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Playing for Keeps: Theatre for Development (TfD) and Collective Action

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Abstract

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In the midst of international development efforts, a creative approach to development has emerged: Theatre for Development (TfD). TfD takes the form of a theatre workshop that explores obstacles to development and proposes potential solutions to such obstacles. Workshops are designed to incite collective action within the communities they take place in. It is through this collective action that TfD aims to establish development initiatives which improve the standard of living available to partner communities. This thesis analyzes four TfD techniques-cultivation of local relationships, community script drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions-to determine which techniques are most efficacious in the TfD process. It was found that local relationships and community script drafting are especially effective, while improvisation and post-show discussions might also aid the cultivation of collective action. Additionally, this study identified other factors which influence the efficacy of TfD: repetitive workshops, communal willingness to participate, culture, and additional contextual factors. It is suggested that future research explore the role these factors play in TfD's ability to produce collective action.

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<u>Introduction</u>

In the midst of international development efforts, a creative approach to development has emerged: Theatre for Development (TfD). TfD programs have been launched in South America, Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. TfD is a form of socially-conscious performance designed to support development by encouraging collective action. To cultivate collective action, TfD programs encourage audience participation in theatre workshops. The theatrical practice which takes place in the rehearsal hall is often not considered an efficacious method of operation outside of theatre. However, the process of making theatre is very much applicable outside the rehearsal hall. Creating theatre involves the practice of bringing together a collection of individuals with vaguely similar goals, establishing an open and non-judgemental environment, encouraging people to share their ideas, deconstructing and revising those ideas collectively, defining goals, then working creatively towards an end product which no one individual could have envisioned or produced on their own. TfD practitioners feel that this theatrical process could be beneficial if channeled towards the issue of development. TfD workshops thus employ theatrical techniques such as improvisation, homestays, problem-posing discussions, including indigenous art forms, community led script drafting, post-show discussions, etc. prompt audience participation and community engagement.

This bolstered community engagement may facilitate development by laying the foundation for collective action. Such collective action is capable of inciting the type of development which TfD aims to achieve. This development is apparent in the ability of a community to identify problems, formulate solutions to said problems, then implement agreed upon solutions. The resolution of development problems should result in "the expansion of the

'capabilities' of people to lead the kind of lives they value"(Sen 1999, 18). Essentially, development consists of individuals making the standard of living they prefer available to the community. Such development is incited by collective action. Collective action enables communities to make choices and take up agency, which leads them closer to the standard of living which they aspire towards.

Given its impact on development, collective action is commonly understood as TfD's most optimal outcome. Therefore, we must conceptualize the phenomenon of collective action in order to thoroughly understand TfD's potential. One of the most renowned collective action scholars, Robert Putnam, identified collective action as organizations (1995). However, formal organizations may not be the most accurate indicator of the collective action which manifests from TfD. A scholar studying collective action in the context of performance for social change[1], Michael Papa, defined collective action differently. Papa understood collective action as the congregation of people-perhaps in a formal organization, but not necessarily-using the group's influence strategically to pursue a common goal. Within the context of TfD, this collective action should be motivated towards eradicating an obstacle to development. Therefore, this study will draw from Papa's definition and the typical goals of TfD workshops to conceptualize collective action. I will understand collective action as possessing three key characteristics: (1) working towards overcoming an obstacle to development (2) working towards goals which require the cooperation of multiple individuals (3) relying on agreed upon strategic action to achieve these goals.

Collective action between individuals is often difficult to establish. Ever present collective action problems decrease individuals' motivation to participate in community development efforts. Theoretically, self-interested individuals will not contribute to the provision

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[1] There are numerous ways in which entertainment and performance might be utilized to incite social change.

of a public good (Olson 1965, 2). Rather, individuals rationalize that they will still benefit if others secure the good because it is *public*, so they can free-ride on the efforts of others (Olson 1965, 2). Thus, in order for individuals to overcome collective action problems, social capital and commitment to the community must be established (Putnam, 1995). This involvement can be achieved through programs which "(1) focus on a specific, tangible problem (2) [involve] ordinary people affected by these problems and officials close to them and (3) [develop] solutions to these problems" (Fung and Wright 2003, 15). These are the same steps which TfD employs to encourage individuals' participation within their community. Therefore, TfD may help alleviate collective action problems by increasing the degree of communal engagement.

Consequentially, collective action has resulted from some TfD projects. However, no scholar or TfD practitioner has analyzed how variations of TfD shape collective action outcomes. A lack of rigorous research has propagated uncertainty surrounding the intricacies and robustness of this relationship. Thus, the inquiry behind this study is a basic question which springs from the ambiguity of TfD's operation: which variations of TfD incite collective action within an audience? Answering this question will lead to a heightened understanding of TfD's operation.

Scholars might understand *when* and *why* TfD leads to collective action by studying TfD techniques. There is notable variation between projects in the techniques implemented. Identifying key TfD practices, and which practices prompt communal engagement, may improve future TfD projects. A familiarity with two literatures elucidating TfD's operation is necessary in order to analyze how TfD may become more effective. This literature includes (1) the theoretical work which inspired TfD and (2) literature describing TfD's practical implementation. The first literature will establish a preliminary understanding of TfD's operation through the theoretical

explanation of TfD's operation. The second literature will allow me to propose my own understanding of TfD in practice.

Based on these literatures, I identify three mechanisms through which TfD techniques may encourage collective action: audience engagement, conscientization, and social networking. Additionally, I discuss four TfD techniques that operate through these mechanisms: homestays, community involvement in drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions. This literature review informs the hypotheses: if certain combinations of these techniques are implemented in a workshop, then corresponding levels of collective action will result. More specifically, if community-script drafting and improvisation are included, then a high degree of collective action will be produced. Next I detail the methodology through which we test this theory.

Our methodology involves of coding two sets of case studies. The first set of cases will be a collection of TfD workshops implemented by various practitioners focusing of different development issues. These workshops occurred primarily in countries throughout Africa, and were implemented throughout the late 20th century (1970s onward). The data for these workshops was obtained from a variety of resources: journal articles, field reports, and published reflections. Both practitioners and scholars authored these sources. The benefit in including this first set of cases was that there is variation along the independent variable, which allowed me to decipher how changes in the independent variable impact the dependent variable.

The second set of cases will be a collection of TfD workshops which were all implemented by the NGO Bond Street Theatre. These cases were implemented in Afghanistan (2011-2012) and India (2006-2009). The aims of all these cases were to empower audiences and establish theatres or groups that could continue to implement TfD practices in their communities. The data from Bond Street was obtained directly from final reports and other resources in their

archives. I went to Bond Street to spend a week coding through archives, as well as interviewing members of the Bond Street Theatre. The benefit in including this second collection is that the methodology was held constant across many of the cases. Holding the independent variable constant, and noticing changes in the dependent variable, enables me to identify potential contextual factors that impact the TfD process and should be considered in future study.

I conclude that the use of local relationships and community script-drafting is necessary for producing high degrees of collective action, while improvisation and post-show discussions are not necessary but may assist the process. This conclusion and the data collected have led to potential avenues of inquiry. One of the key revelations resulting from this research was the importance of learning in the TfD process. Many of the workshops that will be discussed included return visits, or established theatres which would carry on TfD workshop. The result of such continuous programming is the evolution of the TfD model and its efficacy. Within this research, the full extent to which repetition and learning impacts the TfD process is suggested, but not fully explored. Therefore, this is an interesting trend that should be expounding upon in future research.

Literature Review

Theory

The three 'fathers' of TfD emerged during the 20th century. The Epic Theatre practice of German playwright/director, Bertolt Brecht, was the first method which contributed to TfD's conception. Brecht developed his Epic Theatre practice throughout his career in the period between 1924 and 1956. Brecht's own work focused on the political climate and social issues in Germany arising from the Weimar Republic, World War Two, and the Cold War. The goal of Epic Theatre was to stop looking at theatre as a mere form of entertainment, and to start using

theatre to incite social change (Brecht, 1930). Brecht believed that theatre must portray situations the audience would find relevant, utilize realistic settings, and stage scripts that address these issues critically (1930). Similar goals for social development were emulated in the work of Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, who developed his philosophy of education throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire argued 'oppressors' must cease traditional forms of education and encourage critical thinking so that 'oppressed' populations might develop consciousness, assemble, and 'be their own example in the struggle for their redemption' (1970: 54). Freire proposed that the educational process was inherently political; he argued that education could be conducted either as 'banking education', forcing its subjects to conform, or 'problem-posing education', allowing subjects to reflect on their circumstances (1970).

Three years after Freire published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Brazilian theatre director Augusto Boal combined Brecht's socially-informed Epic Theatre with Freire's method of utilizing 'problem-posing' discussions. This led Boal to create his own theatre practice, Forum Theatre (aka Popular Theatre), which he would cultivate throughout the rest of his career from 1971 to 1996. Boal inspired the establishment of Theatre for the Oppressed centers throughout his career-these centers were opened in cities such as Rio De Janero, Paris, Los Angeles, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Cairo, Maputo, Khartoum, Johannesburg, Kampala, Tamale, Harare, Buenos Aires, Somerville, Rio De Janeiro, Lima, Santo Andre, Brisbane, Victoria, Sydney, Kathmandu, Kabul, Seoul, Selangor, Lahore, Portland, Calgary, Chicago, Philadelphia, Vancouver, San Jose, Dublin, Oslo, Paris, London, Milan, among others- and worked with these centers to continue developing the Forum Theatre techniques which would eventually constitute TfD practice. Analyzing Boal's techniques, as well as the ideologies of Brecht and Freire, reveals the

mechanisms through which TfD impacts its audience. In reviewing the literature of Brecht, Freire, and Boal, this author has identified three mechanisms which are especially pertinent to the fruition of collective action: audience engagement, conscientization, and social networking.

Audience Engagement

The first mechanism supporting collective action is audience engagement. This concept is not frequently discussed in the theoretical literature which inspired TfD; however, given the importance it is assigned by contemporary TfD practitioners, audience engagement may be considered a critical step in the TfD process. The literature on cultural politics identifies forms of expression and entertainment, including public performance such as TfD, as being particularly capable of capturing an audiences' attention.   By combining entertainment, cultural symbols, and salient issues, theatre has potential to interest an audience enough to prompt them towards social change (Ahmed, 2004). Such engaging performances use intimate performance arenas, remain culturally sensitive, fuse indigenous art forms into the production, or incorporate audience perspectives (Morrison, 1991). For example, in Brecht's Epic Theatre, directors strove for realistic settings and familiar scenarios to engage their audience (Brecht, 1930). TfD practitioners can utilize similar methods of incorporating salient material to make the workshop interesting for the audience.

Including familiar material enables a TfD workshop to engage with audience members' perspectives (Stuttaford, 2006). One easy way to incorporate recognizable elements is drafting characters which resemble audience members. The literature on entertainment education suggests that such resemblance allows audience members to identify with the characters portrayed. This identification happens in three stages: (1) audience members experience parasocial interaction with characters they resemble which prompts critical thought, (2) as

audiences become more attached to characters they derive a sense of empowerment from the characters' triumphs, and (3) discussions with other audience members leads to mobilization amongst the audience members (Papa 2000). This theory identifies an important asset of TfD programs: audience identification with characters. Therefore, TfD is able to promote audience engagement by utilizing techniques that incorporate cultural elements and produce characters which resemble audience members.

Conscientization

The second mechanism, conscientization, is perhaps the most widely recognized pre-requisite to collective action. Unfortunately, the literature on TfD has yet to reach a consensus on what constitutes conscientization. Paulo Freire, the philosopher who identified conscientization as a driving force of development, spoke about conscientization in the context of 'critical thinking' (1970: 93). According to Freire, conscientization should result in an individual's highly cognizant understanding of their circumstances and the factors which cause said circumstances (Freire 1970: 93). Freire captured this process of gaining enough perspective to identify then talk about society problems when he argued "once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem" (1970, 88).

In order for this informed perspective to represent true conscientization, it must result in an intentional effort on behalf of the subject to improve their circumstances; in other words, the critical thinker values 'the continuing transformation of reality, on behalf of the continuing humanization of men' (Freire 1970:92). Therefore, this paper will define conscientization as the process through which critical awareness is fostered within the audience. This critical awareness should revise the audience members' previous perceptions of reality. Upon developing a different perspective, audience members may be prompted to pursue change. In practice,

conscientization means that participants should speak openly about issues afflicting their community and contemplate potential courses of action as solutions to these issues during TfD workshops.

