of Chinese immigration, continues to be known as "Saltwater City", a nickname given by the early settlers because of what was considered to be the incessant rainfall. Despite the long history of immigration to Canada, Chinese Canadians remain a foreign population in Canada in two ways. First, as recently as 1986, 71% of Chinese Canadians were born outside of Canada, and of these, 85% arrived in Canada after 1967 (Census of Canada: 1986, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals). Second, from the perspective of the Canadian public, Canadians are usually equated with caucasians, while Chinese Canadians and other non-white Canadians are seen as foreigners. These two factors - one based on fact, the other on prejudice - colour the general public's view towards Chinese Canadians. Immigrants in general and Chinese in particular are often blamed for social ills such as unemployment and housing costs (Li: 1992, p. 264; Li: 1979, p. 70-77).

From a socio-political perspective, the best way to understand the history of the Chinese
in Vancouver is to view it as three periods corresponding to the major shifts in Canada's civil rights and immigration legislation affecting the Chinese. The first period covers a time span of 65 years from 1858, when the Chinese first immigrated to Canada, to the passage of the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1923. The second period of 23 years, from 1924 to 1947, was an era characterized by exclusion due to the *Chinese Immigration Act* which stopped the immigration of Chinese to Canada. The third period covers 1947 onward with the repeal of the discriminatory laws against the Chinese, increase in civil rights for Chinese Canadians along with the improved social status. A common theme throughout the three periods is that the Canadian government's policy towards the Chinese and the social reception accorded them largely determined the structure and direction of the Chinese community. In this sense, the distinction between periods has less to do with any natural process of change within the Chinese community than with broader forces within Canadian society to which the Chinese community was compelled to adapt (Li: 1992, p. 265).

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTION RACISM (1858-1923)**

Not unlike other ethnic groups who have migrated from their homeland, the migration of Chinese from their native land was brought about by both "push" and "pull" forces. The "push" came from foreign invasion and internal revolts. Between 1839 and 1900, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Japan, the United States and Russia engaged in a series of wars with China in her territories and succeeded in securing unequal trading rights and privileges from the Ch'ing government of China. (Wakeman: 1975, pp. 3-10; Hsu: 1970, pp. 3-24). As an example, China was defeated by Britain in the Opium War (1839-42) over rights to trade opium...
in China. In addition to the problems of war, there was the declining farm productivity and increasing population forcing the migration of many Chinese from Guangdong and Fujian province overseas (Yerbury and Faith: 1993, p. 244). The "pull" came from the industrial development of Western Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century which required massive labour power unavailable in Canada (Timlin: 1960, pp. 517-532). The overseas supply of Chinese labour at a minimal cost became attractive to railroad contractors, manufacturers and employers in Canada.

It was clear from the outset that the Chinese were considered useful to the development of Western Canada but not desirable as citizens. The Chinese were considered so "uncivilized" that it would be impossible for them to successfully integrate into Canadian society. Prior to the completion of the railroad, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald frankly put it to the House of Commons in 1883, "It will be all very well to exclude Chinese labour, when we can replace it with white labour, but until that is done, it is better to have Chinese labour than no labour at all" (Canada, House of Commons Debates: 1883, p. 905). It is, therefore, no surprise that the first federal legislation against the Chinese was passed in 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. It came in the form of a "head tax" of $50 applied to virtually every Chinese entering the country (Statutes of Canada, 1885, c. 7). This was raised to $100 in 1900, and to $500 in 1903 (Statutes of Canada, 1900, c. 32, c.8).

The Chinese were welcomed as cheap labourers in situations where other labour was not available. As long as they were willing to accept menial positions without complaint and avoided competing with white workers for higher-paying jobs, the Chinese were tolerated in times of need. This made for a tenuous relationship between the Chinese and white workers.
As labour disputes erupted the Chinese became the target of racially-based attacks because it was believed by white workers, without any proof, that Chinese labourers were causing all kinds of economic and social woes. For example, many white businessmen vowed to discourage Chinese from locating in Vancouver, to refuse them employment or trade, and to boycott whites who hired them. Fundraising was done by some people to buy out Chinese property owners. An anti-Chinese league was formed and the league circulated about 500 display cards reading:

Vancouver Anti-Chinese Pledge

To appreciate freedom we must prohibit slave labor. The undersigned pledges himself not to deal directly or indirectly with Chinese or any person who encourages them by trade or otherwise (Ward: 1978, p.45).

The daily press called for measures to prevent the province from being over-run by the Chinese immigrants. Labour journals were equally agitated.

Is nothing to be done to stop the influx of mongols into this province? What is in store for us as an Anglo-Saxon community? With the mongols in our mines, workshops, forests, and on railroads, and tilling our farms, what is to become of our white labourers, miners and mechanics? The workers of British Columbia may be forced to give the government to understand, once for all, that they intend this community shall remain Anglo-Saxon (Industrial Business as cited in Ward: 1978, p. 56).

The number of laws passed against the Chinese between 1875 and 1923 by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia clearly reflected the State’s notion that the Chinese were an inferior race (Li, 1988). In 1884, a bill was passed that prohibited Chinese from acquiring crown lands and diverting water from natural channels. 1890 saw the Coal Mines Regulation Amendment Act which prevented Chinese from working underground. The Provincial Home Act
of 1893 excluded Chinese from admission to the provincially established home for the aged and infirm; they were prohibited from being hired on public works in 1897. According to the Liquor License Act of 1900, they were not entitled to hold a liquor license. A hand-logger's license required that an individual be on the provincial voter's list, but since the Chinese were excluded from such a list, obtaining the license was not possible. The professions of pharmacy and law were prohibited as careers for the Chinese. Finally, the 1920 Provincial Elections Act reaffirmed that all Chinese were disqualified from voting (Yerbury and Faith: 1993, p. 247).

After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885-1923, four statutes were passed by the Canadian Parliament to regulate Chinese immigration, culminating in the Chinese Immigration Act, the most comprehensive legislation to exclude Chinese from entering the country and to control those already in Canada (Statutes of Canada, 1923, c. 38). The Act stipulated that entry to Canada for persons of Chinese origin, irrespective of citizenship, would be restricted to diplomats, children born in Canada, merchants and students; all other Chinese were excluded. The Act also required every person of Chinese origin in Canada to register with the Government of Canada within twelve months and to obtain a certificate of such registration. The penalty for failing to register was a fine of up to $500 or imprisonment for up to twelve months. In addition, all Chinese in Canada who intended to travel abroad and return at a later date had to give the Canadian government written notice before departure, specifying the foreign port to be visited and the route to be taken. After registration, the individual must return within two years. In essence, the Chinese Immigration Act stopped Chinese immigration to Canada until its repeal in 1947.
This period in Canadian history was a most difficult one for the Chinese community in Canada. Prior to the introduction of the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1923, Chinese immigrants had already paid to the Canadian government $22.5 million for entering and leaving the country; most of it in the form of a head tax (Li: 1988, p. 54; Munro: 1971, pp. 42-51). It was clear by 1923 that the Chinese were second-class citizens in Canada. Institutional racism against the Chinese was entrenched in economic and political institutions; unequal treatments were legally and officially sanctioned. The Chinese became marginal to Canadian society.

The institutional racism, in addition to producing a hostile social environment in which the Chinese fought to survive, resulted in numerous consequences of which some can still be readily seen today. The many restrictions placed on the type of professions the Chinese were allowed to enter meant being excluded from the core labour market. In order to deal with such barriers, the Chinese retreated into their own community and thrived on marginal businesses such as laundry and restaurants. These areas became the main sources of employment for the Chinese through to the Second World War. The residual effects of this still can be seen today with many second and third generation restauranteurs.

A second consequence was a dearth of family life for the predominantly male Chinese community. The economic hardships, in conjunction with the imposed head tax, made it financially impossible to bring family members over prior to the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act*. For those with the financial means, social hostility and rampant discrimination against the Chinese tended to discourage them from bringing over family members. The anti-Oriental riots of 1887 and 1907 in Vancouver’s Chinatown were reflections of just how strong
The hostility was. The riot in the summer of 1907 vented racial tensions which had been building for several weeks. Although the white protesters acted spontaneously and lacked any disciplined organization, the targets of the attack were selected carefully. The windows of buildings which Orientals occupied were broken while neighbouring white-owned businesses, with the exception of one or two, were left untouched. Along Powell and Hastings streets the day following the attack, the Chinese and the Japanese boarded up their store fronts for a week and braced themselves for another assault (Ward: 1978, pp. 71-71).

