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USING PLAYBACK THEATER WITH ADOLESCENTS IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN
PALESTINE TO TELL THEIR STORIES

A DISSERTATION

(submitted by)

KHITAM EDELBI

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

LESLEY UNIVERSITY

May 2020



Graduate School of Arts & Social Sciences
Ph.D. in Expressive Therapies Program

DISSERTATION APPROVAL FORM

Student's Name: **Khitam Edelbi**

Dissertation Title: **Using Playback Theater with Adolescents in Refugee Camps in Palestine to Tell Their Stories**

Approvals

In the judgment of the following signatories, this Dissertation meets the academic standards that have been established for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

Dissertation Committee Chairperson: Robyn Flaum Cruz, PhD March 27, 2020

Internal Committee Member: Jason D. Butler, PhD March 27, 2020

External Committee Member: Nisha Sajjani, PhD March 27, 2020

Dir. of Ph.D. Program/External Examiner: Michele Forinash, DA March 27, 2020

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Robyn Flaum Cruz, PhD

Dissertation Director

I hereby accept the recommendation of the Dissertation Committee and its Chairperson.

Sandra Walker, MBA

Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences

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SIGNED: Khitam Edelbi

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رسالة شكر وعرفان

لا اعرف من أين أبدأ رسالة الشكر هذه لأن كل من ساذكر اسمه فيها كان له تأثير كبير في إنجاح هذه الرسالة. سأبدأ أولاً بأولاد مخيم قلنديا الفلسطيني الذين وافقوا على ان يشاركوا بهذا البحث وبذلوا جهدا كبيرا في الحضور، والمشاركة، وتعلم كل ما هو جديد. أشكر الاهالي المحترمين الذين وافقوا على إشراك أبنائهم في هذا البحث وفتحوا بيوتهم وقلوبهم لي. أشكر لجنة مخيم قلنديا ومركز الطفل فيه على فتح أبوابه، وقاعاته، ومنصاته لي لتنفيذ البحث. أشكر زوجي أحمد تيم الذي تحمّل خوفي، غضبي، وتوتري، وبعدي عنه كل صيف لتواجدي في الجامعة البعيدة عنه سفر يوم. أشكر الاهل والاصدقاء الاعزاء الذين واكبوا هذ المسيرة وقدموا كل ما يستطيعون من دعم معنوي، أو مهني، أو مادي: آل ميللر، جوليا بايبرز، جون وكاتي روبرتس، كلوديا كراوفيرد، ديسينا موتساري، شيريل تولمباوتو، سلمى أبو عياش، بولين نونو، ايريت وتاني هالبرين، وأحمد إدليبي. شكر كبير لمرشدتي ومعلمتي الدكتورة روبين كروز التي رافقت كل كلمة كتبتها وكان لها بصمة كبيرة في إخراج هذا البحث للنور وبهذ الحلة. إلى اللجنة التي قرأت ودعمت الشكل والمضمون لهذا البحث وقدمت الملاحظات التي أضافت عمقا له. إلى جامعة ليزلي التي وفرت لي كل ما احتاج خلال مسيرتي الدراسية والتي إن قررت العودة للدراسة يوما ما لن اتردد في العودة إليها. إلى امي سريا حمد أبو عوض التي فارقت الدنيا قبل أن ترى أيا من شهاداتي ولو كانت في هذه الدنيا لقطعت اللقمة عن فمها من أجل تعليمي. إلى اختي زادة التي كانت وما زالت الاخت والام. إلى فلسطين، كل فلسطين التي من خلال عيشي فيها اتعلم منها ما لا يستطيع أي كتاب أو جامعة أن يعلماني إياه.

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ABSTRACT

This research aimed at examining the aspects of Playback Theater and how it was experienced by Palestinian adolescents living under the Israeli occupation. Sixteen Palestinian adolescents between the ages of 15 and 16 participated in this study and came from the same school and the same refugee camp although many did not know each other. A Palestinian trainer/conductor who specialized in Playback Theater and who had work experience with adolescents and conducted a 16 session training program designed to teach adolescents about this interactive theatre form. Data collected included the researcher's observation notes, video tapes that documented the details of all sessions, including a final performance for the adolescents' mothers and friends. Personal one-to-one evaluation meetings with the participants were conducted, a phone call evaluation with the mothers, and a mid-term and final evaluation meeting with the trainer were other sources of data. All materials collected and recorded for this project were translated from Arabic to English.

Results revealed that the interaction quality of the group members from the beginning to the end changed over time. Initially, participants had difficulty understanding Playback Theater methods involving improvisation, music, movement, and drama activities. They displayed typical adolescent behavior issues in challenging one another. Despite the difficulties that the participants faced in understanding the Playback method, they ended up enjoying the space given to them to express themselves and share their stories. The three major themes in the research findings suggested that Playback Theater enabled them to get in touch with feelings. First, the researcher and trainer successfully attempted to create safe space using group rules around confidentiality to allow expression of feelings including happiness, sadness, and pride. The second major finding was that a collective space to express grief and sadness for loss of close family members and community members was provided by the Playback Theater. Finally, findings revealed that the chance to learn new

skills that were articulated as the ability to listen, to focus, and to interact positively with others was provided. Some of the findings were supported by the mothers' feedback about the performance and their pride in their sons and their sons' new skills.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

ونحن نحب الحياة إذا ما استطعنا إليها سبيلا

“And we love life if we find a way to it” – Mahmoud Darwish

Palestinian adolescents live in a stressful environment under Israeli military occupation. Physical barriers caused by checkpoints, and a separation wall make it difficult for them to move around and travel in their own country. They also experience frequent incursions and invasions by the Israeli military. These young people often participate in direct, quite often violent, confrontations at checkpoints with Israeli soldiers, and are at risk of arrest or in some cases death. Living in a refugee camp, surrounded by a separation wall and checkpoint is by itself traumatizing. Losing a parent, a sibling, a friend or a neighbor, or even your home due to clashes or demolition often results in anger, pain, and grief. Playback Theater may not erase that anger, pain, or grief that those adolescent refugees feel, but it may ease the burden.

According to a 2016 report by B'Tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories), 414 Palestinian minors were held in Israeli prisons as security detainees and prisoners, including 13 administrative detainees. Another six were held in Israel Prison Service (IPS) facilities for illegally being in Israel. The IPS considers these minors – both detainees and prisoners – criminal offenders. Their (2018) report showed that 315 Palestinian minors were held in Israeli prisons as security detainees and prisoners, including three administrative detainees.

The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), one of the largest international organizations operating in Palestine, reported that the Israeli army

killed 25 Palestinian children in the last three months of 2015 alone and 10 during the year 2017. According to Defense for Children International (DCI, 2017), between 500 and 700 Palestinian adolescents are arrested, detained, and prosecuted in the Israeli military court system each year.

According to Human Rights Watch (An international non-governmental organization, headquartered in New York City that conducts research and advocacy on human rights) event report of 2018 on Israel and Palestine, 31 children were killed between March 30 and November 19, 2018. The checkpoints are part of the tools used by the Israeli government to restrict the movement of Palestinians between the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The refugee camp in which the researcher conducted her study is one of the refugee camps that were built by United Nations Relief and Works (UNRWA) agency in 1949 for Palestinians who were displaced in 1948 and ended up refugees in and outside of Palestine. The presence of the Israeli checkpoints at the entrance to the camps, very close to people's houses and children's schools, stimulates anger and feelings of oppression in addition to curtailing the peoples' freedom of movement. Many demonstrations take place at the checkpoint, where hundreds of Palestinians including teenagers clash with Israeli soldiers. These confrontations often lead to the injury, arrest, and in some cases, the death of young men. B'Tselem, UNICEF, and DCI (2017) reports show an ongoing deterioration of the situation of children in Palestine, including adolescents.

Three Palestinian theaters apply the Playback method in Palestine, The Freedom Theater in Jenin refugee camp, The Fringe Ensemble of Nazareth Theater in Nazareth, and the YTheater in East Jerusalem. The Freedom Theater in Jenin refugee camp was established in 2006 by Julian Mer Khamis, who was an actor and director in collaboration with the former Jenin chief of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, Zakaria Zubeidi, and Swedish activist, Jonatan Stanzack (Rivers, 2013). According to Khamis, the goal of the theatre was

to create an artistic movement that provided hope for a better life, space for creativity and expression and, ultimately, liberation. (The Freedom Theatre, 2018, para.4). The Fringe Ensemble of Nazareth Theater was established in Nazareth (a Palestinian city within the State of Israel) in 2007 by group of young artists, with the support of Nazareth municipality and the Israeli Popular Centers Foundation which has several branches in Arab villages and cities located within the State of Israel. The literal meaning of the word “fringe,” is a universal term defining a specific theater method that has its own characteristics. The method belongs to the category of experimental theater, in term of artistic technique and its theatrical mechanisms Actors, director, and writers come together for an artistic and non-profit or commercial purpose, in which all work together with minimal budgets. Therefore, the work is usually modest in terms of production but rich in content. The theater functions with few techniques and pieces of equipment, and aspires to fill the void in the theatrical movement within the Arab community in Israel in general, and in Nazareth in particular. The Fringe ensemble aims to reach and communicate with the public in Arab towns and villages (Fringe Ensemble of Nazareth, n.d). YTheater was established in 2004 by director Herini Qadar in East Jerusalem. On a personal phone call with the researcher, Herini Qadar explained that

YTheater has no particular goal, but it indeed has a message, and its message is to open its doors to welcome anyone who would like to practice Playback”. Our participants don’t need to have a theater background. We would be the stage for them, whether they continued to do theater or not. The YTheater also welcomes trainees to receive Playback training, and reaches out to centers, institutions and schools who seek this training. (personal communication, January 26, 2020).

Purpose and Goals of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine the potential of Playback Theater in

assisting Palestinian adolescents from a refugee camp in Palestine to narrate their personal stories and express themselves while using the Playback Theater method. The research attempted to provide a space for adolescents from a refugee camp to express themselves through drama activities and share their personal stories through Playback Theater.

Adolescents in the refugee camps usually take part in clashes with the Israeli soldiers since one of the biggest Israeli checkpoints is located exactly at the entrance of their refugee camp.

Playback Theater could possibly become an alternative and a safe indoor place for those adolescents, in contrast to the unsafe environment outside they live in within the refugee camp. It may offer them a platform to express themselves through sharing their stories or specific incidents they have encountered but have never had the opportunity to talk about. As Playback Theater is based on spontaneity, immediate creativity and improvisation, these tools can develop their imagination, creativity and sense of improvisation. The physical, imaginative and improvisation exercises that accompany all work stages may help participants to strengthen on both levels, physically and psychologically. There is a possibility that some will begin to think of studying theater as a profession when they see/hear how the trainer is a professional, who makes her living from acting and training in PT. If some participants agree to perform in front of the public and have been encouraged by the trainer, researcher and parents in this regard, their self-confidence will be enhanced and their will to live strengthened by the experience. This was indicated more than once by the participants in the pilot study that the researcher conducted at The Freedom Theater in Jenin refugee camp in 2018.

In a pilot study, the researcher used three interviews conducted with two PT trainees who were between 17 and 20 years old, and one PT trainer who was 25 years old. The researcher found the interviewees through The Freedom Theater in Jenin refugee camp.

During the interviews, all interviewees spoke honestly about their experience in Playback Theater; the difficulties they faced, the challenges they went through, and the exhaustion the trainer felt while conducting the improvisation exercises that are usually used in Playback. All three also expressed how Playback exercises can be hard and tiring in the beginning, and participants need time to adjust and understand the purpose behind them.

At the same time, the researcher sensed in the interviews that it was important for the interviewees to tell their stories, not only those connected to their Playback Theater experiences, but also stories related to their life in general.

In particular, this paper will consider the possibility of using Playback to allow for a more positive future for adolescents in Palestine. In order to reach a stage where participants can apply Playback Theater, we found that it is important to apply different kinds of drama and movement activities that support building and developing collaborative interaction among the participants. The trainer agreed on that and included it in the work plan that she prepared in advance.

Questions Addressed by the Study

In the current study a group of adolescent boys was recruited and participated in a series of Playback Theater workshops. Of interest was how they would experience the workshops and how they would use the workshops to express and relate to their daily experiences. Thus, the questions driving the study were as stated below.

What type of stories would Palestinian adolescents bring through Playback Theater?

How can Playback Theater affect adolescents' social interaction?

Could Playback Theater provide an expression platform for its participants?

In addition to these main questions, the triangulation of data sources other than the boys' reports, included observations of every session documented by the researcher, observations and evaluation made by the Playback conductor or trainer, and the

observations and perspectives of the boys' mothers which made somewhat of a 360 degree view or context for the research possible.

Importance of Topic

Adolescents living in refugee camps need spaces to breathe, to play and to create. Through their participation in drama, improvisation, movement and music activities participants may discover their creative potentials and have the opportunity to develop their creativity. Interacting with peers during the implementation of various activities, planning together in some of these activities, and then acting out the stories of each other, may strengthen the relationships between the group members and lead to positive friendships. Some participants can discover their love for drama, acting, storytelling, and standing on stage performing to an audience. The diversity of activities that encourages cooperation, creativity and collective improvisation may lead to learning critical life skills, like positive communication and team building. Adolescents in the refugee camps may take part in clashes with the Israeli soldiers since one of the biggest Israeli checkpoints is located exactly at the entrance of their refugee camp. Playback Theater might serve as an activity to counteract some of the motivation to do this.

The researcher hopes that this research will contribute to the study of Playback Theater and its applications and thus enrich the field. The number of research studies that have implemented Playback Theater with adolescents is currently relatively few.

Since Playback Theater is used today in more than one theater in Palestine, this research can enrich the work of these theaters through their work with adolescents, or direct them to work with them if they have not done so before. The researcher aspires to create an Expressive Arts Therapy program in Palestinian universities. This research may add to their libraries or to their art departments.

If adolescents succeed in interacting positively in this type of theater, and expressing themselves and the painful reality they live in, teachers, youth leaders, drama trainers or others, who work with this population, may be encouraged to receive training and use Playback theater as an expressive tool with adolescents. There has been no research on this subject conducted in Palestine.

If the participants experienced the Playback Theater work as enhancing their skills for expression or coping or even if started thinking about acting in the future, this might keep them away from the insecure streets they go to when clashes occur. They might believe that there are some other alternatives and opportunities in life other than those they experience in the refugee camp. This might help save the lives of some of them.

Securing a Safe Environment for Participants and Trainer

The researcher gave great importance to the safe/unsafe, secure/unsecure environment that surrounded the research's location at the child center in the refugee camp and was willing to stop the work at any moment when there was clear indication of danger. The researcher was in touch with the Popular Committee of Qalandia Refugee Camp, which closely followed any events or confrontations occurring between young people and Israeli soldiers. The committee approved the work at the child center and offered many kinds of help to ensure adolescents' safe access to their homes when there was any danger surrounding the child center. The researcher gave the parents her cell number and asked for theirs so she could check in on them when dangerous situations occurred in the camp, or parents wanted to contact her directly for issues related to their child or the situation around the research site.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Palestinian Refugees

According to Khalidi (1996), in 1948, 418 Palestinian villages were demolished in the districts of Acre, Bisan, Beersheba, Gaza, Haifa, Hebron, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Jenin, Nazareth, Safad, Tiberias, and Tulkarem cities. According to Khalidi (1996), when the State of Israel was declared, nearly 750,000 Palestinians became refugees (p. xxi). According to Wollenberg (2003) “there were in fact between 1.2 and 1.3 million Arabs in all of Palestine by 1947” (para.1).

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA, 2018, n.d) identified Palestinian refugees as those persons whose normal place of residence between June, 1946 and May 15, 1948 was in Palestine, and who lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of the 1948 conflict. It also defines three types of refugees within historic Palestine today: refugees who were displaced in 1948 and ended up in UNRWA-sponsored refugee camps, refugees who were displaced in 1948 and fled to live in villages or cities adjacent to their original villages, but who are not defined by UNRWA as refugees since they live under the Israeli regime and carry Israeli passports, and refugees who were displaced in 1967 and ended up either in refugee camps or villages other than their original villages and cities.

Adolescents in Palestine

According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS, 2017), 4,816,503 Palestinians live in Palestinian cities, villages, and refugee camps. This number does not include Palestinians who live within the State of Israel and carry an Israeli form of identification. Thirty percent of the total population in Palestine are youth, 38.1% of those youth are adolescents (15-19 years of age), and 61.9% are young adults (20-29 years).

In 2016, a report by B'Tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights

in the Occupied Territories), showed that 414 Palestinian minors were held in Israeli prisons as security detainees and prisoners, including 13 administrative detainees. Another Six were held in Israel Prison Service (IPS) facilities for illegally being in Israel. The IPS considers these minors – both detainees and prisoners – criminal offenders. The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), one of the largest international organizations operating in Palestine, reported that the Israeli army killed 25 Palestinian children in the last three months of 2015 alone, and 10 during the year 2017. Some of these children were involved in attempted stabbing attacks. According to Defense for Children International (DCI, 2017), between 500 and 700 Palestinian adolescents are arrested, detained, and prosecuted in the Israeli military court system each year. B'Tselem, UNICEF, and DCI (2017) reports show a deterioration of the situation of children in Palestine, including adolescents.

The above statistics indicate several causes that lead to trauma among Palestinian adolescents, who are living in an inhumane and disturbing situation. This reality draws attention to the importance of intervention at all levels

Adolescence

The term adolescence evolved from the Latin word, *adolescere*, which means “to grow up” (Mills, Goddings, Clasen, Giedd, & Blakemore, 2014, p. 1). The definition captures the way in which adolescents exist in transition between two stages: a period that remains partly in childhood but is at the same time moving toward adulthood. Clear changes occur in the bodies of adolescents during puberty, with corresponding changes in behavior, ways of thinking, and peer relationships. These changes are often manifested in acts of rebellion. Inhelder and Piaget (1958) wrote, “The adolescent is the individual who in attempting to plan his present or future work in adult society also has the idea of changing this society, whether in some limited area or completely” (p. 339).

As researchers have come to better understand the relationship between the brain and human behavior, this work has illuminated adolescent development. Mills et al. (2014) wrote that “scientists have begun to link these changes in thinking and behavior to changes occurring in the adolescent brain” (p. 3). Konrad, Firk, and Uhlhaas (2013), for example, studied the architecture of the brain and argued that while the prefrontal cortex regulating emotions begins to look more adult during adolescence, there are nevertheless differences in neural functioning related to emotions. This finding underscored the way in which adolescent development is both physical and mental – a fact that a researcher must consider when working with this age group.

Even when adolescents express feelings and appear to be like adults, according to Konrad et al. (2013), the way the adolescent brains work is different from that of adults. The brain, in fact, is not fully developed until about age 25. Also, during this second decade of life, adolescents are in a period of adapting to their social environment. During this time, some areas of the brain that affect social behavior are still undergoing both structural and functional reorganization. Specifically, two key neural systems, the regulatory apparatus of the prefrontal cortex and the striatal system are still undergoing developmental changes, all of which may result in adolescents being less risk-averse (Galván, 2011). Likewise, Blackmore and Mills (2014) reported: “Areas of the social brain undergo both structural changes and functional reorganization during the second decade of life, possibly reflecting a sensitive period of adapting to one’s social environment” (p. 187). In addition, Galván (2012) observed risk taking in adolescents does not occur in a vacuum, but is heavily influenced by their environment and life experiences, including their peers.

Peer and Group Influence in Adolescence

Peer groups in particular have a great impact on adolescents, and, in most cases, the role of the peer group is even greater than that of the parents. Moreover, some research

(Blakemore & Mills, 2014) showed that peer orientation and risk taking in adolescence are normal during this developmental stage. Blakemore and Mills (2014) argued that certain characteristic behaviors of adolescence are necessary, in order to realize a balanced adulthood in the future. Some of these behaviors included heightened self-consciousness, mood variability, novelty seeking, risk taking, and peer orientation. Researchers like Galván (2012) observed that excitement accompanies such behavior.

Stevenson, Kleibeuker, Dreu, and Crone (2014) conducted a study indicating that at the same time that adolescents are often exhibiting risky behavior, this is often also a time of increased flexibility in learning and openness to exploration, resulting in increased creativity. Their study involved 71 adolescents and 61 adults (67% of the adolescents and 50% of the adults were female) recruited, respectively, from high schools and colleges. Their main question was whether adolescents' creativity is a native ability linked to natural maturity, or whether it can be developed if they are exposed to certain relatively simple training.

According to Stevenson et al.'s (2014) study, adolescents showed achievement on all creative aspects. In addition, in rule-switching training, adolescents showed greater flexibility in creative ideation than adults. Regarding those results, the researchers suggested to view adolescence as a phase of flexibility, creativity, and discovery. This creativity and flexibility of the adolescent brain, as evidenced by Stevenson et al.'s (2014) study, can be channeled into drama and improvisation activities that allow young people to tell their stories. Such activities may play an important role in the preparation for any kind of theater work, including preparing for Playback Theater performances.