This conscientization and reflexivity are critical to the TfD process, as they shape social behavior (Sztompka, 1991). Indeed, according to cultural political theory, the conscientization facilitated when individuals express themselves through art-symbolic practices, cultural ceremonies, paintings, songs, stories, etc.- makes culture a powerful catalyst for social change. (Vasquez Semadeni 2010). Art, as a component of culture, helps fuel this process of conscientization (Ahmed 2004). Ultimately, conscientization is a critical step to collective action. Such collective action leads to the overall development of a community (Putnam 1993: 90). Thus, cultural politics indicates that art and performance can incite collective action towards development through conscientization.

Social Networking

When dealing with collective action problems, many scholars reference social capital as a building block of collective action. Social capital can be described as explaining 'how citizens within certain communities cooperate with each other to overcome the dilemmas of collective action' (Lochner, 1999: pg. 1). TfD aims to promote such cooperation through social networking via the exchange of ideas. Indeed, according to Freire, inciting discussion among audience members using 'problem-posing techniques' was a critical step to achieving social change (1970). Hence, an essential element of Forum Theatre is conversing to cultivate community members' own perspectives rather than continue top-down interactions; this distinction is what makes TfD a powerful social practice (Desai 1990:70).

In his analysis of the impacts of *Tinka Tinka Sukh*, an Indian radio soap-opera, Michael Papa witnessed collective action in pursuit of women's rights among women in Lutsaan (2000). However, before any collective action to pursue communal change occurred, Papa also observed women congregating socially to discuss the plot line of the show and its relevance to their personal struggles (2000). Therefore, socializing post-performance may precede collective action. In the case that Papa observed, such socialization involves individuals networking and discussing ideas, but not yet pursuing a course of action to address their grievances.

Additionally, numerous scholars have indicated that post-show discussions facilitate the process through which an individual derives understanding and inspiration from art (Valenta, Poppe and Merritt 1996). For example, Mohammad Shaheed identifies post-exposure discussions as a key component of the process through which entertainment influences an audience. Shaheed contends that communication networks maximize entertainment's effects by enabling audiences to collectively reflect on the performance and its message (2001). Shaheed coins the capacity of discussion to amplify collective action as the 'turbo-charger effect,' (2001: 141). It is thus logical to infer that the 'turbo-charger effect' of post-show networking enables TfD to shape audience perspectives and incite collective action.

TfD in Practice

As we determine how TfD operates, an understanding of the TfD techniques that rely on these mechanisms is necessary. However, TfD projects rarely implement Boal's Forum Theatre in its totality; sometimes, contextual factors force practitioners to alter Boal's techniques. Under these circumstances, familiarity with the Boalian theory behind TfD does not produce an adequate comprehension of TfD's operation and effects. This study aims to assess TfD workshops to determine how techniques are implemented in the field, and which techniques are efficacious.

This overview will explain the techniques most commonly employed to produce collective action. We will then argue that if certain techniques outlined below are implemented, the TfD workshop should result in heightened collective action.

Table I. Selected TfD Techniques and the Mechanisms Through Which they Operate

	Definition	Mechanisms
Cultivating Local Partnerships	Practitioners arrive in the community for a visit prior to the commencement of the TfD workshop to cultivate relationships.	Audience Engagement
Community-drafting	Community members are recruited to be involved in the drafting of the performance script.	Audience Engagement, Conscientization, and Social Networking
Improvisation	Audience members are recruited to be involved in role-playing and the simulation of real-life events during the workshop.	Audience Engagement, Conscientization,
Post-show Discussion	A conversation is held among audience members following the performance, often facilitated by a TfD practitioner trained in Freirian problem-posing education.	Conscientization, Social Networking

Cultivating Local Partnerships[2]

One effective TfD technique is the cultivation of local partnerships. This technique typically involves the team of practitioners[3] arriving in the community before the workshop. The purpose of this visit is for practitioners to observe and participate in the community's daily activities so as to familiarize themselves with the context under which their workshop will take place. According to the field of entertainment education, there are two critical ways in which local partnerships bolster the efficacy of TfD workshops.

The first benefit is interaction between audience members and practitioners. This collaboration lays the foundation for cooperation between practitioners and community members. As practitioner J. Sullivan notes, the efficacy of workshops depends on the conditions under which they are implemented (2006). Sullivan identifies the willingness of the community and its leaders to participate as a necessary precondition for a successful TfD program (2006). Local partnerships help establish the familiarity necessary to prime the community for a TfD workshop. While this benefit does not directly relate to the mechanisms through which TfD operates, it does ensure the smooth function of the workshop.

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[2] Initially, I used the term 'homestay approach' rather than 'cultivating local techniques' for the first technique. Essentially, both of these techniques share the same purpose. They are implemented in order to help practitioners build a relationship with workshop participants. Such a relationship establishes trust between practitioners and participants. Additionally, these relationships expand practitioners' knowledge of the community, which enables them to make the workshop more efficacious. Homestays are a very specific method of cultivating local relationships which involve practitioners moving into the community and staying with a family prior to the workshop. As I began my research, I chose to focus specifically on homestays because they afforded practitioners more opportunities to form meaningful relationships with participants. However, in conducting interviews with practitioners, such as Joanna Sherman, it became apparent that equally beneficial local relationships can be established through a number of methods. Therefore, I ultimately focused on the cultivation of local relationships in general, and not just homestays.

[3] These practitioners may be affiliated with a theatre troupe, such as Bond Street Theatre, that travels with a TfD program. These practitioners may be scholars and development workers, such as prominent TfD practitioner Ndume Eyoh, who have assembled with colleagues to implement a workshop. It varies depending on the project. Additionally, the team of practitioners may be sent by an NGO, they may be invited into the community, they may be sent by a larger organization such as the UNDP, etc. The instigating party also varies from project to project.

The second outcome is audience engagement with familiar elements in the performance. This engagement is enabled by the practitioner's heightened familiarity with the community members and their culture after studying the community. Visiting a community prior to the workshop helps practitioners identify cultural elements to include in the production. Most importantly, homestays enable practitioners to understand groups within the community and draft characters which resemble community members.

Studies on the efficacy of Soap Operas and radio programing have shown that the audience's ability to relate with the characters on the show is critical to the project's ability to increase collective action between audience members (Kruger, 1999 and Papa, 2000). Character relatability enables the audience member to identify behaviors which they might emulate in order to change their circumstances (Kruger, 1999). Additionally, identification with characters gives audience members a sense of empowerment whenever they witness characters successfully improve their circumstances (Kruger, 1999 and Papa, 2000). Finally, salient characters make audience members more willing to critically engage with the show (Papa, 2000). Therefore, identification with characters is a valuable component of TfD. The creation of such characters is supported by the research and observation which results from local partnerships.

Community Script Drafting

Another commonly used technique is inclusion of the community in script drafting. This technique requires the incorporation of community leaders and members in the brainstorming and script writing process. Community drafting operates through three mechanisms previously described. To begin, by drawing on the experienced perspectives of key members of the community, this technique helps incorporate familiar elements in the show which will engage the audience. These participants are often volunteers who were invited to participate either by the

practitioners or their local partners. Primarily, community script-drafting facilitates the incorporation of familiar characters and cultural elements. Secondly, inviting community members into the drafting process encourages their conscientization. Thirdly, bringing together community leaders to discuss development issues initiates social networking. Thus, there are a couple potential outcomes of this technique which contribute to the efficacy of TfD.

Numerous TfD workshops have found that community drafting facilitates audience engagement with the workshop. For example, the Community Environmental Forum Theatre in Texas began by asking community members to share their perceptions of problems in their community and the various factors or players which underlie these problems (Sullivan, 2006). The goal was for these perceptions to contribute to the parameters for playing out a scene. This brainstorming facilitated an opportunity for community members to initiate their involvement in the project (Sullivan, 2006). Community script drafting also facilitates engagement by ensuring that familiar characters are included in the show. In her work, Elizabeth Quinlan has identified community drafting as a key element which contributed to creating realistic, familiar characters (2009). The field of entertainment education identifies relatable characters as a vehicle through which art may engage an audience. Therefore, community drafting producing engagement and relatable characters is extremely useful in TfD workshops.

Additionally, community drafting prompts conscientization. In a study of TfD workshops, Quinlan describes multiple projects utilizing community script drafting. In these cases, community drafting contributed to the identification of communal issues (2009), provided an understanding of 'larger social and political forces' causing these issues (2010:84), and empowered audiences to discuss solutions (2009). This type of communal reflection on

development problems is vital to the process of conscientization. TfD projects thus rely on community drafting to initiate communal reflection.

Improvisation

Improvisation is another important strategy often employed in TfD workshops. This technique is implemented during the writing process or the actual performance. Improvisation involves pausing the action of the scene before any resolution of conflict occurs, then inviting observers to replace an actor in the scene and play out the scenario without guidelines/a script. Observers may choose to simply share their opinions about the situation and suggest potential resolutions. However, improvisation typically encourages audience members to tap-out a specific actor then finish playing out the hypothetical situation based on how they might respond to similar circumstances in their own lives. The key elements of improvisation involve audience members interacting critically with the material presented on stage, identifying with a character, and exploring potential resolutions for the problems posed in the production. Playing out hypothetical situations encourages audiences to move towards collective action through audience engagement, conscientization, and social networking.

When audience members take on the persona of a character, they are instantly engaged. Essentially, improvisation enables audience members to experience parasocial relationships with characters (Papa, 2000). This relationship is critical to changing audience perspectives; as identification with characters draws the audience into the performance and encourages them to consider how it emulates their own experiences (Papa, 2000).Thus, within the field of entertainment education, this relationship between audience members and characters is one of the key ways in which art might incite audiences to adopt new behaviors.

Secondly, as cultural political theory suggest, art is effective at inciting conscientization (Ahmed 2004). As a medium which involves the audience in the artistic process, improvisation facilitates reflection on communal issues among participants. Consequently, research has proven improvisation especially effective at unraveling development problems and their causes (Quinlan 2009 and 2010). This heightened awareness is the essence of conscientization.

Thirdly, improvisation supports social networking. In a study of TfD workshops in Canada, scholarly observation indicated that playing out hypothetical situations enabled participants to work cooperatively with each other (Quinlan 2009 and 2010). Drawing audience members into the scene incited discussion between audience members regarding the best route to resolution; thus, improvisation initiated socializing between audience members (Quinlan 2009 and 2010). Therefore, improvisation provides a forum for community members to speak openly and exchange ideas. This leads to the type of networking required for collective action for change.

Post-show Discussion

Finally, the post-show discussion is a critical component of the TfD process. This technique involves a practitioner facilitating discussion among audience members following the show's conclusion. Post-show discussions are particularly challenging to implement, as practitioners must meet numerous conditions for effective communication. To begin, the discussion should include a large sample of community members, especially those members which are typically marginalized. Secondly, discussions should address a specific development problem, its causes, and potential solutions to the problem. Thirdly, the facilitator should ensure that a 'safe space' is created and no ideas are negated; if a proposed solution is clearly impossible, facilitators must ask for alternative solutions without negating the proposed solution. Finally, the facilitator

should use problem-posing to encourage community members' ideas rather than lead the audience towards pre-conceived solutions. Ideally, the facilitator should be experienced enough to mediate an effective post-show discussion.

Post-show discussions are highlighted as a vital component in the TfD process in many scholarly fields. The first of these disciplines, cultural politics, cites conscientization as the mechanism through which post-show discussions impact on its audience (Ahmed 2004). Post-show discussions provide a forum for audience members to think critically about the issues presented in a performance. In fact, observational studies have indicated that post-show discussions do incite critical thinking and provide audience members the opportunity to discover solutions to communal problems (Quinlan, 2010). Thus, post-show discussions are a component in the process through which communities derive understanding and inspiration through conscientization (Valenta, Poppe and Merritt 1996).

The second of these fields, entertainment education, argues that social networking supports the process through which art changes audience behavior. Numerous scholars have indicated that post-show discussions facilitate social networking; this type of socialization has been proven to compound art's ability to shape behavior (Shaheed, 2001). It is thus logical to infer that the post-show discussion enables TfD to influence audience perspectives and incite collective action (Shaheed, 2001: 141). In his work with the Community Environmental Forum Theatre in Houston, Texas, J. Sullivan observes that social networking was very productive; this discussion allowed the community to speak out about controversial topics, gain a sense of empowerment, and collaborate with researchers (2006). Therefore, TfD may encourage communal engagement through social networking in the post-show discussion.