A third consequence was the development of voluntary associations along the lines of common locality of origin, common surnames, principles of fraternity or common Chinese heritage. These associations, some of which can still be seen today in Vancouver’s Chinatown, helped many immigrants deal with a hostile social environment and gave the necessary support in the absence of any family life. They also kept the Chinese in touch with the affairs of the homeland, helped the workers to send money back to China and, in some cases, they transported the bones of the deceased back to China for suitable burial (Gee: 1982, p.5). It has been believed by many outside the Chinese community that such business and voluntary associations were transplanted from an old world culture. In reality, they were a response to institutional racism and legislative exclusion.

**THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1947 ONWARDS)**

During the Second World War, many Chinese Canadians made contributions to the Canadian war effort and China was also a Canadian ally during the war. Politically, the *Chinese Immigration Act* became an embarrassment to the Canadian government. In 1947, the
Parliament of Canada repealed the *Chinese Immigration Act*, ending twenty-four years of no Chinese immigrants. This was quickly followed the same year in British Columbia with the Chinese being granted the right to vote (Li: 1988, p. 24). Despite the change in immigration policy, Chinese immigrants were still a long way from being considered by the Canadian government as equals of European and American immigrants. While there was relatively free migration for people from Europe and the United States, admission of Asians was limited to spouses and minor unmarried children until a policy change in 1962. Even with the changes in 1962, the policy still had a discriminatory clause, restricting the range of sponsorship allowed for Asians as compared to Europeans and Americans (Hawkins: 1988, pp. 10-15). Finally, with the adoption of the universal point system in 1967, there was the same criteria for all potential immigrants. With more Chinese immigrants after 1967, the Chinese community’s characteristics began to change. There was the emergence of a new middle class consisting of immigrant professional and technical workers along with second-generation Chinese Canadians, who had moved up to managerial and professional occupations. However, the earnings of Chinese Canadians still lagged behind those of white workers, even after differences in schooling, age and other factors had been taken into account (Li: 1987, p. 102-113; Li: 1990 pp. 187-194). Income discrimination in the labour market continued to be a problem ("Chinese Canadians Fight Racism: Glass Ceiling Blamed For Stopping Workers’ Advancement to Management Ranks", *Globe & Mail*, April 16, 1991, p. A7).

In addition to problems in the labour market, there continued to be social obstacles. In 1979, the CTV public affairs program W5 depicted Chinese as foreigners taking away university places from white Canadians. More recently in 1991, CBC Radio produced a series of short
stories collectively known as "Dim Sum Diaries" which presented stereotypical views of Chinese immigrants. The result was intense lobbying in both cases, concluding with the respective networks issuing apologies.

Despite the advances made by the Chinese community towards equality, the future remains uncertain. With the change in Canadian immigration policy to accommodate business immigrants, there is little doubt that Hong Kong immigrants have been the major supporters of the business immigrant program. In 1990, 455 immigrant visas were reported to have been issued to Hong Kong residents as entrepreneur immigrants. Their aggregate net worth was $658 million ("The Asia Factor", The Province, July 21, 1991, pp. 35 & 38). As Chinese immigrants increase their presence on the west coast, they have also become the target of a new racial antagonism. In British Columbia there presently exists a stereotype that all Chinese immigrants are wealthy business people who are buying up all the real estate and taking over the province. The more recent Chinese immigrants are blamed for destroying the traditional neighbourhoods of Vancouver by building what are referred to in the media as "monster houses" ("Curbing Monster Houses", The Vancouver Sun, November 14, 1989, p. A9; "One Man Wields Unique Sword at 'Monster' Houses", The Vancouver Sun, May 25, 1990, pp. B1-2; "How We Saved Shaughnessy From Monsters", The Vancouver Sun, June 23, 1990, pp. D10-11). In addition, recent immigrants have been blamed for driving housing prices up (Angus Reid Group: 1989, p. 14). As Canada struggles through the current period of economic and social difficulties, the previous examples illustrate that immigrants are once again the target of racially-based attacks.

This reflects the fact that the Canadian attitude towards immigrants has fundamentally changed very little since the arrival of the first visible minority to Canada. The persisting attitude has
resulted in over a century of scapegoating because it has obscured the root cause of society's problems.

As illustrated in this chapter, the Chinese community in Vancouver has endured thirteen decades of social, political and economic inequality. Both covert institutional violence and the importance of power in the designation of what is "deviant" continue to be neglected as attention is consistently diverted by the media, politicians, and police towards the symptoms that result from institutional violence such as unemployment, poverty, racism, "at-risk youth", youth gangs, and so on. In terms of Chinese ESL youth, the consequence of this has been the development of numerous programs that may effectively deal with the symptoms, but which fail to address the more important underlying factors. To deal with such factors, exploration of alternative approaches to youth work are necessary. The philosophical approach of popular theatre - which reveals oppression and personal problems at the structural and political/historical level - provides one such alternative. Before examining popular theatre/education, we need to consider the present approach of youth work and the manner in which it has arrived at its present state.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The recent media focus on the issue of Asian youth gangs in metro Vancouver has heightened public awareness of youth gangs. Politicians, law enforcement officials, school personnel and social service agencies are all involved to some extent in seeking ways to deal effectively with Asian youth gangs. In seeking solutions to any problem, it is important to distinguish the symptoms from the problem. The planning and implementation of effective interventions must begin with having first distinguished between symptoms and problems because symptom relief does not necessarily lead to problem resolution. Symptoms are signs of the existence of a problem. Problems, on the other hand, are unsettled matters that demand solution or decision because they cause trouble or distress. For example, there is currently a strong movement towards a neo-conservative agenda that is calling for stronger penalties for criminals, drug addicts, prostitutes, etc. because it is those "deviants" that represents what is wrong with society in the 1990's. In reality, those "deviants" are not the problem but rather the symptoms of a society that neglects conditions of inequality, powerlessness, oppression, persecution, and suffering. Stronger penalties may provide symptom relief, but would do very little in terms of problem resolution.

Neither symptoms nor problems occur in a vacuum. They are embedded in a context. Without a fundamental understanding of the context, it is easy to confuse symptoms as problems since both are related parts of a dilemma. On the issue of Asian youth gangs, many individuals and organizations involved in seeking solutions have been quick to assume "gangs" are the problem as opposed to being the symptom of a deeper malaise. The result of this has been a
tremendous allocation of resources toward dealing with the symptoms while neglecting potentially more effective strategies that deal with the root causes.

Most of the focus in the provision of programs to deal with Asian youth gangs is on the prevention of new immigrant Asian youth from joining or becoming recruited into gangs. To accomplish this, the target of such programs has been Asian youth of high-school age (13-18 years old) for whom English is a second language (ESL). The content of each program varies depending on the process favoured from organization to organization but a common theme is to develop ways to "integrate" and "incorporate" ESL youth into Canadian society. Integration, in this case, can be defined as a situation in which a group retains its cultural integrity and at the same time moves into an integral position within the larger society. Incorporation can be defined as the same as integration with the added component of pressure (where the larger society pressures a group towards integration). Examples of such programs include employment counselling, clinical counselling and English language training. The rationale is that when such programs are unavailable or when ESL youth reject such programs, the immigrant youth become "at-risk" of joining gangs because they are caught up in an environment not conducive to promoting self-esteem and competence. In other words, the youth begins to feel alienated from the "mainstream" society.

The key assumption that accompanies the rationale of "integration" and "incorporation" is that there exists a "good, organized, and just" society that harbours an environment conducive to promoting self-esteem and competence --- a society that those youth who are "at-risk" or already in gangs have forsaken. The argument made in this thesis is that it is precisely this assumption that is the shortcoming of existing ESL youth programs. It has become increasingly
apparent over the last three decades that the growing concentration of corporate power at home and the extension of transnational company activities into Third World countries only benefit a privileged few. The majority of individuals have experienced a deterioration in economic prospects as well as quality of life with a growing sense of powerlessness (Arnold, Barndt and Burke: 1985, p.13). The goal should not be to "integrate" and "incorporate" youth into an oppressive and exploitative socio-political structure but rather to work with the youth in true solidarity to transform the existing structures. Transformation, in this thesis, is defined as the process of critically examining the present situation with the goal of changing those factors which restrain groups and individuals from growing fully.

One such approach is the use of popular education/theatre. Participants in such programs come to recognize oppression in their own lives and see how common such feelings and experiences are. This growing sense of solidarity with each other in dealing with difficult situations from their own lives is empowering for the participants, as personal concerns gradually become community concerns. In other words, these concerns become something everyone can relate to and resolve. As a result there is an increased awareness of the power in their personal relationships, to their community and their families.