Trauma

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5; APA, 2013), explains five trauma and stressor-related disorders. Reactive attachment disorder,

disinhibited social engagement disorder, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), acute stress disorder, and adjustment disorder are five types of trauma and stressor-related disorders.

Reactive attachment disorder is seen in children who are frequently emotionally withdrawn towards their caretakers, demonstrate a consistent social and emotional hindrance, and have also been the receiver of lack of proper care.

Disinhibited social engagement disorder is seen in children who actively engage with adults unknown to them, demonstrate social behavior that is not controlled, and have been the receiver of lack of proper care from adult caregivers. The criteria for PTSD apply to adolescents, adults, and children who are at least 6 years of age (*DSM-5*; APA, 2013). This disorder is characterized by direct exposure to actual death or a death threat, major injury that may or may not be life threatening, or the recipient of sexual violence. The individual experiences symptoms that intrude, such as nightmares and remembrance of the traumatic event. In addition, the individual constantly avoids the triggers that belong to the traumatic event. Also, the impacted individual demonstrates negative cognitive and behavior changes that trigger memories of the traumatic event.

Acute stress disorder occurs when an individual is exposed to death or a death threat, an injury that may or may not be life threatening, or is sexually violated. A key factor is that the diagnostic criteria includes that the individual must be experiencing at least 9 or more symptoms, that fall under the categories of intrusive behavior, negative behavior changes, altered reality, avoidance of people and memories, and disturbances that impact sleep, concentration, and have a heightened startle response (*DSM-5*; APA, 2013, pp. 280-281).

Adjustment disorder occurs when an individual experiences a change in emotions and behavior in reaction to the clearly identified stressor. A key part of the diagnostic criteria includes that this development must occur within three months of the stressor (*DSM-5*; APA, 2013, p. 286). An individual will experience substantial disturbance in daily life

functioning and social interaction. It is important to note that the symptoms of Adjustment Disorder subside after 6 months following the end of the stressor or its impact on the individual (*DSM-5*; APA, 2013).

Levine (2008) described trauma as the “most avoided, ignored, misunderstood, and untreated cause of human suffering” (p. 7). Although all traumatic events can be stressful, not all result in the development of trauma symptoms (Freidman, Resick, & Keane, 2018; Levine, 2008). In general, trauma theorists such as Levine advocate an approach that does not assume that people who experience the same event will respond in the same way; rather, they may require individualized intervention. While one might assume these symptoms and resulting behaviors will be evident immediately following a traumatic event, in fact, often they do not emerge until later. In addition, in some cases, they can remain hidden over a period of time. (Freidman, Resick, & Keane, 2018; Levine, 2008).

Qouta, Punamäki, and Sarraj (2003) observed that most children respond with fear, sleep disturbances, and clinging to parents in acute trauma, but only a small minority will develop posttraumatic disorder (PTSD). The first aim of their research was to examine the prevalence of trauma among Palestinian children who lost their homes as a result of bombing by the Israeli army, and the second was to examine the degree and nature of trauma for children and mothers who witnessed military violence or were targeted by it. The research sample included 111 children (45% female, 55% male), who’s ages ranged between 6 and 16 years, and their mothers, whose ages ranged between 21 and 55 years. The research was conducted in the south of the Gaza Strip, specifically in the Khan Yunis and Rafah areas where many houses were shelled, leaving many families living in tents. Participants were recruited by area psychologists who met them in their temporary homes and administered a checklist developed for the study by the mental health program. The checklist sought to measure the exposure of participants to 11 types of traumatic events that

the researchers considered typical during that period. Seven items touched on being the target of military violence and five on witnessing military violence toward others (Qouta et al., 2003, p. 267). The same scale was used for mothers and children, who were interviewed separately. The PTSD symptoms of mothers were evaluated according to 15 symptoms derived from DSM criteria by Allodi (1985).

Qouta et al. (2003) found that 94% of the child participants had been tear-gassed, 97% had witnessed a shooting, and 96% had seen funerals. As for mothers, 100% had witnessed shootings, 97.5% had been targeted by tear gas, and 95% had seen funerals. One of the main findings was a positive correlation between mothers who reported high levels of PTSD and the occurrence of PTSD within their children, and vice versa (Allodi, 1985, p. 270). Another finding was that the degree of a mother's education appeared to be a moderating variable, so that mothers with more education tended to have children with lower levels of PTSD compared to children whose mothers were not educated. Young women who had less life experience demonstrated higher levels of PTSD than those who were older and had more life experience.

The researchers reported that while interviewing the families, Israeli military action such as shelling or bombarding was going on, which may have explained the high rates of PTSD among children. The other factor that researchers mentioned was that the Israeli army prevented Palestinians from helping their wounded relatives or burying their dead, which they speculated may have complicated the grieving process and created an unfinished mourning process that might appear as PTSD symptoms.

There are many burdens associated with living in a refugee camp, and in Palestine in general. People live in a state of war as they are bombed, and at other times they live under curfew. Crossing checkpoints limits their movement, and even when barriers are temporarily removed most people still need an Israeli permit to get around. A separation

walls isolate people from the larger community, and frequent clashes occur between people and Israeli soldiers. Long term exposure to war, curfews, closures, arrest, and torture are potentially traumatic events that produce painful emotions.

As Abdeen, Qasrawi, Nabil, and Shaheen (2008) observed, the conditions of the Israeli Palestinian conflict have been chronic: “In the West Bank and Gaza entire generations of children have grown up knowing nothing but violent war like events and disruption” (p. 291).

In the case of Palestine, the traumatic events experienced by adolescents in clashes with Israeli soldiers at checkpoints and during house invasions can cause them to suffer deep humiliation. Giacaman, Abu-Rmeileh, Husseini, Saab, and Boyce (2007) aimed to examine the impact of this insult on the psychological health of adolescents in the 10th and 11th grades in Ramallah, in the West Bank, Occupied Palestinian Territory. Their study involved a representative random sample of 3,415 adolescent participants from a list provided by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education, selected using stratified single-stage cluster sampling from cities, towns, villages, and refugee camps in the Ramallah District. The researchers aimed to examine participants’ exposure to traumatic events that included individual exposure (e.g., being arrested, injured, used as a human shield) and collective exposure (e.g., exposure to tear gas, sound bombs, shelling in the neighborhood), using a 27-item questionnaire. Participants were asked how often they had experienced each event during the past year on a Likert-type scale.

According to Giacaman et al. (2007), the items on this measure were derived from previously normed measures, local practitioner measures, and focus group discussions with young people. The latter two provided a context-specific framework and ensured that the issues and language used in the survey were grounded in the realities of the study participants. In fact, the four humiliation variables addressed in the survey—being directly

humiliated, seeing a family member being humiliated, seeing a friend humiliated, and seeing a stranger being humiliated—were identified through the focus group discussions. The researchers found that when participants reported at least three experiences of humiliation, they reported a higher number of subjective health complaints compared with those who had never been exposed to humiliation. The researchers established not just the high prevalence of insult/humiliation for this population, but also its link to the development of trauma symptoms. Moreover, the findings indicate that humiliation must be taken seriously in any research dealing with the causes and impact of trauma.

The strength of this study lies in the fact that it used a large sample to examine a subject that had not been addressed before in Palestine. At the same time, Giacaman et al. (2007) noted that this study was undertaken in just one district of the West Bank, and one which arguably has seen less trauma in recent years than other areas, particularly the Gaza Strip. Moreover, the percentage of participants from refugee camps was comparatively small at 6%, and it has been established that these young people often experience higher levels of trauma than their counterparts. Although this suggests that overall trauma rates for Palestinian adolescents might be higher, it does not take away from the findings regarding the relationship between humiliation and trauma.

Revenge

When people of all ages are subjected to repeated examination of their person and belongings at the checkpoints, waiting for clearance, and sometimes treated inhumanely or if they experience the death of a relative or the arrest and imprisonment of a brother, father or themselves, they may think of revenge. In Palestine, where such events occur on a regular basis, young people can experience intractable anger and a deep desire for revenge.

Haen and Weber (2009) defined revenge as “retaliation in response to a perceived injustice committed against a person or group with whom that person feels identified” (p.

84). The authors noted that while revenge often begins in fantasies, it is actualized through behavior. They reviewed literature on trauma and neuroscience, discussing how those harmed by another person can come to believe that after they commit an act of revenge they will feel better, a dynamic they noted among their traumatized child and adolescent patients. However, the authors noted that after the act of revenge, the avenger often returns to feeling emotional emptiness, and the pain of their original trauma continues.

Gollwitzer and Denzler (2009) expanded existing research on the motivational dynamics of taking revenge by testing the comparative suffering hypothesis (in which the avengers must transfer some pain to the offender in order to balance the suffering between his and the offender's suffering) against the understanding hypothesis (in which the avenger does not feel fully satisfied by doing the revenge, but he feels so when the offender feels/understands the cause behind that revenge, the harm that he caused to the avenger). The authors also explored the concept of 'goal achievement' as it relates to the offender understanding why they are receiving punishment or harm. Based on previous research that positively correlated the decrease in cognitive accessibility of aggression-related words to goal fulfillment, they argued that if the comparative suffering hypothesis is correct, then this accessibility would decrease regardless how the suffering came upon the target. Otherwise, it would only decrease when the offender signals understanding of the underlying hypothesis.

An aspect of revenge has been addressed by the researchers Gollwitzer and Denzler (2009) when they discussed the suffering hypothesis as a status in which the avenger must transfer some pain to the offender, in order to balance the suffering between his and the offender's suffering. The researchers also discussed the understanding hypothesis, in which the revenger does not feel fully satisfied by doing revenge, but he feels so, when the offender feels/understands the cause behind the revenge and the harm that he caused to the

avenger (Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). Haen and Weber (2009) noted that after the act of revenge, the avenger often returns to feeling emotional emptiness, and the pain of their original trauma continues to haunt their life.

A sample of 101 German students aged 19 to 36 years took part in the study (Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). Students were omitted if they did not have a concept of an ostensible other participant (offender), if they failed at an equity test, and if they were large outliers in the subsequent latency test. Following a provocation method (identifying an ostensible partner as an offender), students were asked to respond to words flashing on the screen. The words were aggression-related, non-aggression related, and non-German words and the response latency (speed of identification of words) to the German words were measured.

One group ($n = 77$) was then given a choice of putting the ostensible partner through a tedious long test or not (34% of them opted to take revenge), and the remaining sample was told that their ostensible partner was chosen randomly to do this tedious task (Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). The responses students received during a communication opportunity with the offender indicated both that the offender understood why they were given this punishment, and some indicated that they did not understand why they had to do this tedious task. After the messages were exchanged the latency test was re-administered.

The study was based on previous research that asserted that visualizing revenge enhances the latency for detecting aggression-related target words in a lexical decision task (LDT; Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). So subjects' speed of identification of words was what was measured. The data were log transformed because they were skewed. The log-transformed latencies for aggressive words were subtracted from those for log transformed non-aggressive words, and thus a positive value on the difference (referred to as LTD score) would indicate that aggressive words were relatively more accessible than non-aggressive

ones.

F-tests for significance on the variances were conducted using three-way tests that combined the following conditions:

1. Occasion of measurement: after provocation after receiving the message from offender
2. Source of suffering: fate/revenge
3. Understanding: yes/no [did the offender understand why they were the subject of revenge?]

In particular LDT scores were used to analyze a 3 (fate, revenge, and no revenge) x 2 (understanding: yes/no) x 2 (occasion of measurement: after provocation, after exchanging messages) mixed analysis of variance (Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). And to better interpret the three-way interaction, they tested the two-way interaction between occasion of measurement and understanding for each condition on the revenge factor (that is, revenge, no revenge, and fate), separately. The two-way interaction between occasion of measurement and understanding was only significant in the revenge condition.

The findings from the study indicated that seeing the offender suffer from fate (as opposed to direct revenge action) did not seem to be related to goal fulfillment (Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). This means that the comparative suffering hypothesis was not supported, and just seeing an offender suffer from a fateful event does not satisfy. Also a decrease in scores was only considered significant when participants took revenge and when the offender signaled understanding for this response, thus strengthening the understanding hypothesis (i.e., the need to know that the offender understands why suffering was inflicted on them). The researchers identified some limitations of their study, and finally asserted that revenge is not a goal in itself, but rather a means to achieve a higher-order goal (i.e., understanding why revenge was imposed), as other research indicates. They further

indicated that the extent to which a simple understanding message is sufficient in reducing negative feelings among victims of violent crimes remains an empirical question. They highlighted that, with further research, it may be that instead of traditional forms of punishment such as incarceration, there may be other restorative practices for establishing justice.

Raz, Cohen, and Laufer (2008) conducted a study in order to examine post-traumatic symptoms and their correlates among Palestinian and Jewish 16-years-olds from 11 high schools in different cities and rural communities in Israel. The substantive sample of 1,745 Israeli adolescents included 276 Palestinian adolescents (females= 177, males = 99), who were called Palestinian Israelis as they lived inside the 1948 borders of Israel, and 1469 Jewish Israeli participants (females = 909, males = 560). They were presented with a list of 22 items covering different levels of potential exposure to terror-related events and asked to state whether or not they had experienced each event. The findings indicated that the number of Israeli Palestinian adolescents who had been subjected to terror incidents was greater than the number of Jewish participants, and that male adolescents on average had been exposed to more terror attacks than female adolescents. Another questionnaire showed that Israeli Palestinian adolescents demonstrated a greater readiness to retaliate and take revenge than Jewish adolescents. In addition, by using the Forgiveness Scale developed by Mullet, Houdbine, Laumonier and Girard (1998), researchers found that Israeli Palestinian adolescents showed a higher inability to forgive than Jewish adolescents, with male adolescents exhibiting a higher inability to forgive than female adolescents. Although the research presented the results of these questionnaires, the researchers did not question the reasons that led the adolescents to choose these responses.

Creative interventions may have a potential to help adolescents process their trauma without acting on their desire for revenge. Playback could be one such potentially beneficial

intervention that might help adolescents to process their emotions and receive a space/platform to express them.

Group Development

On the subject of group construction, Tuckman (1965) identified four stages of group development. In stage one, which he labeled Testing and Depending, the group members try to examine their interactions with the other group members and their reactions to their facilitator. In stage two, which Tuckman (1965) labeled Intragroup Conflict, the group members become hostile to each other and then toward their facilitator in order to impose their personality and not to accept the rules that will be imposed by either the group or the facilitator.

In stage three, which Tuckman (1965) labeled Development of Group Cohesion, the group members started to accept each other and respect others' privacy. The fourth and final stage is Functional role-relatedness, in which the group members become a team and work together in problem solving (Tuckman, 1965, pp. 386-387). Runkel, Lawrence, Oldfield, Rider, and Clark (1971) conducted a study with participants of a social psychology project at the University of Oregon to examine Tuckman's (1965) four stages. The researchers' main goal was to examine if group development proceeded according to Tuckman's model. In the beginning, the participants were divided into three groups of 15 to 20 participants each. Each group met separately twice a week, and the three groups met together as a larger group twice a week to generate ideas and discuss the research task. Then, the big groups were divided into small workgroups of four participants. Each small group had to decide upon a project, collect data, and write a report regarding their group task. Each small group was asked to discuss the social conditions that supported or impeded learning on campus in addition to what kind of materials each group found in the campus setting that helped them work on their projects.

The researchers received help from 16 observers who completed the social psychology project during the previous year, and also received training sessions regarding Tuckman's (1965) theory (Runkel et al., 1971). Two observers were present at every small group meeting to observe the process each group went through to complete their project. Each meeting was recorded by the silent observers, who focused on recording the discussion that occurred within the group in addition to each member's behavior during the session. They received information explaining Tuckman's (1965) theory and what they were required to follow during observation. Each observer received two sheets; on one sheet the observer recorded the behavior that related to Group Structure and on the second they documented episodes of the Task Activity. As a result, any observations that did not fit this theory or process most likely confused the observers and were left out of the recording of events.

According to the observers, when groups first worked together in the three big groups, their interaction rose to a high level of progress, and when they were divided to work in small groups, their interaction decreased at the beginning but then returned and increased as time went on (Runkel et al., 1971). The researchers added that through the research period, most of the project groups started to meet outside the times and places allocated for research. According to the research findings, all mini-groups preceded according to Tuckman's (1965) four-stage theory, except one group that did not reach the fourth stage, functional role-relatedness (Runkel et al., 1971).

Feldman (2001) addressed the issue of group cohesiveness as the first outcome of her research study. The aim of her study was to help therapists and educators understand how a therapeutic program using drama and improvisation exercises assists to examine the emotional and social development of children encountering difficulties on both levels. Children ($N = 20$) between the ages of 6 and 11 years ($M = 9$) participated in the study.

After six participants dropped out of the study, the research continued with 14 children (males = 6; females = 8). The children came from two New York City schools, and about half had a history of physical and sexual abuse. The research program occurred twice-weekly after school. The researcher employed the "Growing Up Performed" program, which Feldman described as a "specific therapeutic approach (social therapy) and a phenomenon within social therapeutic practice (performance)" (Feldman, 2001, p. 35).

Feldman (2001) conducted the study and used direct observation, videotaping of the sessions, and informal interviewing to collect her data. She included the drama activities that she used with the children and their interaction within these activities. Documenting the activities that were implemented during the research period gave the reader an opportunity to learn about those types of activities, how they were used, and how they affected the participants. The parents' evaluations, obtained through interviews, formed an important part of the research. The parents indicated that their children became less shy, their creativity increased, their ability to handle mistakes improved, and that the program affected their communication with their families at home in a positive way. The observational notes included discretions of interactions between children and adults, the activities that were implemented during the program, and how groups responded to different situations. The theoretical notes, on the other hand, were used to record and analyze events with a child that required further inquiry. For example, if a child acted out, he or she might be given another job to do. Although shifting their focus was a positive move, did this action also reward them for bad behavior, as some behaviorists would suggest?

According to the research findings, the therapeutic program built a positive relationship between the group members and the drama aspects provided a space for children to talk about and deal with taboo subjects such as sex, sexual abuse, and sexual

assault (Feldman, 2001). Some of the children had chosen to enter into this therapeutic program because of these prohibited topics. The other findings that Feldman reported involved the development of participating children's ability to perform on subjects of interest to them. They became able to stand on stage in front of the public without fear or shyness. They also became better listeners, more respectful and cooperative with one another (Feldman, 2001).

Feldman (2001) noted some of the negative outcomes that she encountered during applying the research. One group member, for example, mentioned feeling embarrassed performing on stage during the public performance. She was scared that everyone was looking at her and felt embarrassed getting off stage while people clapped. According to the researcher, the issue was not discussed directly with the child. The researcher did not mention the reason behind the lack of discussion. The second incident mentioned by the researcher Feldman was about two children who left the program because they did not feel comfortable with the rest of the group, which the researcher failed to attend to or prevent. Here, too, the researcher did not mention how she dealt with the situation and did not provide steps/hints that could have been taken in advance to avoid that withdrawal.

Trust in Group Building

Trust can play an important role in creating a positive atmosphere for group work and help build coherence and healthy dynamics within the group, as well. The sense of trust and safety within groups includes not only the group members, but should also include the relationship between the members and the facilitator or the researcher working with them.

De Jong, Dirks, and Gillespie (2016) defined trust as “a fundamental characteristic of any work relationship and one of the most frequently studied constructs in organizational research today” (p. 1134). In the pilot study (Edelbi, 2018) at the Freedom Theater in Jenin refugee camp, Ali, one of the interviewees stated “Two months definitely were not enough.

We needed more time to build trust within the group and with the trainer” (Personal communication, November 11, 2017). Perhaps, if the duration of the current study was longer and it was possible to meet with the participants more, the participants would tell more personal stories or presented topics that they would not normally present.

The De Jong et al., (2016) research findings confirmed that intra-team trust is positively related to team performance and has an above-average impact ($\rho = .30$). The covariate analyses showed that the relationship continued after controlling for the teams’ trust in the leader, past team performance, and examining cognitive and affective dimensions of trust. The study showed that when trust is developed within the group, their collaboration and interaction increase and may result in a better outcome. These results meet with the research results that showed in the development of the group's work

These results are similar to Dirk’s (1999) study that demonstrated that the existence of a high level of trust among group members enhances both the process and product of a group’s performance.