<u>Gaps in Previous Research</u>

While there have been empirical assessments of TfD's operation, there are certainly some drawbacks to these case studies. Primarily, since TfD workshops vary considerably from case to case, it is difficult to generalize the findings from a single observation to the phenomenon of TfD in general. Secondly, the inability to control for confounding factors makes it difficult to attribute changes in collective action to TfD. Thirdly, if measurements of collective action are recorded, they are typically only collected after the conclusion of the project. In these cases, there is no pre-test to demonstrate that collective action has actually increased after the implementation of TfD. Lack of a pretest threatens causality and time-order. A fourth issue is the limited analysis of TfD techniques and their impact on development. Some of these studies, such as Quinlan's and Sullivan's, take place in the developed world. This leads to a lack of understanding regarding TfD's impacts in the context of developing countries. Other studies, like those of Kruger and Papa, focus on alternative entertainment mediums. While these projects still contain elements of Forum Theatre, the lack of a theatrical venue leads scholars to overlook the presence and influence of Boalian practices. Therefore, previous case studies make limited contributions to our understanding of TfD. Scholars are rarely able to discuss the intricacies of the relationship between Boalian TfD and collective action due to these limitations.

Additionally, very few studies have branched beyond case studies to assess TfD on a broader scale. When they do, these studies have encountered serious inconsistencies in their research. These studies may implement coding to observe numerous TfD workshops and decipher what makes certain versions of TfD more effective than others. One example is a study conducted by Jane Bertrand. The study coded for various mass-media projects aimed at

HIV/AIDs education (2006). Bertrand attempted to use these various cases to measure the impact of media on HIV/AIDs prevention practices.

Unfortunately, the coding process did not produce a distinct conclusion as to whether or not media is an effective tool to stymie the spread of HIV/AIDs. Bertrand attributes this to a lack of empirical rigor in the materials used for coding, which made it difficult to approximate the impact of entertainment on HIV/AIDs awareness (2006). Additionally, many of the case studies involved entertainment mediums that were outdated or didn't properly implement Forum entertainment practices (Bertrand 2006: 594). The limited materials that Bertrand had at her disposal made coding for entertainment's impact nearly impossible, and resulted in statistically confusing results. Therefore, previous research methods and lack of empirical rigor have prevented any research from adequately addressing this question on a general scale. Thus, we must continue to investigate how TfD operates on a larger scale.

Theories/Hypotheses

The current research has merely speculated on TfD techniques. This is a missing element of the dialogue on TfD, and this study aims to remedy this gap by illuminating the intricacies of TfD's operation. We will focus on four TfD techniques: homestays, community drafting, improvisation, post-show discussions. These techniques have been selected because the fields of cultural politics and entertainment education suggest they may contribute to collective action through the mechanisms of engagement, conscientization, and social networking.

The implementation of these techniques varies from project to project. We aim to identify which variations of these techniques are most effective. If community script-drafting and improvisation are employed, then we should observe increased levels of collective action. This hypothesis is based on the nature of the techniques; these techniques involve critical

collaboration with other members of the workshop which is reminiscent of collective action, meaning that they bring workshop participants closer to realizing the ideal of collective action. While post-show discussions may not be necessary for collective action, if these discussions are also included, then we might observe even more collective action. This hypothesis is based on the fact that post-show discussions do instigate two mechanisms, making them beneficial. However, post-show discussions would be unnecessary if community script drafting and improvisation already initiated collective action. If local relationships are cultivated, there will be no perceived effect on the degree of collective action. This hypothesis is based on two facts: (1) the cultivation of local relationships only introduces one mechanism-audience engagement-and (2) other techniques also instigate this mechanism, rendering the cultivation of local relationships obsolete.

If research determines that the presence of these techniques have different effects on the level of collective action, then these hypotheses are inaccurate. In the event our hypotheses prove false, an alternative explanation is that the capacity for collective action is present before the implementation of TfD projects including these techniques. As scholars such as Sullivan have suggested, community willingness to participate is a necessary prerequisite for TfD's success. Therefore, it is possible that community engagement is established before successful TfD projects are implemented.

However, this paper will focus on determining if TfD techniques correlate with increased collective action. Our independent variables will be the TfD techniques previously outlined. The dependent variable in our study is collective action. This collective action might result in the formation of groups pursuing development. The actual nature of collective action will vary depending on the issues the TfD program is addressing. However, we should always observe

some degree of increased involvement in the community on behalf of numerous individuals. In

order to test our theory, this paper will focus on singular TfD projects as the unit of analysis.

Methods

Variables and Measurement

While conducting this research, there are a few variables which need to be considered. The first

is an antecedent variable: community willingness to participate in TfD programming. Scholars

writing on TfD have noted that the success of these projects is contingent on the willingness of

the community to work cooperatively with the TfD workshop. Therefore, 'community

willingness' to participate may be a condition which determines the efficacy of TfD techniques.

Unfortunately, 'community willingness' is an intangible factor which is difficult to

conceptualize, and equally difficult to operationalize.

For the purposes of this research we will define 'community willingness' to participate as

the expressed interest of community members in hosting a TfD project. We might determine if

this interest exists by identifying the entity who first suggested implementing a TfD workshop:

the theatre troupe, a development agency or NGO, designated leaders of the community, or

individual members of the community. Projects which were initiated by an outside actor, such as

a theatre troupe or development agency/NGO, may not benefit from community willingness to

participate. Projects which were requested by the community would seemingly experience more

eagerness from their audience. The potential impact of community cooperation on TfD's success

makes it important to consider this antecedent variable when studying the relationship between

TfD techniques and collective action. However, this variable is not directly involved in the

relationship between TfD techniques and collective action.

In order to study this relationship, we must first operationalize the independent variables: TfD techniques. The techniques included in our independent variable are local partnerships, community drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions. By coding each project, we should be able to recognize whether or not these techniques were implemented in a TfD workshop. However, the methods through which these techniques are implemented are not consistent. Certain TfD projects might modify these techniques to fit the context of the workshop, creating numerous versions of TfD techniques. Our research will depend on binary coding of the techniques to measure the techniques which make up our independent variable. These categories are ordinal in the sense that some are more conventionally Boalian than others.

The cultivation of local partnerships is generally considered valuable, but what constitutes a familiarity with the community is debated among Boalian practitioners; thus, there is a notable variety among the strength of these local relationships. Some workshops revisit the same communities and establish intimate relationships with these communities. Other workshops arrive in a community early to cultivate relationships. Many workshops, however, find themselves visiting foreign communities for the first time. Therefore, this study will focus on both cases including a period to cultivate local relationships, and projects where no period is established prior to the workshop to cultivate these relationships. Typically, this opportunity to form local relationships occurs through a research period prior to the workshop where practitioners gather preliminary information about communal issues. Therefore, when coding, I will look for this designated research period prior to the workshop to determine whether local relationships were cultivated. Theoretically, those projects which have standing relationships with communities should produce more collective action than projects in which the workshop is the troupe's first in the given community or there is no homestay.

The second technique we will attempt to measure is community involvement in script drafting. There are various ways in which practitioners may attempt to include community members in the drafting process, depending on the willingness of the community to participate. I have identified two categories in which community drafting might manifest: no effort to involve the community/a pre-written script, or practitioners consult community members to write the script. Involving community members in the script drafting process is particularly valuable, as it initiates all three mechanisms. Through this sorting into categories, I should be able to identify the degree of community involvement in drafting. Projects in which community members draft the script should see more collective action than projects in which community members are not involved in drafting.

The third technique which I will measure is improvisation. This technique is used not only in TfD, but is incorporated in most theatrical exploits. Consequently, there are a multitude of formats through which improvisation can be implemented. For the purposes of this research, we will focus on the most popular method of improvisation. This involves a situation where the participants set up the general guidelines for the context of the scene, leave the conclusion unspecified, and allow actors to act out the scene based on their own impulses. I will code for projects in which there was no improvisation, and projects in which improvisation occured. This improvisation may occur during the rehearsal process, or during the post-show discussion. In either case, those invited to take on a character are given the opportunity to share their perceptions, explore the underlying causes of communal problems, and experiment with potential solutions for these causes. While there may be a benefit to incorporating improvisation at a specific point in the workshop, either before or after the performance, this research is

primarily concerned with whether participants were afforded the opportunity to experience improvisation at all.

The fourth technique to consider is the post-show discussion. This is perhaps the most difficult TfD technique to execute properly, and requires very careful training to facilitate. Therefore, practitioners often study Freire and Boal to determine the best methods of discussion. These preferences have led post-show discussions to emulate many Frerian or Boalian practices. The inclusion of such techniques has led us to identify two categories for post-show discussions: no post-show discussions, or facilitators are trained and utilize some Freirian and Boalian discussion techniques post-show. Theoretically, the more Freirian techniques incorporated in the post-show discussion, the more collective action that should result from TfD.

The techniques which constitute our independent variable have a range of impacts on their audiences. The impact we are most interested in studying, and our dependent variable, is collective action. Unfortunately, while the concept of collective action is observable, its quality is sometimes difficult to assess. For the purposes of this research, we have identified three categories of collective action: no signs of collective action, declared interest by community leaders to host a development initiative, or organization of community members to achieve a development goal.[4] This will be an ordinal scale with the lowest level being no sign of collective action, the medium being declared interest in a development initiative, and the highest being the formation of a group or strategy towards achieving this goal. The highest level should incorporate all three components of collective action. These are the elements we would look for to observe the impact of TfD in practice.

What constitutes collective action will vary between the two collections of case studies. In the first collection, most of the cases aim to deal specifically with a development issue such as nutrition, sanitation, health care, clean water, etc. Therefore, the level of collective action in these cases will be determined by the degree to which the community formulates and pursues solutions to these issues. The primary goals of cases included in the second collection, as well as a few exceptions in the first collection, are to foster empowerment and establish structures that will continue TfD programming in the future. Therefore, the level of collective action in these cases will be determined by the success these training workshops had in establishing a system to implement future TfD workshops. It is necessary to code collective action differently in each collection given the variation in the goals of these workshops and the types of collective action they seek to incite. Recognizing these different forms of collective action will enable me to more accurately capture the intentions and efficacy of these workshops.

The Collection of Evidence

To determine how variation in techniques impacts TfD's capacity to incite collective action, this paper will conduct coding of TfD projects. Rigorous selection of cases and assessment will be necessary. There is no data-set available specifically pertaining to TfD workshops; therefore, we will construct our own data and understanding of each case. Through coding we will be able to analyze our variables empirically to determine whether there is a correlation between certain TfD techniques and collective action.

We will conduct two rounds of coding. The first round includes a collection of TfD programs implemented by a variety of different theatre troupes. This first selection will be medium-N, consisting of 20 cases. These workshops were implemented throughout African-Lesotho, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania,

Malawi, etc.-during the late 20th century (1974 onwards). The sources that are utilized in coding-

interviews, anecdotes, articles-allow us to process trace in more detail and describe the causal

mechanisms through which certain TfD techniques might incite collective action. These

resources were all published in electronic journals and books, which were in turn accessed

through Emory's library. This initial round of coding will provide a general idea about trends we

might expect to observe in TfD workshops.

After coding this first collection of cases, we will then conduct a second round of coding

on projects implemented by Bond Street Theatre in Afghanistan. Bond Street[5] is a theatre which

focuses on utilizing the theatrical medium as a means of inciting communal efforts to achieve

progressive social change. They have worked in Guatemala, Haiti, Afghanistan, India, Turkey,

Myanmar, the US, and throughout the Balkans. In each of these regions, Bond Street has

modified and utilized TfD techniques in a multitude of projects.

Bond Street's archives include interviews, videos, surveys, census data, grant

applications, field notes, press releases, and newsletters tracking the impacts of TfD. Ultimately,

the theatre has a valuable collection of information which has yet to be reviewed with an

empirical lens, but which might reveal the process through which certain variations of TfD

techniques lead to an increase in communal engagement. In addition to coding these sources,

interviews will be conducted with practitioners from the Bond Street company who were present

at these workshops. The wealth of Bond Street's resources will allow me to rigorously test the

hypotheses. Given the detailed information available in the resources documenting Bond Street's

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[5] Bond Street Theatre is an NGO in association with the UNDPI. Artistic Director, Joanna Sherman, established the theatre in 1976 with Patrick Sciaratta. Michael McGuigan and Anna Zastrow act as Managing Director and Communications Director respectively. In 1984, Bond Street began to engage in TfD type programming. To date, the theatre has implemented a number of different programs internationally. In recognition of its contributions, Bond Street Theatre has received accolades such as a MacArthur Award, and the League of Professional Theatre Women's Lee Reynolds Award. The theatre consistently receives support and funding from the US Institute for Peace, the US Department of State, and US embassies around the world.

projects, we will be able to express more confidence in the conclusions we draw from coding this second collection of Bond Street cases.