The exploration of new approaches in working with new immigrant Asian youth is of extreme importance if one considers the motivation behind the Canadian government’s Five Year Immigration Plan (1991-1995) and the projected immigration pattern to British Columbia (see Graph II-1). The motivation behind the Canadian government’s immigration plan is based on three strategic needs: (a) the declining fertility rate; (b) economic need; and (c) an aged balanced population.
GRAPH II-1

Number Of Chinese Immigrants To British Columbia Compared To Total Number Of Immigrants To British Columbia From 1986 - 1992

LEGEND

Total Chinese

32,023

28,723

25,335

23,204

20,000 —

15,000 —

10,000 —

5,000 —

0/0/0/7,380


YEAR (Jan - Oct)
The fertility rate is a hypothetical figure representing the total number of children born on average to each woman. Canada's fertility rate has steadily declined since 1971. It is projected by demographers that to maintain a steady population the fertility rate would have to be 2.1 (the replacement level). Nineteen seventy-one was the last year that the replacement level was achieved (Lee: 1991, p. 4). Thus, immigration is the means to maintain a steady state population for Canada. Immigration is a necessity rather than a luxury or purely humanitarian gesture.

In an economy that is in recession, the funds provided by business and investment immigrants are significant in providing new jobs, businesses, and capital. It is expected, by the Canadian government, that the funds provided by business immigrants will increase yearly between 1991 and 1995. Immigration provides, from an economic perspective, a tremendous boost to the Canadian economy. In addition to the investment of funds, it is expected that the current immigration policy will allow for the selection of immigrants based on labour market shortages and the need for technical expertise.

Besides a declining fertility rate, Canada also has an increasingly aging population. This situation has led demographers to estimate that increased immigration is required to bolster Canada's population and smooth out the large age imbalances. The dependency ratio is projected to rapidly increase around 2010 as people born during the baby boom start turning 65. The same projections indicate that by 2030, 55% of the dependent population will be aged 65 and over while just under 45% will be aged 15. As part of the Canadian government's immigration plan to deal with such projections, 250,000 children below the age of 15 will be allowed to immigrate to Canada over the next five years (Lee: 1991, p.5). It is clear from such
projections that the social and economic implications of the declining fertility rate and increasing dependency ratio is a barrier to a prosperous and vital Canada.

As for the situation in British Columbia, approximately 38,000 immigrants arrived here in 1992 and this figure is expected to remain fairly stable through to 1996 (Lee: 1991, p. 8). If past settlement patterns persists, the lower mainland will continue to be the major centre in British Columbia for new immigrants. For example, in 1990 the percentage of visible minorities was approximately 80% of the total new arrivals in the Vancouver area (Lee: 1991, p.8). The majority of these new Canadians were members of visible minorities from South East Asia.

As stated previously, it is easy to confuse symptoms as problems unless one has a fundamental understanding of the context in which we are working in. To do this, we need to examine how the provision of services for Asian ESL youth has reached its present state by reviewing the theories on "at-risk" or "delinquent" youth that have dominated and continue to dominate the field of youth work.

**THEORIES OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR**

The literature on theories of delinquent behaviour is both extensive and diversified. Early theories focused on biological or bio-social explanations (McCord: 1958, pp.12-15). Physical characteristics associated with delinquent behaviour were claimed to include a longer jaw, flattened nose and low sensitivity to pain. Over the years, the focus has changed to the effect of the broader environment on the individual (i.e. social and cultural forces). The socio-cultural perspective of delinquency is quite diversified in terms of focus. In order to give a sense of the diversity, the following sketch of some of the dominant socio-cultural theories of delinquent
behaviour is provided. As each of these is reviewed, it is important to consider the socio-political context in which the theories were developed and the assumptions on which the theories are based. The following theories have been selected because the concepts continue to form the basis for many of the present programs for youth. Two common themes appear repeatedly throughout the theories. The first is that a lack of "integration" and "incorporation" into society is a key factor leading to youth being "at-risk" or "delinquent". Second, each ensuing theory attempts to improve on anomie theory - as adapted by Robert K. Merton for criminology from the sociological work of Emile Durkheim - while adhering to the principle of "integration" and "incorporation" (or the term "conforming" as used by some theorists).

Robert K. Merton (Merton: 1957, pp. 131-194) attempted to explain delinquent behaviour by examining social and cultural influences.

Our primary aim is to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming conduct (Merton: 1957, p. 131).

Merton's anomie theory claims that delinquent behaviour is the result of a situation in which society prescribes goals of individual success - such as the attainment of wealth and power - but the opportunities for reaching such goals are not equally accessible to all. The assumption here is that if an individual has assimilated society's emphasis on success, but has failed to find a satisfactory legal means for achieving success, the individual may resort to illegal means. For example, a youth attempting to achieve the goals which he or she perceives to be those mandated by society, may become a delinquent. An obvious shortcoming of anomie theory is that it is unable to explain why many young people who grow up in the same adverse living environments as those of delinquents do not turn to crime and why some who grow up with a full range of
opportunities become delinquents. There are numerous examples of both cases. An example of the latter occurred on October 6, 1991 when 25 to 45 youths, armed with baseball bats and hammers, wreaked havoc at a Scarborough flea market and fled with about $100,000 worth of jewelry. Many of the youths involved were middle-class youths who did not need to steal to survive but who viewed such violent activities as a form of entertainment ("Teens Rampage Through Flea Market", Globe & Mail, October 7, 1991, pp. A1-2).

In an effort to build on the work of Merton and to deal with the shortcomings of anomie theory, Edward H. Sutherland (Sutherland: 1958, pp. 77-83) developed the differential association theory. In developing his theory, Sutherland made the following assumption:

A generalization about crime and criminal behaviour can be reached by logically abstracting the conditions and processes which are common to the rich and poor, the males and the females, the blacks and the whites, the urban- and the rural-dwellers, the young adults and the old adults, and the emotionally stable and the emotionally unstable who commit crimes (Sutherland: 1958, p.77).

Differential association theory contends that criminal behaviour is learned through interaction with persons who have intimate ties with each other. There are two important points Sutherland makes:

a) when persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns;

b) lawful or unlawful behaviour developed in early childhood may persist throughout life.

What this means is that the socialization process within the family, the friends and the
neighbourhood environment are important factors that have a potential influence on development, leading to delinquent behaviour. Differential association theory would explain a higher crime rate in one location as due to a greater prevalence of delinquent subcultures in that area. There are, however, at least two weaknesses to the theory of differential association. The first is that it makes no attempt to answer the question "What are the root causes of delinquency?". The theory really only attempts to explain how delinquency is perpetuated. Secondly, it makes no attempt to explain why individuals form the associations they do.

In an attempt to combine the anomie and differential association theories, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin formulated the theory of differential opportunity (Cloward & Ohlin: 1961, pp.164-176).

Apart from both socially patterned pressures, which give rise to deviance, and from values, which determine choices of adaptations, a further variable should be taken into account: namely, differentials in availability of illegitimate means (Cloward & Ohlin: 1961, p.167).

They hypothesize that there are two avenues in which an individual can attain what society prescribes as success (i.e. the attainment of wealth); the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. For a youth to become a delinquent, two factors need to be present:

a) push factors - limitations on the accessibility to cultural goals by legitimate means;

b) pull factors - availability of illegitimate means to attain cultural goals.

The delinquent subculture is perceived to be a specialized form of adaptation to the discrepancy between the prescribed goals and the accepted means of achieving them. The hypothesis, then,
is that an individual who is denied the legal means to achieve his/her goal might not commit delinquent acts unless s/he gains access to the delinquent opportunity structure. There are several weaknesses to differential opportunity theory. The first is that very little is said about the process of how youths move from being non-delinquent to delinquent. It only states that if both the push and pull factors are present, a youth is likely to become delinquent. Secondly, the theory ignores the fact that sexual, physical and/or emotional abuse are the "push factors" for some youth, not the attainment of culturally prescribed goals.

Two other influential theories - control theory (Riess: 1951, pp. 196-207) and containment theory (Reckless: 1961, pp. 131-134) - will be discussed together since the latter is in reality an offshoot of the former. The assumption in these two theories is as follows:

...there is a containing external social structure which holds individuals in line and there is an internal buffer which protects people against deviation of the social and legal norm...When they are absent or weak, the person is likely to deviate from accepted and legal norms, and is vulnerable for committing an unofficial (unreported) and/or official (reported) delinquency or crime. When the two containing systems are strong, the individual will not deviate from the legal and social norms and will not be an official or unofficial offender (Reckless: 1961, pp. 131-132).