Dirks’ (1999) study intended to examine whether interpersonal trust among task group members had an impact on their interaction or not and, if there was any effect, whether the effect was direct or indirect (p. 445). Forty-two undergraduate participants participated in the study; no details about gender or age were provided. The researcher adapted “the tower building task” developed by Donald Gibson in order to study group behavior. In this task, participants worked in small groups of three. Each participant received 14 wooden blocks that were different in color from other participants’ blocks. The goal of the activity was to check how individuals within the same group collaborated in building a tower using as many blocks as possible. A digital timer was used to ensure all groups received the same amount of time; specific time allocations were not mentioned in the study. When each group finished building the tower, the researcher counted and

recorded the number of blocks each individual added and announced each participant's score and the group's score. Groups were asked to repeat the same experience of building the tower together eight times and, after each time, were given an opportunity for discussion. A 10-item survey instrument with a 7-point Likert scale (1= low trust, 7= high trust) was used to perform a manipulation check, as participants were also given a description of the trustworthiness (reliable or unreliable) of their teammates when engaged in the activity.

Performance was measured by the number of blocks in the tower after each tower and the number of times the tower fell (Dirks, 1999). Group process variables, including coordination, helping, and intensity and direction of effort, were scored by observing videotapes of the process. Task motivation was also analyzed using a self-report survey, again using a 7-point Likert scale. At the end of the study, the participants completed an open-ended survey that, according to the researcher, supported the results of the study. ANOVA was used to assess the effectiveness of the manipulation and revealed a significant difference between the low trust groups ($M = 2.5$) and high trust groups ($M = 5.7$). On the other hand, trust influenced the motivation level of the group and showed that the groups that had a high level of trust worked cohesively, while the groups with low trust level worked more individually. The author wrote "trust seems to influence how motivation is converted into work group process and performance" (p. 445). The hypothesis test showed that motivation and the interaction between motivation and trust were significant. In the boys' case, since towards the end of the project they started to work cohesively, there must have been sort of trust among the group members that influenced their interaction and led them to be onstage to act out their mothers and friends' stories.

Playback Theater

Origins and Methodology

Playback Theater was founded by Jonathan Fox and his partner Jo Salas during the 1970s (Salas, 1993). In Playback Theater, improvisation occurs during the show rather than during preparations for it, and the audience is a central focus of these improvisations and becomes part of the show.

The author and PT director Hannah Fox characterized it as “an interactive, improvisational form used to illuminate life and incite dialogue. In playback theatre life stories are shared by audience members and then re-enacted spontaneously on stage” (Fox, 2008, para.1).

According to The International Playback Theater Network (n.d.) in the United Kingdom, there is always the familiarity of a basic set-up for Playback Theatre, regardless of where the performance takes place. Figure 1 demonstrates the Playback Theater set-up that PT staff uses in the places they perform, whether those places are inside or outside the theater. Playback Theater performances can take place in hospitals, schools, institutions, or even in public spaces. Regardless of the place or the environment that is hosting the performance, the same set-up is used to fit the space due to its flexibility to be moved easily. It is portable and utilizes a small number of props.

The conductors play a key role in Playback Theater performance. First, they are the contact persons, if an organization invites the group. They get the necessary information from the organization regarding the audience, and update the Playback Theater group with this critical information. They are the ones in charge of setting up the space. Third, they welcome the audience, introduce the performers, and explain how the process of Playback Theater works. The conductors facilitate the communication between actors and audience in order to develop a sense of community. They facilitate the performance process by inviting the teller from the audience to share his or her stories. They also direct the work itself and

take part in the acting when needed. Only one conductor facilitates the Playback Theater group, which usually includes one musician and five actors (Good, 1986). The following figure shows the basic set-up for a Playback Theatre performance.

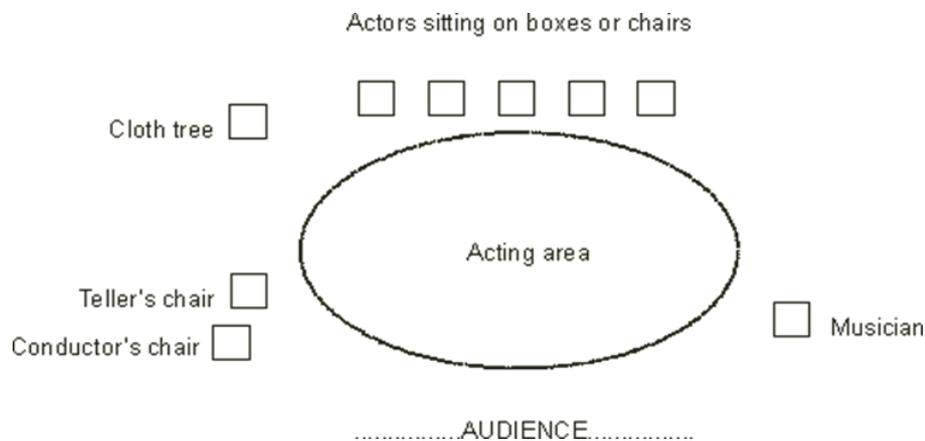


Figure 1. Playback Theater Settings. Adapted from “What is Playback Theatre and How Does it Work?” by The International Playback Theatre Network, n.d., <https://playbacktheatreuk.wordpress.com/so-what-is-playback-theatre-and-how-does-it-work/> Copyright by Author.

According to Rivers (2013), “Playback Theater praxis is based on the assumption that stories are told for a purpose: to remember, to transmit a message or evoke certain responses in the audience” (p.161). Actors listen carefully and deeply to the story, and improvise the story within a theatre piece in front of a narrator and audience. Then, the Playback facilitator/conductor asks the teller about their feelings while watching the scene, whether the scene was close to the story that was narrated, and if there is anything they would add or share with the audience and the actors (Rivers, 2013).

During a personal interview that the researcher conducted with Jo Salas (J. Salas, personal communication, May 18, 2018), she pointed out how important it is to welcome and accept any story the adolescents bring to the stage. She believes that adults should not urge adolescents to talk about a specific theme but to let them talk about what matters to them, not what matters to adults. According to her experience in using PT with adolescents,

this approach allowed adolescents to feel free to talk about what concerns them; to become open to discussion, and slowly feel comfortable in performing in Playback Theater. She continued that when adolescents feel that they are heard and understood, they are freed up to experiment happy and sad stories alike.

After 1990, when The International Playback Theater Network was founded, the use of Playback Theater has spread widely around the world and is used in a variety of settings well beyond the theatre. Hundreds of Playback Theater companies now perform in over 60 countries (Ellinger & Ellinger, 2015-2016).

According to Feldhendler (2007), Playback Theater has also entered cultural and educational institutions and is no longer confined to the world of theater and theater platforms. It has been used in educational and services institutions, in addition to adult continuing education (Feldhendler, 2007). For example, Feldhendler used Playback Theater with German university participants to teach the French language. In this regard, he wrote, “being an integrated, practical form of language training (target language French), Playback Theater functions as a tool for advanced studies, and in the theory and practice of foreign language instruction” (Feldhendler, 2007, p. 49).

Although Playback Theater is based on improvisations regarding stories told by the audience members, advanced rehearsals of drama and improvisation exercises are required in Playback as well. Improvisation activities before performances facilitate the Playback Theater process of improvisation in front of the audience, and may allow actors to more deeply understand the audience’s stories. Through them, actors are trained to use senses, body, and imagination to build a dramatic scene around a certain idea, situation, or character (Frost & Yarrow, 2016, p. xv).

Since Playback Theater on depends on group participation of actors, the positive

relationship and interaction between the group members plays an important role in the success or failure of the group work. In order to bring the group members closer to each other and break down the barriers between them, trainers or conductors may apply drama, movement, and music activities in Playback Theater rehearsals and activities.

Experiences of Adolescents with Playback Theater

As PT is a relatively new theater form, the number of research studies examining it is still small. Moreover, both PT and research on it have primarily focused on adults. In Palestine, as noted above, PT has been applied in only one theater so far and there is, as of yet, no academic research on PT in the Palestinian context.

Jordaan's (2015) study, aimed to encourage adolescents to go through a process of self-reflective searching for alternative possibilities and understandings to their social context. The study was conducted with a group of 15 adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 years in Khulisa's Awareness program, an international non-governmental organization in Hammanskraal/South Africa. The researcher indicated that by stimulating alternative possibilities, meanings, and understandings, participants evaluated and re-imagined themselves and their personal responsibilities within their social context. Part of the adolescents' anger and complaints came from not being respected by others and feeling ignored and unimportant. The researcher confirmed that the participants started to realize that in order to be respected, they should also respect others. According to Jordaan, this allowed participants to explore themselves, their relationships with others, and opened them for action and change.

For Jordaan (2015), PT was useful for participants to think about additional possibilities for self-reflection and communication. The researcher concluded that PT also served as a form of recognition and allowed participants to realize that there are others who share their experiences. Through witnessing the stories that were performed, they were able

to re- evaluate their own stories and actions and, in doing so, re-evaluate how they respond to their own circumstances.

In 2017, Jordaan and Coetzee wrote an article reflecting on Jordaan's (2015) study and the positive effects of that experience on participants. Some participants reported that they sympathized with at least one of the stories they heard from another participant. Some expressed a sense of commonality between their stories and those of others. Through listening to each other's story and being enrolled in them, participants had the sense of belonging and reconnecting with their community. The authors also reported that after the PT experience, participants were able to share their experiences with others and empathize with others' experiences. They also added that PT encouraged togetherness, powerful communications, and cohesion. The authors concluded that Playback Theater could allow for a variety of understandings and points of views to surface. This, they suggested, allows for one's perspective to shift in both meaning and comprehension. As a result, one's understanding of self may be widened to include a larger social context.

Rivers (2013) documented his work in Palestine through the Freedom Bus, in which he and a group of Palestinian Playback actors toured Palestine to hear people's stories and act them out in front of them. They reached places under siege, such as Nabi Saleh village, Jenin city that was continuously and intensively invaded by Israeli forces and subject to Israeli military raids between October and December 2011; in addition, At-Tuwani village in south Hebron hills that lacked the most basic elements of life such as paved roads, electricity, telephone lines, running water, and a sewerage system was visited.

According to Rivers (2013), all participants who shared their stories through this experience, expressed their hope that the Freedom Bus with its Playback actors would deliver their stories to the outside world as well. Their stories expressed painful events, such as Palestinian children arrested with their hands painfully tied behind their backs, left alone

and scared in interrogation rooms. Other stories told about remembering martyrs' deaths, the feeling of anger, and the people's attempts to forget such traumatic events; in addition to the psychological torture that was reported by one of the participants as the worst aspect of his three years in jail (p.164, p.166, p. 167). The report concluded "Through art, ritual and communal storytelling, we shape meaning out of unfathomable suffering and loss" (p.173).

Rousseau, Lacroix, Singh, Gauthier and Benoit (2005) shared their experience of developing and implementing creative expression workshop programs for immigrant and refugee children that included sand play and sand toys, small figures representing nature, animals and people, and various objects that helped them tell their stories. The program was a collaboration between the transcultural psychiatry team at the Montreal Children's Hospital and schools in Montreal. The program aimed to help immigrant and refugee children adjust to the new environment through a variety of artistic approaches (p. 2).

Jonathan Fox's Playback Theater was one of the methods used in the program, and helped to facilitate the adjustment of teens who carried previous traumatic events, as well as, the traumatic event of immigration itself (Rousseau et al., 2005, p. 3). For one of the immigrant teens who back home lost his mother when their house was bombed, the workshops were a safe space to express himself and validate his trauma. He gradually became one of the group after being "withdrawn and submissive" at the beginning of the program (p.5). Regarding the impact of the creative workshop experience on teachers, Rousseau et al. added "the experience raised the importance of sensitizing the teachers to the children's life experience and of supporting them in this process" (p. 6).

Methodological Considerations of Utilizing Playback Theater (PT)

Researchers, authors, and directors have identified a number of challenges in work with PT in general and using it with the adolescents in particular. One challenge involved in PT is the range of skills and experience it requires for PT's successful implementation.

Feldhendler (2007), wrote, “In the original Playback Theater dramaturgy, the intention was to create events, experiences, and lived situations told as stories by spectators, then to immediately translate them into scenes on the stage” (p. 47). This requires well-trained actors who can improvise and act out the stories coming from the audience. Although PT actors don’t conduct rehearsals in advance on specific scenes that come from the audience, they do practice improvising all kinds of scenes and stories to build their improvisational capacity. As PT depends on improvisation, a PT director who usually takes part in acting out the story also helps the actors create the scene. The trained actors are usually adults who have experience in theater, and who have the physical flexibility in movement and in improvising the appropriate text to the story they heard. Likewise, Ellinger and Ellinger (2016) noted the complex mixture of skills and the multiple technical tools required in the PT process: “It involves skills and knowledge in acting, improvisation, ensemble work, movement, facilitation, storytelling, listening, therapeutic interventions, cultural sensitivity, the social dynamics of identity and ‘isms,’ and much more” (p. 11).

Given the research reviewed on the situation of Palestinian adolescents in refugee camps, specifically boys, and the developmental tasks of adolescence in general the plan for the study discussed here was created. The potential for PT as a means of working with adolescents to address ongoing developmental, social, and environmental aspects of their lives both positive and challenging was considered an important step in furthering information on this specific population. Offering a creative outlet for expression through the arts was hoped to be useful and to assist in discovering how the process might work in this unique environment.

CHAPTER 3

Methods

The researcher conducted a qualitative phenomenological study in which she aimed to examine the experience of Palestinian adolescents living in a refugee camp exposed to Playback Theater for the first time with a focus on their personal stories. Phenomenology is used to study human experience as a unified whole (Creswell, 2013; Forinash, 2019). The qualitative method, including analysis of observations and interviews with participants, was used in order to explore and understand participants' complex and real experiences of Playback Theater. The purpose of phenomenology is to describe the intrinsic essence of an experience, and allow the researcher to attempt to embrace complexity, intentionality, and suspend beliefs in order to understand human experiences. While this is a lofty goal, the attempt to uncover the experiences of the adolescents in this study was additionally approached from multiple, triangulated perspectives. These included the boys' words and stories, observations by the researcher of the Playback Theater workshops, the observations and perspectives of the Playback trainer, and the boys' mothers' observations of the final performance and their sons' ongoing responses to the workshops.

Participants

The researcher's key informants were adolescent Muslim boys, ages 15-16 from Qalandia refugee camp, one of the Palestinian refugee camps in Palestine. Schools are not mixed by gender in the camps and the participants were from two 9th grade classes and came from the same school for boys. A series of 19 after school sessions were conducted with them over 10 weeks. Sixteen of the 19 sessions were Playback sessions. The research started at the end of February 2019 and was completed at the beginning of May 2019, before the participants entered the final school exams.

The researcher initially conducted an interview with the school principal and school counselor, explaining the purpose and methods of the research project. The researcher obtained permission from the school principal, the school counselor, and the refugee center committee responsible for the meeting space. After obtaining their approval, the researcher entered the two classes and gave the participants all the information needed to participate in the project.

Participants were asked to fill out a form with their name and parent's contact information. Participants who did not wish to participate could return the form back as blank. The researcher used the forms to randomly select 16 participants whose parents were called, and given all the information about the project. Home visits were scheduled with the parents to further explain the research, and obtain their consent and the consent of the student to participate in the project. The research was approved by the Lesley Institutional Review Board and both assent forms were signed by each participant in addition to the consent forms that were signed by the parents. All student information: names, addresses, phone numbers, videos, pictures and interviews were kept in a locked file on the researcher's computer. The names of the participants and the trainer were changed to pseudonyms to insure their anonymity.

The research project began with 16 participants, but ended with only 11 participants. Two of the participants left after a couple of sessions because they were no longer interested in the project. The other two participants were forced to leave due to other circumstances. Both lied to their parents about being at a session when they were not there, and the fathers found out and decided to take them out of the project. The other participant was forced to leave because he did not follow the rules of the center regarding smoking and was asked to leave by the director of the Center. The participant was given several warnings before he

was asked to leave the center. The chart in Appendix A shows the attendance and absence of participants during the research period.

Playback Theater Workshop Implementation

All drama and Playback exercises/activities were implemented by a Playback Theater trainer who acted as the conductor and had eight years of Playback experience in general and five years of experience working with adolescents in particular. The trainer had previously worked with a group of adolescents in the village of Bil'in in addition to Hebron and Ramallah cities. This research was her first experience working with refugee adolescents in a refugee camp.

After recruiting and collecting required consents, the 16 participants were invited to come to the first session. The researcher and the trainer explained the objectives and the procedures of the project, and each role in the project was clearly defined. For example, the trainer conducted the sessions with the participants and the researcher took notes, photographs, and shot videos during the project. The project plan included 20 sessions but only 19 sessions were implemented and of these only 16 were Playback Theater sessions. One session was cancelled due to the participants not being able to attend the session.

The researcher and the trainer worked together to plan the workshop and the workshop curriculum presented in Table 1 was agreed upon as appropriate for the experience level, ages, and length of the workshop.

Table 1

Details of Playback Theater Training for the Study

<p>Project Description</p>	<p>* The workshops will include training in movement, voice work and the Viewpoints method of acting and composition. In particular, participants will develop the skills and attributes needed for turning true stories into</p>
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	<p>improvised enactments rich in artistry, attunement, and effective ensemble work. They will identify and develop the skills needed for transforming true stories into improvised enactments.</p> <p>* The group will learn and practice the basic elements of Playback Theatre. In particular, they will develop their ability to identify the central themes and events that a ‘Teller’ presents in their story. They will also explore ways to translate these ‘narrative cornerstones’ into improvised enactments that are rich in artistry, attunement and effective ensemble work. The use of Playback Theatre for community mobilization, cultural activism and trauma response will also be explored. In addition, the focus of the work will be on voice development, movement practice and improvisational skills.</p> <p>* Learning will occur in a safe, playful and stimulating environment that promotes experiential discovery, peer-to-peer exchange and critical engagement with key principles. No prior acting experience is necessary for this project.</p>
<p>Learning Outcomes</p>	<p>* Learning short and long forms in Playback Theatre.</p> <p>* Developing teamwork and collaboration between each other.</p> <p>* Using Story Language (metaphor and poetics), how to tell the story, and story elements (landscape of action/consciousness).</p> <p>* Putting the story on stage: “Staging”.</p> <p>* Developing the ability to identify the central events, meanings and emotions that a “teller” presents in their story.</p> <p>* Learning to use basic Playback Theatre forms for enacting the personal stories of other group members.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Developing skills in voice, movement, ensemble work and theatrical Improvisation. * Exploring the practice and ethics of performing traumatic accounts.
<p>Project Objectives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Provide a space for expression and the sharing of ideas/thoughts/stories among young people who live in an insecure space surrounded by a separation wall and military checkpoints. * Develop the ability to identify the central events, meanings and emotions that a “Teller” presents in their story. * Develop the ability to enact the real life stories of other group participants. * Develop skills in voice, movement, ensemble work and theatrical improvisation. * Develop and demonstrate an understanding of the use of Playback Theatre for group work and community building.
<p>Knowledge Skills</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Participants know basic forms (fluid sculptures, pairs, and stories/scenes). * Participants are willing to be physically expressive. * Participants learn the basic geography of the Playback stage. * Participants are able to act.
<p>Music</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Participants know three basic functions of music in Playback Theater.
<p>Personal level</p>	<p>Participants can:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Connect to others. * Are aware of their own feelings and willing to express themselves. * Are willing to be a teller and good listener. * Are willing to develop their creativity.

	* Are willing to express themselves through creative/artistic methods.
Social level	* Participants accept, and respect others and their differences. * Participants are able to act/interact, engage and share.

The researcher and the trainer met with the group twice a week after school, from 1:30-4pm. The first half an hour was dedicated to welcoming the group, having a brief chat and providing them with a light lunch and soft drink. The two-hour workshops focused on group building activities, drama activities, sharing stories, and improvisational activities. The workshops were carried out in the theater hall of the Child Center for Culture and Development in the refugee camp. More details and an illustration of the space used at the center are given in another section below.

The plan was flexible and adjusted during the project of the work in response to the group's interactions and needs. For example, the planned outdoor workshops were shifted to indoor workshops since the situation within the camp was not that calm and safe during the project period. One session was canceled as well when clashes occurred in the camp resulting in a few arrests and injuries of young men from the camp and in addition a young man was killed in those clashes.

The researcher and the trainer reminded the participants from time to time during the training of basic rules of the workshop. These were that the researcher had the right to communicate with parents when necessary, and parents had the right to communicate with her whenever they need to do so; that participants were expected to help arrange and clean the space after each session; that participants were required to show respect for the trainer, the researcher and their colleagues in the group at all times; and that failure to adhere to the group rules would mean not being allowed to continue the workshop. In addition, it was

explained that the trainer would explain each activity, specifically new activities before conducting them with the participants, and that they were free not to participate in an activity if so desired. It was explained that after each activity a group discussion take place to allow those who wanted to share how they felt about the activity, or what they learned from it, or what they thought about the activity. Participants were required to inform the trainer first before leaving a session for any reason, and they were told that they were not required to participate in the final performance if they did not wish to. The researcher did not interfere in the activity or discussion without the approval of the trainer, who was responsible for the work's progress.