The first variable to code for is the independent variable: TfD techniques. In order to assess how each technique was implemented in the TfD workshops, we will analyze first-hand accounts of the TfD projects. We will rely on the scales outlined earlier to measure each of these TfD techniques. More meticulous descriptions of the techniques used can also be deciphered in the grant applications and final reports that Bond Street references when securing funding. Beyond these materials, interviews can be conducted with practitioners and their partners in order to better understand how to categorize TfD techniques. Ideally, our research will decipher not only which TfD techniques were used, but what variation they took.

The next variable to measure is our dependent variable: collective action. Operationalizing collective action is difficult to do on a general level, as its manifestation is characterized by the specific context in which the TfD program was implemented. For instance, if we code a project which focuses on maternal health, we would look for forms of community involvement specific to women's health: a women's group advocating for women's health, community leaders organizing efforts to implement women's health services in local clinics, increased women's visits to the clinic, education programs implemented by community members to increase awareness on women's health, etc. Therefore, the operationalization of collective action will be specific to the TfD program. We will thus consider the specific themes of the workshop as we code.

One potential drawback in our research is the potential for bias to contaminate our data. The main source of data in our coding process will be TfD practitioners who advocate the use of TfD workshops. These individuals are so invested in TfD that they have built careers as

practitioners, and their livelihoods depend on sponsors supporting TfD workshops in developing regions. Therefore, while they have a responsibility to remain unbiased and impartial when reporting their findings of TfD projects, they also have an incentive to inflate the impacts of TfD techniques.

There are a couple ways in which I might attempt to control for this bias. Within my own coding of the material, I will have to be especially careful to detect bias and eliminate this skew. Additionally, collecting anecdotes and interviews from as wide a variety of individuals will be critical for identifying bias within certain sources, and providing a well-rounded perspective about TfD's operation. Interviewing not just practitioners directly related to these projects, but also scholars, practitioners from other companies, sponsors, etc. will produce a well-rounded perspective. Ultimately, however, I anticipate some bias tainting the coding process, and will have to remain aware of this as I draw conclusions.

Additionally, by relying on observation, coding, and process-tracing, our research is forgoing a potentially more rigorous design better able to control for confounding variables. Ultimately, the decision to utilize the research design in this study was made because it enabled us to incorporate more cases, thus increasing the external validity of the conclusions. Additionally, a research design incorporating more cases allowed me to fully utilize the resources which were at my disposal. However, a lack of internal validity remains a concern given the amount of contextual factors I cannot account for when studying the efficacy of TfD techniques in inciting collective action. Our research will attempt to focus on the context of these projects and identify any confounding variables.

Given these potential drawbacks, it is necessary for us to consider how we might prove causality. One consideration is to measure TfD workshops through a pre and post-test using the

scale outlined earlier. Establishing that the degree of collective action directed towards solving communal issues is higher following the TfD project than it was prior to the workshop will confirm the causal relationship between our independent and dependent variables. There are a few ways in which we might measure this pre-performance collective action. We can attempt to understand conditions prior to TfD's implementation through interviews, numerical evidence collected for grant applications to measure conditions which TfD improved, surveys, etc. However, there is also another method to incorporate which would give us some indication of pre-performance communal engagement; this is where our antecedent variable plays a role.

Scholars have indicated that if a community is not eager to participate in a TfD workshop, then no matter which TfD techniques are implemented, the workshop will not have an impact on collective action (Sullivan, 2006). However, our research may include cases in which it is not obvious that the community was initially interested in hosting a TfD workshop, as the project was initiated outside of the community. Our assessment of the community's initial willingness to participate suggests the pre-existing degree of community-wide cooperation to alleviate issues endemic in that community. Communities that invited TfD practitioners to conduct a workshop demonstrated a higher level of pre-performance collective action than communities that did not initiate contact with TfD practitioners. This does not mean that communities which did not invite the TfD workshop have not engaged in collective action, but it does mean they may be less willing to participate in the workshop, and lessens the potential for the workshop to establish collective action. Therefore, depending on how the community measures up in 'community willingness to participate,' we might evaluate the level of significance in collective action gains.

Including cases in which the community did not initiate the TfD project will allow us to assess the antecedent variable in a way that indicates whether TfD *significantly* increased collective action surrounding communal issues. While we might observe these trends in cases where 'community willingness' to participate was higher, it is more valuable for our research if we are able to determine whether or not TfD is capable of being successful in communities with no pre-existing indications of communal engagement. Ultimately, through rigorous coding of a variety of cases, our research aims to draw more generalizable conclusions about the efficacy of TfD.

Results

Table II. Results of Coding for Collection One and Two

(Row group: Collection 1)

Case	Community Willingness to Participate — present	absent	Local Partnerships — present	absent	Community Script Drafting — present	absent	Improvisation — present	absent	Post-Show Discussion — present	absent	Collective Action — high	medium	low
Laedza Batanani, Lesotho (1974-75)	x			x	x			x	x			x	
Laedza Batanani, Lesotho(1976)	x		x		x			x	x		x		
Makerere Kikoni, Kampala Uganda		x	x		x		x		x		x		
Onyuwei, Nigeria	missing		x		x		x		x		x		
Kumba, Cameroon		x	x		x		x		x		x		
Kwanga, Nigeria	missing		x		x		x		X		x		
Madina, Ghana	missing			x		x		x	X				x
Tana Village, Mali		x	x		x		x		X			x	
Gibeon, Namibia		x	x		x		x		X		x		
Masvingo, Zimbabwe	missing		x		x		x		X		x		
Khomo-Mpate Group, Lesotho		x	x			x	x		x				x
Murewa, Zimbabwe		x	x		x		x		x				x
Chikwakwa Theatre, Zambia		x	x		x		x		x		x		
Kisiwani-Muheza (adults workshop)		x	x		x		x		x		x		
Kisiwani-Muheza(kids workshop)	x		x		x		x		x		x		
Chalimbana, Zambia		x	x			x	x		x				x
Malya Project, Tanzania	x		x		x		x		x		x		
Mazah, Nigeria		x	x		x		x		x				x

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Mbalachanda		x		x		x		x		x		x
	Marotholi Traveling Theatre, Lesotho		x	x		x		x		x		x	
	Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Center	x		x		x		x		x		x	
Collection 2, Bond Street	Kabul, Afghanistan	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Herat, Afghanistan	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Jalalabad, Afghanistan	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Kandahar, Afghanistan	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Patachitra Shahid Mantangini, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Patachitra Chandipur, India	x			x	x		x		x			x
	Spandan Theatre, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Gandhi Buniyadi Vidalaya, India		x		x		x	x			x		x
	Gatividhi Theatre, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Gandhi Smitri (first visit), India	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Gandhi Smitri (return visits), India	x		x		x		x		x		x	
	Jamia Millia Islamia University, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Insaani Biradri, India		x		x	x		x		x		x	
	Nisarg Arts and Creation Group, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Prerna School for Girls, India	x			x	x		x		x		x	
	Anantnag, India		x		x	x		x		x		x	

Collection One

In coding through our preliminary collection of case studies, our research discovered considerable variety in the combination of techniques utilized. The varying outcomes of these projects enable us to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the impacts of different TfD techniques. To begin our analysis, we will review some of the cases in this initial round of coding. An explanation of these cases will detail how certain techniques were implemented. Additionally, the exploration of these cases will reveal details of the workshop's impacts and explain how communal engagement was measured post-workshop.

Laedza-Batanani (1974-75)

Laedza-Batanani is one of the first and most written about examples of a TfD workshop (Mda 1993, 13). This TfD workshop is an annual program held in the Bokalaka region of Botswanna. The program began in 1974, and has evolved considerably since then. This workshop was

initiated by a community leader and two expatriate adult educators (Kid and Byram 1982, 92).

Preceding the workshop, a shared concern among development workers in Bokalaka was the

apparent indifference of the community towards the process of development (Mda 1993, 13).

Thus, Laedza Batanani was conceived in an effort to incorporate the community in the

development process and understand their perspective (Kidd and Byram 1982, 92).

The first version of the workshop was implemented between 1974 and 1975. Laedza

Batanani began touring six villages in the area with a performance and post-performance

discussion (Mda 1993, 14). One of the techniques used was community script drafting;

community leaders were consulted through two workshops prior to the performance (Kidd 1982,

93). Additionally, community leaders were present during the writing process to ensure that

scenarios accurately portrayed village life. Post-show discussions were also included in the

program. Following the conclusion of the performance, the actors would disperse among

audience members and ask them to congregate into small groups; these groups engaged in

discussion regarding the issues presented during the performance and potential solutions (Kidd

1982, 93). Improvisation was used among practitioners and a select few community leaders

during rehearsals (Kid and Byram 1982, 93). However, during the actual performance, the

audience was not invited to engage in improvisation; thus improvisation was only used to incite

critical thought in rehearsals (Kid and Byram 1982, 93). Therefore, the techniques of community

drafting, post-show discussions, and improvisation were utilized. Efforts to cultivate local

relationships before the workshop were not utilized. Although community leaders were included

in the planning process, the practitioners implemented the workshop in these villages without

visiting first and establishing a relationship with participants. The workshop included three of the

four techniques.

Laedza Batanani did produce a high level of collective action. Field notes indicate that there was an enthusiasm among audience members as they began planning new development initiatives; therefore, the level of collective action was high. Villagers talked about youth problems, government land reform, village development, migrant labor, etc. However, little follow up action was taken post-workshop to address these issues (Mda 1993, 15). Practitioners noted a couple limitations in the collective action addressing these issues: (1) these are very large issues which involve a number of contributing factors, even if the community identified how they could address these factors, it would have been unreasonable to assume that they had the resources to address every contributing factor and (2) most of these issues are the result of national government policies, larger social patterns , or socio-economic constructs which the villagers had no control over and thus could not change. Therefore, while it was agreed that certain changes in societal practices were necessary-such as the need for stricter disciplinary measures for youth-the overall impacts on development were disappointing. Furthermore, it is important to consider that there was communal interest in hosting the project before it began. Therefore, we can assume that a sense of communal engagement was in place prior to the beginning of the workshop.

Laedza Batanani (1976)

In 1976, Laedza Batanani practitioners began to alter the format of Laedza Batanani. These reforms were designed to amplify the communal engagement that resulted from the workshop. The first revision occurred in the topic selection process. Practitioners suggested that focusing on development issues which were less complex and could be fixed by changes in individuals' behavior would increase the campaign's success (Kid and Byram 1982, 93).[6] Additionally, the

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[6] In the first campaigns, issues such as migrant labor, government land reform, village development, etc. were discussed. Practitioners found that these issues tended to be more complex and involve a broader range of factors

script drafting process was altered. A step referred to as 'constraint analysis' was introduced (Kid and Byram 1982, 94). 'Constraint analysis' involved speaking with villagers to gather a variety of perspectives towards a particular development issue, and identify particular communal conceptions which might be challenged to encourage progressive changes in behavior (Kid and Byram 1982, 94). This step increased communal involvement and provided practitioners with an understanding of a greater range of perspectives within the community. Additionally, by 1976, the Laedza Batanani workshop had been staged twice in these villages. Thus, local partnerships had been cultivated between the communities and practitioners. Finally, a follow-up program was designed (Kid and Byram 1982, 95). Previously, community groups had been left to resolve development issues on their own post-workshop; now, field workers with training in these specific issues would return to coordinate with community groups and foster their development initiatives. Therefore, the Laedza Batanani of 1976 takes on a different form from previous workshops. All four techniques were re-used or revised in the second version.

As a result of these reforms, more intense collective action occurred after the workshop. Several solutions were devised to deal with the issues raised in the workshop. Addressing the issue of malnutrition, an initiative was started to diversify food options by encouraging the use of wild rice and the expansion of food allowances in each family (Kid and Byram 1982, 94). To deal with the spread of venereal disease, it was decided that a meeting would be arranged between traditional healers and clinics so that traditional healers might learn more effective practices for dealing with such cases (Kid and Byram 1982, 95). Additionally, the community discussed social stigmas and agreed that members of the community, particularly women, should be made to feel more comfortable visiting the clinic and discussing venereal diseases. Regarding

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which the community might not be able to address. In 1976, they opted to focus on issues such as nutrition, sanitation, and venereal disease: issues which had more obvious solutions that would be easier to implement.

sanitation, installing toilets was not a feasible option, but a campaign was launched to encourage families to dig trenches in their yard and shovel dirt over waste rather than leave it in the open (Kid and Byram 1982, 95). Therefore, in this case, collective action led to community wide efforts to change habits which would strategically target key issues afflicting the community.

This increased level of collective action may be attributed to increased understanding of development issues increased, goals became more specific, community leaders strategized with practitioners to determine how to change individuals' behavior in order to achieve these goals, and development initiatives were carried out. It is important to consider, however, that the community was primed for this higher level of collective action by previous workshops.