More specifically, it is the failure of personal and social controls to produce behaviour in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached. Personal control consists of factors such as positive self-concept, well developed superego, high frustration tolerance, and high sense of responsibility. Social control is the structural buffer in a person's immediate social world which is able to hold him/her within bounds. Weakening of either personal or social controls will allow the opportunity for delinquent behaviour to develop.
The problem with such an explanation of delinquency is how the boundaries between what is delinquency and non-delinquency are established is not clear nor is there an explanation as to how such boundaries change over time (unless the theory assumes that the norms of the social system are static).

A vast number of research projects have been developed to test the aforementioned theories, in order to determine their applicability in explaining the delinquent behaviour of youths from various economic, social and cultural backgrounds. With the steady increase in ethnic youth violence over the last decade, ethnicity has become a focus of an increasing number of studies. Such studies examine the effects of factors such as racial segregation, ethnic inequality or ethnicity in general on the crime rate, types of crime committed, etc (Logan & Messner, 1987; Fishman, Rattner & Weiman, 1987; Blakwell, 1990).

Although the aforementioned theorists have made important contributions in the area of criminology, it is unfortunate that the theories continue to be so dominant in the field of youth work. This is due to the fact that key elements have been missed in the explanations.

(1) Close examination reveals that writers of this field have neglected to relate the phenomenon of "deviance" to larger social, historical, political, and economic contexts. The emphasis has been, and continues to be, on the "deviant" and the "problems" s/he presents to oneself and others, not on the society within which the individual emerges and operates.

(2) The overwhelming focus on "deviance" and "delinquency" has resulted in the neglect of more serious and harmful forms of "deviance" - covert institutional violence. Violence is presented as though it were some exclusive property of the poor in the slums, the minorities, and street gangs. But if we take the concept of violence seriously, we see that much of our
political and economic system thrives on it. In violence, a person is violated - there is harm done to a person's psyche, body, dignity, and ability to govern oneself (Liazos: 1985, p. 382). Seen in this way, a person/group can be violated in many ways; physical force is only one of them. A person/group can be violated by a system that denies specific persons a decent job, consigns people to slums, causes the individuals from certain groups to suffer physical damage due to near-starvation during childhood, or manipulates a specific person/group through the mass media, and so on endlessly (Liazos: 1985, p. 382).

(3) The importance of power in the designation of what is "deviant" is ignored. There is a profound unconcern with power and its implications. The really powerful - the upper classes and the power elite - are left essentially unexamined by the sociologists, criminologists and psychologists who study deviance.

As mentioned earlier, the theories of Merton, Sutherland, Cloward & Ohlin, Riess, and Reckless continue to influence the field of youth work. In June 1989, the British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General established an Interministry Committee to examine the issues of organized criminal gangs and to develop strategies to deal with the problem. Of particular concern was the vulnerability of youth and their families, some of whom were new Canadians. The task of the Committee was to develop an integrated and cooperative approach to issue management, policy development and funding of programs aimed at reducing gang related crime. The Committee included representation from all levels of government: municipal (City of Vancouver), provincial and federal, as well as from school boards and police from the lower mainland. Members included the following:

Ministry of Attorney General
Ministry of Solicitor General (Provincial)
In June 1990, a background report on youth and criminal gangs in the lower mainland was released in preparation for a planning workshop on the topic of youth and criminal gangs. Included in the report was a profile on "Who Are Youth At Risk?". The profile was based on a compilation of information collected from members on the Committee in addition to a literature review. Factors included the following (Carriere: 1990, p. 3):

**Socio-economic Status:**

- economic and/or socially marginal (not part of the existing societal structure)
- social and economic underclass
- often from traditional lower income families
- background of poverty

Employment, Job Prospects:
- unemployed or underemployed
- lack of job skills
- few employment prospects (could be due to language and cultural barriers)

Education:
- dropped out or have been expelled from school
- cultural and language barriers in school: a sense of powerlessness
- often transferred from school to school
- described as learning disabled
- illiterate (both in English and first language)
- unfamiliar with the Canadian school system
- difficulties in school, conflict with authority

Family Situation:
- support and guidance not available from family members, turn to peers
- parents speak little English leading to role reversal,
power struggles and alienation
- family conflict around cultural issues
- strong familial pressure to succeed academically and financially
- parents unfamiliar with education and social service system
- identity and cultural conflicts in the family
- often single parent families

Life Experience:
- may come from a background of trauma, violence, sexual abuse, physical abuse
- encounter discrimination and racism
- insecure and little confidence in the future
- 12-18 years of age (not likely to be prosecuted)
- lack of feeling of responsibility for actions
- may be runaways
- single parent families
- cultural differences (rural/urban, old/new world)
- exposure to television portrayal of violence

It is clear from the list that the focus is on shortcomings of the individual and/or family and their inability to "integrate" appropriately into society. The list simply perpetuates the ideas advanced
by Merton and the theorists who later expanded on the theory of anomie. Blame is placed on the youth and the family while the larger social, historical, political, and economic contexts are downplayed. In fact, situations of covert institutional violence are completely ignored. The lack of any specific analysis of the role of power in the labelling process, the generalizations which - even when true - explain little, the fascination with "deviants", and the reluctance to study the "deviance" of the powerful has left the field of youth work confusing symptoms as problems and neglecting the conditions that are the causes of society’s problem.

Before moving on to an examination of popular theatre/education in light of what has been presented so far, it is important to note that the majority of theories on delinquency are based on studies of males that purport to be works on criminality in general. Female delinquency has been a neglected area of study. However, it is important to consider the theories available since such theories have had an influence on programs designed for female delinquents.

The majority of those who have written on female crime and delinquency have been men who based their theories on classist, racist and sexist assumptions to justify what has been in reality merely a defence of the existing patriarchal society. Dorie Klein (Klein: 1973, pp. 3-30) put in summary a number of the historically significant theories of female crime and delinquency. W. I. Thomas (Thomas: 1907, p. 245) points out that poverty might prevent a woman from marrying, whereby she would turn to prostitution as an alternative to carry on her feminine service role. Kingsley Davis (Davis: 1961, p. 286) discusses prostitution as a parallel illegal institution to marriage. Otto Pollak (Pollak: 1950, p. 10) discusses how women extend their service roles into criminal activity due to inherent tendencies such as deceitfulness.
Sigmund Freud (Freud: 1933, pp. 183-189) saw any kind of rebellion in women as the result of a failure by the individual to develop healthy feminine attitudes and adjustment to her appropriate sex role.

She is aggressively rebellious, and her drive to accomplishment is the expression of her longing for a penis; this is a hopeless pursuit, of course, and she will only end up "neurotic" (Klein: 1973, p. 17).

Many writers well into the 1970's continued to apply Freudian thought to the problem of female delinquency. In the ensuing decades, those offering feminist critique have slowly chiselled away at the long-standing traditionalist school of thought. The early theorists saw women as atomistically moving about in a social and political vacuum. By neglecting the importance of social and political factors, the early theorists have inadvertently underlined the importance of understanding the link between personal and socio-political factors. It is precisely the ability to link personal and social-political factors that forms the foundation of popular education/theatre.

**POWER, OPPRESSION AND DELINQUENCY**

As suggested in the previous section, the shortcoming of delinquency theory is its limited scope in attempting to explain the causes of delinquent behaviour. The literature on popular education/theatre complements the theories of delinquency in the sense that it moves the examination of delinquent behaviour from the level of personal explanations to the socio-political level. By moving to a different level of explanation, we also move to an alternative approach to working with Chinese ESL youth. One such approach to popular theatre, developed by
Augusto Boal, is to use theatre as a vehicle to implement the philosophical ideas of Paulo Freire. In order to understand the purpose behind the techniques employed in popular theatre, it is necessary to begin with a review of popular education from which the work of Augusto Boal is based.

**POPULAR EDUCATION (PAULO FREIRE)**

Paulo Freire was born in Recife, Brazil in 1921. Recife was the centre of one of the most extreme situations of poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World. When the economic crisis of the United States in 1929 began to effect Brazil, Freire’s middle class family found themselves sharing the plight of the poor and the oppressed of Brazil. His early experiences of living with the poor led him to discover what he would later describe as the "culture of silence" of the dispossessed. Freire came to realize that the ignorance and lethargy of the poor were the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social, and political domination - and of the paternalism - of which the poor were victims. Instead of being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, the poor were kept "submerged" in a situation that made critical awareness and response practically impossible. It thus became clear to Freire that the education system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of the "culture of silence". By engaging in a process of study and reflection, and in the struggle to liberate men and women for the creation of a new world, Freire developed a perspective on education that seeks to respond to the concrete realities of those submerged in the "culture of silence". Although the language used by Freire would be considered sexist by today’s standards, and his writings tend to focus more on theory than on
ways of implementing his ideas, they provide an approach that examines oppression from an economic, social, and political perspective.

