

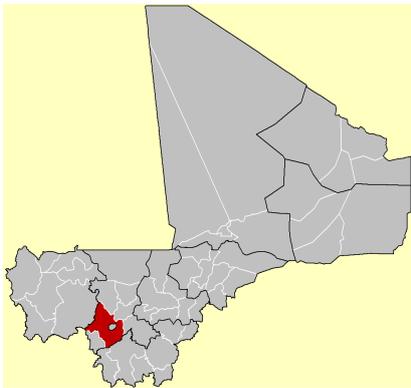
TAMADENW

a caravan towards Mali

by Maurizio Schmidt
Farneto Teatro

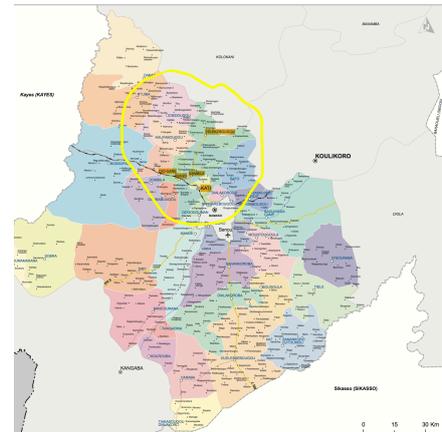
INTRODUCTION

The departure of the Tunka Caravan, the central activity of AwArtMali Project, catapulted all the participants into a new experience, full of suggestion and human contact, every day the same but every day deeply different and surprising. It was a very intense time, it allowed us to get to better know the beauty of Mali and the drama of migration. This because when we talk about migration, we talk not so much about cities, as about *brousse*, about an agricultural world in crisis: we have no certainty that it is like that, but we know that it is what everyone has told us.



Cercle de Kati is a province of about 1,200,000 inhabitants which is part of the Koulikoro region. Inside it is contained - as an independent city-state - the capital Bamako (more than 3.000.000). Kati is about twenty km far from Bamako and it is believed to have 130,000 inhabitants. The four villages chosen by the project are all located within 30/40 Km from Kati and are believed to have around 50,000. We can say nothing but very

generic figures unfortunately. But these numbers already tell us about the relationship between the city and the countryside (the *brousse*). The villages of these four rural municipalities, as they get closer to the city, become more populous, less cared for, more and more resemble places of transit..



It is evident that instead, in the most remote ones, you can feel the permanence of social structures which, as you get closer to the city, seem to be in crisis. The welcome most linked to the ancient sense of hospitality is that we have received in the most distant villages, where the relationship of trust and openness towards the message of the caravan has been greater. Elders who listen to you in the same positions as their fathers centuries ago, rituals acted with feeling, rules.



The unwary western traveler will be amazed not to catch here those attitudes of poverty and social degradation typical of the city banlieu. Here there are fields, vegetable gardens, large

trees, the image of the landscape is rather bucolic. They are dignified and well-kept villages. Yet it is from here that *tamadenw* leave for their *aventure*. We are now in the harvest period, soon the retail price of the products will fall, then for the next four months it will not rain again, the temperatures will reach 45 °, the market prices will increase and the young people will no longer have work until the next rains. They will do what the Malian peoples of the warmer regions have been doing since immemorial time: migration.