Makerere-Kikoni

Makerere-Kikoni was sponsored by CASEDEV (the Cultural Agency for Social and Environmental Development, an organization founded by Professor Rose Mbowa at Makerere University which aims to use theatre to incite grass-roots movements) in 1993 (Benge 2000, 109). Makerere-Kikoni is a slum of Kampala, Uganda. The project was first conceived by Geoffery Wadulo (Benge 2000, 111). After consulting with community leaders, Wadulo visited the community to pitch the program and answer any questions (Benge 2000, 112). While the community was initially hesitant to host the project, they eventually allowed the practitioners to stage a TfD workshop (Benge 2000, 112).

The workshop implemented multiple TfD techniques. There was no previous visit prior to the workshop, but local relationships were cultivated through interviews conducted in pre-workshop research (Benge 2000, 112-113). Community script drafting was included in the Makerere-Kikoni program. Community members were consulted at the beginning of the workshop to identify development issues prevalent throughout the community (Benge 2000,

114). From these informants, a smaller group of community members was assembled to write the script (Benge 2000, 114). During the script writing process, improvisation was utilized to explore various plotlines. More importantly, during the final performance, there were points where the action of the play was paused and the audience was invited to explain how they might respond in a similar situation (Benge 2000, 114). While audience members may not always have taken the stage, they were still given the opportunity to improvise by expressing how they would play out the situation in reality (Benge 2000, 116). At one point, an actor even spoke directly to one of the community leaders and forced him to join the performance (Benge 2000, 116). Finally, there was no post-show discussion. The practitioners felt that the involvement of the community was sufficient to produce results.

Indeed, the program produced an increase in collective action and communal concern with development issues. One of the topics studied during the performance was the use of latrines, as opposed to just leaving bags of waste in the open, to increase sanitation. During a tour of the village post-workshop, practitioners observed an increase in the number of families using latrines (Benge 2000, 116-117). Therefore, the main type of collective action resulting from this project was the collective change in habits among community members to address a symptom of underdevelopment-lack of sanitation-which impacted living conditions. Additionally, there was considerable enthusiasm among community members to continue working with practitioners in order to formulate solutions to development problems (Benge 2000, 117). Thus, there was a high level of collective action resulting from this project.

Onyuwei, Nigeria

The Onyuwei workshop was sponsored in 1992 and spear-headed by TfD practitioner Hansel Eyoh (Eyoh, 32).[7] Onyuwei village had found itself dependent on its fragile agricultural production-as agriculture produced food goods which perished quickly, making them difficult to sell or keep for consumption-for income (Samson 2000, 137). This dependency was especially troubling, as the village is cut off from surrounding markets by a lack of roads and bridges (Eyoh, 32). Such issues were discovered during pre-workshop research, and discussed throughout rehearsals (Eyoh, 32).

The workshop began with a period of interviews and research prior to the rehearsal process; thus, practitioners encouraged local relationships prior to the workshop. Practitioners determined that corruption, lack of bridges, perishable food crops, the futility of agricultural investment, and health issues were prominent (Samson 2000, 137). During the workshop, community members were given the opportunity to draft the script (Eyoh, 32-33). Improvisation was used throughout rehearsals to draft the script (Eyoh, 33). Additionally, improvisation was used with the audience in the final performance. Audience members gladly engaged in improvisation when a mock election campaign was staged: they aired their grievances and various community groups shared their perspective (Eyoh, 33). This improvisation transitioned into a conversation which articulated the intricacies of bureaucratic corruption and potential solutions (Eyoh, 33). After the conclusion of the workshop, practitioners noted that the analysis of communal issues and potential solutions continued in homesteads (Eyoh, 36). Following these conversations in homesteads, the community reconvened to devise solutions to the issues.

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[7] Hansel Eyoh (or Ndumbe Eyoh) was a Cameroonian theatre directory, playwright, and critic. He was a theatre professor at the University of Yaoundé. However, his career also involved political activism and position on the National Ministry of Information and Culture; Eyoh has remained in close proximity to the Cameroonian government. His interest as a theatre artist and politician intersected in TfD. Consequentially, he spent his career participating in international TfD workshops as a practitioner, primarily in Africa.

Eventually, the community was ultimately able to secure funding from the Canadian NGO Casu in order to construct a communal farm which increased the efficiency of the agricultural system (Samson 2000, 138). Agriculture was targeted specifically, as inability to produce crops was a root cause for numerous other issues-malnutrition, lack of agricultural investment, poverty, etc.-in the community (Samson 2000, 138). Thus, the type of collective action here involved a new organization established at the communal level: a communal farm. This organization constituted a change in the traditional forms of farming to encourage communal cooperation and fostering agriculture, which had an impact on numerous development issues. Therefore, there was a high level of collective action resulting from the program.

Kumba, Cameroon

Kumba, Cameroon is a sprawling city which encompasses a variety of villages. Within Kumba, TfD workshops were conducted in the Kake, Kurume, and Konye villages (Eyoh, 9). One of the most pressing issues of the villages was the lack of a bridge to cross the river which separates them from other villages. A TfD project was organized by Hansel Eyoh and Penina Mlama[8] in December 1984 for Kumba, Cameroon (Eyoh, 9).

The practitioners began by speaking with individuals in each of the villages and cultivating local partnerships (Eyoh and Mlama 1991). It became clear that the main obstacle inhibiting the construction of a bridge was the inability of the village councils to cooperate (Eyoh and Mlama 1991). Workshop practitioners convinced the three councils to convene, and staged a show about three brothers who destroyed themselves by fighting for the councils (Eyoh and Mlama 1991). This production was based on the interviews conducted and consultations with community members. Therefore, local partnerships and community script drafting were utilized.

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[8] Penina Mlama is a Tanzanian Kiswhahili playwright, theatre artist, theorist, and TfD practitioner. She earned a PhD and taught in Theater Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam. Throughout her career she implemented TfD workshops, primarily in Tanzania.

Improvisation was also incorporated through the rehearsal process, although it was primarily for practitioners and community members did not participate (Eyoh and Mlama). Finally, the performance was followed by a post-show discussion between the councils who agreed to form a committee to discuss the bridge (Eyoh and Mlama 1991).

Although the community's specific goal of building a bridge had not been realized ten years later due to an unexpected drop in the price of their produce which limited the village's funds[9], an administrative unit had been formed along with a rural council and a secondary school (Eyoh, 19). This administrative unit and school indicate the type of collective action resulting from the workshop: establishment of organizations at the communal level. Therefore, this project did result in notable collective action, even it took an unanticipated form.

Kwanga, Nigeria

Kwanga is a village of about 3,000 surrounded by some satellite settlements. The Kwanga project was supported by Women in Nigeria (WIN), the Nigerian Popular Theatre Alliance (NPTA) NGO, and the Population Programme of the philanthropic MacArthur Foundation (Abah, 61)**.** The objectives of the program were to deal with 'the health problems of women,' 'how the living conditions of the villagers may be improved- [through] the role of the Local Government in the communities' development,' and 'strengthening the existing cultural and community development associations and women's cooperatives in their development efforts.' (Abah 2002, 61).

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[9] The practitioners identify this lack of funding as being a critical factor inhibiting the construction of the bridge. I believe that another factor was the community's disillusionment with the TfD workshop after the practitioners departure. Both Penina Mlama (2002) and Hansel Eyoh (2002) explain that the village had organized a feast and celebration for the practitioners following the end of the workshop. Unfortunately, many of the practitioners declined invitations, which was interpreted as an insult by the villagers. This insult soured the community's enthusiasm for the workshop and plans to build a bridge.

The practitioners had selected these initial areas of focus after preliminary visits to the community; therefore, local partnerships had been established through prior visits (Abah, 61). Consultation occurred throughout the workshop; therefore, the community was involved in script drafting (Abah, 68). Improvisation was used during the rehearsal process to craft the show and explore solutions to issues (Abah, 68). An issue which was explored extensively was the absence of a grinding machine in the village; this made it difficult for women to grind grains and sustain a stable food crop (Abah, 62). By the end of the workshop, the women had founded their own development organization (as the community Development Association was dominated by men) and were strategizing to obtain a grinding machine (Abah, 67). Thus, the type of collective action in this case was the establishment of a new organization, and its contribution to development was enabling the women to produce a more stable food crop.

Therefore, this project resulted in a high level of collective action. However, it is important to note that practitioners observed a dispensary, a maternity clinic, a television viewing centre, and a well with a hand pump when they arrived (Abah, 63). These facilities could indicate the presence of these communal amenities as notable evidence of pre-existing collective action. Much of this previous mobilization had been facilitated through the community Development Association. The organization of a women's group might simply have been an extension of this collective action in the form of a new organization.

Madina, Ghana

Madina is a satellite slum outside of Accra, Ghana. This program was organized by Osita Okabgue under the auspice of the Non-formal Education Division of the Ghanaian Ministry of Education (Okabgue, 72). It was initiated in 1992, and aimed not only to complete a workshop, but train participants as practitioners so that TfD might continue after the initial workshop's

conclusion (Okabgue, 72-74). The first stage of the workshop involved sending the trainees into Madina to conduct interviews and study issues plaguing the community (Okabgue, 83). Thus, local relationships were formed during the first visit. This initial research revealed a slew of issues afflicting the slum. Ultimately, the workshop chose to focus on (1) lack of sanitation and (2) lack of communal spirit and leadership (Okabgue, 84). Improvisation was practiced and participants taught how to implement Boal's theories about understanding the body and making it expressive through improvisation (Okabgue, 82). The communal issues of epidemics and famines were explored through this improvisation. Additionally, the participants were asked to participate in the creation of scenarios; therefore, the participants were taking part in communal script drafting. A final performance was staged for about 200 men and women (Okabgue, 84). This performance was followed by a post-show discussion and improvisation which the audience eagerly participated in (Okabgue, 84).

The main goal of this workshop was to establish a theatre troupe which would implement continuous TfD programming to tackle the problems afflicting the community. However, no action was taken to mobilize towards establishing such a theatre (Okabgue, 86). Therefore, while the community agreed that these were important communal issues, there was still a low level of collective action. A potential explanation for this is that the time frame for the workshop was reduced from 3 months to 25 days right before it commenced (Okabgue, 82). Given that the workshop was attempted to train new practitioners and establish a theatre as well as implement a TfD workshop in the process, this constriction of the time frame might have had detrimental effects on the project.

Tana Village, Mali

This workshop was initiated in 1990 (Mavrocordatos, 98). The Community Environmental

Project under SOS Sahel had called for the establishment of a Drama Unit to facilitate

cooperation between the project and village partners (Mavrocordatos, 99). Tana Village has no

history of theatre; therefore, time was spent at the beginning to the workshop exploring their own

forms of performance and how they might be utilized in theatre. The practitioner, Alex

Mavrocordatos, describes visiting the community and conducting research prior to the

commencement of the workshop (99). Practitioners even worked with the chief to coordinate the

workshop; therefore, local relationships were established (Mavrocordatos, 99). Participants were

very involved in the rehearsal process, they engaged in community script drafting

(Mavrocordatos, 99-101). Additionally, improvisation was utilized throughout the rehearsal

process (Mavrocordatos, 99-101). The intimate involvement of community members enabled the

workshop to include a lot of cultural elements in the production (Mavrocordatos, 101). After the

public performance, a discussion was held (Mavrocordatos, 104-105). Community members

were able to discuss issues openly-including the isolation of the Bobo ethnic group, literacy, and

the dependency on agricultural harvests-which they had not previously done during formal

meetings (Mavrocordatos, 104).

Collective action did not come to fruition. Practitioners noted that the potential solutions

proposed to some of these issues involved simply asking the local Commandant or an NGO for

aid, rather than proposing that community members solve the problem using their own resources

and skills. Therefore, it seemed that the community did not yet feel impetus to engage in

collective action. However, practitioners noted that community members did discuss potential

solutions and were eager to further explore how they might resolve their issues (Mavrocordatos,

105). The community continued to conduct workshops after the practitioners' departures in order to cultivate collective action. These continuous workshops are a type of collective action in and of itself. However, the goal of the workshop had been to incite a development initiative, which it failed to do. This cause was thus coded as producing medium collective action.