Paulo Freire operates under one basic assumption: while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is truly the human vocation. As human beings our ontological vocation is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms our world thereby moving towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively. Any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders that individual’s pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. Regardless of whether such a situation includes fake generosity, the situation itself constitutes violence because it interferes with an individual’s ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human. There would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation. Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as human beings - not by those who are oppressed, exploited, and unrecognized.

It is not the unloved who initiate disaffection, but those who cannot love because they love only themselves. It is not the helpless, subject to terror, who initiate terror, but the violent, who with their power create the concrete situation which begets the 'rejects of life'. It is not the tyrannized who initiate despotism, but the tyrants. It is not the despised who initiate hatred, but those who despise (Freire, 1990, p. 41).

From the perspective of the oppressors, it is always the oppressed who are labelled as violent, barbaric, wicked, or ferocious when they react to the violence of the oppressors. Applied to the situation of youths, the common labels are delinquents or at-risk.

Based on his wide range of experiences as a popular educator, Freire states with
conviction that every human being, regardless of how "ignorant" or submerged in the "culture of silence" s/he may be, is capable of critically examining the world in a dialogical encounter with others. Unfortunately, society uses the banking concept of education which perceives individuals as adaptable, manageable beings. The more that individuals accept the deposits entrusted to them, the less they are able to develop the critical awareness necessary to change the existing conditions (ie. status quo). The existing condition, as explained by Freire, is neither a static and closed order nor a given reality which individuals must accept and adjust to; rather, it is a problem to be worked on and solved. Oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus within which the oppressed become labelled as "welfare recipients". The oppressed are seen as "marginals" who deviated from the general configuration of a "good, organized, and just" society, as "incompetent and lazy" individuals who need to change their mentality, and as marginal people who need to be "integrated" and "incorporated" into the healthy society that they have "forsaken." But the truth is that the oppressed are not "marginal" living outside a "good, organized, and just" society. They have always been inside the structure, a structure that is dehumanizing and oppressive. The goal should not be one of "integration", but to transform an oppressive structure. However, the transformation must begin with the oppressed and those who are truly in solidarity with them. Assistance by the oppressors almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity because in order to express their "generosity", the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. The transformation, Freire argues, must be initiated by the oppressed because they are best prepared to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society and are the ones who have suffered the effects of oppression. Although this summary of Freire’s thinking does not
do justice to the richness, depth and complexity of his work, it does provide the basic information necessary to link the information presented in the previous chapters with the rationale behind this research project.

**POPULAR THEATRE (AUGUSTO BOAL)**

Based on the ideas of Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal developed an approach that uses theatrical techniques and exercises to facilitate the empowerment process of the oppressed as they move towards the transformation of an oppressive structure (as Freire puts it, win back the right to say his/her own word, to name the world). The procedure and activities for each workshop are similar, but the work that is developed is as varied as the participants involved. There are a variety of "Theatre of the Oppressed" games and exercises that are drawn on for each workshop (See Appendix A). The first half of each workshop is spent on games and exercises that introduce participants to the dynamics of working together. This allows participants to become comfortable with each other by drawing more on each participant’s innate willingness to play than on specific personal experiences. These games also enable the participants to develop a non-verbal way of communicating with each other which becomes the starting point in the journey of using theatrical images to discuss the issue of concern of participants.

During the second half of each workshop, feelings of oppression arising from incidents in the participants’ own lives are explored through theatrical exercises that draw out deep inner emotions. In this way, participants come to recognize oppression in their own lives and see how common such feelings and experiences are. They begin to, as a group, look at oppression
beyond the personal level and begin to analyze oppression at the structural and political/historical level. This growing sense of solidarity with each other dealing with difficult situations from their own lives is empowering for the participants, as personal concerns gradually become community concerns. In other words, these concerns become something everyone can relate to and try to resolve. As a result, there is an increased awareness of the power in their personal relationships, to their community and families. The underlying assumption is that if participants are able to see and recognize incidents of clear oppression, where both the oppressor and oppressed can be identified, then participants have taken the first step towards understanding the effect it has on their lives and move towards making positive changes.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the theories on delinquency and the youth programs developed from the theories focus on the need to "integrate" and "incorporate" youth into society. In the case of Chinese ESL youth, the focus is to develop ways to "integrate" and "incorporate" them into the Canadian society so the youth can live in an environment that is conducive to promoting self-esteem and competence. However, the ideas forwarded by Paulo Freire suggests that *self-esteem can only come with a sense of power*. The power to be a subject who acts upon and transform the world towards new possibilities of a richer and fuller life individually and collectively.

Presented so far in this thesis are: a) what is known about the history of the Chinese in Vancouver; b) the current situation regarding the Chinese youth and the Chinese community in Vancouver; c) the rationale behind existing programs for Chinese ESL youths which focus on "integration" and "incorporation"; and d) the work of Augusto Boal in popular theatre. Based on what has been presented, it is argued in this thesis that a popular theatre program that focuses
on "transformation" can have a significant positive effect on the self-esteem of Chinese ESL youth because it deals with the issue of power and how it is related to covert institutional violence. To test this, a research project was set up in a Vancouver high-school and the details are outlined in the following chapter. The project examines the effect of a popular theatre program on the self-esteem of 15 new immigrant Asian youth currently attending a secondary school in the Vancouver school district. The goal is to try and determine whether an ESL youth program that focuses on "transformation" as opposed to "integration" and "incorporation." can have a significant effect on the self-esteem of program participants.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD OF APPROACH

INTRODUCTION

The problem of delinquency, the shortcomings of the major theories around it and the problem of the case work approach as outlined in the previous chapters suggested that an ESL youth program focusing on "transformation", by not downplaying the larger social, historical, political and economic context, could greatly facilitate the empowerment of the youth. So, when a Vancouver school requested a program to assist some Chinese ESL youth adjust to the Canadian school system and improve the self-confidence of the youths, it was suggested by the researcher that a popular theatre program could benefit the youth if lack of self-confidence was indeed the problem. A self-esteem inventory could be used in a pretest - post-test research design to determine the effect of the program. Arrangements were made with school personnel to establish facilities and meeting times to conduct the program. Details of the project are presented in the following sections.

PARTICIPANTS

The group consisted of 15 Chinese youths ranging in age from 14-17 years. Of the 15, there were 10 females and 5 males. Eight of the participants were immigrants from Hong Kong, 6 from Mainland China and 1 from Malaysia (See Table III-1). All participants immigrated to Canada under the Family Class category. The sample for the study was obtained through purposive sampling. All participants attended the same high school and were referred to the
popular theatre program by school personnel.

TABLE III-1

SUMMARY OF GENDER AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF PARTICIPANTS

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>MAINLAND CHINA</th>
<th>HONG KONG</th>
<th>MALAYSIA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The criteria used by school personnel to refer students into the program was as follows:

(i) must be currently attending ESL (English as a Second Language);
(ii) must be of Chinese descent;
(iii) in the opinion of the ESL teachers, seems to lack self-confidence.

A total of 15 referrals was made. All were accepted into the program and all completed the program. It is difficult to form any generalizations from the group since it can only be stated that the 15 participants represent 15 youth attending the same school and possessing the aforementioned characteristics. Although school personnel claim that the 15 participants would
be fairly representative of many ESL youth in the school district, such a generalization cannot be made at this time without taking samples from other schools in the same school district.

MEASURES

The measure chosen for the study was the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory (Battle, 1981). There were a number of factors that led to the choice of this particular inventory over several others. It should be made clear at the outset that, in the opinion of the researcher, it is impossible for any measure to be absolutely culture free. Those who design measures come from a particular cultural context that has an effect on how questions are worded and what questions are chosen in the final version of the measure. Since all the participants in this study had English as their second language, the ability of the measure to be readily translated was a key consideration. The Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory was chosen because the researcher felt that this particular measure was the easiest to translate without having to significantly alter the meaning of the questions due to the differences between the English and Chinese vocabulary.

The scales of the inventory are intended to measure an individual’s perception of self, providing insight into a client’s subjective feelings. Low self-esteem, on this scale, is equated with a negative perception of self (ie. low score) with high self-esteem being the opposite. The inventory is administered once at the beginning as a pre-test then re-administered at a later date at the discretion of the researcher (See Appendix B). Administration can be done individually or in groups, orally or non-verbally (ie. written), and in a language other than English. The Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory contains 60 questions and is broken down into:
The purpose of the lie item is to identify defensiveness.