Conducting the Playback Theater Sessions

Sixteen Playback Theater sessions were conducted with the group. These sessions were conducted by the trainer while the researcher was observing, taking notes, pictures and videos.

Three additional sessions were conducted by the researcher when the trainer could not meet with the group. The researcher did not conduct Playback Theater activities with the group during these sessions, instead, participants were provided with Lego, Puzzle, memory and entertainment games. Most participants if not all did not have such games at home or school in the refugee camps. In addition, the researcher conducted some movement activities such as, "passing my name in the circle," "rotating the energy from one to one," and "what am I doing" activities. The movement with music activities included "dancing with scarves," "jumping between the circular hoops," and "stop motionless when the music stops." The activities focused on creativity, playfulness, and movement, and sometimes required quick thinking and collaboration. The participants expressed a high level of interaction but also showed a great desire to win in some games; although the researcher did not focus on winning and instead focused on the fun of play and group interaction



Figure 2. The Hall and the Stage Used for the Research. Taken by the researcher on April 30, 2019.

Table 2

Details of the 16 Playback sessions

<p>Session 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction to the program’s timeline. - Types of exercises that the trainer will use with the participants. Clarifying that respecting and accepting each other are the foundations for building the group and work continuity.
<p>Session 2+3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Warm-up. - “The Picture” activity in which each participant will bring a theme and the other participants will improvise a “picture” that represents the theme. The picture doesn’t move, and ends when all or part of the participants present the theme through their bodies. Each group member should get a chance to take part in each picture that the group creates together; as well as, an opportunity to bring at least one theme that the group will use to create a picture.

<p>Session 4</p>	<p>- Warm-up.</p> <p>- “Improvisation in the Space” activities- In these activities, the group will learn how to improvise scenes on the spot without any previous preparations. One participant will start by saying something or doing something, and those who want to intervene or take part in the scene, will be able to do so on the spot. One by one, the group members will develop a random scene based on a random idea. Not all participants have to interact with each other, and each participant could choose the other participants they want to work with for this activity.</p>
<p>Session 5</p>	<p>- Warm-up.</p> <p>- “Fluid Sculptures” activity- In this activity, the actors will focus on the teller’s internal state. To begin, an actor will step into center stage and initiate a sound and movement that aims to express the thoughts and feelings of the teller. Words and gestures will also be used to express the teller’s state. As soon as this offer has been established, a second actor will come out to join the first one, adding another sound and movement. This process is repeated until all actors have joined, each embodying some aspect of the teller’s thoughts and feelings.</p>
<p>Session 6</p>	<p>- Warm-up.</p> <p>- “Pairs acting each other’s feelings” activity- Contradictory feelings are performed in pairs. The participants will move into formation by forming pairs with one actor standing behind the other actor. The front actor will choose one part of the teller’s experience, and begin to enact it using sound, movement, words, etc. As soon as possible, the second actor will begin enacting another aspect of the teller’s experience. For example, one actor may perform showing</p>

	<p>feelings of hope and excitement, while the other actor will enact the feeling of cynicism.</p>
<p>Session</p> <p>7+8</p>	<p>- Group discussion regarding a theme that interests the group.</p> <p>- “Tableau” form- In this form, the actors will perform the teller’s story in a series of tableau images. After the teller’s story is complete, and the actors are still standing, the conductor will share a short sentence summarizing the first part of the story. Following this activity, the actors will create a still image based on the given sentence. Moving into the image, the actors can use their voices. The musician can also accompany them. The actors will then hold the image, while the conductor gives a second sentence - one that relates to the next part of the story. The actors will respond by moving into a second image. This process will be repeated 4 or 5 times, until the story has been played back.</p>
<p>Session</p> <p>9+10</p>	<p>- Warm-up.</p> <p>- “3-Part Story” activity- This activity will involve a series of 3 solo enactments. After the teller has finished their story, the actors will stand. Three actors will remain on stage. Any additional actors will leave and wait off-stage. One of the three actors will move onto the stage area, and begin to perform a part of the teller’s story. The actor might focus on a specific event, or they might seek to embody and emphasize a central emotion, theme or meaning contained within the teller’s story. The actor can use sound, movement, words, gesture, song, etc. In doing so, the actor can play the teller, or any other character or object in the story. (They might also take on a role not mentioned, such as a narrator.) At the end of the enactment, the actor will come to a place of stillness; holding their final image.</p>

<p>Session</p> <p>11+12</p>	<p>- Group discussion regarding a theme that interests the group.</p> <p>- Long-form Story” form- The teller’s story will be performed in one continuous scene, or through a series of scenes. After the conductor has launched the story, the actors will stand. The musician will then commence playing, as the actors move into a still tableau. This image usually represents a scene from the beginning of the story. Once the actors have formed the tableau, the musician stops playing. This is a cue for the actors to begin the enactment. If an actor is not needed, they can leave the stage and wait until a scene requires their presence. (Adding vocal offers from ‘off-stage’ is also an option.) Actors will play a variety of roles. Unlike other forms however, the conductor will ask the teller to choose one actor to play their role. In some cases, the conductor will invite the teller to choose a second actor to play another key character from their story. In both cases, only the selected actors can occupy the given roles. At the conclusion of the enactment, all onstage actors will freeze into a final tableau. The actors will then come back to a neutral position, and acknowledge the teller. Any off-stage actors will return for this moment of acknowledgement.</p>
<p>Session</p> <p>13+14</p>	<p>- Warm- up.</p> <p>- “Corridors” activity- After the conductor has launched the story; the actors will stand on stage. - Each actor imagines a personal corridor, or lane, that stretches out in front of them to the end of the performing area. In each of these individual corridors, the actors will perform the story. They can play any role, using words, sound, movement, shape, gesture, etc. However, the actors cannot turn to face each other, nor can they engage in dialogue or other forms of interaction across lanes. In general, the actors do not stop and perform at</p>

	any one point; rather the action is carried through to the end of the lane and back. Once the actor returns to the original line, they may choose to wait in stillness before re-entering the performing space. Attention to the overall 'needs' of the piece is important, so when the actor does re-enter their lane, they may take on a different role.
Session 15	- Playing with musical instruments. Improvise stories using scarves and musical instruments. - Discussing the final session/performance in order to obtain their approval to improvise on stage in front of their families and friends.
Session 16	Last Playback session could be on stage if the group agrees to perform in front of their families and friends and act out stories that would come from them. If not, last session could be an evaluation meeting with the group with a simple farewell party honoring their participants in the program.

Data Collection

Data collected included observations made by the researcher of every session documented using video, interviews with the boys at the end of the workshop series, an interview and evaluation with the conductor who was the trainer, and interviews with the boys' mothers who attended the final performance. More detail on each source of data is given below.

The researcher's observations were documented in each session. Videos of all movement, drama and Playback activities were filmed in each session. A final recorded evaluation with each participant was given at the end of the research. The mothers' evaluations were taken through a phone call that was made individually to each of them. A final trainer's evaluation was given at the end of the project. The researcher attended every

session and took notes to document observations of the sessions. Attendance was taken at every session to record the participation level, reactions and interactions with others and with the trainer for each boy. In addition, video recording of the main activities section of each session was done to supplement the notes taken by the researcher. Video recording was also used to document the stories told by the participants to be dramatized. Video recording was also used at the final performance when participants' mothers and friends shared their stories as primary documentation of that event.

After the final performance, the researcher invited all participants to come to a final individual evaluation interview. Nine participants were interviewed one on one at the Children's Center. One participant's interview was done on the phone. The researcher was not successful in reaching one participant after she called his mother several times for an appointment. The researcher recorded the interviews of all the seven participants who came to the center after obtaining their consent to record their voices, and documented in writing the interview she conducted with one participant via phone.

After the final performance, the researcher and the trainer also met for a formal evaluation of the workshop series. The researcher documented the dates of the videos, the observation notes of each session, and final interviews to coordinate data analysis for the different forms of data. All materials collected and recorded for this project were collected in Arabic and then translated into English by the researcher.

Research Challenges

Being a Palestinian researcher who is interested in applying her research in Qalandia refugee camp was not enough of a reason to enter the camp. Since the residents were Muslims, partly conservative and some very religious, the researcher had to take these factors into account. She had to pay attention to her clothes, and the way she talked about sensitive topics, such as religion and human relations, if the subjects were raised by

participants in the sessions.

To conduct this two-month research, twice a week, in a refugee camp that was surrounded by a separation wall and an Israeli checkpoint, required a road check before reaching the camp. This required calling the Child Center for Culture and Development to make sure if the center was open to welcome the group; in addition it required checking the website that was created specifically to inform people of the status of roads in the area. When clashes occurred between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers near the checkpoint, at the entrance to the camp, the entrances and exits were usually closed, which made it almost impossible to enter or leave the camp. This did not happen during the research period but if had, it would have postponed the sessions and delayed the research's completion. Usually the mourning for a martyr takes from one to three days. But in the case of several martyrs, the mourning takes several days and the confrontations with the Israeli soldiers escalate during these events. Schools and institutions close for several days. This did happen once during the research period, and the group had to be cancelled, as is discussed in the results.

Another challenge was that the researcher documented her observation notes, comments, participants/mothers/friends' stories, in addition to the participants/mothers/trainer's evaluations in her mother tongue, in Arabic and translated them into English. For a correct, honest and clear translation as close as possible to the participants' original language, the researcher hired more than one Arabic reader and English speaker to make sure of the translation reflected the integrity of the research study.

Although the researcher has a drama background, she is not a specialist in Playback Theater. Also, specialists in theater in Palestine are few and finding the right person took some time. The researcher was lucky to find a specialist, who had previous experience working with adolescents and also had the time to collaborate with the researcher on this project.

Working with adolescents in general is challenging. But working with adolescents from a refugee camp located in front of military checkpoint presented a greater challenge. These young people could have left the sessions to take part in the clashes that usually took place near the checkpoint. In that case, neither the researcher nor the trainer could have prevented them from leaving the session. It did not happen during the research period, and the sessions were not affected, except for one cancelation that occurred when a Palestinian young man from the camp was killed by Israeli soldiers. During the whole research period, the researcher noticed that she felt “on edge” and worried that something might interfere with the group, with the safety of the boys, the trainer, and herself. She had some fear that the trainer might be prevented from entering the camp. At the end of the research period she noticed a sense of relief from these fears.

Data Analysis

Direct observations included observation notes documented by the researcher in each session, videos filming all movement, drama and Playback activities, videos filming participants’ stories during the research period, and videos filming the participants’ mothers’ stories and participants’ friends’ stories at the final performance.

All the videotapes of each session were played by the researcher several times; she noted all the interactions of the participants in each session in detail, including the interactions of boys with each other and with the trainer. Then these notes were organized by participant to create brief summaries of their behavior during the sessions. These summaries across sessions allowed the documentation of the development of each boy’s participation in the workshops over time to get a sense of them as people and to help inform the stories that they told as part of the Playback method, and later to reflect on their interviews.

Watching the videos and documenting all the verbal expressions and body language

during the sessions as they interacted with each other also made it easier to understand the dynamics in the group. The analysis of the videos allowed the researcher to document word by word the stories told in the sessions by the participants, including their facial expressions, voice tones, feelings and body language while telling their stories. Grouping the notes made from observations helped the research to concretize more of an understanding of how the dynamics of the group may have played into the experiences that the boys related later in their interviews.

Videos also allowed the researcher to document the mothers' stories at the final performance word by word including their expression and feelings and body language while telling their stories. These observation notes from the video were helpful in understanding the mothers and their experiences of watching their sons perform that they talked about in their interviews with the researcher.

Evaluation interviews were conducted at the end of the project period. In-person interviews were conducted with the participants based on 12 questions (participant was interviewed by phone). Phone interviews were conducted with the mothers who attended the last performance regarding their participation and their feedback on their sons' participation in such projects and future drama projects, and phone interviews were conducted with five mothers who did not come to the last performance. In addition to the regular continuous brainstorming preparation meetings with the trainer, a thorough interview evaluation was conducted with the trainer a week after the end of the project, where several topics were covered including the group interaction, the development of their acting skills, the changes in the group dynamics, the interpersonal interactions and their knowledge and understanding of Playback method, the preparation for the final performance and the final performance itself. All interviews were transcribed and coded for thematic material that was grouped by the source. Thus, themes were developed for the boy's interviews, those of their mothers,

and those of the trainer. Finally, common codes were related across all data sources in all the data collected.

Researcher Assumptions

Since all participants lived very close to the wall that separated them from Jerusalem and other areas in the West Bank, and their camp was invaded from time to time by the Israeli army, the researcher assumed that most of the participants' stories would be about the insecure political situation they faced in their daily life. It was surprising to the researcher when most of the stories and incidents expressed by the participants were about ordinary scenes from their daily lives such as school; teachers, mates, friends and family.

There is a possibility that the participants avoided or were careful talking in detail about the political and social conditions in which they live because of the occupation. After all, the researcher and the trainer were from outside the camp, and the group members did not know them very well. The topic of trust plays a big role in the quality of stories or situations that the group may share especially in the presence of a camera that depicted their work.

CHAPTER 4

Results

As discussed in Chapter 3, the sources of data in the form of observations of sessions, interviews with the boys and their mothers, and evaluation by the Playback conductor or trainer were intended to provide different perspectives. These data were analyzed by source and then across source. Results are presented below beginning with the observations of the sessions.

Attendance Summary

At the beginning of the project, four participants withdrew from the program for various reasons and one participant was removed from the group by the director of the center in which the project was implemented. Two of the four participants who left the program expressed that they did not feel integrated into this type of theater. The other two were forced to leave by their parents after they lied to the parents and told them that they were present in the sessions and the parents discovered that they were absent from some without informing them.

Eleven participants continued in the program until the last session, but only nine of them performed on stage. Hammad could not attend because of his mother's illness and needing to take care of her, and Zayed just stated he did not want to stand on stage but did not give more details. When the researcher asked him about the reason behind not attending the final performance, he did not want to tell her why.

In the beginning of the project, participants attended most of the sessions, and there were very few absences. In the middle of the project however, a Palestinian man was killed in the camp in clashes with the Israeli soldiers in the beginning of April. Clashes broke out, and the situation remained unstable and on edge for several days. One day, the camp was closed in mourning for the death of the martyr. The session was cancelled, and as a result

the attendance of the participants was negatively affected by this event. (See appendix A for detailed attendance). Figure 3 summarizes the number of sessions attended by each participant throughout the research period.

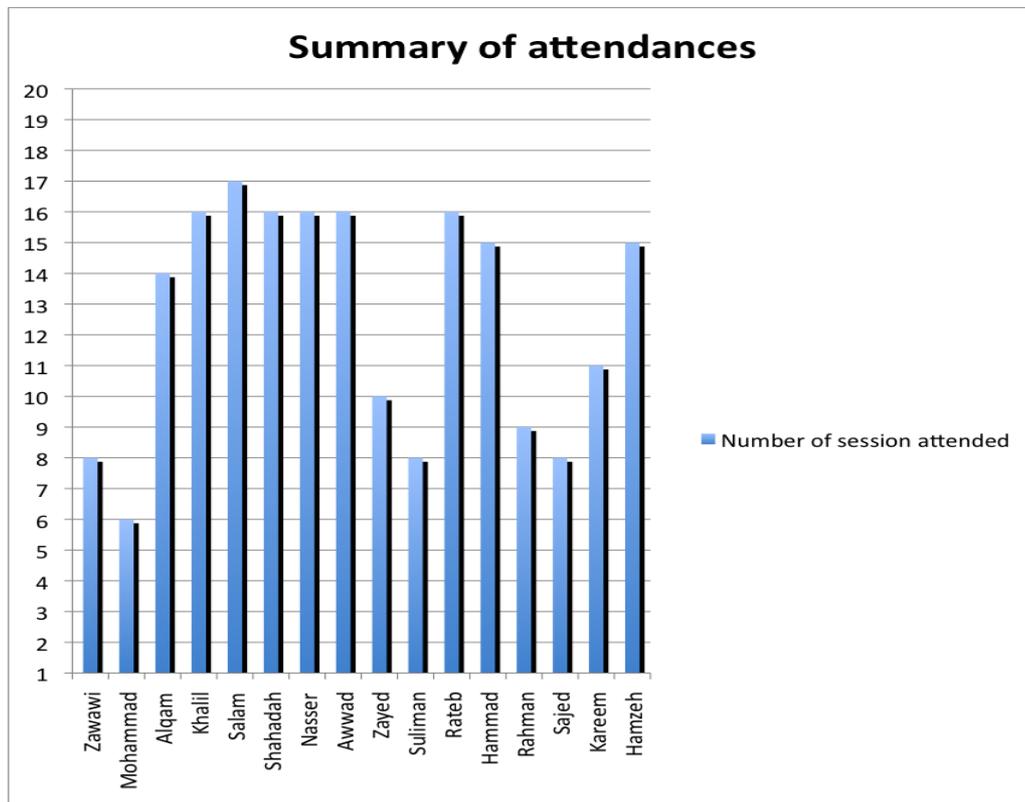


Figure 3. Detailed attendance from participants. Note that all names are pseudonyms.

Participants' Engagement

The researcher attended all the Playback sessions and documented them using observation notes, video recordings of all the stories, warm-up, movement, music, and drama activities in each session. The videos allowed the researcher to check the interaction of the participants during the period of the project. The observations notes and the videos showed the following details:

Energetic Body and Movement

In the warm up, dance or movement with music activities, all participants appeared engaged and energetic from the beginning to the end of the activity. They danced and

followed the music freely and randomly while moving around the room. They laughed loudly and broadly when dancing individually or collectively. The high energy in movement, dance, and warm-up activities continued at the same level, from the beginning to the end of the research project. In most cases, the participants followed the trainer's instructions related to sound, body movement and imitation.



Figure 4. Warm up activity. Taken by the researcher in March 3, 2019

Level of Interaction

From the beginning of the project, all participants showed a high level of interaction for example, when they moved separately with the music and danced with scarves. At first, they enjoyed moving freely without following the rhythm of the music. They focused more on moving their bodies in all directions with high and fast energy. When the music stopped, they looked disappointed and asked for more. After a few seconds, some participants started to follow the rhythm of the music, and moved accordingly, while some continued with their random and spontaneous movement.

That positive interaction did not appear at the beginning of the project when they worked as a group. The group interaction was missing the cohesiveness and the harmony.

Each participant moved with the music and did the movement activities according to their rhythm, feeling and physical energies on that day. The same appeared when they conducted the Playback exercises. It took them a few sessions to work in harmony and flow. Around the fourth session, and after conducting several kinds of warm up and drama activities that helped break the ice among them, participants became closer to each other and the level of group interaction increased. Yet, they did not reach the harmony and cohesiveness level that the trainer was hoping to reach.

The trainer expressed that in previous work experiences with groups of adolescents in other places, the harmony and cohesiveness among the group members were partly reached around the third session. In the case of these boys, cooperation, harmony and group cohesiveness seemed to need some more time to appear. Neither the trainer nor the researcher could tell the exact reason behind that assumption. Since the boys had never been involved in group work before, it took some time to work collectively.

Khalil, Rateb, Hammad, Zayed, Hamzah and Shahadah and Naser, were the first participants who appeared to understand the methods and the first initiators to act it out. Although they did not own what Ellinger and Ellinger (2016) addressed regarding the “skills and knowledge in acting, improvisation, ensemble work, movement, facilitation, storytelling, and listening” (p.11) that the actors need to have in order to practice Playback, these participants owned that from the experience and practice.

Alqam, Awwad, Kareem, and Salam, were quick initiative in imitating/following others or acting out the stories of others. In the beginning, they were less talkative in term of sharing feelings or stories, but they seemed to enjoy acting out other people's stories.

All participants were competitive with each other, and fought hard to win during competitive games. The high level of competition appeared in each game/activity that required competition to win, and continued throughout the research. Some participants

except Kareem, Naser and Khalil teased and made fun of each other from time to time. On different occasions, they made fun of the “loser” in the competition games and activities conducted, and treated each other harshly. They provoked each other on purpose, were getting angry quickly, but also calming down quickly.

Salam was one of the participants who would easily get angry and raise his hand to others. But after several seconds and after the intervention of the trainer, he would calm down quickly and go back to work as if nothing happened. Although at the final interview with Salam he expressed becoming a calmer person because of this experience, the researcher noticed that “becoming calmer” did not apply to most of the situations that he was involved in during the project period. In Awwad’s case, he would be teased and got angry very quickly, yet, he never initiated a direct fight with the other participants.

During the discussions that the trainer had with the group about the importance of not bullying or insulting each other, it was clear from their reactions that those kinds of behaviors were normal and they were used to them. Although the bullying and harassing behaviors did not completely disappear, it indeed decreased over time and the researcher noticed that the boys were able to be more understanding of each other and the trainer’s instructions.