Gibeon, Namibia

Gibeon is a town in the southern region of Namibia. This workshop was initiated in 1993 (Mavrocordatos, 107). The project was sponsored by OXFAM and the NGO Rural Institute for Social Empowerment (RISE) (Mavrocordatos, 108). Nepotism and discrimination along clan lines were discussed and later identified as contributing factors to specific communal issues, such as sanitation (Mavrocordatos, 107). Practitioners spent the initial phase of the workshop cultivating relationships with the community; therefore, local relationships were established during the first visit (Mavrocordatos, 108). Improvisation was utilized in the workshop to recreate scenarios that the group felt were related to communal issues (Mavrocordatos, 108). The workshop was conducted alongside daily community activities in order to create a constant interaction, through improvisation, between facilitators and community members (Mavrocordatos, 108). Given that the script was created through community members' improvisations, community script drafting was utilized.

The group's efforts resulted in the *Self-oppression Play* (Mavrocordatos, 108). The play was performed throughout southern Namibia, and received very positive feedback during post-show discussions (Mavrocordatos, 111). These discussions revealed that many people wanted pit latrines to improve sanitation, but were afraid to challenge the Kaptein of Gibeon, a Cabinet Minister, who had refused to install pit latrines (Mavrocordatos, 109). The workshop participants ultimately decided to dig pit latrines for themselves and any family requesting them; an act of

defiance against the Kaptein of Gibeon (Mavrocordatos, 109). Not only did they dig latrines, but the theatre continued to craft performances which they staged in public, inciting discussion and confronting development issues (Mavrocordatos, 109). Therefore, this workshop resulted in a very high level of collective action. Additionally, there were two types of collective action occurring: a new development initiative involving the construction of pit latrines, and a change in familial/individual habit across the community as people used pit latrines.

There a couple reasons this extremely high level of collective action may have resulted. The first is that entire workshop occurred in tandem with the participants day to day activities; this made it easier for community members to participate since they didn't have to stop working, and the solutions discussed were more applicable since they were debated while community members encountered these issues. The second is that the first play was taken to a theatre conference and performed for a massive audience. This audience was extremely receptive and encouraging, which gave participants confidence and fueled their desire to continue such workshops.

Masvingo, Zimbabwe

Masvingo is a town in South-eastern Zimbabwe. The Masvingo workshop took place in April 1995 (Preston and Halpin, 135). It was coordinated through the Rural Unity for Development Organisation (RUDO), a local NGO (Preston and Halpin, 135). Thus, the workshop had established local relationships for their first visit-although they were invited in by an NGO, it was operated by local members of the community who were in touch with communal issues. Additionally, the researchers spent time before the beginning of the workshop researching via interviews; this research allowed them to further cultivate local relationships (Preston and Halpin, 141). The workshop began with image work-a sort of improvisation where participants

create a tableau depicting a familiar experience (Preston and Halpin, 138). Image making

transitioned into improvisation, which transitioned into community script drafting (Preston and

Halpin, 139). Workshop participants chose to focus the performance on AIDS awareness

(Preston and Halpin, 139).

The ultimate goal of the workshop was to train participants to implement their own TfD

initiatives after the workshop's conclusion (Preston and Halpin, 136). Thus, the participants took

the TfD model and replicated it in surrounding villages such as Mafuba. In Mafuba, the villagers

identified water shortages as a problem that needed to be fixed (Preston and Halpin, 148). The

trainees from the first workshop implemented a program in Mafuba to explore water shortages

using local relationships, community script drafting, improvisation, and discussion (Preston and

Halpin, 143-149). Although a specific solution to water shortages was not devised following the

workshop, it was agreed that the workshop would be performed in four more villages which were

affected by similar issues (Preston and Halpin, 152). Then, solutions to these issues would be

discussed. Although the practitioners left the program after this initial performance, it is thus

clear that a high level of collective action resulted, as community members have continued to

congregate through TfD performances in order to discuss solutions to communal issues.

Khomo-Mpate Group, Lesotho

The duration of this project extended from 1992-1994 (Kendall, 193). It was spearheaded by K.

Limakatso Kendall through an already functioning theatre group in the area (Kendall, 193). The

workshop was an extension of an amateur theatre company which had already been established:

Khomo-Mpate group. This group consisted of 15 women and a male president, Wesley Dichaba.

The group was an assembly of friends and acquaintances who had been staging theatre

productions to raise money for their funeral society. Kendall spent a few months with the group,

acting as an assistant director under Dichaba, before implementing a TfD workshop with the theatre (Kendall, 200).

Initially, Kendall considered the project a failure because she could not lead the cast to openly challenge oppressive traditions. The women wanted to be given a script which they could perform to make money. Kendall was forced to acquiesce, and attempted to salvage the workshop by rewriting an 18th century play with feminist undertones (Kendall, 202). The women opted not to work on the show. Local relationships, improvisation, and community script drafting were all present in the process which created the final performance; however, Kendall considered the attempt to introduce TfD a failure because developmental issues were not challenged critically, and a discussion about communal problems was never incited (Kendall, 201). The women felt uncomfortable portraying their own plights, they wanted to present theatre which would be popular among the community.

However, in follow-up research and interviews, Kendall realized the program might not have been a complete failure. Even after Kendall's departure, the women continued to write and publically perform entertaining stories for a profit (Kendall, 203). Therefore, collective action did persist for a while after Kendall's departure, even if it was not directed towards solving developmental problems. Additionally, Kendall realized that the oppressive, misogynistic practices of the community had been challenged. Although the women had not openly criticized these traditions, they felt they had freed and empowered themselves simply by participating in the theatre (Kendall, 206). Within their daily lives, the women were never able to speak out or assume the role of a man (Kendall, 205). Playing in the theatre allowed them to do so. Therefore, although not strictly TfD, this workshop was valuable on some level.

Murewa, Zimbabwe

Murewa is a village sitting 75 kilometers outside of Zimbabwe's capital, Harare. This workshop was sponsored in August, 1983 by the Toronto-based NGO, the International Popular Theatre Alliance (Eyoh, 20). Stephen Chifunyise was the organizing secretary of the workshop which consisted of over one hundred participants (Byam 1999, 115). The practitioners stayed at a secondary school and commuted to the village each day to conduct the workshop (Eyoh, 21). They began with a discussion of communal issues, and then explored these issues through improvisation. Practitioners made an effort to incorporate cultural art forms-pungwe, Jerusalema dance, and other traditional dances-in the performance (Byam 1999, 116). However, there was no post-show follow-up. The results of the workshop were minimal and disappointing for practitioners (Byam 1999, 116).

From the start, practitioners sensed that there was disconnect between themselves and the community, which made it difficult to implement a TfD workshop (Eyoh, 21). Thus, local relationships were not present or beneficial during the workshop. The practitioners felt that a consequence of this unfamiliarity was confusion surrounding what issues truly plagued the community (Eyoh, 21). This lack of understanding was exacerbated by the separation of the practitioners' lodging from the community (Eyoh, 21). Additionally, the perception that the workshop was being conducted for its foreign sponsors made the project 'an imposition from the west' rather than a grass-roots initiative (Eyoh, 21). This had the effect of making the workshop a sort of experiment rather than a program designed to benefit its host community. Therefore, practitioners were disappointed with the organization of the workshop and its failure to produce collective action.

Chikwakwa Theatre, Zambia

By the time Chikwakwa was established in 1971, two types of theatre had been developing in Zambia: a nationalist theatre in the form of the Zambia Arts Trust (ZAT) and a traditionally European style of theatre (Byam, 47-49). Both of these theatres had failed to capture the sentiments of the Zambian populace post-independence (Byam, 48). Michael Etherton founded the Chikwakwa Theatre in an attempt to 'show that traditional culture had been invalidated by history, and it needed other artistic agents to aid in its resuscitation. Therefore, it provided a social and political message through the medium of theatre' (Byam, 50).

The practices of the theatre evolved through the years; eventually a greater focus was placed on involving the community in the productions (Byam, 51). Locals were increasingly invited to act in and write productions (Byam, 51). Initially, the theatre relied on pre-written scripts; however, by its later years, Chikwakwa had progressed to consulting community members and exploring issues with them in the drafting process (Byam, 51). Additionally, as the theatre traveled through the region, they came to establish local relationships the longer they toured. Therefore, some of the participants and audience members had a long standing relationship with the workshop. Eventually, although Chikwakwa ran out of funds and was forced to stop touring, it did lead many workshop participants to establish their own theatres- Bazmi Theatre, Takita Theatre Company, Kanyama Theatre, etc.-voicing the politics of the people (Byam, 50-53). Therefore, this resulted in a high level of collective action in the form of continued TfD programming.

Kisiwani-Muheza, Tanzania

This workshop took place between April 20 and May 7, 1992. The Kisiwana village in the Muheza region is situated in the Tanga region of north-eastern Tanzania (Nyohi, 217). At the

time of the workshop, a series of TfD programs were implemented in the area under the leadership of Penina Mlama to encourage the involvement of women in discussions regarding development, the Kisiwani workshop was one of the last. The Village Development Program (VDP) and German Agency for Technical Cooperation Corporation (GTZ) funded the workshop. Three objectives of the program included: (1) 'to examine the participation of women in the communication processes employed by a women's development project, namely The Village Development Programme in the Tanga region' (2) 'to examine what information about this development project is communicated and how it is communicated by the project planners to the women involved in the project. Also to examine the degree to which the women involved communicate their concerns and ideas to the planners' (3) 'to try indigenous artistic communication process that can involve women more meaningfully in communication for development' (Nyohi 2002, 217). Prior to the workshop, some of the women's projects-a paddy farm and nursery for coconut seedlings-were collapsing (Nyohi, 218). It was the goal of the workshop to decipher the factors contributing to this collapse.

A variety of techniques were utilized during the workshop. Information gathering took place when practitioners moved into the village to work alongside villagers and speak with them about their hardships (Nyohi, 219 and Mlama, 46). Thus, local relationships were formed during the first visit to the community. Three groups were formed to workshop each of the issues identified during this information gathering period (Nyohi, 219). Community script-drafting was included, as the community wrote and revised the performances (Nyohi, 221). Practitioners made no note of improvisation being utilized. A post-show discussion was held to discuss these issues; most problems were either given 'on spot' solutions or assigned to a committee for follow-up (Nyohi 2002, 224). Therefore, a high level of collective action resulted from this workshop.

Additionally, children's performances were coordinated through the workshop. During the first rehearsal day after the issues of interest were determined, practitioners were approached by children who wished to put on their own play about life in the village (Nyohi, 221). The children's workshop was founded on local relationships, as the children were familiar enough with practitioners to reach out and request a workshop of their own. Children took the initiative to draft and revise scripts, meaning that community script drafting was effectively implemented (Nyohi, 221). Additionally, a post-show discussion between adults followed the performances of the children (Nyohi, 222). The children produced two additional performances which incited extremely productive conversations between the adults of the community.

Following the performance of the children's plays, the adults had the first open and critical conversation they shared during the workshop. The plays dealt with the issues of theft and land problems in the community (Mlama 1993, 75). Practitioners noted that 'it was quite clear that the skits gave them courage and protection as they constantly referred to the performances and spoke in a way which showed that they were only emphasizing a point already made by the children' (Nyohi, 222). This conversation prompted deeper exploration of these issues, which community members engaged with enthusiastically. In the final post-performance discussion, committees were formed to deal with issues including youth problems, land disputes, bridges, and electricity (Nyohi, 227).

Chalimbana, Zambia

The Chalimbana village is located in a rural area outside of the Zambian capital, Lusaka. This workshop occurred between August 18 and September 1, 1979. Chalimbana constituted one of the largest, and earliest, international TfD workshops (Byam1999, 56). Sixty-nine participants, fifty-nine of whom were Zambians, were gathered. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation,

Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO), the Canadian International development

Agency (CIDA, an NGO), the United National Independence Party (UNIP), and the Ministry of

Education were among some of the sponsors involved in the workshop (Byam 1999, 56).

Preliminary research was conducted; however, workshop participants were asked to conduct

their own 'participatory research process' in the village over the course of two days (Byam 1999,

57). This process involved participants dividing into smaller groups then reaching out to villages

and gathering information from community members whilst forming local relationships (Byam

1999, 57). Issues such as health, transportation, alcohol abuse, theft, unemployment, and low

wages were common topics (Byam 1999, 57).

Based on the information gathered, workshop participants drafted performances, and then

spent two days touring villages and presenting their work (Byam 1999, 57). At performances, the

audience was invited to participate through singing along with actors and post-performance

discussions (Byam 1999, 58-59). There was no time to incorporate audiences through

improvisation. While the audiences were receptive and proposed potential solutions, practitioners

were concerned that community leaders were not invested in the solutions proposed during

discussion; consequentially, they left the communities without any firm leadership or blueprints

for a development initiative (Byam 1999, 60). Additionally, the actual dialogue between

practitioners and the community occurred only briefly in the preliminary research period, and in

post-show discussions. This may have been an insufficient amount of time dedicated to

dissecting community problems with the audiences. Therefore, practitioners left the community

with too little information in order to establish an organization to implement a development

initiative. The project was cited as producing little follow-up action.