1. IMPLEMENTATION OF THEATER CARAVAN

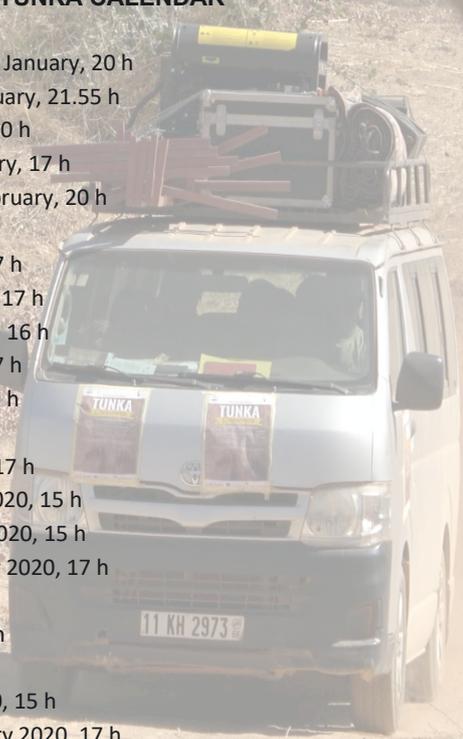
TUNKA CALENDAR

The town

1. **BAMAKO Théâtre Acte Sept** Wednesday 29th January, 20 h
2. **BAMAKO Théâtre Blomba** Thursday 30th January, 21.55 h
3. **BAMAKO Conservatoire** Friday 31st January, 10 h
4. **BAMAKO Happy Theater** Saturday 1st February, 17 h
5. **BAMAKO Institut Français** Thursday 19th February, 20 h

The village

6. **N'GOLOVALA** Monday 03rd February 2020, 17 h
7. **FANAFIE' CORO** Tuesday 04th February 2020, 17 h
8. **KATI Cinema** Wednesday 05th February 2020, 16 h
9. **SIRAMANSO** Thursday 06th February 2020, 17 h
10. **FANSIRA CORO** Friday 7th February 2020, 17 h
11. **GUILY** Saturday 8th February 2020, 17 h
12. **SONINKEGNY** Monday 10th February 2020, 17 h
13. **KAMBILA VILLAGE** Tuesday 11th February 2020, 15 h
14. **M'PIEBOUGOU** Wednesday 12th February 2020, 15 h
15. **DIANEGUEBOUGOU** Thursday 13th February 2020, 17 h
16. **GORO** Friday 14th February 2020, 15 h
17. **DIO GARE** Saturday 15th February 2020, 16 h
18. **SOTOLI** Monday 17th February 2020, 15 h
19. **DIAGO VILLAGE** Tuesday 18th February 2020, 15 h
20. **KATI Lycée Mamby** Wednesday 20st February 2020, 17 h
21. **YELEKEBOUGOU** Friday 21st February 2020, 15 h



The tour of the villages



The caravan leaves Kati every day around 1pm and reaches a new village. The reception in the most distant villages is always sensational, frequently with masks and welcoming dances by the women of the village. The show is expected as a very important event. It almost never happened to arrive in a village and not find at least a hundred children waiting. Many times they were already sat down, deciding the stage space by themselves. The following is a lot of fun, when hundreds of people have to be moved...

It was decided to concentrate the shows by zones. We will start with the most distant municipalities and end with the closest municipalities. We will therefore start with all the villages in the Yelekeboucou area. Doing so will help the word-of-mouth and the promotion of the project

through spectators-witnesses: the whole area will feel crossed by the show and therefore the nearby shows will mutually reinforce each other. We will begin with an opening ceremony in Kati and will end with a closing ceremony in Yelekebougou. Even in this way, the show will assert its movement from the city to the countryside.

The timetable was chosen together with the representatives of the community: start of the show has to be between 3 and 5 pm. Here the work in the fields starts early and the sunset is around 6.30 pm. Even if we wanted, there is no possibility of being *in time* as European do: the start time is very vague, it is the end time that is precise and corresponds with sunset, when all children and all women have to go home. This schedule, which could be called "at some hour in the afternoon, as long as it's finished for sunset", allowed a wide participation: between 300 and 400 people for each village, around 800 on the final date.

The very agile stage system is mounted on the ground after sweeping the earth, (an event that western people would hardly take into consideration). The public is seated on a hundred chairs rented on the spot; chair rental is a rather developed activity, at the fixed price for the project of 100 francs per chair, the cost of a plate of *ris gras* (seasoned rice). Mats are laid out in front, provided by the company, for children: incredible how many of them can fit on a mat. Then there are added benches, sometimes school desks, brought by the public itself. And finally, all the other spectators remain standing, in a semicircle behind the others.

Nobody eats, nobody drinks. Every energy is for the story told by the theater. The most beautiful images of our video documentary will be the close-ups of the audience during villages shows.

The audience of the villages.



The public in the villages is incredibly attentive and silent. If he talks and laughs it's for the show. And it laughs a lot, laughs out loud, which can be disconcerting at first.