In the beginning, participants reacted quickly to every direction they were asked to follow. They sometimes answered questions before they thought about the answer. Sometimes, they started acting/working before hearing the complete instructions. They were interfering while others were talking. They gave their opinion or instructions when they were not asked to do so. They had difficulty waiting for their turn.

Over time, most participants reduced their activity when other participants talked or gave feedback. They become more patient waiting for their turn to give their comments, feedback or evaluation about other’s work. They also began to give fewer and fewer

negative comments to each other and to distract each other less and less from what they were supposed to be attending to. The boys began to pay more attention to and decreasing their use of obscene words towards each other in the sessions.

The boys would get easily distracted by any external factor, such as hearing voices from outside the center/hall or when somebody unexpectedly entered the hall. No matter how focused the boys were, and how important the story they were sharing was, any external factor would interrupt their focus or stop a story. Many times, participants chatted while the trainer was giving instructions, while waiting for their turn to speak, or while on stage preparing for their scene. They stopped when the trainer asked them to do so, but were quickly back to chatting when they were not involved in acting or discussion.



Figure 5. Playback trainer's gives instructions. Taken by the researcher in February 2, 2019

Peer Influence

Missing a Friend. The influence of peers seemed to play a big role in how participants reacted during an activity, or if they chose to withdraw from it. This observation was both verbally and behaviorally demonstrated by Hamzah, when one of his best friends was forced to leave the group after the director of the center found him smoking at the entrance to the center. On that day, it seemed clear that Hamzah had lost the motivation to

share or interact with others in the group. He clearly expressed this sentiment when he said: “I feel sad today because my friend is not here.” Although Hamzah did not leave the project when his friend was forced to do so, Hamzah after that and for a few sessions seemed less happy and less energetic than he used to be when his close friend was still in the group.

Chatting while others are Talking or Acting. The peers’ influence also appeared when a group of participants sat in front of the stage taking the role of audience that tells the stories. After sharing their stories, if one of the tellers started to chat about any subject that had nothing to do with the story, the rest (tellers) would stop watching the actors and start to chat with him. This happened more than once when Awwad lost focus while watching a scene on stage and started to chat with his peers. The peers who sat beside him and seemed very focused and listened carefully to the actors, quickly took a part in the conversation and got out of focus.

Learning through Implementing. Most of the time when the trainer was giving directions or instructions on Playback techniques, there was a group of participants whispering in a low voice, believing that she did not see or hear them. It was clear that they did not like hearing a “lengthy explanation” or a lecture about any subject even if the subject was related to the theater they were practicing. They were driven by learning through the movement and action activities, acting and improvisations’ techniques much more than theoretical speech. In Stevenson, Kleibeuker, Dreu and Crone (2014), the researcher noted that at the same time that adolescents are often exhibiting risky behavior, it can also be a time of increased flexibility in learning and openness to explore, resulting in increased creativity. This kind of openness to exploration and readiness to learning was noticeable for all participants when they were practicing activities but not when listening to instructions.

Participants’ Stories

Since Playback Theater is based on stories that come from the audience, in this

research project, participants played two roles, the role of the audience and the actors' roles. They shared stories and acted out each other stories. The trainer did not impose a topic to talk about, and gave the participants the freedom to tell the stories they felt they wanted to share with the group. The participants agreed that the researcher could videotape them during their narration, so the researcher documented all of their stories in writing and through video recording. Appendix B documents the stories shared by participants during the research period.

Stories of Everyday Life. The boys' stories demonstrated the people and events that dominated their lives, such as friends, family, school and playing popular video games. What came across immediately in these stories was how that they seemed to be rather common adolescent experiences about interactions with friends and family. For example, Zayed described a fight in his classroom. Hamzah talked about losing a friendship and not understanding why his friend's behavior had changed, and Awwad described why he liked to play the video game Fortnite. Alqam talked about the day he went to have lunch with his friends in Ramallah and the waiter in charge questioned whether they had paid the lunch bill before leaving the restaurant and how angry he and his friends became when treated unfairly by that waiter. The way Alqam reacted to the trainer's question regarding the restaurant's bill, indicated how maltreated he felt by the waiter's behavior and it brought back the anger feeling to him as if that incident has happened at that moment although it happened a few months before he brought it to the session.

Hammad shared a story about the day he went with some friends to the hookah coffee shop and one of them pretended that he knew how to smoke but started coughing and it became clear that he never smoked before. His second story was about the day he drove his father's friend's car (15 years old at the time) without having his permission and without having a driving license. Seems that Hammad felt safe to share such story despite the

seriousness/dangers that this story carried on both levels, not obtaining a license and not obtaining the owner's permission to drive it. Rateb shared about the day he was with some friends when they passed by some guys who were harassing some young girls from the camp. He expressed how they did not like what they saw and tried to stop the guys and screamed at them when they realized they would not stop. Shahadah expressed how happy he was when the school principal asked him to take a group of tourists for a walk inside the camp. Khalil shared about the day the researcher and the school's counselor entered his class to talk about the research's subject matter, and the ability of ninth grade participants to participate in the project, and how participants were randomly chosen.

The way the boys told their stories was very embodied since they acted and sounded as if the stories were happening at that moment or very shortly before the sessions. Most stories were told in detail, like Rateb, who made sure to tell about the school trip's cancelation in its small details. From the minute he woke up to the minute he heard of the trip's cancelation, including his feelings, his reaction, and even the bad wishes he had for his teacher because of that decision. The impact of that incident on Rateb was evident and clearly embodied in his presentation, in that moment.

Any of these stories could have easily been told by any other adolescent boy. Although the young participants in this research live in a refugee camp, surrounded by a separation barrier and Israeli checkpoints, their concerns could be very similar to the concerns of any teenager in any other country.

“A Story Behind the Scarf” Activity. Playback Theater stage décor depends on chairs, musical instruments and colorful scarves. These elements are consistent, but their use by actors changes to suit the stories told by the audience.

The scarves are usually handed behind the actors but in this activity, the trainer put the scarves on stage in front of the participants and asked each participant to choose a scarf.

For a few minutes, participants had to think of a story/incident that the scarf reminded them of. The trainer aimed to provide participants with an opportunity to be creative in using the scarves, in order to become skilled in using them in front of the public. Figure 6 displays a regular stage set-up for Playback Theater that includes scarves, five actors' chairs/boxes and musical instruments, in addition to another two side chairs one for the conductor and one for the storyteller.

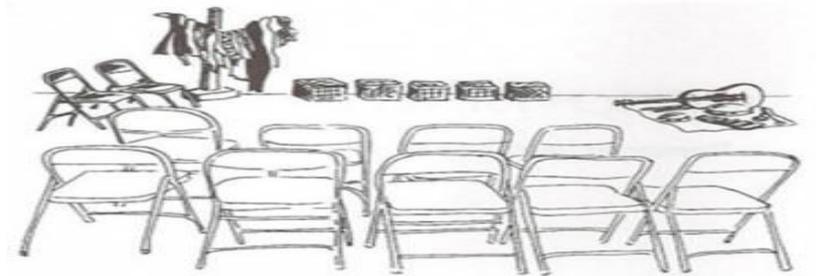


Figure 6. Scarves and Musical Instruments Tools in Playback Theater. Adapted from The Highlands Community Playback Theatre, n.d., <http://highlandscommunityplaybacktheatre.blogspot.com/> Copyright by Author.

In “A Story Behind the Scarf” activity, participants told two types of stories, stories from everyday life, and stories from the past that were painful or sad. This was the first activity that elicited stories from the past that were not just about everyday occurrences at school or at home. This activity took place in Session 9, almost four weeks after the research started and a large number of drama and Playback activities were applied.

In previous sessions, the trainer provided the scarves using music and the participants interacted/moved/danced with them. In one occasion, Salam chose a white cover that came with the scarves and placed it on his body similar to how Muslims put a shroud on the dead body. Salam did not speak when the trainer asked about what the group members did with the scarves and covers. In “A Story behind the Scarf” activity, the trainer

did not put on music, asked them to look at the scarves, and tell her if the scarves reminded them of someone or something.



Figure 7. Moving and playing with scarves. Taken by the researcher on March 29, 2019

Hamzah, Alqam, Awwad in the “A Story Behind the Scarf” Activity

Hamzah, Alqam and Awwad used their imaginations to transform the scarf into different objects. When the trainer asked Awwad if he could imagine the scarf turned into a skirt, a dress or a pair of pants, Awwad did not know how to respond, and said that this would be hard for him to do. When the trainer asked who could help Awwad, Rateb jumped in quickly offering to help. He stood in front of Awwad as if he was a doll that tailors use to display clothes on. Again, when the trainer asked Awwad to turn the cloth into a different product, Rateb volunteered again to help Awwad and showed him how he could use his imagination to transform the scarf. At the end, Awwad managed to turn the scarf into a tee-shirt. In Alqam’s case, the scarf reminded him of the flower bouquet that he got for his mom a few days previously when it was Mother’s Day. (Appendix B includes the participants’ stories that were told through the project period, the participants’ friends’ stories, and the participants’ mothers’ stories that were told at the final performance.)

In contrast, the scarf reminded Rateb and Naser of painful past experiences, such as the death of friends and neighbors in the camp. When Rateb was asked about what the scarf meant to him he answered: “The red scarf I am dealing with, reminds me of the blood of the martyrs. I am reminded of the martyr Mohamed Odwan who was killed in the camp. He was my brother’s friend. He was just a normal guy who lived a normal life. The red color reminded me of his blood when he was killed.” In his final evaluation, Rateb expressed how Playback offered him the ability to express himself in all different ways when acting. Playing musical instruments, and doing the warm up exercises.

Naser also looked sad when dealing with the scarf and expressed: “This scarf represents my cousin’s neck scarf. He always wore a scarf and this one reminded me of his scarf. My cousin Haytham was killed as a martyr, and I miss him terribly. I was asleep when they woke me up and told me that he was killed in clashes. I felt very sad. I immediately went to my grandparents’ house to make sure that what I heard was true. Then I went to my aunt’s (the martyr’s mother) house. I wish I could meet with him again, and that he was still alive. I wish to never forget him, and I will always carry his scarf.”

In the boys’ case, not all their stories touched on the issue of injustice, but Naser’s story carried that message that he might have thought that by delivering it to us, we would help him achieve it (justice). The injustice word as such by was not said by Naser, but the feeling that was broadcasted while telling was a combined of sadness and injustice at the same time.

A Story without Words

Salam’s story had no single word. He took a big white sheet, lay on stage and covered his body the way Muslims cover the martyrs’ dead bodies.



Figure 8. Salam. Taken by the researcher on April 23, 2019

On April 7, 2019, a week after a Palestinian man was martyred in confrontations that occurred between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers in the boys' camp, the trainer met with the group and one of the issues that was discussed whether they would like to perform in front of an audience or not. The researcher explained to the group that they had the choice to decide whether they would want to perform or not, and who would be invited to such an event. The boys' decision was to perform. After the boys' approval, the trainer asked the group about a song that they like to sing but did not have a chance to sing it for a while. A few seconds later, they told the trainer that they would like to sing a song called "A Blood Song". Khalil, Naser, and Alqam were the three participants who initiated singing the song in front of the trainer and the rest of the group since they knew. They did not move their bodies while singing, except for Naser, who at the end of the song raised his hand the way the fighter does when he wins a battle. The rest of the group members repeated the song after the first three lead singers, and they all sang the song on stage in the final performance.

أغنية الدم - "The Blood Song"

الوطن بين الرموش. *Home is between eyelashes.*

نرد الدم بالدم. *We return blood with blood.*

رددتها حسين أبو غوش. *Hussein Abu Ghosh echoed it.*

يوم الطعن ويوم الدعس. *The day of stabbing, the day the stomping.*

المخيم هو ويس. *The camp, and only the camp.*

رجالنا عزة نفس. *Our men are the dignity.*

طلتهم طلة الجيوش، طلتهم طلة الجيوش. *They look like armies, they look like armies.*

According to the Israel-Palestine Timeline (n.d), on January 25, 2017 Hussein Salem Abu Ghosh, 24, was killed by Israeli soldiers, who claimed that he tried to trample them and other Israeli settlers with his car at a bus station close to Adam Israeli settlement, east of Ramallah in the West Bank. His cousin Hussein Mohammad Abu Ghosh, 17, was killed a year before on January 26, 2016, after he and Ibrahim Osama Allan, 23, stabbed a settler , who later died from her wounds at the Hadassah Israeli Medical Center in Jerusalem. Both were from Qalandia refugee camp.

Haen and Weber (2009) defined revenge as "retaliation in response to a perceived injustice committed against a person or group with whom that person feels identified" (p. 84). Even though the martyr that the group sang for was not a relative of any of the group members, the boys knew him. Most people in the camps know each other, because overpopulation causes people's houses to be very close together. In addition, the relationship dynamics between people in a refugee camp may carry solidarity and sympathy, since all are refugees who lost their homeland in 1948.

In the end, "The Blood Song" was a song that was chosen by the group and the trainer accepted and respected this choice by the participants. The song opened the final performance in which each participant was allowed to invite his parents, siblings and one

close friend to the final performance or show.

Final Performance

Mothers' Stories on Stage

The performance event started with the group's song "A Blood Song" on stage. After the song, the stage was open to the audience to share thoughts, feelings and stories. Four of the five stories shared on stage at the final performance by the mothers and friends of the participants described political situations under the Occupation. Rateb's mother, Naser's mother, Khalil's mother, and Shahadah's mother shared thoughts and feelings while sitting in the audience, before they came on stage to tell their stories. First, they watched the boys do some warm-up exercises and some drama activities with the trainer on the stage. By applying these activities on stage in front of the audience, the trainer aimed to give an idea about the type of work that she applied with the participants during the research. Appendix C recounts the mothers' stories.

Shahadah's Mother shared an incident that occurred 20 years ago when Israeli soldiers entered her house searching for a Palestinian man while she was having breakfast on a tray with her mother-in-law. One of the soldiers looked at the straw dishes that were made by her mother-in-law hanging on the wall and the word God sewn on of them while the Palestinian flag was sewn on the other one. The soldier took down the one with the word God and trampled on it. While doing that, the soldier's hat fell off and her mother-in-law took it refusing to give it back to him because of what he did to her straw dish. Then, the soldier hit her with the butt of his machine gun resulting in a bleeding wound on her head. The mother-in-law suffered from that hit for 18 years till the time she passed away.

Khalil's Mother shared another incident related to the Israeli occupation that happened to her when she was eight years old. The camp was under curfew when her family ran out of cooking gas and her mother needed to cook. Her mother did not want to send her

older brothers, fearing that they would be arrested and sent her instead. When she walked out toward the store, some Israeli soldiers suddenly appeared and started yelling at her. She was panicked and immediately went back home full of fear.



Figure 9. Khalil, with the white shirt acts his mother’s story. Taken by the researcher on April 30, 2019

When the researcher asked Khalil’s mother whether she had told her story before, she replied, "I actually never did before in front of people I did not know. " When the researcher asked about the reasons that made her tell that story on stage, her answer was “First, I felt good with you when you first visited us to explain about your research. Second, I wanted to encourage Khalil’s work by showing him how his mom goes on stage and shares her story. In the end, it is also an old story that occurred when I was young and I was not scared to share it with others after so many years” (personal communication, March 7, 2020).

Shahadah’s mother also expressed that she did not tell her story to people she did not know before. “Telling my story gave me some relief, because I talked about the painful reality that I lived in at that time. I didn't forget it, and it's an unforgettable story anyways. I wanted to share my painful story in order to show the painful reality and our suffering due to the occupation. Also it’s an old story that telling it right now would bring me no harm (personal communication, March 8, 2020).

At first glance, the stories of the two mothers appear different. But after examining them in detail, the common themes between them are greater than the differences and resemble the “close connection” that Fox and Dauber (n.d) talked about in their research paper (p.4). The two stories occurred more than 20 years ago during the first Intifada (uprising) that erupted in Palestine in 1987. The two stories were also related to Israeli soldiers invading their homes and preventing them from leaving their homes. Some of Shahadah’s mother’s details appeared as if they came to complement or confirm Khalil’s mother’s story, similar to what Fox and Dauber (n.d) discussed as “a story that responds to another story” (p.5). Both mothers had never told their stories in front of strangers. For both women, retelling their stories after so many years could not bring any further harm to them. The similarities between the stories, and the feelings that each felt after telling her story, coincide with the “red thread” that Fox and Dauber (n.d) talked about when they discussed the relationship between the two participants’ stories and how they were told one after the other (p.5).

This kind of red thread also appeared between the two stories that the participants’ friends shared on stage, and will be presented and discussed in the next paragraph.

Friends’ Stories on Stage

Ali and Mustafa, friends of the participants told their stories on stage as well (See Fig. 11 and Fig. 12). Appendix C related the friends’ stories in detail. Ali shared his story about the Israeli soldiers who invaded the camp three years ago to demolish one of the houses. Clashes occurred between the soldiers and men in the camp. Laith, who was his neighbor, got killed. Ali expressed how sad he was because he knew Laith very well.

Mustapha, told about an Israeli jeep that entered the camp by mistake. The young guys in the camp jumped on the jeep and even burned part of it. In a few seconds, many other Israeli jeeps full of soldiers invaded the camp and clashes occurred. Iyad got shot and

the jeeps left afterwards.



Figure 10. Mustafa’s Friend Shares His Story on Stage. Taken by the researcher on April 30, 2019

Mothers’ Responses to the Final Performance

On stage, it was the boys' choice to decide whether they wanted to act or play music. Zayed did not show up for the last performance, because he did not want to be on stage. Hammad could not make it to the last performance, since he had to be with his sick mother. Rateb’s mother shared her happiness saying: “I am thrilled to see Rateb acting on stage, learning new skills, and exposing himself to new experiences.” In the same context, Shahadah’s mother added: “I feel proud of Shahadah, and I wished to see him on stage acting the way he acts at home, because he does some acting at home. It’s great to see him practicing his acting skills on stage.” About the impact of this workshop on alleviating the shyness that her son Naser usually faces when he is with females, Naser’s mother expressed: “I am very happy and actually very surprised to see him on stage. Naser in general is very shy when he is with girls, and it is hard for him to deal with girls. Seeing him act on stage in front of me and the other mothers makes me feel happy and proud of him.” Similar to Naser’s mother’s feedback regarding the impact of the program on him, Feldman (2001)

wrote that the parents indicated that their children became less shy after participating in her nine-month research period.

Participants' Responses to the Final Performance

Participants seemed happy about their mothers' presence at the final performance. Each participant freely chose his location on the stage. Salam, Awwad, Rateb Alqam and Hamzah, sat on the musicians' chairs while Naser, Shahadah, Khalil, and Kareem, sat on the actors' chairs. Those who chose to play the "musicians" roles continued that role for the duration as was the case for those who chose "actors" roles.

Khalil was the first to take action when his mother finished telling her story on stage. He even asked the trainer who was acting as the conductor to repeat the story, so he could be the first to start the performance. When he did, the other actors followed him and acted out his mothers' story. Khalil's mother stayed on stage, watching the group while they were acting out her story, and when they finished acting she expressed how much their acting expressed her story. Despite the frightening incident that Khalil's mother talked about in her story, she did not seem sad or afraid while watching her son acting her role.

Shahadah's mother chose her son Shahadah to play her role in the story she told on stage. Shahadah did not hesitate to start the scene; he immediately took one of the scarves, sat on it and started to eat the way his mother and grandmother sat when their house was invaded by the Israeli soldiers. Although her story was a sad one, she did not look sad while watching her son Shahadah acting out her role in the story. She actually laughed loudly when Khalil, who played her mother-in-law, was carried out to the hospital in the same way her mother-in-law was carried out after being beaten by the soldier.

Participants' Evaluations

At the end of the research period a one to one interview was conducted with nine participants on an individual level and 12 questions were asked. The interviews were

conducted at the Child Center for Culture and Development where the research was carried out. Appendix E has the interview questions and all responses.

Nine participants expressed that participating had a positive impact on their social interactions. For example, Salam expressed how less angry and reactive with other people he became during the work, and Hammad said “I learned how to deal with the group as a team.” But two reported that they didn’t notice any impact on their social interactions with others. Difficulties and challenges reported had mostly to do with performing some of the exercises at the beginning of the program. For example, Awwad reported “in the beginning some exercises were hard but became easier over time” and Alqam expressed “yes, in the beginning the acting was hard.” Four participants, Salam, Hammad, Hamzah, and Zayed indicated that they did not face any difficulties during the work. All participants described some appreciation for being able to act out their stories or see them acted out on stage. After the third session, the participants showed more readiness to share thoughts and emotions in addition to personal stories.