Malya Project, Tanzania

Malya is a large village, totaling about 5,000, in the Mwanza region of Tanzania.This initiative was a long-term TfD program designed to address the sustainability problem that many Tanzanian TfD programs had faced (Mlama 2002, 51). Practitioner Penina Mlama collaborated with colleagues from the University of Dar es Salaam-Eberhard Chambulikazi and Amadina Lihamba-to initiate the program (Riccio, 141).To incite long-term, meaningful changes, practitioners implemented numerous workshops in Malya within a two year period (Mlama 2002, 51).

The workshops began with an intensive process of familiarization with the community and information gathering (Mlama 2002, 50). Practitioners and participants worked with community members to understand the intricacies of the village systems and issues which afflicted the community (Mlama 2002, 50). An analysis of these proposed problems followed, which the entirety of the community was invited to participate in. The goal of this analysis was to more thoroughly understand the root causes of these issues. Additionally, such interaction with community members led to the establishment of local relationships. Then, participants and practitioners worked on drafting and rehearsing a show which was used to incite discussion (Mlama 2002, 51). Post-show discussions provided an opportunity to further dissect problems with the goal of finding a solution to these issues.

This process was repeated multiple times within the Malya Project (Riccio, 141). The result of repeated workshops was a high level of collective action, as they resulted in numerous other TfD performances (Mlama 2002, 52). Even when practitioners were not in the village, the core group of participants continued to assemble in order to prepare new shows for the community (Mlama 2002, 52). Thus, the type of collective action in this case was continued TfD

programming. The village government provided support to the program: the government incorporated the solutions agreed upon in post-show discussions into their development planning, and provided material support to the group (Mlama 2002, 52). The program was so successful, it lasted for an unanticipated three years. Unfortunately, after three years, the chairman of the youth program stole all the funds the TfD program had accumulated (Mlama 2000, 52). This act was disillusioning enough to prevent the community from engaging in further workshops.

Mazah, Nigeria

The Mazah village is an agricultural community lying in a valley outside the city of Jos. There are no roads leading to the village and rough terrain surrounds the valley. This makes it difficult for the women to sell their agricultural products, as they are unable to reach the markets themselves (Abah, 61). Therefore, the primary concern of the workshop was the construction of a road (Abah, 63). Another important issue was a lack of fertilizer, which limited the agricultural output of the community (Abah, 63). Finally, women's health was a concern; very few doctors were willing to live in the village and operate clinics when the village was so hard to reach (Abah, 64).

Preliminary visits to the village were made to help practitioners determine which issue to focus on. During discussions, there was a clear divide along gender lines over which issues were most pertinent; women wanted fertilizer, men wanted roads (Abah, 64). The workshop thus decided to study a variety of problems afflicting the community and produced numerous skits (Abah, 65). Practitioners attempted to implement community script drafting and improvisation in the rehearsal process (Abah, 65). However, practitioners felt that the level of community drafting was insufficient; too much time was spent amongst the practitioners developing the skit before

the community members contributed input or engaged in improvisation (Abah, 65-66). This was a challenge which the practitioners felt stunted the progress of the workshop. Finally, the discussion occurred mostly during the improvisations and research, not in post-show forums. Most of this discussion dissolved into participants bickering and failing to agree on which issues were most pertinent. Therefore, a discussion of potential solutions was never expounded upon. Thus, practitioners left community members with the recognition that a Community Association was needed, but doubtful that it would ever be established. Therefore, this case was coded as a low level of collective action (Abah, 66).

Mbalachanda, Malawi

This workshop was conducted by the University of Malawi Traveling Theatre (UTT) in July 1981. Two practitioners from the UTT-Christopher Kamlongera and David Kerr-were the tour leaders for the workshop (Kerr 1982, 36). The workshop was requested by the Office of the President and Cabinet in order to help extension workers address some of the problems they were facing with the community (Kerr 1982, 35). Many of the issues the region faced arose from the expansion of tobacco estates (Kerr 1982, 36). Some of these issues include a dual economy, distrust of extension workers, poor housing, lack of sanitation, malnutrition, alcohol abuse, prostitution, and crime (Kerr 1982, 36).

The practitioners were not able to conduct participatory research, and were forced to rely on the perceptions of the extension workers only (Kerr 1982, 37). Therefore, the cultivation of local relationships was limited. Three problems were identified by the extensions workers: illiteracy, poor sanitation, and cultural resistance to agricultural extension work (Kerr 1982, 37). Each of these themes was developed into a play written by practitioners and extension workers (Kerr 1982, 37-38). The practitioners also decided to adapt a pre-written play, *The Lizard's Tale*,

for Mbalachanda (Kerr 1982, 38). They did so using the technique of improvisation; however, community members were not included in these improvisations (Kerr 1982, 38). Therefore, there was no level of community script drafting. Post-performance discussions were included to elaborate on the intricacies of these problems and potential solutions (there was a single exception during the performance at Mukwa plantation, where the audience was too drunk by the end of the production to participate in discussion) (Kerr 1982, 39-43). While the audiences in some villages presented their own performances for the practitioners, there was no opportunity for audience members to participate in the performance or engage in improvisation (Kerr 1982, 39-43).

There was a medium level of collective action resulting from this project. Community leaders expressed interest in exploring solutions to the issues raised, but practitioners did not note any follow-up action (Kerr 1982, 43). Additionally, while smaller theatres were established to continue studying these issues, they were primarily driven by extension workers rather than community members (Kerr 1982, 50). Practitioners felt that more communal involvement in rehearsal, post-performance discussions, and follow-up programs would be necessary to increase collective action (Kerr 1982, 50).

Marotholi Traveling Theatre, Lesotho

The Marotholi Traveling Theatre was established in 1982. It was sponsored by the University of Lesotho, and consisted of faculty in the English department, the Institute of Extra-mural studies, and students studying theatre. The expressed aim of the project was to use 'theatre as a medium of development communication, and secondly to use theatre for motivating communities into initiating and/or participating in development activities' (Mda, 353).

The workshop began by sending students into villages in Mohale's Hoek and the Mafeteng districts to conduct participatory research (Mda, 353). Therefore, local relationships were established during the first visit. After identifying the key issues plaguing the community, the opinions of informants were utilized in order to draft the script (Mda, 355). Therefore, community drafting was employed in the workshop. After rehearsing this script, a short performance was staged. During the performance, the action was stopped at certain points and audience members were asked for feedback or invited on stage; thus, improvisation was also utilized during the performance (Mda, 355). A post-performance discussion was held to discuss issues and potential solutions with the community (Mda, 355).

Then follow-up action was implemented with either the support of the Extra-mural department or another partnering organization (Mda, 355). This follow-up ensured that the community is able to implement the development initiatives they organize. Regarding issues of migrant workers in South African mines in Mohale's Hoek, it was agreed that workers should be encouraged to join unions and participate in strikes for better treatment (Mda, 358). Regarding the loss of arable land to residential developments in Mafeteng, it was agreed that the community would no longer allow the chief to sell their land and preserve arable land for wheat production (Mda, 359). Thus, movements resulted from these workshops which sought to protect the rights and privileges of community members. Such follow-up helps to ensure a high degree of communal engagement.

Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Center

Kamiriithu is a village in the Kiambu district of Kenya which was established "as an emergency village" in the 1950s to house industrial and agricultural workers (Byam 1999, 87-88). The use of drama at the Kamiriithu Center began with an adult literacy program. This program led the

community to identify problems including land issues, unemployment, low wages, food shortages, lack of water, lack of firewood, poor transportation, lack of housing, lack of health facilities, unfair labor practices, and inflation (Byam 1999, 88). As they dissected each of these problems, the students in the literacy program used drama in order to depict these issues and their causes (Byam 1999, 89). After the conclusion of the education program, the participants decided to continue the program while also working on a 'cultural development project' (Byam 1999, 89).

This project took the form of a TfD program, where communities members wrote, rehearsed, and performed a play: *I Will Marry When I Want* (Byam 1999, 89). The show attacked the exploitative and corrupt nature of Kenya's government and advocated for peasants in the class struggle (Van der Smit 2007, 77.) Local partnerships were useful throughout the entire process, as the process was open to community involvement and initiated by the community. Thus, participants were very familiar with communal issues. Furthermore, as the program was initiated by members of the community, local relationships were existent at the start of the program. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Ngũgĩ was Mĩrĩĩ[10] constructed an outline for the play, the community wrote, restructured, and revised the script themselves (Byam 1999, 89). Improvisation was used during the writing/rehearsal process to shape scenes (Byam 1999, 89). There was no post-show discussion due the massiveness of the audience; it is estimated as many as 10,000 saw the play (Byam 1999, 90).

The community built an open air theatre to stage their production, and began performing on October 2, 1977 (Byam 1999, 90). Given its strong critiques of the post-colonial government and exploitation of lower classes, *I Will Marry When I Want* was deemed "too provocative" by

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[10] The Ngũgĩs were two writers and teachers at the Kamirriithu Community and Educational Center. They utilized the performances as a form a political activism and have become well known for the plays, novels, and essays they published throughout their career.

the District Commissioner (Byam 1999, 90). After only a few performances, the performance

permit was revoked and the play shut down (Byam 1999, 90). The Ngũgĩs were arrested and held

as threats to public security, only to be released a year later (Byam 1999, 90). Despite the

government's attempt to stymie performances, the literacy program remained, and the

Kariimithu continued to produce provocative, popular shows (Byam 1999, 91). The theatre also

continued to encourage community involvement, and relied heavily on the input, participation,

and support of the community members (Byam 1999, 91). This led to a high level of collective

action.

Collection Two: Bond Street Theatre Cases

Afghanistan (2011-2012)

Bond Street Theatre's work in Afghanistan aimed to cultivate four skill sets: physical expression

and presentation skills, positive group dynamics (cooperation, trust, teamwork, leadership and

group responsibility), problem-solving capacities, and physical challenges that build self-

confidence. Artistic Director of the theatre, Joanna Sherman, was present as a leading

practitioner at every workshop. Performances focused on literacy, job discrimination, collective

action, agency of women (in plays such as *Rights are Not Given; They Must be Taken* and *The*

Backbiters, characters rally the support of other women), civil society (plays such as the *Law of*

the Jungle and *Who is Responsible?* stress the importance of social justice), gender norms, opium

farming, drug use, violence, local justice, harmful traditional practices, human rights issues,

education, civil society, etc. A total of 46 performances were staged throughout four cities in

Afghanistan: Kabul, Herat, Jalalabad, and Kandahar. 7793 people in total were audience

members at workshops.

The Bond Street company worked with over 100 artists within four 'Arts Partners' or theatre companies: Nangarhar Theatre of Jalalabad, Maiwand Theatre of Kandahar, White Star Theatre of Kabul, Simorgh Theatre of Herat. Arts Partners were selected from a group of 12 applicants; final decisions were based on each theatre's enthusiasm, location, organizational capacity, stability, and past experience with conflict resolution. Bond Street conducted business training for Arts Partners that 'strengthened overall understanding and organizational capacity' (9); this training laid the foundation for Arts Partners to continue implementing TfD workshops after Bond Street's departure. Ultimately, the performances had a broad reach which addressed numerous issues pertaining to social development. They also invited mullahs and community leaders to observe rehearsals and comment on the accuracy of the conditions portrayed in the show.

Most of Bond Street's workshops in Afghanistan followed a similar format. Bond Street began their collaboration with Art Partners by discussing issues relevant to conflict resolution and social development in their communities. Bond Street typically begins their workshops with some fun, playful exercises to warm-up participants. Once participants are relaxed and engaged, Bond Street begins to implement other exercises which are designed to explore communal issues through a theatrical process. Through exercises such as improvisation, image making, vocal training, etc. workshop participants (usually locals associated with the theatres) began to take part in the drafting a script. Eventually, the workshop company performed their play for a live audience. The post-performance sessions happened in three stages: facilitators asked what the most important parts of the performance were, facilitators took verbal responses from the audience, facilitators asked the audience which character in the play they would like to speak to about solutions, and then invited volunteers on stage to play out the action (5). A follow-up was

conducted six months later, and Bond Street stayed in touch with their partners to further facilitate their progress.

These workshops resulted in the foundation of theatre companies which could continue TfD programming in these cities. Thus, the type of collective action which resulted was continued efforts to assemble and produce politically relevant theatre. Further details for each case are provided below. The cases from Afghanistan were coded from Bond Street Theatre's final report "Theatre for Social Development: Afghanistan" (United States Instituted of Peace- Reference Number SG-137-10) and associated archival evidence.