The scale has a test-retest correlation of 0.91 for high school respondents (0.93 for boys and 0.89 for girls). In terms of content validity, Alpha coefficients for the four subscales range from 0.66 for the social/peer-related self-esteem to 0.76 for the parents/home-related self-esteem. Concurrent validity with the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory shows a correlation from 0.71 to 0.81. Similar correlates are found with Beck’s Depression Inventory and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.

Although the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory could provide quantitative evidence, the inventory could not provide qualitative information as to the experiences of the participants as they went through the program. To accomplish this, an interview schedule was used (See Appendix C). The contents of the interviews were transcribed, analyzed and prevalent themes picked out.

**PROCEDURE**

This study employs an exploratory design to determine how the popular theatre program (independent variable) affected the level of self-esteem of the group of ESL participants.
(dependent variable). Due to constraints of funding and availability of participants, the research design selected was a pretest - post-test one-group design (before-after design).

\[ O_1 \quad X \quad O_2 \]

\[ O_1 = \text{first observation of dependent variable} \]
\[ X = \text{independent variable} \]
\[ O_2 = \text{second observation of dependent variable} \]

In addition, an interview schedule was used to interview 3 participants, selected at random to collect qualitative data that could provide a sense of the actual process that took place that led to the results of the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory. Time and resource considerations limited the feasible number of interviewees to 3.

Four weeks prior to the beginning of the popular theatre program, a meeting was held with the school counsellors and teachers in the ESL department of the school. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the program content and to arrive at, through consensus, a criteria for participation. The program was designed to run for 5 training days of 4-5 hours each with a two hour performance on the sixth day (See Appendix A for program schedule and content). Each training session consisted of two halves and the predominant language used was Cantonese. The first half consisted of games and exercises that allowed participants to become familiar with each other while simultaneously learning the necessary skills that would later be used to produce a play. The second half of each session consisted of exercises that helped participants critically
examine the covert institutional violence that exists around them and the importance that power
plays in determining who are oppressed and who are the oppressors. Throughout the sessions,
the role of the facilitator was to plan and implement exercises that create a working environment
conducive to: a) the development of full and equal participation of all involved in discussion,
debate, and decision-making; and b) the empowerment of all participants to act for change.
Although great efforts were made to be as faithful as possible to the techniques developed by
Augusto Boal, it cannot be denied that some changes may have taken place in the researcher's
"transportation" of an approach developed in a South American context and applying it to an
immigrant group in a Canadian context. However, it was expected that if such a program truly
addressed the issue of power, a positive change in the self-esteem of participants would be
detected by the self-esteem inventory. In addition, the reason for the change in self-esteem level
could be determined through interviews with several of the participants.

The Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory pre-test was administered at the beginning of the
first day and the post-test administered at the conclusion of day six. The interviews were
performed one week after the commencement of the program as that was the first convenient day
for the interviews. It should be noted that due to the difficulties participants had with the english
language, both the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory and the interview were administered
orally in Chinese, with the inventory administered in a group format.

The 5 days of training took place at the school in the drama room. The performance
took place in the school auditorium and was open to the general public.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Tables IV-1 and IV-2 summarize the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory pre-test and post-test scores respectively.

TABLE IV-1

Self-Esteem Inventory Categories and the Calculated Statistics

(X, S^2, S) - Pre-test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Calculated Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IV-2
Self-Esteem Inventory Categories and the Calculated Statistics

(X, S^2, S) - Post-test

Calculated Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>S^2</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY CATEGORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACADEMIC</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENTS</td>
<td>6.73</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34.47</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the previous two tables: X represents the mean (measure of central tendency; the sum of all the scores divided by the number of scores); S^2 represents the variance (measure of dispersion; the standard deviation squared); and S represents standard deviation (descriptive measure of dispersion; square root of the sum of squared deviations of each score from the mean divided by the number of scores). The higher mean scores in Table IV-1 as compared to Table IV-2 for the categories of General Self-Esteem, Social Self-Esteem, and Total/Overall self-esteem indicates an improvement between the pre- and post-test. This can likely be attributed to the popular theatre/education program that intervened between the time of the pre-test and the time of the post-test. The values for S^2 and S indicate that in both the pre- and post-test, the dispersion of scores was relatively small. This means that the scores obtained in the Culture
Free Self-Esteem Inventory from all the participants were grouped closely together (i.e. participants all had similar levels of self-esteem). The consequence of having such a small dispersion is that a relatively small change in the mean can result in a difference that is statistically significant. The values for $S^2$ and $S$ for the lie scale was 0 since an overall group score of 0 was obtained during both administrations of the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory (See Appendix D for raw data).

A *t*-test was performed on all the scores to determine whether the changes were statistically significant. The results are presented in Table IV-3.

**TABLE IV-3**

Comparison of Pre-test Scores with Post-test Scores (*t*-test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t-scores</th>
<th>COMMENT (df=14)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>Sig. at .005 Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>Sig. at .005 Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACADEMIC</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>not Sig. at 0.10 Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENTS</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>not Sig. at 0.10 Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIE</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5.53</td>
<td>Sig. at .005 Level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The *t*-tests indicate that the difference in the scores for the categories of general self-esteem, social self-esteem and total/overall self-esteem was statically significant at the 0.005 level while the other sub-categories did not show a statistical significance at the 0.10 level. These results are not surprising if we recall the section on popular theatre in Chapter 2. The techniques of popular theatre are designed to help participants develop a growing sense of solidarity with each other such that personal concerns gradually become community concerns. In other words, these concerns become something all participants can relate to and try to resolve. That being the case, an increase in peer-related self-esteem should be expected. In terms of the academic and parental self-esteem categories, the fact that neither issue was brought up by participants for examination in this project could explain why the results were not statistically significant.

As for the interviews, a number of themes seem to prevail. The opportunity for participants to express their concerns was one common theme.

I think the workshop and performance gave lots of chances for me to express myself. What I liked the most was the many different ways we all got to do things...like using imagery and intelligent clay. (Respondent #1)

…it was like we were no longer afraid to express ourselves. No longer afraid people might laugh at you when you say things like in school when kids make fun because we speak with an accent or when we speak Chinese. (Respondent #2)

It gave me a chance to express things that I have kept to myself for a long time. There are things you can express here you can’t say to your parents, teachers or counsellors. Like when other kids make fun of me because I am in ESL. (Respondent #3)

In addition to having the opportunity to express concerns and feelings, those interviewed identified that participants seem to share similar life experiences.
Where I found it (the program) helped me the most was to find out others in the group have the same experience I had. For example, when I was doing the pilot/co-pilot, the group could guess the situation and my feelings exactly...Then when I saw other people’s imagery, I could guess how they feel too. (Respondent #1)

So many of our experiences are the same. You know...so many of the images are the same. When I see it, I know what the person is trying to say. (Respondent #2)

When we were doing imagery - pilot/co-pilot - many of the incidents are the same. It is like seeing other people be me in the imagery. Many of the feelings are the same. (Respondent #3)

Having shared similar life experiences was an important part of the popular theatre program since it was from these common experiences that the piece of theatre is developed for performance. The performance seemed to also generate some common experiences for the participants.

The performance was very helpful. There were many interesting ideas from the audience and some were very funny. I don’t know if the ideas will work for real but there were some good ideas there. (Respondent #1)

I feel confident that I can do more when I have a problem. From the performance, I learned that there are so many things I can do. The audience thought of many ideas I would have never thought of by myself. (Respondent #2)

I think the performance gave me some ideas to deal with the problems instead of getting angry all the time. (Respondent #3)

The interview seems to indicate that the themes of opportunity for expression, shared life experiences, and learning new ideas in order to take action are consistent with all three interviewees. The themes appear to be consistent with the ideas and techniques proposed by
Augusto Boal with respect to popular theatre (explained in Chapter 2 and Appendix A). The results of the interview also seem to be consistent with the results of the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory. For example, being able to identify with the issues raised by other participants facilitated a sense of solidarity among participants which was reflected in a positive change in the peer-related self-esteem inventory score. Also, having learned new possibilities to deal with personal problems seems to affect the sense of power and self-confidence of respondents which is reflected in the increased general and total self-esteem scores in the inventory.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION

The results suggest a link between popular theatre and self-esteem (specifically general, social and overall self-esteem). It seems that the use of popular theatre can improve the self-esteem of Chinese ESL youth. Whether other types of popular theatre programs can improve self-esteem in the areas of academics and parental relations is unclear since the program designed for this study focused primarily on the ESL youth's social and general self-esteem. As mentioned in the Chapter 2, numerous factors have been considered to be crucial in predisposing a youth to delinquency. Almost all, as suggested from criminological theories, are in some way connected to low self-esteem that results from a lack of "integration" and "incorporation". Self-esteem, itself, is a general term that can be divided into a number of subcategories (i.e. social, academic). In this study, the focus was on the social aspects which still leaves at least the academic, parental and peer sub-categories unexamined. But there is at least some evidence from this study that a link does exist between popular theatre and some subcategories of self-esteem.