Eight of the 11 participants interviewed stated they discovered new things about themselves or new abilities through Playback Theater. Salam, Naser, Awwad and Khali focused on how the experience changed them emotionally and psychologically (i.e., less shy, less angry). When Salam was asked about new things that he learned or discovered about himself through this experience he said “through the work, I discovered that I became less shy. I am less angry and I get angry less than I did before.” On the same question, Naser replied “I discovered that I am a good person, and that I treat others with respect.” Four talked about how the experience taught them new skills like learning to act in the proper way. In this regard Awwad stated “I learned that I could learn and apply new things that I had no idea about before. The experience changed, and developed me as a person,” and Alqam replied “I learned I could focus more and act out the stories of other people.”

Shahadah said “through putting in a lot of effort that I never knew I had before and discovering my ability to act” and Hammad said “this experience offered me an opportunity to act, and do certain movements I have never done before.”

Alqam, Shahadah, and Hamad pointed how they grew closer to the other participants through Playback Theater. Shahadah answered “I even started to visit some of them at home, and we started chatting about this project while we were in school.” Five participants, Khalil, Awwad, Naser, Alqam, and Hamzah noticed that the experience made others more tolerant and courageous, and less likely to bully others. Some bullying had taken place in the group early on. Naser who was bullied few times by some participants noted that “some of them improved over time through the process, and bullied others less often.” When Hamzah was asked about new things that he learned or discovered about others through he replied “yes, that they have the ability to learn and practice new things.” About the same question Khalil stated “I knew them before but now I discovered that they can act, and have the courage to do so.” Rateb and Zayed reported that they knew the group before and they did not learn new things about them through the project. Khalil reported that he “discovered that they can act and have the courage to do so.”

All participants reported some positive response overall to participating in Playback Theater. They used words like “good,” “beneficial,” or “joyful.” When Awwad was asked about how he generally felt about this experience he replied “I wish this experience can be repeated very often.” Shahadah answered “I felt it was a beautiful experience expressed only once in our society, and I hope it is repeated again.” All participants reported a willingness to participate in similar activities in the future. Some participants such as Shahadah and Rateb asked for more sessions. Shahadah replied to the time frame question “I would have loved to come every day instead of losing time in front of net.” Rateb added: “the time frame was perfect and it would not bother me if the project went on for a full year.”



Figure 11. Part of the participants' evaluations.

Eight of the participants described the final performance as allowing them to share their growth with their families and relatives. About his feeling on stage for the first time, Hamzah reported “it was a beautiful experience. I would have loved my mom to be there.” Naser was honest sharing his embarrassment on stage for the first time and happiness having his mom in the audience. In this regard, he expressed “I was embarrassed in the beginning then I felt fine on stage. I was happy to have my mom there, and she told me she was happy to be there as well.” Figure 11 illustrates some of the responses.

Mothers' Evaluations

A few days after the final performance, the researcher called the participants' mothers to hear their opinion about their sons' experience in the project, and whether they will encourage them to participate in similar projects in the future. All mothers stated that they would like their sons to participate in future projects similar to this project. When Alqam's mother was asked about her son's continuation in similar drama projects in the future, she noted the change that happened to her son after participating in this experience saying, "Yes indeed, the project changed my son. He became more outgoing after this project and before, he spent most of his time at home. I always want him to have some fun and do fun stuff." In the same regard, Salam's mother said: "Yes with no problem at all. I saw how happy he was when he came back from the session and felt that the drama project even changed him for the better." Awwad's mother mentioned another level when explained "This kind of work will indeed empower his personality, it would make him mature. I saw how enthusiastic he was while preparing himself to go to the session." (See Figure 12)



Figure 12. Mothers' evaluations

Trainer's Final Evaluation

A week after the end of the research, the researcher met with the trainer for evaluation. In the evaluation, the trainer mentioned the challenges and interaction differences between this group and other groups she worked with in other Palestinian villages and cities (see Figure 13 below). She explained how after the first few sessions with the group, she needed to change her attitude and work style to suit the needs of the group. She commended the positive energy and focus developed by the research group that she also noticed after the first few sessions. She noted the difficult stories shared by the participants' mothers in the final performance and the positive interaction of the audience in general. She expressed her readiness to work with more groups of adolescents in refugee camps after she noticed their need to express themselves. Appendix E contains more detail from the trainer's perspective and Figure 13 summarizes the trainer's final evaluation.

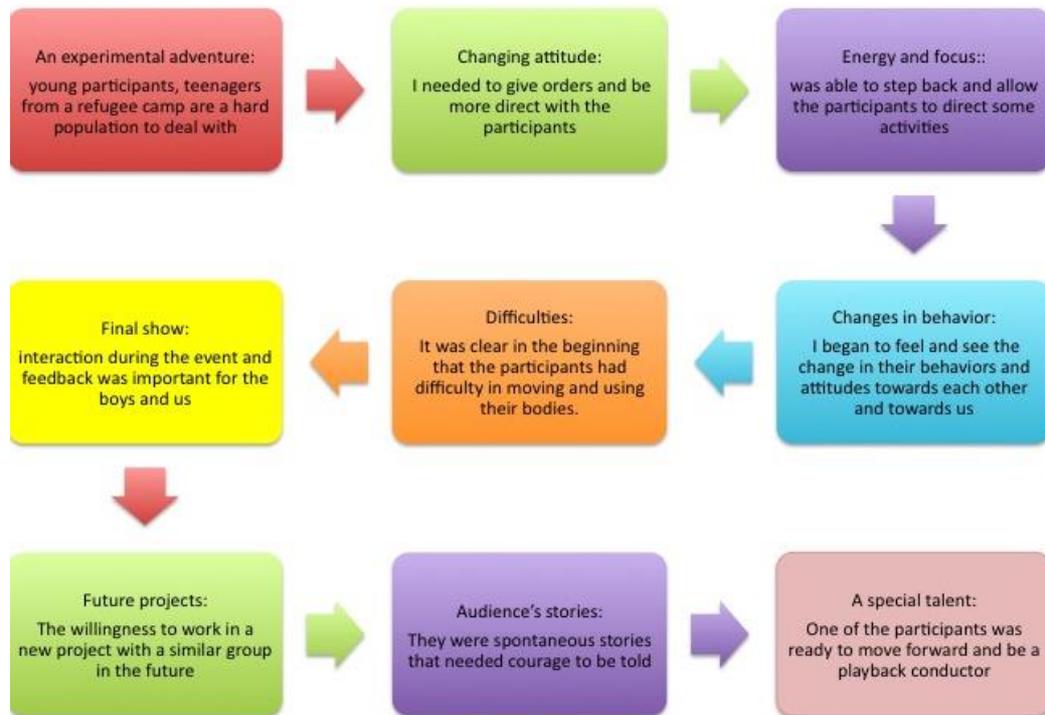


Figure 13. Trainer's final evaluation.

Researcher's Reflections throughout the Research Process

When the researcher decided that it was better not to work directly with the participant as a group leader, she had some concerns. The researcher was fortunate to find Playback trainer who was available, lived not too far from Qalandia refugee camp, and did not need to go through the Israeli checkpoints in order to reach the group. The consent of the school's principal, and the help of the school's counselor in entering the ninth grade classes to talk with participants about the project, encouraged the researcher to implement the program with a group from their school. The school's principal and the researcher intended to conduct the research within the school, but when the United Nation Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), who was responsible for schools in the refugee camps in Palestine, did not give approval, the researcher had to look for other venues for the research project. She was lucky to find that The Child Center for Culture and Development as an alternative

location. The director welcomed the project, and was willing to open the doors of the center for the study and the stage of the center provided a very appropriate setting for the research study.

Safety for participants, trainer, and researcher was a concern. When clashes erupted between Palestinians from the camp and the Israeli army, in which a Palestinian man was killed, the researcher had to improvise to handle the impact on the boys, the trainer and herself. Despite the sadness that overtook everyone, including the researcher as a Palestinian, she had to think about the continuity of her research in case the confrontations increased and the entrances to the camp were closed for several days.

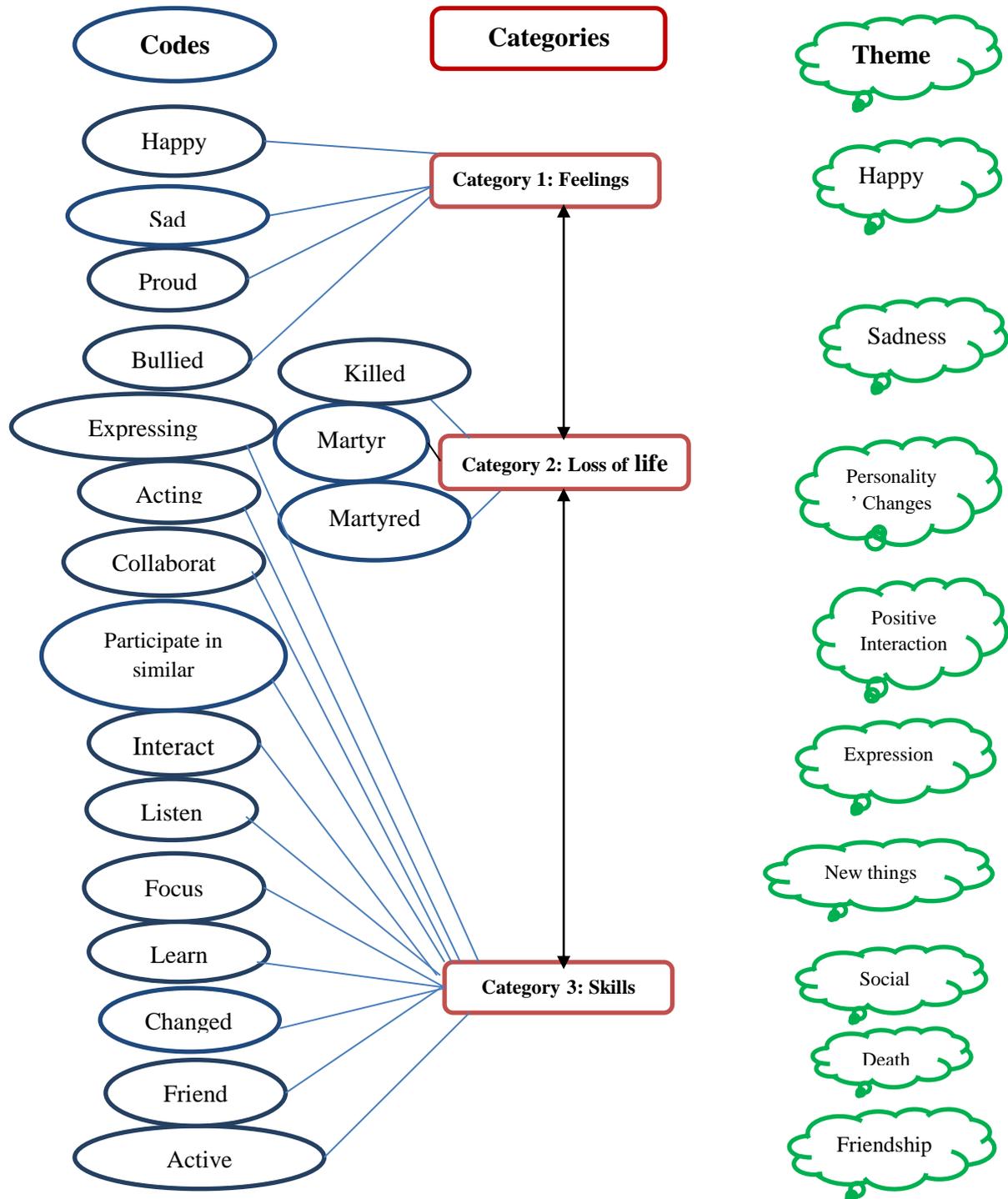
Sometimes the participants quarreled verbally, and the quarrels reached the point of raising hands on each other. The researcher did not intervene and gave the task of managing the group to the trainer, who did her work well in most cases. Despite this fact, the researcher had to intervene more than once and sit down with some participants, because their behavior and the problems they were having with each other, were negatively affecting the work's progress and the group's focus. The researcher had some concerns that the conflicts between the participants would continue, and reach a degree that could not be controlled, neither by the researcher nor the trainer. These concerns diminished when conflicts were addressed and resolved over time, and the participants started to express their anger without violence toward each other. It may have been that multiple influences were at work. The group developed cohesion over time in part due to the trainer and researcher's responses to outbursts and negative expressions as they tried not to take sides but to be respectful and nonjudgmental.

The researcher did not expect that the group members would agree to present a final show on stage in front of their families and friends. The final performance showed that the group was ready to do so even though their interaction during the work sometimes indicated

otherwise. At first, the group did not seem eager to perform on the stage. But on the day of the final performance, the participants seemed excited and their interactions with each other indicated pleasure in their work. The presence of some mothers and some friends in the final show did not please the group members only. The researcher and the trainer were also happy and very satisfied with the audience's interaction, which enriched the whole performance with the stories they brought on stage that were acted out by the group members.

This qualitative research aimed to examine the experience of Playback Theater for a group of adolescents from Qalandia refugee camp in Palestine. The research data was based on the researcher's observations and notes, pictures and videos that the researcher took during the work, final evaluation interviews that were carried out with the participants, the mothers' evaluations, and the trainer's final evaluation at the end of the project. The researcher used the "ideal and streamlined scheme" from Saldana (2016) in arranging her data codes, categories and themes. Figure 14, shows in detail the three large categories of interrelated codes and themes that were extracted. Each of the three categories is discussed in more depth and related to previous findings in the literature in Chapter 2.

Figure 14. Codes, Categories and Themes



CHAPTER 5

Discussion

Participants reported that they experienced a range of responses to the Playback Theater sessions that included awareness of thoughts and feelings, learning new skills, and having a first exposure to performing on stage. Observations and analysis of the other data sources of the conductor and the boys' mothers also pointed to identification of these experiences. For example, a range of emotions were reported by the boys that included positive feelings such as happiness and pride, as well as sadness. Their mothers reported noticing changes in their behaviors, and the conductor noted changes in their ability to work together over time.

For these adolescents, the responses reported were contextualized by the social situation of the training and their stage of adolescent development. In Galván (2011), it was reported that during this second decade of life, adolescents are in a period of adapting to their social environment. That adaptation appeared in the stories that were shared by the participants in this research. These boys' stories were about their daily lives; many were about school, friends and friendship, and some were about loss of relatives or acquaintances. Their stories thus highlighted their ability to adapt to their political environment in which as Palestinians, they lived in a camp without free access to areas outside the camp. It is this environment that likely contributes the findings of B'Tselem (2016) that a large number of adolescents arrested by the Israeli army feel the need to take an active role rather than observing role in their people's struggle. The Defense for Children International (DCI, 2017) reported numbers that ranged from 500 to 700 of these adolescents who are arrested each year.

For the adolescent boys who participated in this research it was noticed that time was needed to begin to develop comfort with the techniques used, with each other, and with the

trainer and researcher. Behavioral issues and challenges encompassing interaction with individuals in the group, the rules of the center where the group took place, and lying to parents about their participation characterized early sessions. Much of this seemed rather standard adolescent testing behaviors. Regan (2015) reported that the impact of Playback exercises on adolescents began to appear during the second session of his project when they started to bring up their personal stories about bullying, and how positively the exercises affected their interactions within the group (Regan, 2015). The theme of feelings that emerged in the data of the present study seemed quite in keeping with the research on Playback with adolescents. In a conversation with the writer and Playback Theatre founder Jo Salas, one of the challenges she described from her experience with Playback and adolescents, involved addressing adolescents' feeling of shyness and fear of sharing personal stories. She noted this was particularly challenging for adolescents at the beginning, when they were unfamiliar with the director (J. Salas personal communication, May 18, 2018). In this group it took time for participants to begin to share stories, and to decrease disruptive behaviors. By the final performance, the group revealed an evolved stage of interaction similar to the fourth stage that Tuckman (1965) labeled as "functional role-relatedness" in which the group members become a team and cohesively work together (Tuckman, 1965, pp.386-387).

In this study, the participants noted changes in each other as a result of the group development over time. In addition, the stories involved everyday occurrences with peers both positive and negative. Blakemore and Mills (2014) discussed the peer groups' impact on adolescents noting that in most cases, the role of the peer group is even greater than that of the parents. Their study showed that peer orientation in adolescence is normal during this age and even necessary for adolescents to realize a balanced adulthood in the future (Blakemore & Mills, 2014). The results showed that the workshop did foster connections

between the boys developed over time through telling stories and witnessing and acting out each other's stories. For example, in the final interview with Hammad, he reported how close he became to some of the group members during the research process. The same occurred to Shahadah when he replied that he became closer to the group members and started to visit some in their homes.

In "Playback Theater as a tool of Cultural Resistance in Palestine," Rohrbach (2018) wrote that Playback Theater has the power to provide a safe space for participants to "visualize themes and emotions" (p.83) that usually are not only unexpressed but even repressed. Eventually the participants did share stories that contained some risk, indicating that they felt safe in sharing. Some participants told their stories through interactions. Rohrbach addressed this in her research with several players who practiced Playback Theater. The author stated that "most of them (the tellers) explained that they felt a kind of relief and shifting of perspective that can play a crucial role in the healing process" (Rohrbach, 2018, p.84). Rohrbach added "The teller usually tells his or her story not only to inform the audience, but he or she also urges the audience to fight against the injustice as well" (p.83).

An event took place during the research that had a profound impact on the whole group. A conflict in the camp with the Israeli Army ended the life of one of the refugees in the camp. The researcher observed that in the session that followed the death in the camp, the participants seemed less focused than before. In that specific session, neither the researcher nor the trainer could tell whether the group members were traumatized by the event or not, and if they were, how that impacted them since they did not share much in that regard. Not sharing their pain, sadness, or anger with each other or with the trainer and the researcher, did not necessarily indicate the absence of pain, sadness, or anger they felt at that time. In the Qouta, Punamäki, and Sarraj (2003) study, the researchers observed that most

children respond with fear, sleep disturbance and clinging to parents in acute trauma, but only a small minority will develop posttraumatic disorder. Signs of sadness appeared on the group's faces, the interaction in that session took time to develop, possibly presenting some signals of distress. Levine (2008) described trauma as "the most avoided, ignored, misunderstood, and untreated cause of human being" (p.7). In this research, neither the researcher nor the trainer ignored the participants' suffering. The trainer provided a space for them to share their feelings or tell about the death incident in their own way. It was the group members who were not ready to share yet and the trainer respected their unwillingness to share. The stories that emerged in "A Story Behind the Scarf" activity, in addition to "A Blood Song" that the group later chose to start their final performance with, indicated that the death had made an impact in the participants' minds and the feelings and floated to the surface. In this regard, Levine (2008) emphasized that in some cases; the trauma symptoms can remain hidden over a period of time and don't emerge until later. For these participants, given their lives in an environment with ongoing violence, exposure to trauma and complex trauma may be expected as a part of daily life.

As mentioned earlier, Haen and Weber (2009) defined revenge as "retaliation in response to a perceived injustice committed against a person or group with whom that person feels identified" (p. 84). Even though the martyr from the camp that the group sang for in their session and in their performance was not a relative of any of the group members, the boys knew him. Most people in the camps know each other, because overpopulation causes people's houses to be very close together. Perhaps, none of these boys will take revenge for this or other deaths in the future, yet, by choosing a song that carried a message of revenge it indicated what they felt about the death and possibly the reality they live in. It is a reality in which friends or relatives die as "fighters or martyrs", and for whom they feel proud and want to sing a song to remember.

Feelings, Loss of Life and Skills were the three categories that emerged from the research data and were common factors among all sources of data. Feelings were expressed by the group participants through the research period in addition to their final evaluation. Feelings were also expressed by the participants' mothers regarding the result of this research on their sons throughout the research period in addition to seeing their sons on stage in the last performance. In the same interview that the researcher conducted with Salas, she indicated that when adolescents feel that they are heard and understood, they are freed up to experiment with happy and sad stories alike (J. Salas personal communication, May 18, 2018). One of the boys expressed once a mixture of two feelings, feeling happy about being in the group but sad for not having his friend in the group in that session. Another participant expressed the two feelings when expressed happiness at the first part of his story when preparing himself for the school trip, and in a few seconds expressed his sadness about the trip's cancelation. On the other hand, some participants brought up happy stories in one session, and shared angry and sad ones in another.

The loss of life topic was highlighted in two participants' verbal stories in addition to the nonverbal story that was acted out by one of the participants who expressed it through his body language only when he covered his body with the big white sheet the way Palestinian Muslims cover the dead in Palestine. The loss of life topic was also brought by the participants' friends who went on stage in the final performance to share their stories. The two friends spoke of two martyrs whom they knew and were killed in clashes with the Israeli army. According to Rivers (2013), "Playback Theater praxis is based on the assumption that stories are told for a purpose: to remember, to transmit a message or evoke certain responses in the audience" (p. 161). Perhaps, the tellers did not aim to transmit a message through their stories, and probably did not mean to evoke certain responses in the

audience, but they certainly needed to remember those who were missed, and the Playback gently pushed them to be remembered.