It often happens that very dramatic situations are acted: the audience laughs irresistibly. But they do not do it because of insensitivity, they know very well that there is horror and violence, death and fear in life. They do not laugh at the topic, but at the medium: they are amazed that life can be talked about, by distancing it, through the same means as children use by playing. They laugh at the theater, and doing so, they carefully analyze the story.

Relationships within communities, which are based on rules of behavior and relationships between generations and sexes consolidated and rooted in traditions, are also captured by observing the public's disposition.

The participants are almost always arranged by social and age groups. Women, separated from men, in large groups of friends (many with the last child on their back). In the villages there are often women's associations, and in general the ladies seem very active (they invent activities, the literate organize courses, they are usually the holders of micro-credit).

The elderly men, sometimes very aged (among them, almost always, the head of the village), have given their approval and look at it in a central position; adult men are not a very large group, but are

particularly concentrated, often standing. Among them the returning migrants, some of whom were interviewed in the previous months. The young people arrange themselves at the edges, first, curious but ready to leave on a motorbike; then, generally very careful.

Children of all ages ahead: the great attention of the children was surprising. *Tunka* is not aimed at children, but the physical actions that dot the show, the exceptional nature of the event, involved them very much, right from the stage assembly. Then there is the irresistible curiosity for the few "tubabu" arriving in the village (whites are a rarity here). Regarding this, in Mali there is a great attention to the greetings and everything related to the welcome rituals, so the little ones do not want to be outdone: before and after the show they surround the guests, they want to greet them, give a hand, beat the five, all in a very festive atmosphere.

Viewers of the theatre generally know what the show is about; there is no theater without a social content in Mali, (assuming that the spectators have ever had experience of theater, at school or in other shows). However, interest, curiosity and the charme for the actors' game clearly prevail in their expectation, rather than to deal about migration. We can say: they are there, because there is a theater and they would be happy with it, whatever it was.

This leaflet is distributed to the spectators, containing the purposes of the show and the project in French and in Bambara.

You have to choose well the time to make this distribution, because as soon as the distribution starts, there is a pandemonium. In a village where they have very few notebooks and school books, a piece of paper with an image like this one, will be jealously preserved and will enter every home. After the show, it will be impossible to find scattered and abandoned leaflets on the ground, as it would happen to this type of promotion in Europe.

Returning migrants

Those who have a more specific interest are returning migrants and especially those who, through interviews, have collaborated in the making of the show. Some of them, obviously without any personal quotation, will face their own story, or the story they told. We have already a personal relationship with them; during the tour, more in-depth knowledge will be born. And we will aim to return to interview them, after they have seen the show: it will be an important testimony of its impact. Being able to compare (and edit, in the final video documentary) their point of view, before and after the show, will be interesting.

But returning migrants will do even more: they constitute the very first line of the project and their interventions in the debate after the end of the show, will obviously have great impact. Nobody can be more convincing, than those who know the subject matter deeply and who, very often touched by the objectivity of the theatrical story, take the floor and the courage to tell their adventure to the whole village, recommending everyone not to leave in the conditions of irregularity in which he left.

Organization and role of Le Tonus

The role of the animators and all the logistical and organizational support of the local partner Le Tonus, is also very important in the tour. The show in the village is only the final moment of a long preparation. Le Tonus has made available spaces, means of locomotion, relations with the territory and, above all, a credibility evidently gained through years of work, such that the arrival in any village is greatly facilitated.

The three Le Tonus mediators are divided the territory, each one taking care of six villages. Their work began with long talks with Farneto Teatro to share the project. Then the proposal and explanation of the project continued with the identification and contact of the individual village communities; then there was the identification of those people who could be available for interviews within the villages communities. Then there was the mediation work in all the missions of Farneto: accompaniment, translation from Bambara during the interviews (French in the villages of Mali is

rarely spoken). Then there was all the on-site work for the choice of places for the shows. Finally the accompaniment of the Caravan and, above all, the most delicate activity: the management of the debates, which constitute the second half of the show and the decisive moment of our project.