What seems to link popular theatre with self-esteem is the concept of power. A sense of power is crucial to the development of self-esteem. As stated in the presentation of Paulo Freire’s ideas, "human beings have a basic need to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his/her world thereby moving towards new possibilities of a fuller and richer life individually and collectively". The ability to create new possibilities is necessary for an individual to have
a positive self-image. To be an object that is always acted upon by external forces while not being able to create any new possibilities will ultimately result in a negative self-image. As presented in the first two chapters of this thesis, the Chinese community in Vancouver has endured thirteen decades of social, political and economic inequality. The community has been the target of covert institutional violence. In response to the institutional violence, some youths in the community have responded in ways deemed by the dominant society as delinquent. To explain the delinquency, society focuses on the perceived shortcomings of the individual and/or family and their inability to "integrate" appropriately into society. Blame is placed on the youth and family while the larger social, historical, political, and economic contexts are downplayed. The philosophy and techniques of popular theatre are designed to address the concept of power by helping participants understand the institutional violence that exists (i.e. structural, political, historical factors). In this study, by taking the daily experiences of the participants (an argument between an older sister and her brother over the brother not completing his homework), critically analyzing the scenes to develop a play based on the analysis (the sister’s anger stems from having to work two part-time jobs and perform the house chores because both parents are busy working long hours to help support the family due to the income discrimination that visible minorities continue to face in Canada), and playing out interventions from the audience as a means of both increasing the repertoire of potential responses and developing strategies to deal with issues of power affecting personal life. The opportunities to express issues of concern in combination with the ability to develop strategies for intervention (i.e. new possibilities) seem to give the participants a tremendous sense of power thereby resulting in a positive effect on certain aspects of self-esteem.
Canadian-born Chinese youth and Chinese ESL youth playing out a scene of conflict.

The scene reaches its climax as the conflict becomes physically violent.
A member of the audience replaces one of the youth and tries an intervention.

Another audience member tries an intervention.
This link is important to social work in that it provides a possible addition to the repertoire of techniques available to social workers in the field of youth work. Given the number of youths that one worker is able to work with within the limited time available, this approach is also cost effective. At the same time, this approach might be useful in addressing the heavy workload problem by requiring fewer working hours per client.

Although the t-tests do indicate that a change in self-esteem has occurred between pre-test and post-test, the small sample size in this study precludes the use of any inferential statistics. There are a number of other limitations to this study that need consideration. The first is that the sample consists of students from one single high school. How representative this group may be of students from other schools is unclear. Any generalizations must be made with great caution. Secondly, using the pre-test - post-test one group design may have affected test results in that the experience of taking the pre-test may have carried over to the post-test. Without a control group, this possibility cannot be ruled out. Third, history may have also played a role because some event (i.e. problem at home or school) may have occurred in the period between the first and second administration of the Culture Free Self-Esteem Inventory which could have negated or enhanced the effects of the intervention. Fourth, how long the effects will last is uncertain without follow-up tests. It is possible that the positive results only lasts for several days with the net effect in the long-term being no change or even change in the opposite direction. Finally, there is the danger of reactive effects. Since all participants were aware that some sort of program evaluation was taking place, it could have affected their behaviour.

Despite the limitations, a number of recommendations can be made with respect to youth work.
Recommendations

1) The field of youth work needs to consider from what level of analysis it is using in defining the factors that may predispose a youth to delinquency. Often, the focus is on personal or family factors. The broader socio-political level is often overlooked and the issue of power, which links both personal and social factors is ignored.

2) As stated in the literature review in chapter 2, the focus of current programs for ESL youth has been to develop strategies to "integrate" and "incorporate" youth into the Canadian society. As indicated by the growing public outcry over youth crime and the limited financial resources available to deal with the problem, current programs may neither be the most efficient nor effective approach to youth work. Although the results of this study are far from being conclusive, a non-traditional approach such as popular theatre needs to be considered as a possible supplement, if not alternative, to the existing approaches.

3) When working with youth from a visible minority, the history of the ethnic group needs to be considered. In this study, the history of the Chinese in Vancouver reveals
a series of social, political and economic barriers that have stemmed from the development of institutional racism that coincided with the arrival of the first Chinese immigrants. As mentioned in chapter 1, these barriers continue to exist today. The Chinese community continues to be the target of "institutional violence" and if significant change is the goal of youth work, then the "institutional violence" must be dealt with. Effective youth work must go beyond the level of personal problems and take into consideration socio-political and historical factors.

CONCLUSION

From this study, it is clear that there is a need to place greater focus on the socio-political and historical factors if effective programs for Chinese ESL youth are to be designed and implemented. Many programs are built around the concepts forwarded in influential criminological, sociological and psychological theories that tend to explain symptoms rather than examine the more significant socio-political and historical perspective. This has resulted in a failure to examine the continuing problem of "covert institutional violence" that exist in Canadian society. Instead, programs continue to focus on approaches to "integrate" and "incorporate" Chinese ESL youth into an oppressive and exploitive social structure which is
more likely to exacerbate the phenomenon of Asian youth gangs as opposed to dealing with it effectively. Programs like popular theatre provide one possible avenue to address the issues surrounding Chinese ESL youth. Such programs: a) take common everyday issues and analyze them at a socio-political level; b) considers historical factors in order that participants understand how and why issues have arrived at their present state; and c) focus more on "transformation" than on "integration" and "incorporation".

Overall, the results of this study are encouraging and raise a number of future research questions. The first is whether the results obtained in this study would be comparable if the study was performed at another school and with youth of a different cultural background. If the results are similar, it would be of further interest to see if changes could be made in the programs to improve the sub-categories not significantly affected by this program. Finally, it would be useful for social work to consider to what degree improving self-esteem has on decreasing the level of delinquency.
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Tienhaara, Nancy, Canadian Views on Immigration and Population: An Analysis of Post-War Gallup Polls.  
Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974.


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APPENDIX A

POPULAR THEATRE PROGRAM
(TAKE II DRAMA)

CIRCLE TIME

Functions:
- set up rules
- assess the mood of the group before each workshop
- evaluate the progress of each workshop through the mouth of participants
- affirm that everyone’s opinion is respected
- can set time limits for the whole group

It is not necessary to have circle time in every session. However, it is preferable to have one at the beginning and end of the first session, provided the time is adequate and the emotional energy level is high. After the group builds up its group norms, the circle time can be skipped to accommodate busy schedules.

First Circle Time:

Facilitators (F) introduce themselves and the purpose of the program to the group. It is made clear to the participants that the script will be developed by them. All games and exercises requires great respect, concentration and quietness.

Circle Time After Each Workshop:

Form a big circle and sit on the floor. F presents a symbol of importance, i.e., something that has special meaning to him/her and places the symbol in the middle of the circle; it may be a piece of jewellery (i.e. a ring). The person who wishes to speak first picks up the ring. With the ring in hand, they must speak in a precise and concise manner about his/her feelings towards the workshop. Participants are not allowed to discuss, elaborate or comment during another participant’s turn. After s/he has finished speaking, the ring will be passed on to the person beside him/her. Participants who do not wish to speak may pass up their turn.

Last Circle Time:

It should be stressed that:

- the job of the Fs is to teach the members skills to
express their feelings and to address their issues of concern. They are encouraged to make use of this newly developed skill.

- another purpose of the project is to create a positive environment in which members experience mutual respect, care and concern for one another.

GAMES

Feel the Body Weight

#1: Pair up. Participants face each other. Put hands on each other's shoulders. Step one step backward. Feel each other's weight.

#2: Pair up. Stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder. Lean against each other. Feel each other's weight.

#3: Pair up. Participants face each other. Hold hands, stand toe to toe and lean back slowly. Find a balance point. Support each with one's body weight.

Knot

#1: All participants form a circle and hold hands. F leads one link of the circle and F moves in and out of the circle to make knots. F will then ask the group to try and untie themselves. This is to be done in silence.

#2: All participants form a circle and stand with their hands up in the air. All participants move towards the centre of the circle and hold the hands of two people not adjacent to him/her. When everyone backs away, a knot is formed. F will ask group to untie themselves. This is to be done in silence.