Stevenson, Kleibeuker, Dreu, and Cron (2014) indicated that adolescence is often also a time of increased flexibility in learning and openness to exploration, resulting in increased creativity. The participants of this research mentioned at the end of it the new skills that they obtained throughout the project. Skills such as being more focused, a better listener, anger control, knowing how to act, and being more freely expressive and even audacious on stage. In Feldman (2001), the researcher also noted that the participants became able to stand on stage without fear or shyness. They became better listeners, more respectful and cooperative with one another.

Feldman (2001) wrote that the parents of her research participants indicated that their children became less shy after participating in her nine-month research period, their creativity increased, their ability to handle mistakes improved, and that the program affected their communication with their families at home in a positive way. Similar to those indications, the participants' mothers of this research expressed happiness and pride about seeing their sons on stage, acting and collaborating. They shared the positive impact of the experience on their sons' behaviors/personality.

Recommendations to Others Interested in Exploring this Topic

When the researcher decided to apply research on the use of Playback Theater, she found that there is little research in the field in general and in its application with adolescents in particular. For the researcher, this was a challenge by itself. But also a catalyst for her to apply the methods of Playback Theater, hoping that her project might enrich the field of research in this subject. Because of the limited research that has been carried out in the Playback field, the researcher believes that it is worthwhile to do other research in order to enrich this field.

Working with adolescents can be challenging and requires knowledge of this developmental stage, and the factors affecting adolescents physically, mentally and psychologically. This knowledge might help the researcher to understand the adolescent behaviors, the way they deal/act and react with each other, and their rapid mood swings.

The researcher randomly chose a group of participants that had no experience in theater. She started her research with sixteen adolescents and eleven of them continued to the end of the project. The reasons for their withdrawal from the research varied, but some expressed their lack of interest in this type of theater. The researcher had some fears that a larger number of participants would withdraw, if they lost interest in the work. But the group number that continued to the end of the project was large enough to complete the research project. In order to avoid the problem of withdrawal, the researcher suggests choosing a greater number than the researcher needs for her research so that an appropriate number remains in the event of any withdrawal.

Although the researcher, who studied drama and education, has a long experience in this field, it was not enough to apply the research on her own, without a specialist helping her and working directly with the group. It was important to have a specialized trainer, who studied the Playback techniques and had experience in applying these methods with different groups, even if they were not adolescents. The specialized trainer helped the researcher to focus on monitoring, documenting and videotaping the whole process. The researcher believes that it is not easy to work directly with the group, and document all steps in the process at the same time.

Allowing the group's members to share what they are ready to share, even if the researcher had some expectations/assumptions regarding the topics that the participants may raise during the work, was important and necessary. The researcher and the trainer should

accept and respect everything the group members bring to the stage without directing them or forcing them to choose specific subjects to talk about.

Nineteen Playback sessions were conducted with the group. This number was enough for the participants to gain an initial experience in this field. They managed to share stories, and act them out in front of each other. It is possible that an additional number of sessions may allow for the group's experience, creativity, expression, and narrative abilities to be broader.

During the project of the research, the researcher maintained direct contact with the participants' parents regarding the attendance of their sons, and the evolution of their sons' work and creativity. This communication between the researcher and parents helped to build trust, and opened a dialogue and evaluation about the impact of the project on their sons. The researcher believes that the trust between her and the mothers promoted the mothers' participation at the final performance, when they shared personal and political stories. It should be noted that remarkably, the mothers who shared stories in the final performance reported that the stories they told had never been shared with their sons before. It was the first time that the boys heard these stories. This might be related to the ritual aspect of Playback as a means for story telling that has been discussed in the literature (N. Sajjani, personal communication, March 27, 2020).

The research was implemented in a large hall with a wide stage that allowed participants to warm-up, dance, move, improvise and act. This doesn't mean that Playback should be applied only in such space; only that a tiny space might limit the movement and the interaction between participants. The work plan included the dates and work hours that were organized by the researcher and the trainer. The plan made it easier for participants and their parents to remember the day and time of each session. The mothers expressed that their sons forgot about the session's date sometimes but since they had the program as well, they

could remind their sons of the session dates and times.

The circumstances of the Palestinian refugee camps, which are surrounded by the separation wall and the Israeli military checkpoints, in addition to the clashes that may occur between the camp's youth and the occupation soldiers, could put the group, the trainer and the researcher sometimes at risk. If the camp was invaded or there were clashes near the workplace, the researcher and the trainer should be aware of the participants' safe access to their homes, or have addresses for people who can help under these circumstances.

Qalandia refugee camp is located within Area C and East Jerusalem, near the main checkpoint "Qalandia checkpoint" between Ramallah and Jerusalem, and next to the wall that separates between the West Bank and Jerusalem. The "Qalandia Checkpoint" was originally built in 2001. Since that time, it has become the busiest checkpoint in the West Bank, in terms of pedestrian and vehicle traffic. The checkpoint has a strong military presence, and is often the scene of confrontations between Israeli security forces and the Palestinians. The Israeli security forces also carry out repeated operations inside the Qalandia camp, resulting in injuries and deaths among camp residents (United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), 2020, n.d).



Figure 15. Qalandia checkpoint. Jadallah, July 31, 2012. Adapted from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jadallah/7711011694>

The researcher was aware of the importance of objectivity while monitoring and documenting the project's steps and participants' interaction in the research. She was aware of the positive influences of the Playback method, but did not lose sight of the difficult points/areas that the trainer faced during her work with the group.

Implications for Expressive Therapies

Although Playback Theater expressly qualifies as therapy it can be therapeutic as the experience can provide participants with an opportunity to express themselves and discover their creative paths. This might happen only when those in charge are specialized in Playback Theater, and have an advanced professional experience working with adolescents. If expressive therapists or researchers do not specialize in this type of theater, then they must find the specialist needed to do the work for them. It is possible that other arts experiences in a group setting might also have been experienced in similar ways by these boys, but it is uncertain and requires study. Yet, physically acting their stories in the way that took place in this study might be a special feature of Playback that is not replicated in other arts experiences.

It is hoped this study may enrich the understanding of Playback Theater in general, since the number of research projects carried out in this field is limited. In addition, the Playback Theater research related to adolescents is even more limited. This research may add new material, regarding this age group and Playback Theater. Therapists may also benefit from this experience, by using some of the activities that were used in this research while preparing the group for playback work.

If there are researchers/therapists interested in working in areas of conflict, war zones or refugees' camps, this research may provide some ideas, working mechanisms, and a few points to consider when working with this age group in these areas.

Israeli military checkpoints are spread out in the Palestinian territories, and separate the different areas from each other. There are detour roads for Palestinians to drive on, in order not to pass by the Israeli settlements that are spread all over Palestine. Palestinians who hold a Palestinian identity can only enter Israel after obtaining an Israeli permit. Israel has the authority to close the Palestinian areas, and not allow the Palestinians to enter them, even if they have an Israeli permit. Israelis can decide to cancel a permit at any time. Sometimes confrontations occur between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians, which leads to the closure of checkpoints on the Palestinian and Israeli sides, and the entry or the exit from these crossings is not permitted. So no matter how much a person desires to work in Palestine, his/her safety must be a priority. The researcher was aware of this priority, in order not to risk her life, the life of the trainer, and most importantly lives of the group participants.

Part of the results indicated that the interests of adolescents in the Qalandia refugee camp were similar to those of many adolescents who don't live under occupation, are not surrounded by cement checkpoints, and don't live in front of separation walls but still might live in violent environments.

Limitations of the Study

The study began at the end of February 2019, and was completed by the end of April 2019. The researcher was limited in terms of time available to implement the sessions, due to the final year's exams students usually go through by beginning of May each school year. In Palestine, when students reach this phase of their schooling, it is impossible to enter schools to conduct any additional activity. If this was not a limiting factor, the researcher would have chosen a longer period of time for the sessions, in an effort to build a stronger group with more trust and deeper relationships among group members. Both, the trainer and the researcher believe that providing more sessions, may have caused participants to bring

more stories to the sessions, and touch on topics they did not deal with during the two months of the research period.

All the research participants were boys, who came from one boys' school since all schools in Qalandia refugee camp are not mixed gender. The researcher chose this population for her study, due to her experience with adolescents, and her belief that various institutions avoid this age group due to their fears of working with them, and their insufficient knowledge of how to deal with adolescents. Working with boys only, without having the ability to work with a mixed gender group in parallel, prevented the researcher from examining the effect of the presence of girls on the boys' interaction with other group members, their stories, and acting activities.

The researcher was aware of the fact that she is a Palestinian living in Palestine, and suffering from the same occupation that her people suffer from in their daily life. She was also aware that her choice to apply her research with refugees stemmed from her sympathy to those who lost their original land and became refugees in 1948 around the time the State of Israel was established. This is the same sympathy she had towards her own family, who lost their land in the same year, although they did not end up refugees. This awareness of her background and sympathy did not prevent the researcher from attempting to maintain some measure of objectivity in documenting and analyzing the research data, while trying to cover all aspects of the research project. Admittedly this was only managed with some difficulty.

Conclusions

In summary, the results revealed some unexpected phenomena in the adaptation or resilience displayed in the behaviors of learning about Playback, and the everyday stories of normal adolescent life that the boys told. And at the same time, they were able to recognize and process violence and death close at hand by devising a group response. It was questions

about what Playback Theater might bring to the experience of these boys living in exactly these circumstances that motivated the research. Adolescents in many parts of the world today are living in environments characterized by violence, lack of safety, and repression. The combined results of the data sources offer hope about the potential of arts-based methods such as Playback to offer an outlet for expression and development of skills that might foster positive growth over time. The future of the boys in this study and the potential impact of the workshops as either protective as the researcher hoped or otherwise, cannot be known. However, for the two months that they attended the workshops they were alive with possibility.

APPENDIX A

Detailed Attendance Chart

Date	2/24	2/25	3/3	3/5	3/10	3/12	3/17	3/19	3/24	3/26	3/31	4/2	4/7	4/9	4/14	4/16	4/21	4/23	4/28	4/30
Zawawi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓							✓					
Mohamad	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓														
Alqam	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			✓		✓	✓	✓
Khalil	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Salam	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Shahadah	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Naser	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓
Awwad	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Zayed	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓							✓	✓		
Suliman	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓							
Rateb	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hammad	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Rahman	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓										
Sajed	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓					✓							
Kareem	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓						✓			✓
Hamzah			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

APPENDIX B

Participants Stories (arranged chronologically)

3/17/2019

Awwad: I went with my friend to Ramallah. We went to an amusement park. We had so much fun, and while we were on a ferris wheel my friend's cell phone fell and broke. Then his father bought him another one. He was sad when that happened but I was very happy.

Awwad quickly told his story; no expressions appeared on his face or in the tone of his voice. He seemed focused while watching the actors acting out his story, and expressed that he liked the way the story was acted it out on stage.

Shahadah: One day the school principal asked me to take a group of tourists for a walk inside the camp. I was happy to do this and to take them around the camp.

Shahadah sounded happy and proud of himself while sharing his story. He had a small smile on his face. He looked in the trainer's eyes but also gave quick glance at the other participants as he wanted to make sure that they were listening to his story

3/19/2019

Hamzah: I would like to tell you about how my day usually starts. I wake up, clean my face and teeth, do some simple exercises to stretch my body and go to school.

Hamzah looked excited to share his story about his morning preparation for school. He laughed at the actors, while acting it out. When he was asked whether he liked their acting or, if they expressed his story correctly or not, he replied in English, "No". He said that they did not do exactly what he said, and that they missed some parts, such as the stretching part. When the actors acted out his story again, he expressed that they had done better the second time around.

Rateb: I was walking with some friends in Kofor Aqab neighborhood when we passed by some guys sitting in their car and harassing some young girls from our refugee camp. We

did not like what we saw and asked them to stop doing that to the girls. When we realized they would not stop, we started screaming at them and threw stones at their car to make them stop and they did. I was very upset with what I saw.

Rateb seemed serious when he told his story. His facial expression and his tone of voice expressed the anger that he felt when he saw the boys chasing and annoying the girls. He seemed proud when he spoke of how he and his friends managed to stop those boys from chasing and harassing the girls. Rateb did not like much the way the actors acted out his story, since according to his opinion, they did not exactly express what happened the way he did when he told his story. The trainer also noticed that, and suggested to the actors to act it out again, while took a role in the story. She started the scene by playing Rateb's character in the story, and the actors joined her playing the role of his friends. This time, Rateb appeared more satisfied with their acting, and expressed that they acted out the story better the second time around.

Hammad: I went once with some friends to the hookah coffee shop. One of my friends pretended that he knew how to smoke. He never said that he did not know how to smoke. When we started smoking, it was very obvious that it was his first time and he started coughing.

Hammad seemed calm, serious and interested in telling his story. He laughed while talking about the friend who pretended that he had smoked hookah before. He smiled while watching the actors acting out his story. He expressed that he liked the way they acted out his story.

3/24/2019

Participants' stories/feelings regarding "A Story behind the Scarf" activity in which the trainer put a big amount of colorful scarves on stage in front of the participants and asked them to play freely with it so each could imagine the scarf the way he wants or could. The

following stories immersed when the trainer asked the participants about what the scarves meant or represented to them.

Feelings- Alqam: When I looked at the scarf, it reminded me of a flower bouquet I got for my mom a few days ago when we had Mother's Day.

Alqam was smiling and seemed happy but a bit shy while sharing his story. He moved the scarf between his two hands. When the trainer asked him to show her how the shape of the flower bouquet looked like by using the scarf, his immediate answer was: "I don't know how to do that". She encouraged him to look at the scarf, and imagine as if it was the flower bouquet. Then he was able to shape the scarf, and gave it to her the way he gave his mother the flower bouquet. When Alqam was asked about the way the actors acted out his story, he replied positively.

Rateb: The scarf reminds me of the blood of the martyrs and the martyr Mohammad Odwan who was killed in the camp. He was such a normal guy who lived a normal life. He was a friend of my brother and I was very sad when he got killed. When the trainer asked Rateb to show her how he would use the red scarf he immediately laid on the ground and covered his body with the scarf.

In the beginning, Rateb laughed while he was talking about the martyr Mohammad Odwan and looked at his peers from time to time. When the trainer asked him whether he personally knew Mohammad Odwan, his facial expressions became more serious, and his tone of voice sounded lower and sadder. He seemed more focused when he did not pay attention to his peers in the group and just listened to the trainer.

Naser: This scarf reminds me of my cousin's neck scarf. My cousin Laith was killed as a martyr, so I always carry his scarf since he has his picture on it. I have the scarf since 2015 when he was killed. He was very dear to my heart; we were very close to each other. We always visited each other to play, and had so much fun together. One day he was killed

during clashes with the army “the Israeli army”. I was home asleep when they woke me up and told me about his death. I quickly went to my aunt’s house to make sure whether it was true or not that he was killed by the army. When I realized that it was true, I became very very sad and went to see his family. I also saw him, and said my final goodbye to him at the mosque. I miss him. I wish I could see him again. I wish his image will live with me forever, so I never forget about him.

Naser looked sad when telling the story about his cousin Laith. His voice sounded a bit shaky, as he was trying to prevent himself from crying. He kept the scarf on his shoulders from the beginning to the end of the story. He focused on the trainer and did not pay much attention to the other participants. He liked the way the actors acted out his story. Awwad: The scarf reminded me of my work at our clothes factory, and the scarves that we sewed there, in addition to other items. In the beginning, we made the scarves with no pictures on them, after that, we used a special clothes’ printer to print the pictures we wanted on the scarves.

When the trainer asked Awwad about what would he do with the scarf, or how could he imagine it being something either than a scarf, Awwad replied: "It’s hard for me to do that”. Then, when she asked the group members to help Awwad, Rateb was the first person to take the initiative and offer his help. Awwad liked Rateb’s offer, and quickly responded to it. He stood up and followed what Rateb suggested to do. Rateb stood up in front of Awwad and played the role of a doll on which clothes are measured or displayed. Then Awwad started to measure the fabric “scarf”, in order to make a skirt out of it. Rateb’s stepped toward Awwad, encouraged Awwad to continue by himself. When the trainer asked Awwad to create a blouse out of the scarf, he started alone without Rateb’s help. Yet, when Rateb saw that Awwad was struggling a bit with the scarf, he again offered his help and helped Awwad turn the scarf into a blouse.

End of “A Story behind the Scarf” activity

Hamzah: I want to tell a story about a friend, who I can hardly call a friend right now. He is not my friend anymore. I don't know why he has changed so much. He is a good guy, but I, can't tell what's going on with him. I have known him for a long time. I don't know the reason why he makes trouble between peers right now. He used to act nicely to all, and all respond to him in the same way. He liked everyone, and everyone liked him. Now, he seems afraid of others. I want him to be better and I wish he stopped being afraid, and gets back to the way he was before.

Hamzah seemed upset, looking for words to explain his friend's situation. He sounded both serious and sad when he talked about his friend's condition.

A story without words. Salam took a big white cover, lay on the ground and covered his entire body from below to the top with it the same way they cover the deceased in Palestine.

3/26/2019

Zayed: I want to tell a story about two classmates who fought in class, and when the teacher tried to separate them, one of them actually climbed on the teacher's back. I tried to interfere and calm them down. The teacher took them to the school principal and they solved the problem there. In my opinion, the whole incident did not need to escalate to that level.

Zayed was smiling while talking about the fight between class mates, and he laughed a lot when he mentioned the student who climbed on the teacher's back. His facial expressions changed, and became more serious, and the tone of his voice became sharper when he spoke about his intervention to solve the problem between the students. He liked the way the actors acted out his story.

Hammad: Once, my father's friend visited us. He parked his car near our house. He gave me his car keys to go get him his cigarettes. I went to the car and brought the cigarettes and it gave him but left the keys with me. I went and drove the car not far from my house. The

street was not busy. All of a sudden the car stopped. I got very embarrassed, but when it started working again, I parked it near our house and went home. I was happy.

Hammad looked confident and proud of what he did with his father friend's car. He smiled while sharing his story, and continued to smile when he talked about when the car stopped working. He liked the way the actors acted out his story.

4/7/2019

Rateb: Once we found a dead mouse in the class. It was probably beaten to death. It was very disgusting and smelled very bad. I felt nauseous and close to vomiting. The teacher actually held the mouse up in front of the class, and then threw it in the garbage. I could not do anything besides leaving the class.

Rateb expressions seemed neutral in the beginning when he talked about the dead mouse. But when the trainer asked him about his feelings when he saw the mouse, his facial expressions and tone of voice displayed how disgusting the scene was to him. He liked the way the actors acted out his story.

Alqam: On the third day of Eid (feast), I went to have lunch in at KFC restaurant in Ramallah with my friends. After lunch, we paid the bill, each paid 50 shekels. When we were about to leave, the waiter in charge came to us and asked if we had paid the bill, claiming we had not. We were upset and angry because we had already paid the bill. He went back to the cashier and found out that we were told the truth.

Alqam seemed happy and relaxed while sharing the first part of his story. But when he reached the part in which the waiter questioned his credibility about the bill, he looked serious and talked with an angry voice. When the trainer said to Alqam "but you already paid" Alqam replied "Of project we did." His response, his tone of voice and facial expressions indicated that he felt maltreated when the waiter questioned him. He liked the way the actors acted out his story.

4/14/2019

Khalil: One day Khitam with the school's counselor came to our class. She told us about the theatre idea, and invited us to participate in the project. She gave each of us a small piece of paper, and asked us to write our name and parents' phone number and put it in the plastic bag that she brought with her to class. Those who did not want to participate could leave the paper blank. She told us that she would randomly and without seeing the names pick out sixteen names and contact them. One month later, she called us and invited us to come to the center. For two months, we came every Sunday and Tuesday. We came to the center, and she and the trainer worked with us. The trainer was teaching us and Khitam was documenting and documenting. After Khalil finished his story, the trainer asked Khalil how he benefited from his participation in a theater project that allowed him to share his stories and act out the stories of other participants. Khalil's response was "because it gives you an opportunity to express yourself and to express others through yourself".

Khalil was smiling while sharing his story. He used his hands several times while talking. He tried to remember many details, and succeeded in telling his story to step by step exactly the way it happened, from the researcher's visit to his class to his participation in the project. He liked the way the actors acted out his story on stage.

4/28/2019

A story without words: Salam took a red scarf and moved along with it, while a group of participants/musicians were playing on musical instruments. A few minutes later, he left the red scarf and grabbed the same white sheet that he played with in 3/24/2019 when did "The Scarves" activity to play/move with it again this time. After a while, and while moving with the music, he covered his face with the white sheet and started to move slowly. Some other actors, such as Alqam and Sajed came closer to Salam, surrounded him and Sajed started weeping.

Rateb: Yesterday after we were fully prepared for the school's trip, the teacher asked us to take our money back and go home. The trip that was planned to Alouja/Jericho was cancelled. I was so ready to go on the trip. I bought snacks, put some clothes, prepared sandwiches, woke up happy, and then the teacher said "take your money back and go home". I became sad, and started to say "I wish Allah/God will be angry at you". I left school and ate all I had prepared for the trip.