Such complex work cannot be carried out well on such a sensitive and humanly delicate topic in the villages, if one is not equipped with a vision of the problem and is not motivated to search for a way to solve it.

Then there are other people who need to be thanked for organizing the project. These are not employees of Le Tonus: they are all those people who in each village believed in the project and became its local organizers.

The following is a summary scheme of the numbers of the caravan in the villages. The indicators that seem most interesting to us, are the number of spectators, the number of interviewed people per village and the number of those present among those interviewed, the duration of the debates and the number of interventions. Finally, the enumeration of some special participations among the public.

2. DEBATES ABOUT MIGRATION IN THE VILLAGES

Sixteen villages. Sixteen debates

Some extracts from the debates in some of the villages in a nutshell.

N'GOLOVALA

Monday 03rd February 2020, 17



First intervention. *We are aware of the risks of irregular migration because many young people from our village have gone on "a l'aventure". This is why we are very excited about the play*

Second intervention. *I am so totally excited that I miss the words. It was as if we had lived it, our young people suffer on the path of migration. We thank you for this initiative.*

Third intervention (a woman). *With all these risks, we can only advise against trying to leave: we women are the first victims of irregular migration.*

Fourth intervention. *We are more aware of the dangers of migration after watching this show. We ask Partners for help: techniques and funding, to be able to give added value to our garden products.*

Fifth intervention (Wara TRAORE, returning migrant). *For me it is as if this show had been conceived on myself. It tells about my path. I've seen everything during my adventure and there are things I can't even say in front of people here. I really hope that the Partners help us with*

projects to break the progression of migration among young people and make them stay on their territory. Everyone knows that it is only poverty that drives people to leave.

In the debate that follows and in the discussion halls that come together during disassembly - no less important and indeed perhaps even more effective than the debate itself because they allow greater freedom of expression - the topics emerge which will then be common to all the villages. The main activity of the village is agriculture, especially garden products. The difficulties are: the lack of water, the lack of means to store the products, the ignorance of techniques for transforming local products and the lack of means in this regard.

For a synergy of action, returning migrants see the creation of an Association of Returning Migrants from all over the municipality of Yelekebougou as a positive means of becoming active to face these problems.

FANAFIE' CORO

Tuesday 04th February 2020, 17 th



Moriba COULIBALY. *In front of this show, instead of laughing as you do at the theater, you have to cry for the teaching that comes from it. I pray to God to keep me away from "aventure". I ask all the elderly people who are present here to discourage their children from embarking on the path of "aventure".*

Moussa SOIBA COULIBALY. *This initiative is good for us, we just have to thank*

Paul Christoph TRAORE (school director): *We thank you for this initiative. It was as if we were living the events, he was so faithful to reality*

Amadou Sidibè of Le Tonus summarizes the play and talks about the progress of certain great entrepreneurs who started from nothing to become what they are today

Amadou Dienfa DIARRA. *We must learn not to underestimate ourselves, to trust us. It is with this confidence that we can overcome our difficulties*

SIRAMANSO

Thursday 06th February 2020, 17 h



First intervention. *Now, yes, I have been informed of the difficult journey of migrants along their path and even of what happens on arrival, that has affected me a lot.*

Maimouna TRAORE. *We are happy with the performance of this show, it was time that we really had to understand how much our children suffer on the aventure path. We at home are only happy to use the money they send us, without worrying too much about their fate. We ask Partners to create jobs and activities for young people so that they can be with their families*

M.me COULIBALY. *I have tears in my eyes after seeing this show about the very harsh conditions of migrants in the desert, on the sea, about torture*

Minata KONARE. *I am happy with this show, I was unaware of the difficulties that our boys encounter on the adventure path, you know that they go without telling the mother. We ask our partners for help to curb this phenomenon.*

Fifth intervention. *We live with fear in the belly, because we do not know in which conditions our children Tamadenw live, we mothers are not at all quiet until we receive news from them.*

Benke COULIBALY. *I came specifically from Yelekebougou for the occasion, because I wanted to give a testimony on the phenomenon of migration. I was 13 years out of the country as a football player, I left regularly, but I encountered all kinds of difficulties in my host country, especially racism (Syria and Lebanon). I have even escaped death twice. I invite my fellow migrants to form an Association to be able to better coordinate our actions. There is nothing better to do.*