**It is possible that the knot may be too difficult to untie.**

Hypnosis

#1: Pair up. Participants face each other. One person places the palm of his/her hand six inches away from the face of the partner. The person who place the palm of his/her hand from the face of the partner will be the hypnotist. The hypnotist will move his/her palm slowly to guide the partner safely around the room.
#2: Same as above, reversing roles.

**Mirror**

#1: Pair up. Participants face each other. One partner makes gestures in slow motion. The other person acts as a mirror image and tries to imitate his/her partner’s gestures.  
#2: Same as above, reversing roles.

**Reverse Side of a Mirror**

#1: Pair up. Participants face each other. One partner makes gestures in slow motion. The other person acts as an exact image as opposed to a mirror image (i.e. right hand to right hand).  
#2: Same as above, reversing roles.

**Blindness**

#1: Everyone find a safe place in the room. Participants are to stand straight with their hands at their sides, with their heads up and their eyes closed. Participants move around the room. If they are in danger of colliding with anything, workers are to guide them to safety.  
#2: Pair up. Find a safe area in the room. Participants are to close their eyes and stretch their arms until they touch the shoulders of his/her partner. Take one step back and then take one step forward to try and find your partner. Continue by increasing one step at a time within the limitations of the size of the room.

**Get in Between**

Pair up. Participants face each other and place hands on partner’s shoulders. One pair will play the police and the thief. The police tries to catch the thief and the thief escapes by standing in between any other pair. At that point, the person whom the thief has his/her back to becomes a new thief. If at any time the police catches the thief, the roles are reversed as in a game tag.

**Come Back to Me**
#1: Pair up. One partner closes his/her eyes. Same as hypnosis, 
the difference is that the hypnotist guides by a sound. 

#2: Same as above, but increase the distance between partners. 

#3: Same as above, reversing roles. 

**Three Points on the Ground**

#1: Pair up. One partner places the person in gesture where three 
points of his/her body is always touching the ground. 

#2: Same as above, reversing roles. 

**Empty Chair**

Form a big circle. Stand very close to each other. Everyone turn 90 degrees so that the circle 
faces either clockwise or counter clockwise. Sit down on each other's lap and support each 
other. 

**Intestine**

Form two parallel lines facing each other. Stand fairly close to each other. Hold hands out at 
waist level with palms up. One person enters the line at one end by lying down and being 
supported by the members forming the parallel lines. As a team, they slowly pass the person 
from one end of the line to the other (ie. like food going through the intestine). 

**The Slowest the Winner**

Everyone pretends they are running in a race but moving in slow motion. Everyone must 
continue moving at all times. The last one across the finish line is the winner. 

**The Wink**

Place chairs in a circle (the number of chairs must be one more than half the total number of 
participants. One participant stands behind each chair at a distance of one foot with arms at 
their sides. Every chair has a participant sitting in it with the exception of one. The participant 
with the empty chair tries to steal a person already sitting to fill his/her empty chair. This is 
done by winking at the participant to come over. As the person tries to leave the chair, the 
participant standing behind that particular chair tries to stop the process by touching the 
"escaping" person with both hands. If successful, the person will stay, if not, the person will
EXERCISES

Image Creation

All participants stand in a circle, then one person walks to the middle and forms a static image. The other participants observe the image for a few seconds and then a second person can choose to join in and complete the image. At this point, the first person can withdraw and another person must now complete the image. This can be continued varying the numbers required to complete the image.

Intelligent Clay

#1: Pair Up. One person is the artist, the other is the clay.
   The artist shapes the clay as he/she wishes. No talking is allowed.
#2: Same as above, reversing roles.

Intelligent Clay in Groups

Same as above but performed in groups with an opportunity for other participants to try and guess what the image represents.

Pilot/Co-Pilot

Pair up. One person is the pilot, the other is the co-pilot. The two of them share an experience of oppression that has occurred within the last year in Canada. After the sharing, they both have the opportunity to create their own scene as well as their partner’s scene, using intelligent clay. Other participants may be used as well. The pilot is the person’s story that is being represented. The co-pilot is the person attempting to create a parallel image of the pilot’s story. Each partner gets to play both roles.

STORY CREATION

First stage - relaxation

Everyone lies down on the floor with eyes closed. The facilitator presents images that help the participants relax. Then the participants are asked to recall an experience of oppression, and
focus on the feeling. Picture an image of the scene and the sound that goes with it. Participants are then asked to stand up, form the image and produce the sound out loud. Similar sounds group together and a short scene is created through conversation.

**Second stage - creating the story**

Same as above but with assistance of the facilitator to produce the actual play.

**ACTUAL PERFORMANCE**

Rehearsal before the actual performance.

**Actual Performance:**

All members are invited to go onto the stage and introduce their names to the audience. Then the facilitators introduce the nature and characteristics of Take II Drama.

**Rules of Take II Drama:**

The story will be played the first time. Usually it lasts a few minutes. Then the story will be played the second time. Whenever any audience see any character on the stage is oppressed, he/she can yell stop. The action on the stage is stopped immediately. The audience can go up to the stage and do the following things:

1. Replace the character of the oppressed.
2. Add or take away any character, but not the oppressor, to improve the situation of the oppressed.
3. Choose when to intervene.

After the intervention, facilitators will ask the audience to:

1. introduce his/her name
2. explain the purpose and expected outcome of the intervention
3. comment on the actual outcome, whether it improves the condition of the oppressed.

The facilitators then can get feedback from:

1. other characters
2. other audience, preferably, invite the audience to
to come and act out his/her version.

After the Intervention:

Group members stay on the stage and allow some time for the audience to raise questions.
## APPENDIX B

Please mark each statement in the following way. If the statement describes how you usually feel, make a check mark (✓) in the "yes" column. If the statement does not describe how you usually feel, make a check mark (✗) in the "no" column. Please check only one column (either "yes" or "no") for each of the 60 statements. This is not a test, and there are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I spend a lot of time daydreaming</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Boys and girls like to play with me</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I like to spend most of my time alone</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>I am satisfied with my school work</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>I have lots of fun with my mother</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>My parents never get angry with me</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I wish I were younger</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>I have only a few friends</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>I usually quit when my school work is too hard</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I have lots of fun with my father</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>I am happy most of the time</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>I am never shy</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>I have very little trust in myself</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Most boys and girls play games better than I do</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>I like being a boy / I like being a girl</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>I am doing as well in school as I would like to</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>I have lots of fun with both of my parents</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>I usually fail when I try to do important things</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>I have never taken anything that did not belong to me</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>I often feel ashamed of myself</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Boys and girls usually choose me to be the leader</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>I usually can take care of myself</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>I am a failure at school</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>I find it hard to make up my mind and stick to it</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>My parents make me feel that I am not good enough</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>I never get angry</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>I often feel that I am no good at all</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>I have many friends about my own age</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Most boys and girls are smarter than I am</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Most boys and girls are better than I am</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>My parents dislike me because I am not good enough</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>I like everyone I know</td>
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<td>33.</td>
<td>Children pick on me very often</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>I like to play with children younger than I am</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>I like to be called on by my teacher to answer questions</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td>I would change many things about myself if I could</td>
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<td>37.</td>
<td>There are many times when I would like to run away from home</td>
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<td>38.</td>
<td>I am as happy as most boys and girls</td>
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<td>39.</td>
<td>I can do things as well as most boys and girls</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>I often feel like quitting school</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>I worry a lot</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>My parents understand how I feel</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>When I have something to say, I usually say it</td>
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<td>44.</td>
<td>I never worry about anything</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>I am as nice looking as most boys and girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Other boys and girls are mean to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>I know myself very well</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>I am doing the best school work that I can</td>
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<td>49.</td>
<td>People can depend on me to keep my promises</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>My parents think I am a failure</td>
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<td>51.</td>
<td>I always tell the truth</td>
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<td>52.</td>
<td>I need more friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>I always know what to say to people</td>
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<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>My teacher feels that I am not good enough</td>
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<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>My parents love me</td>
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<tr>
<td>56.</td>
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<td>Most boys and girls are stronger than I am</td>
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<td>I often get upset at home</td>
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<td>I am never unhappy</td>
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APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. In what ways did/didn’t you feel that the workshop and performance gave you opportunities to express your experiences of oppression?

2. In what ways did/didn’t you feel that the workshop and performance helped you better understand your experiences of oppression?

3. In what ways did you/didn’t you feel after the workshop and performance if you are any better prepared to deal with your experiences of oppression?

4. In what way has/hasn’t there been any change in the way you perceive yourself since the workshop started?

5. Any comments you wish to make?
## APPENDIX D

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