Rateb appeared happy when he shared his preparations for the trip. He smiled when he talked about the sandwiches and the snacks that he bought for the trip. His voice and facial expressions changed to serious ones, when he mentioned the trip's cancellation. The anger and the frustration that he felt about the cancellation appeared on his face, and in the tone of his voice. The actors acted out Rateb's story twice, because Rateb did not like the first version. But he did like the second one because the participants were more focused and took what they were doing more seriously.

APPENDIX C

Mothers and Friends Sharing Stories at the Final Performance

Rateb's mother (in the audience): I want to tell you about what my day looked like so far. First, I started the day with my cousin by taking a morning walk at seven o'clock in the morning. After that, we went to a project to learn how to make soap. Then, we had cupping massage with a very yummy breakfast and ended the day here.

Rateb's mother seemed eager to share her experiences of that day. She explained in detail all the steps that she achieved before coming to the performance. She sounded proud of herself, spoke loudly and clearly and made sure to tell how despite having such a busy day, she did not miss the final performance. When asked if she liked the way the actors acted out her story, she replied "Yes, especially when they acted out the cupping massage part. They showed us what we did, and this encourages us to repeat it again (repeating what she did in that day)."

Rateb's Mother (on stage): I want to share with you an incident of a driver who was stuck in traffic inside the camp. The street was very narrow, and when he refused to move his car, the young men in the camp got very angry and started to hit him. He was from Jenin, not from our camp. He had a yellow car, a service car. The traffic was terrible; the young guys fought with him, so he ran out of his car to my house for protection while screaming "Help me, help me!" In the beginning, he was shy, refused to get in my house. I said to him "Come in and close the door." When the young men came, I said to them, "No one will get in; he is in our home, under our protection." He was afraid, shaky from cold and asked for a jacket. I gave him a jacket, then, another guy came and took him. This is just one of the stories that occur in our camp, because of the traffic situation.

Rateb's mother looked serious when shared her story. She used her body language to show the cold feeling that the guy felt when he asked for a jacket. Her hands covered her

shoulders the same way the guy did when he asked for the jacket. The tone of her voice changed when she imitated how he asked for the jacket. Rateb's mother expressed that she liked the way the actors acted out her story.

Shahda's Mother (on stage): It happened twenty years ago, one year after I got married. I have been married now for twenty-one years. The Jews, the army used to enter the camp walking, pedestrians. I was visiting my mother in law, God have mercy on her. She used to leave the door of her home open, as she did not like to close her doors. She had a small square inside the house, where we used to sit when we visited her. I was having a breakfast with her and my father in law only. That day was such a tragic day, I will never forget it. My mother in law used to weave big straw dishes on which she used to weave a Palestinian flag and "La Ilaha Illa Allah" (No God except Allah) sentence. She used to hang some of these dishes on the wall as well. We were having, olives, Za'atar and labneh. All of a sudden, the Jews entered the house and one of the officers saw the straw dishes on the wall and took the one with "No God except Allah" sentence. He threw the straw dish on the floor and stepped on it. While doing that, his hat fell on the floor. My mother in law picked it up and put it in her "thoub" (Palestinian traditional dress) pocket. Another group of soldiers were outside with a young Palestinian guy that was already under arrest. The officer asked for his hat, and my mother in law refused to give it back to him saying "I will do that only on one condition. You have to release the young man who is with you" (the Palestinian man under arrest). When the soldier refused her request, she went out screaming for the masked guys (Palestinians who put on mask or scarf on their faces when they clash with the Israeli soldiers, in order not to be captured by cameras). I was terrified, because I never witnessed such a situation before in my life. I asked her to give him back his hat. She took the hat out of her pocket, threw it on the floor, and stepped on it in the same way the officer did to her straw dish. Another soldier hit her on her head with his machine gun, and she was severely

injured on her forehead and fell on the floor. At that time, when soldiers (Israeli soldiers) injured people they would treat them, not like today when many are left to die. They called the Israeli ambulance when they saw her like that on the floor. I did not know what to do. I started screaming. My father in law is handicapped. I screamed at the soldier, what did you do? Oh my God, what did you do? La Ilaha Illa Alla (No God except Allah). She stepped on your hat because you stepped on her dish. When I saw her condition, I became less afraid although I was very afraid in the beginning. When the soldiers saw her condition, they called the Israeli ambulance. Honestly, in a few seconds the ambulance arrived and took her to the hospital. I started looking for my husband. Back then we did not have phones or iPhones like we do today. So, I went to Majdi Sahouri bookstore and called my husband at work from this shop. He was very surprised and asked me "Where did they take my mother to?" I said, "I don't know, ask the Jews." He made some phone calls, and found out that she was taken to Hadassah Hospital (in Jerusalem). The soldier's blow resulted in a drop of blood in her brain. This led to her feeling dizzy all the time. Because of that injury, she had to go through an operation on her head. The family hired a lawyer to follow the case and the soldier who beat her was tried in court. But I don't know exactly what happened to him. After that blow to the head, and for almost 15 years, she suffered from dizziness. This is what happened to me, and I can't forget it since it happened in front of my eyes. Until now, I tell this story to my kids and how my mother in law suffered because of them (the Israeli soldiers), and what nerve she had to step on the officer's hat. Her son Shahadah's mother kept smiling while telling her story and continued smiling while watching the actors acting out her story. She sounded enthusiastic/ager to share her story in detail. She was holding her cell phone while telling her story but did not look at or used on stage. Her son Shahadah, was the first actor to start his mother's scene. When the actors finished, she expressed that she liked their acting.

Khalil's Mother (on stage): We talk all the time about the occupation, because we live in it, if not every day, almost every day. This incident happened when I was 8 years old. It happened during the first Intifada when they forced a curfew on us, as they always did when stones were thrown at them (the Israeli soldiers). We were under curfew and ran out of cooking gas. My mom needed to cook, and I knew that I could get it from a store not too far from our house. My brothers were older than me, and my sisters were younger than me. I was courageous, and did not feel scared to go out. Mom did not want to send my older brothers, fearing that they will be arrested. I had the courage to go out and walk toward the store. We badly needed the cooking gas, and my parents agreed that I could go and get it. I carried the gas gallon and walked toward the store. I saw the soldiers, but continued on my way. When they saw me, they yelled at me to go home. I said to them, "I need to fill this gas container. The store is very close." But they said, go home. The soldier screamed at me three times, and out of fear I went back home.

Khalil's mother seemed enthusiastic to tell her story. She used her hands and facial expressions to express her story. She changed the tone of her voice, when she imitated how the soldiers' screamed at her. When the trainer asked her about who she would choose to play her role in the story, she chose her son Khalil. She had a tiny smile on her face while watching the actors. For a few seconds, she seemed as if she was thinking or remembering the past, and did not look at the actors. In the end, she expressed that she did like their acting out her story.

Ali, a friend (on stage): Three years ago, the soldiers invaded the camp to demolish one of the houses. Clashes occurred between the soldiers and men in the camp. Laith and Ahmad got killed. I was home, not that far from them, probably around 200 meters. It was night, around three in the morning. There were around 1000 soldiers. There were also armed clashes between the (shabab) young men and the army (the Israeli army). I was home

watching the news, and did not get out because the area was full of soldiers. We heard screams. The shabab screamed “There is a martyr” and “Allah Akbar” and we also heard bombs and the sound of bullets. The martyrs were our neighbors. I was sad and cried. Ali looked at the actors most of the time while telling his story. He turned his face to the trainer only when she asked a question, or needed to inquire about specific aspect related to the story. He did not appear comfortable, as if he was a bit embarrassed. When he was asked whether he liked the way the actors acted out his story, he answered yes and quickly left the stage.

Mustafa, a friend (on stage): It happened four years ago when an Israeli jeep entered the camp by mistake. The young guys in the camp saw it, started throwing stones against the soldiers, jumping on the jeep, throwing Molotov bottles against the vehicle which burned a part of the vehicle. Another probably 1500 soldiers entered the camp, and took the jeep out. Clashes occurred when Iyad got shot. Some soldiers ran towards the cemetery to hide between the graves. The jeeps left afterwards.

Mustafa looked neutral while telling his story. He had no facial expression, and his tone of voice was the same from the beginning to the end of his story. The only smile that appeared on his face was when the trainer asked him, if he would like to see his story acted out in front of him. He looked at the trainer all the time, and the first look at the actors was after he finished his story. When the trainer asked Mustafa about the actors’ performance he replied that it reminded him of what happened four years ago.

APPENDIX D

Final Trainer's Evaluation

An experimental adventure: No doubt, young participants, teenagers from a refugee camp are a hard population to deal with. I knew that working with them was going to be a different experience, but I did not know how or why. In the end, the project turned out to be an experimental adventure.

Changing attitude: During the work process, after the first few sessions, I needed to change my attitude toward the participants, and even my training and teaching style. I felt as if I needed to give orders and be more direct with the participants. I feel satisfied with this new attitude, because it was the right step to take with this population based on their life under the occupation in which they have to follow orders.

Energy and focus: Working with them after school, affected their energy and their focus. In the beginning, I needed to be assertive, direct, and stern. But in the middle of the project, and when they became more active and more collaborative, my attitude and approach began to change. I was able to step back and allow the participants to direct some activities. I found this to be a useful way to work with these adolescent participants. It's about making them feel free to choose the form they want to use on stage since over time they became capable to choose whether they want to be the tellers who tell the story or the actors who act it out, or musicians who play the music for it. This way, participant may discover his strength and weakness in acting and in which form he feels most powerful. This freedom to choose the form they wanted to act, participants have received only after they well understood the Playback forms/techniques.

Changes in behaviors: Through the project process, I began to feel and see the change in their behaviors and attitudes towards each other and towards us.

Mothers and friends at the final show: It was a great idea to invite the parents and friends only to the final performance. Each participant was allowed to invite his parents, siblings and two of his close friends only. It was the participants' decision to be on stage for a final performance and they had the freedom not to if some did not want to take part in it. The goal of the final performance to put the trainees in a real Playback experience in which they take responsibility for choosing the Playback forms to act out the audience's stories.

Audience's stories: The audience' stories were hard, tough and not easy to act out even by professional actors. They were spontaneous stories that needed courage to be told, and the participants we very eager to tell their stories.

Readiness to be a Playback conductor: When Khalil suggested using one of the Playback methods on stage, I respected his request, and this told me that he was ready to be a Playback conductor. Khalil was the one who initiated to play the main character (hero) of the story, and suggesting the method to be used in acting out the story was challenging but encouraging at the same time. I agreed on Khalil's suggestion since the performance was privet, he was acting in front of his mother, and he asked to use the form that he mastered well. Playback Theater was a new and not an easy experience to them. I did not expect them to be ready to direct a scene and when Khalil suggested that I gave him the opportunity to implement his suggestion and all went well.

Difficulties: It was clear in the beginning that the participants had difficulty in moving and using their bodies. In time, and while suing the scarves and the musical instrument, they became more open and flexible in movement. I believe that the participants had so many big problems in their life, way bigger than them even but in order to bring them to the sessions they certainly needed more time and trust with the group. They probably needed to feel more comfortable with themselves and with others to share them.

Willingness for a new project with same population: I am willing to work with you again

in the future and with this population again; especially with youths who come from a difficult backgrounds.

The Trainer Comments Regarding her Work with the Researcher

Appreciation to work with adolescents: I highly appreciate your (the researcher) decision to work with this youth population using this specific method. It was a courageous decision, and requires a lot of determination and power. You (the researcher) are a unique person to want to experience this out of the ordinary situation. You (the researcher) must have a lot of experience and a lot of awareness to make this kind of decision, and I highly appreciate this fact about you (the researcher).

An understanding researcher: I needed to be absent more than once from the workshop, and you were very understanding of my situation.

Honesty and willingness for a new learning: You were also honest, clear, and willing to understand and learn what you did not know during the project.

APPENDIX E

Final Interview with the Research's Participants Based on Questionnaire

Nine face to face and recorded interviews with nine participants were conducted at the Child Center for Culture & Development a week after the research was implemented. The interview with Zayed (one of the participants) occurred via phone since he could not make it to the interview. Kareem (another participant) was not interviewed because the researcher could not reach him despite her attempts to communicate with his mother for several days.

1) Did Playback Theater offer you a platform to express yourself? Why or why not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes it did. Anyone who lives in the camp would like to share everything, and I managed to tell about a few things that happened to me.

Hammad: This experience offered me an opportunity to act, and do certain movements I have never done before.

Hamzah: Yes, I learned new things about acting and playing musical instruments. I was able to release my energy.

Rateb: Playback Theater offered me the ability to express myself in all different ways when acting, playing musical instruments, and doing the warm up exercises.

Alqam: Yes, especially during the last performance when (on stage) we expressed what we had learned during the project.

Shahadah: Yes, through putting in a lot of effort that I never knew I had before and discovering my ability to act.

Naser: Yes, the project helped me to show my feelings and express my sadness.

Awwad: Yes, through acting scenes and stories.

Khalil: Yes, I got to share stories and express feelings.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes, I was able to express myself.

2) We met twice a week. Was this schedule appropriate for you or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes.

Hammad: Yes, very appropriate.

Hamzah: Yes

Rateb: The schedule was appropriate and it would not bother me to come every day.

Alqam: The schedule was good, normal.

Shahadah: No, because I would have loved to see you more.

Naser: Yes.

Awwad: The schedule was good.

Khalil: Yes, the schedule was fine.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes.

3) We met for nineteen sessions, and each session took two hours. Was this time frame enough for you or not?

Salam: Yes, it was OK but I was ready to do more.

Hammad: Yes, but if we had more sessions we would have learned more.

Hamzah: Yes.

Rateb: The time frame was perfect and it would not bother me if the project went on for a full year.

Alqam: The time frame was good.

Shahadah: It was not enough time. I would have loved to come every day instead of losing time in front of net.

Naser: The time frame was good.

Awwad: The time frame was ok.

Khalil: There was not enough time.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes

Did you enjoy your work or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes, most of the time, I enjoyed my work.

Hammad: Yes, I enjoyed the work a lot.

Hamzah: Yes, especially when we were acting and playing beautiful games.

: Rateb: Yes, I enjoyed acting and telling stories.

Alqam: Yes, especially when I was playing the musical instruments.

Shahadah: I enjoyed my work a lot, and learned more than I could in front of the net.

Naser: In general yes, but sometimes no, especially, when I was bullied. During those times, I tried my best to ignore them (the participants who bullied him).

Awwad: Yes.

Khalil: Yes, I enjoyed my work as usual.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes, I enjoyed my work.

5) Did you notice any change in your thinking, acting, or social interaction with others through this experience or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes, I feel I am less angry and reactive with other people and my acting became better. Hammad: Yes, I learned more how to deal with the group as a team, and how to collaborate with others on a specific project.

Hamzah: I discovered new things about my acting and about playing musical instruments. It was my first time acting and playing music.

Rateb: Yes, I became more focused, more collaborative, and better at acting.

Alqam: I became less shy and more focused through this experience.

Shahadah: Yes, while I am listening to others now, I look into their eyes. I concentrate and focus more on what they are saying and doing, in order to improve my acting.

Naser: Yes, I feel my whole personality has changed through this experience. For example, I hated to be photographed but now I actually like it. Through this project, me, and the other participants became more respectful, and kinder to each other.

Awwad: I learned new things, things I never did before. At home, I became more active and even acted out stories at home with my siblings. This made my family happy about my work. Khalil: No, I did not notice many changes. (Khalil became very creative through the training. He was fully active in each session. Took every activity seriously and participated in each one. He looked happy on stage and participated in each story came from the mothers.

(phone interview) Zayed: I did not notice any changes.

Did you face any difficulties or challenges while participating in the project, or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: I did not face any challenges.

Hammad: No, I did not face any challenges.

Hamzah: No, only when I felt sick.

Rateb: Sometimes, especially when we played using the corridor style.

Alqam: Yes, in the beginning the acting was hard.

Shahadah: I did face some difficulties, but completed what I was asked to do. In time, participating became easier and I become more aware of what I should do or what I was asked to do.

Naser: Yes, when some participants were in the audience and did things that made me lose focus.

Awwad: No, but in the beginning some exercises were hard but became easier over time.

Khalil: Certain things I could not apply at first, but they became easier to do over time.

(phone interview) Zayed: No, I did not face any difficulties.

Did you share with the group any personal stories or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes, I did share some personal stories, and acted out the personal stories of others.

Hammad: I remember sharing a few personal stories that I do not remember now. But I participated in acting out the personal stories of other participants.

Hamzah: Yes, I remember the story that I told when I fell with my friend from my bicycle and how I was injured and in pain.

Rateb: Yes, I did. I don't remember them now.

Alqam: Yes, and it felt good to express them through acting.

Shahahdah: Yes, and I felt good to see them acted out on stage. Also, when I acted out the stories of others I also expressed myself through them. I felt sad acting out their sad stories.

Naser: Yes, I shared stories, and it felt as if those stories were happening right now in the present. I was a little nervous when I acted out the stories of other participants.

Awwad: Yes, and it felt good seeing others acting out my stories, and watching the story unfold before me right now.

Khalil: Yes, I did, and it felt good to see them acted out on stage.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes. I don't remember them now.

8) Did you learn/discover any new things about yourself through this experience or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Through the work, I discovered that I became less shy. I am less angry, and get

angry less than I did before.

Hammad: I learned I am able to practice and conduct new things, and how to act in a proper way.

Hamzah: I learned that I could act.

Rateb: Yes, I learned that I can act and play music.

Alqam: I learned I could focus more, and act out the stories of other people.

Shahadah: I learned I can act. I did not know I would be able to do this.

Naser: Yes, I discovered that I am a good person, and that I treat others with respect.

Awwad: I learned that I could learn and apply new things that I had no idea about before.

The experience changed, and developed me as a person.

Khalil: I learned about this theater method and how it is applied. I also discovered I could act, and became more courageous during the project.

(phone interview) Zayed: No.

9) Did you learn or discover any new things about other participants in the group through this experience or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: I knew the other participants before the project, but I feel I know them better now.

Hammad: No, not very much. But through the process, I became close to some of them.

Hamzah: Yes, that they have the ability to learn and practice new things.

Rateb: I knew them very well from before.

Alqam: Yes, the participants became more focused and I grew closer to them.

Shahadah: Yes, I became closer to them. I even started to visit some of them at home, and we started chatting about this project while we were in school.

Naser: Yes, some of them improved over time through the process, and bullied others less often.

Awwad: Yes, I did not expect them to do what they did. I liked the idea of doing theater, and participating with friends of mine in the project.

Khalil: I knew them before but now I discovered that they can act, and have the courage to do so.

(phone interview) Zayed: I knew them before.

10) How do you feel about your participation in general in this project?

(face to face interview)

Salam: It was a good experience and we gained a lot from the process. I know how to express myself better, and how to act better on stage.

Hammad: The project was a very good experience for me.

Hamzah: I feel very joyful about the experience.

Rateb: It was a good experience.

Alqam: It was a beneficial experience.

Shahadah: I felt it was a beautiful experience expressed only once in our society, and I hope it is repeated again.

Naser: I feel joyful, and the project was beneficial to me. I felt negative when others did not treat me fairly.

Awwad: I wish this experience can be repeated very often.

Khalil: I liked to discover new things, and play new games. I also played them with my family.

(phone interview) Zayed: I felt good.

11) Do you think or feel that you have the ability to participate in a similar project in the future or not?

(face to face interview)

Salam: Yes, I'd like to participate in a similar project in the future.

Hammad: Yes.

Hamzah: Yes.

Rateb: Yes, of project. I'd love to participate again.

Alqam: Yes.

Shahadah: Yes, absolutely.

Naser: Yes, if I am asked to do so.

Awwad: For sure, I'd like to participate in such a project again.

Khalil: Of project, I can.

(phone interview) Zayed: Yes

12) How did you feel about being on stage for the last performance?

(face to face interview)

Salam: I was thrilled to be on stage for the first time.

Hammad: I could not make the performance because my mom was sick; although I really wanted to be there.

Hamzah: It was a beautiful experience. I would have loved my mom to be there.

Rateb: I was proud of myself, and happy to have my mother there.

Alqam: I was happy to be in front of an audience. I felt joy after being tired.

Shahadah: I was very happy to be in front of the audience although I was a bit shy in the beginning. It felt good to see my mom in the audience.

Naser: I was embarrassed in the beginning then I felt fine on stage. I was happy to have my mom there, and she told me she was happy to be there as well.

Awwad: I felt beautiful to be on stage and happy to have my mom in the audience. I feel sad right now because the project is over.

Khalil: I was very thrilled, and happy to see my mom in the audience.

(phone interview) Zayed: The participant was absent.

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