FANSIRA CORO

Friday 7th February 2020, 17 h



First intervention. *This show must serve as a lesson, only perseverance pays for this world, so we must have confidence in ourselves, instead of always thinking of leaving for adventure. We have enough potential here. Once again I thank the actors for what they have done.*

Famous TRAORE (returning migrant). *Thanks for hosting this show, but we need to know that these are not the things that can keep people in place. We need concrete actions. As a*

returning migrant, I remind you that I have not yet given up on the idea of leaving, because it is not going well here.

Head of the village. *I thank all those who have made a trip to get this far. We were already aware of the risks associated with irregular migration and this theatrical piece must strengthen our knowledge of the phenomenon. Today we are moved, but I remind you that it is poverty that pushes people to leave. Really, if we could do something about this, everything would be even more useful, thanks.*

Oumou TRAORE. *This show makes us relive the difficulties of our children on the aventure path. We must also think about better managing the funds they send us.*

GUILY

Saturday 8th February 2020, 17 h



First intervention. *It was through this piece that I learned that our tamadenw really suffer*
M. NIARE (school director). *We know well that our tamadenw are suffering. Today, people leave because it is not good here; those who have lived for a long time know that we are experiencing the worst moment ever.*

However, leaving cannot be the only alternative.

Returning migrant. *I can say that the piece retraces my journey: I left Mauritania for Spain, we saw all kinds of difficulties, thirst, hunger. Worse still: the boat that carried us broke in two on the sea, thanks to the rescuers we managed to reach the Spanish coast. After being in a transit center, I was expelled to Mali. Since then, I have been cultivating my garden in my village.*

Aminata COULIBALY. *I think we are all witnesses of what we have just seen. I want to talk about the story of my neighbor, who was sitting next to me, but was unable to follow the whole piece because she lost her son on the aventure path and returned to her house. Once again: do something for our children, so that they can be with us.*



SONINKEGNY

Monday 10th February 2020, 17 h



Mamadou F DIARRA. *Fatigue, thirst, hunger and even death are the daily life of a tamadenw. Really if we could have something in our place, it would save us from bad accidents. I am a farmer: to reduce the number of departures, above all we need a cold room for storing the products of the gardens, water towers or large diameter wells to bring enough water to the fields. Support us with concrete actions that accompany awareness.*

Nankoun DIARRA. *This piece is a moral lesson for us. I ask young people to avoid, as far as possible, taking the irregular route, with all these dangers that we know. Above all, it is the difficult living conditions of our families and the lack of hope that pushes young people to leave. You who started this project, do something for our children to keep them here, because we don't want to lose them in the Mediterranean and in the desert.*

KAMBILA VILLAGE

Tuesday 11th February 2020, 15 h



Madou KANE (returning migrant). *No father can follow this show and sleep well, especially if you have a child in l'aventure. We ask White Partners for support in order to develop our activities successfully.*

Djimé KANE. *We thank those who started this project very much, it is an educational activity: the phenomenon of irregular migration continues to create devastation every day. We invite the author*

ities to commit themselves to the community, creating activities that keep young people fixed here. I thank the actors for their extraordinary theatrical performance.

Amadou TRAORE (school director). *I wish there is a really good understanding, for the whole audience, of this story that affects everyone. Mali with its tradition and wealth cannot depend on Europe. The slave mentality must be removed from the head.*



M'PIEBOUGOU

Wednesday 12th February 2020, 15 h



Buldozer DIARRA. *A big thank you to the actors and technicians; we know that there are many reasons that push us to leave, but we also know that it is better to stay at home.*

Bintou DIARRA. *This play is a play of advice for our kids who want to leave. And we parents, whatever the situation, must show solidarity with our expelled children, who have returned with us.*

Seydou DIARRA. *During this show we saw the desperation of a tomato producer. In order not to suffer the same fate, we ask you to help us build transformation units for our garden products. Sometimes it happens to us to deliver what we have produced to our animals, for lack of buyers. To really avoid all these whims of life in the village, once again, support our kids with development projects. Self-awareness alone goes unnoticed.*

DIANEGUEBOUGOU

Thursday 13th February 2020, 17 h



Representative of the village chief. *Let us join hands and work for our country, this is where our salvation will come from. Today we see the Chinese people working and we envy them., Let's do like them, instead of always thinking about leaving.*

Bakary COULIBALY. *My journey started in Mali and ended in Israel. I have seen everything along the way, except happiness, and I am the only survivor of the group I left with. I came back to get busy on my own. Today I represent an example of good success in the field of agricultural production.*

Female representative. *I would like our children to stay on site and work alongside us. For this we ask the support of the Partners so that we can find a job for them. The adventure is very tough*

Kadiatou FANE. *No mother can see this show and remain numb, I have tears in my eyes. To prevent our children from reliving these situations, we need to create projects for them and thus alleviate our suffering. It is hard for a mother to suffer all this.*



GORO

Friday 14th February 2020, 15 h



Djibril KONE (school director). *This theater play traces the traces of our migrants. It helps us understand many things.*

Soma COULIBALY. *I greet the actors and everyone who has traveled for coming here. People have now understood the risks of irregular migration, I hope this lesson can be used in the future.*

Salimata KONE (teacher). *Everyone understood that in*

this theatre performance we talk about the risks of irregular migration. It is better to educate our young people on the dangers - such as death, thirst, hunger - they may encounter along the way. For me, it is better they stay close to their parents than go on adventure.



Other issues that emerged from the debates (and from the debates after the debates)

The TUNKA group of actors are always present in the debate, but discreet, sometimes they are called into question, with some questions about the show and the interpretation (but are you migrants? But how do you manage to tell these stories?) Other times there are questions on the merits of the problems raised. In this case the actors emphasize that the task they have set themselves (and the task of the theater according to their point of view), is to tell, to inform emotionally, not to judge the choice to leave or to return. Their duty is to know problems and risks, evaluate alternatives.

On all these points, there are also numerous exchanges following the debate (small groups, greetings, questions during dismantling).

Among the public interventions, many underline the importance of information. Although all the participants are directly or indirectly affected by the problem of migration and there is no family in which someone has more or less recently not gone "to the adventure" (if not towards Europe towards other African countries), many said that they knew only superficially the risks and difficulties of the trip. Above all, they did not know the difficulties of reception and work (also from this derives the perception of failure towards those who failed to make a fortune).

The appreciation for emotional involvement in the theatrical story is generalized: more than one spectator said he felt like a migrant. There are those who cried: women say it, but many troubled men are seen in the audience. Many also appreciated the moments of lightness and the opportunities to smile and feel involved: the physical actions, the tragicomic scene of returning to the family.

The interventions of returning migrants were significant and engaging: for all of them, it was important to recognize their own stories, and for many to give their testimony in public in the debate (often for the first time). What they wanted to make known were above all the dangers they had to travel, the difficulties encountered in foreign countries, the expulsions or the reasons and the ways of returning. Many have recommended young people not to leave, stressing that there is no job, and when you are abroad, it is the same or worse than at home.

Reflections also emerged on the need to change behavior with respect to migration within families. More than one woman has said that she will try to keep her children, but the difficulty of identifying valid alternatives to the migratory choice, has also clearly emerged: what are the opportunities that can actually motivate young people and discourage adventure? The kids don't speak much, but someone said it very clearly: "rather than being here to die doing nothing ... better die on the road". Very few go to the center of the problem: the fact that the choice for the legal alternative of migration, in Mali practically does not exist.

There is also the critical part of the audience interventions. In many villages, specific agricultural projects have been carried out, with local support or international cooperation, to improve the situation. So some particularly dynamic members of the public, exhibit the *cahiers de doléance* and take the opportunity to emphasize very specific needs: if you want to create the conditions to stay you need a dam, or a well - which would allow you to irrigate all year round and do more crops... You need a storage place, you need cooling chambers, you have to fix the road, you need equipment for the transformation of the products at the municipal level... The debate so was used to get a message across to public administrations or to the NGO Le Tonus who has done a lot in the area (rural projects on deforestation, land grabbing, micro-credit, training), but perhaps it could do even more.

3. ACTIVITIES WITH SCHOOLS

The Tunka project has given the highest importance and priority to activities with schools. The reason is obvious: schools are the concrete place where a different perception towards irregular migration can arise and grow. They are the place where it is possible, in the passage of time, to measure the effects of a campaign made through the medium of theater. They are the place that makes sustainable, thanks to the commitment and determination of the teachers, the development over time, of the germ left by the passage of a show or a laboratory

Short workshops (June 2919)

Thanks to the awareness shown toward the project theme by the directors, it was chosen to intervene in four schools in the area: Kambila, Fanafiè Coro, Goro and Yelekebouyou.

The *first phase* of work developed in short preparatory meetings of two / three hours with the most advanced classes. In these meetings, in June 2019, Maurizio Schmidt, Luca Fusi and Ildeverd Meda met professors and students, discussing the theme and then developing simple theatrical improvisations to better reflect on it.

The *second phase* of work was that of the theatre performance in these schools. The students who participated to seminars, saw Tunka and had time to reflect and talk to each other about the play.

The *third phase* was the return of the theatre group to schools, where students were able to talk about their doubts and suggestions with the actors. The meetings were intense and always ended with the will of the students to rehearsal directly by themselves short scenes they had seen in the show.

The *fourth phase*, that currently underway, should be that of a literary competition of compositions made by the students, on the suggestion of the theatre performance. Unfortunately the Covid emergency made this impossible.

The whole process has been documented, often by the students themselves, who have been given the camera to shoot. In the end, we will have lot of material to witness a process of becoming aware of the problem of illegal migration. The direct result will be endowing these students with a critical conscience, which can allow them to oppose family pressure toward migration, but also to change the family's attitude over time.

The Kambila seminar (February 2020)

At the center of this project, there was another one: a special laboratory in the Kambila school, where the ambition was to do something more, taking advantage of the presence of the Caravan.

Tunka therefore commissioned a young teacher from the school, generally involved in theatrical activities, to form a theater laboratory, with the aim of creating a small performance on the stimulus received by Tunka.

The teacher in question, together with a youth theater group from Kambila, thus involved a group of students in a laboratory. This group followed the tour of the Caravan, seeing the show several times in different villages, to find inspiration. On the last day of the tour, before Yelekebougou's final ceremony, there was the public presentation in Kambila - the entire Tunka company present - of the results of the seminar to the citizens. A very convincing show, made up of poems, dances, songs and sketches on irregular migration.

All these, are all small in-depth interventions, that the kids will certainly not forget.

The participation of schools

The participation of public schools in the project was, by no means, a foregone conclusion: teachers have been striking in Mali on alternate weeks for salary reasons for 5 months, and this was happening throughout the Caravan period, which has often filled schools that were otherwise closed and empty.

4. CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of what has been done

In conclusion, the whole Tunka Caravan project went smoothly. The film "Tamadenw" tells the story of Tunka. The very first objective of the Caravan, (entirely within the Tamadenw project), was to provide very strong images and words on the theme of irregular migration, which could then be used through a much more universal medium, such as that of the documentary video.

But we also want to be concrete in the face of the experiment that was Tunka and talk about the **effectiveness of the tour of the Caravan**, which is the most difficult thing. It is a matter of understanding with which indicators to determine the success or failure toward changing the point of view on irregular migration. Many (in interviews and after watching the show) have declared that they no longer want to leave; many have declared that they will no longer recommend leaving. But a **change of perception**, a change of culture, is not by definition stable and does not immediately correspond to a **change in behavior**. One can be against something and, despite this, do it.

In short, we are faced with opinions that can change and that are difficult to measure. So let's go back to the questions we asked ourselves at the beginning of this report. Do the opinions in question belong to whom? Of the **individual** who sees the show or the **community** to which it belongs?

What we learned in Mali is that there is no individual solution to a collective problem there. This is not an opinion, but a fact, in a society based on ethnicity and extended family. Perhaps here in Europe, where these institutions are weaker, conquering the opinion of individual citizens "door to door" is the only way to obtain a "change of perception and behavior" as our AwArtMali project proposes. But we seem to be able to say, after the experience of the Caravan, that it is not the change in individual perception that can lead to a change in behavior. Behaviors will change only when those individual perceptions do not become a **collective culture**.

This is why we have used theater (the medium of the community par excellence as opposed to cinema which is the medium of the individual) and for this reason we have addressed not only migrants, but also children, elderly and women.

Using the theater as a means of collective awareness, was an act of courage and trust on the part of the EU and for this we thank. As part of the AwArtMali Project, theatrical communication was also reinforced, with conventional media.

The aim of the project was to raise awareness of the risks and **inform of the possibility**. This second was the weakest part of the AwArtMali project; and it was like that, even in the part of this project we manage.

We have informed, yes. After each show we presented the Tama365 app by various means (oral and paper): but the possibilities to inform Malians are few. And - what matters most - "culturally" accessible only in groups.

The image of a migrant from our villages who becomes aware of the opportunities offered by the EU, by NGO, by the Malian government and moves alone "as European do" to become an entrepreneur of his future, is really improper if not impossible, in front of illiteracy levels, in front of the immense power of the false advertising of Europe through TV, in front of the promotion of migration made by some migrants from Europe, through ethnic and family channels. The higher contradiction is this one: European people speak about "illegal migration" while for the people of our villeges there is no possible "legal migration". Everybody know this fact and we must get out of this contradiction.

The *perfect-project* would have been to present oneself with the show and with concrete development programs, linked to the problems of the specific territory. So the theater + rural development project, would have been irresistible. But - having not been able to introduce ourselves to the villages with (in addition to a show) the dowry of some development project for those specific communities, we welcome the constitution of **returning migrants associations** as a remarkable success. This seems to us to be the strongest and most quantifiable success of what we have done. And this seems to us an indicator of change in perception and behavior. It tells us, that a **culture of permanence and development** is emerging in the Caravan territories.

Theater is the first half time

In short, it is simple: theater is the "first half time". A change in the system of values and a **change in attitude** is the first thing that must happen, it is the fundamental pre-condition for a struggle against illegal migration.

A migration that is encouraged - it must be remembered - from that more developed part of the planet that does not want it, through *climate change* and all the *mistakes of international politics* made with the consequence of creating *wars, terrorism* and destabilization of entire areas, otherwise on the way of development.

Theater alone has no effect. But he is capable of creating cultural preconditions with great effectiveness for a subsequent change of behavior. In this field, few means are more powerful than theater. We want to conclude by proudly saying that we have done a very good job in the area that we set ourselves. The territories we have touched would now certainly be more ready than before, to seize opportunities that were offered.

In conclusion, TUNKA is a very small action in the face of migration. It is only theatre; but it has done what the theatre can do, that is, offer a space for reflection to the communities of these villages. So we think these reflections are the core of the whole project. We should listen to them and not have the arrogance of imposing our preconceived idea of migration.

From these reflections stimulated by the empathy of the show and originated by the debates after it, very simple and clear thoughts come to us. The next action to decrease the "irregular" diaspora would be to intervene on what causes it: the unsustainability of agriculture in a completely rural area in the face of population growth, of climate change, of the lack of techniques of preservation and processing of products of the wet season and of irrigation to produce in the dry season.

According to the inhabitants of these villages, it makes sense to think that with wells, dams, roads, solar panels, refrigerators, means of processing, a large percentage of migration from these areas can disappear: that of necessity. (For this reason the project - with other actions - also aimed to inform young people about the alternative opportunities to irregular migration.)

But these opportunities in Mali are still few and far between and - they say - for the Europeans it should be time to openly recognise and censor their need for manpower for their agriculture, taking migration away from their underworld, regularising a phenomenon they need and opening channels of legal immigration.

Lastly there is a final reflection that is made in these villages. Whether Europeans like it or not, it is the young people that think so.

Beyond all this, the "aventure" will always remain, migration for beneficial gain, choice, curiosity, training, personal safety, escape from pain. That part of migration, as old as man, is a right sanctioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Europeans use it daily, while the African people can only use it at their own risk.

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