Kabul, Afghanistan

Bond Street partnered with the White Star Company to implement workshops in various venues throughout Kabul. In Kabul, the overarching goal was to 'build the capacity of local theatre organizations to use theatre as a tool for peacebuilding and social improvement' (13). Within the workshop, they introduced the first all-female acting troupe the community had seen since the 1950s. Performances dealt with issues such as sexual harassment, corruption, social injustice, etc. These issues proved pertinent to the audiences (police academy and women's centers) and incited passionate responses applauding the performance and discussions of potential solutions during the post-show sessions. Some of the performance venues included ANCOP (Afghan National Civil Order Police) Police training compound, AWEC (Afghan Women's Educational Center), HAWCA women's legal aid center, AFCECO (Afghan Child and Care Organization) safe haven for children, the Women's prison in Badam Bagh, Afghans 4 Tomorrow high school, Afghan culture house, Kabul university theatre, Afghan Women's network for NGOs. The TfD workshops in Kabul were so well received, that a new theatre was formed with the support of White Star Theatre: the Papyrus theatre.

Herat, Afghanistan

Bond Street partnered with Simorgh Film and Theatre in Herat to stage performances and workshops throughout the city. Bond Street theatre held workshops for 10 days training core members of Simorgh Theatre, and its two directors. Bond Street spent 8 days with the theatre company (seven girls and five boys) drafting two performances. Root causes of communal conflict were discussed during the script drafting process, and workshop participants decided to address family violence since it shapes the next generation's propensity to future violence. Performances occurred at Arian Sports Complex, Jebraiel, Herat Women's Shelter, Drug-addicted adolescent center, Jebraiel Boy's high school, Police Sensitivity training program, Mehri Girl's high school, HAWCA women's legal center, ANCOP police training compound, UN assistance mission in Afghanistan, Herat women's prison, Herat juvenile correction center, youth peacebuilding program, and Saify high school. The boys and girls were able to perform together comfortably, expanding their skill sets and dealing critically with salient issues.

Jalalabad, Afghanistan

Bond Street partnered with the Nangarhar Provincial Theatre to stage performances throughout Jalalabad. The workshop assembled the first professional all-female theatre group the community had seen. This women's workshop coincided with a workshop exclusively for boys; this allowed for separation of the genders, as women and men were not comfortable working together in this conservative community. Additionally, segregation along gender lines allowed women to also participate in the workshop and establish their own troupe. Enabling women's involvement in the workshop set up the possibility of future collaborations between the male and female theatre troupes. The topics addressed were women's misinformation regarding their rights in governmental law and in Islam, the complete lack of female law-makers who might represent

women's interests, corruption, the degradation of civil society due to the stress induced by poverty, girls' inability to attend school, harmful traditions in the treatment of women (such as early or forced marriage, honor killing, domestic abuse, etc.), strict separation of men and women barring women the workplace and higher education, nepotism, and narcotics additions. Common solutions identified included holding the government responsible, suggesting a merit system for employment that stymies corruption and nepotism, rights education, etc. Familiar and traditional folk tales were used as a framework to introduce these issues. They performed at Support Center of Widows, Nangarhar Public Hospital Rehabilitation Center for Drug Addicts, Afghan Naitonal Police-Nangahar Regional Directors Meeting, Juvenile Correction Center for Boys, AFCECO (Afghan Child and Care Organization) Safe Haven for Children, Nangarhar women's prison, women's shura in surkhrod district outside Jalalabad, AFCECO (Afghan Child and Care Organization) house for older boys, AWEC (Afghan Women's Educational Center) women's center in Behsud district, Lincoln Learning Center.

Kandahar, Afghanistan

The final workshop occurred in Kandahar. Bond Street collaborated with the Maiwand Company to organize performances throughout the city. Workshop training included modes of physical expression, trust exercises, problem-solving exercises, physical challenges that build self-confidence, discussion of issues pertinent to the actor's lives, critical analysis of peacebuilding initiatives, theories of theatrical expression and theatre's potential role in society. Discussion during the workshop 'focused on themes of conflict, corruption, lack of security, uneven access to justice, harmful traditional practices, and abuses affecting both men and women' (pg. 26). The plays were eventually performed at Lincoln Learning Center/Hall of the Information and Culture Department, Women's Shura, Faizi Khasosi Laisa High School, Adabi Khasosi Laisa High

School, Ariana English Center, Zarghoona Ana Laisa High School, Ahmad Khan family home, Haji Nasir family homes, and two family homes.

USA Afghanistan India Arts Exchange Project

Between 2006-2009, Bond Street traveled to India to facilitate collaboration between themselves, the Afghani Exile Theatre, and communities in India. The expressed aims of the project were to 'demonstrate to collaborators a replicable model of an effective arts partnership that illustrates that mutual respect and understanding gained through peer-to-peer, cross-cultural, artistic exchange; to introduce valuable problem-solving and communication skills to educators, trainers and underserved children and adults using theatre based exercises and techniques; to collaborate and exchange with other professionals in the theatre arts for mutual benefit; to create sustainable theatre-based programs for social improvement, and organizational structures for their continued operation, for youth of all ages; to promote a positive image of the United States in Muslim and other minority communities in India and Afghanistan; to dispel misunderstandings regarding Afghanistan and Afghan culture in the United States through performances, lectures, media coverage, and post-performance talkbacks.'

Bond Street worked with Exile Theatre in Afghanistan. The exchange began with a tour in the USA of Exile Theatre's *Beyond the Mirror*. Bond Street and Exile Theatre then traveled to India to study how Indian Arts Partners practiced theatre. Throughout this exchange, workshops were conducted with Indian collaborators; these workshops enabled Bond Street, Exile Theatre, and their Indian Arts Partners to cultivate TfD skills. Cases in India were coded from Bond Street Theatre's final report "Final Report: USA-Afghan-India Cultural Exchange Program S-ECACU-05-GR-182(CS)" and associated archival evidence.

Patachitra Workshops, India (March 18-26 2007)

During Bond Street's visit to the state of Bengal in eastern India, they hosted a workshop for groups of Patachitra painters (a traditional art form in Bengali culture) from the Chandipur and Shahid Mantangini villages. Physical and vocal warm-ups in the morning were followed by a brainstorming process. This rehearsal process produced two new plays: *the Wedding of Fishes* (a traditional tale) and *1947* (addressing the issues of independence). Four performances occurred in Bandel and Midnapore. The production of multiple public performances made the Patachitra workshop one of the most successful. The goal was to improve their performance capabilities so as to revive the economic prospects of Patachitra painting/performance. The workshop encouraged the painters to consider how they might entertain an audience and engage with communal issues. The success of the performance led to invitations to perform at other venues after the conclusion of the workshop. Additional performances and the selling of paintings resulted in an economic profit for the group. Ultimately, by the time Bond Street left, the Shahid Mantangini group had already met on their own to discuss how they would continue these practices and sustain the plays. Thus, the type of collective action resulting here was sustaining the theatrical techniques learned in the workshop. Therefore, this workshop produced a considerable impact and the highest degree of collective action.

Spandan Theatre, India (March 19-28, 2007)

Spandan Theatre is the sole professional theatre group in the town of Bandel within the Bengal state. The theatre was founded to address the lack of contemporary theatre in a rural region which rarely sees theatre performances. There were three components to the visit: a theatre workshop for Spandan professional actors (27 men, 3 women, and 12 apprentices), a parallel workshop for local Bandel children and teens (27 children), and a cultural exchange with the

Chhau, Fakiri, and Baul dancers/musicians (24 guest artist). The adult workshop incorporated new 'physical, musical, vocal, dance, puppetry, movement, and image-based theatre techniques.' The children's workshop utilized theatre games (masks, puppetry, crafts, collage, cartooning) and physical exercises to cultivate 'spatial awareness, balance, concentration, trust, cooperation, teamwork, self-confidence, and good presentation skills.'

Numerous performances resulted. The children's workshop staged an original production called *The Elephant and the Telephone*. Additionally, the Chhau mask dancers presented a masked performance for about 2,000, while the Fakiri and Baul singers presented a rooftop performance for a more intimate audience of 60 workshop participants. The workshop for theatre professionals resulted in the creation of short pieces which were not performed publically. All participants were active in the workshops directed by Bond Street Theatre and seemed eager to collaborate on an original theatrical production. However, it is not clear in the reports whether or not additional programing and performances occurred after the conclusion of the initial workshop and the departure of Bond Street. Therefore, this project produced a medium level of collective action.

Gandhi Buniyadi Vidalaya, India (April 2-5 2007)

Gandhi Buniyadi Vidyalaya is a school in the rural village of Vrindavan in the Uttar Pradesh state. The school's goal is to ensure quality education for rural children regardless of their economic status. Additionally, the school provides literacy classes and vocational training for women. The women in these vocational training programs were targeted for the Bond Street workshop.

The workshop began with a simple vocal and physical exercise to relax the women. Although the women were hesitant to participate on the first day, the second day brought

noticeable improvement. Not only were participants more willing to engage with exercises, but there was an increase from 30 to 45 participants. While the workshop did not end in a public performance, participants were active in improvisation and team-building activities. After the conclusion of the workshop, local politicians, school staff, press, representatives from the Gandhi Smriti, and locals came to learn about what the women had been working on and observe workshop activities.

Women said they were empowered by the workshop; they expressed sentiments such as 'we were filled with new enthusiasm and zeal by coming here, we gained lot of confidence and felt no work is difficult in our life.- Khushbu', 'I felt very odd on the very first day. I was even thinking how I can get out of this. But the next day I saw so many things which I never saw in reality but on television only. It started opening my mind…I want you to stay here for five more days.-Shalu', 'I learnt a lot in this workshop. Above all, I learnt believing in myself which is very valuable in our life. If we desire, we can do a lot by our positive thinking and perseverance. Here we got chance to try and to try again. That would anyway get us to success at the end.- Babita' Therefore, although no further performances are noted, there was a sense of optimism, empowerment, and communal engagement by the conclusion of the workshop. These sentiments are the reason that this workshop was coded as a medium degree of collective action rather than low. Such sentiments suggest that there was a desire to change the individual and familial habits which sustained the oppression of women.

Gatividhi Theatre, India (March 30-April 6 2007)

The Gatividhi Theatre is a professional performance company supported by UNICEF. It consists of a core group of actors and a dozen performing teams that travel throughout the state of Bihar in northern India with educational programming. The group focuses on HIV/AIDS, breast-

feeding, and hand-washing. The goal of the workshop was to improve the performance techniques of the group, which had not changed significantly since UNICEF had originally trained the group in 1997. Thus, Bond Street attempted to infuse the groups process with their own TfD techniques.

Bond Street began by observing a performance and studying the techniques of the theatre. The beginning of the workshop focused on incorporating masking and puppetry to liven the performance. The workshop then transitioned to physical exercises which expanded the skills of the actors. Finally, a revised version of the performance was drafted which included 10 of the 12 workshop members. A new performance focusing on conflict resolution was also staged. Thus, two shows were performed at the end of the workshop. An audience of about 500 including local politicians, press, and UNICEF representatives attended. At the conclusion of the workshop, the theatre had reorganized their education initiative for rural areas to incorporate the skills obtained in the workshop. Therefore, a high level of collective action resulted.

Gandhi Smriti, India (February 20-March 9 2007)

An extended visit was made by Sherman and the Bond Street team at the Gandhi Smriti school in New Delhi. The expressed goal of the project was 'to train, engage, and empower youth [58 in total]-and to enhance the children's education program with theatre based "life skills" training' (pg. 21). The program consisted of theatre-based workshops for young adults, theatre-based workshops for children, and a final performance for an audience of 500 titled *Experiments with Theatre*. Students in the young-adult workshop were divided into four groups, with the third group focusing on Forum theatre techniques. The other groups and children's group focused on other TfD techniques such as 'paper theatre', physical/non-verbal theatre, image theatre, stilts, and juggling. In each group, students created a piece of theatre which studied issues of their

choosing: poverty, civic responsibility, domestic violence, pollution, traffic, and current events (a recent commuter train bombing).

Gandhi Smriti was considered one of the most successful projects, as it culminated in a public performance. In a follow-up session, practitioners discovered that the workshop also resulted in the founding of an Academy of Social Theatre. Participants expressed sentiments suggesting that they were genuinely affected by the workshop and would attempt to continue TfD programming in their community: 'whatever I learn from you, I will try to teach others.-Renu', 'now I can imagine lots of things. You all never will know how valuable you are to us. -Tlsi Kohli'. Therefore, this project produced the highest level of collective action.

Gandhi Smriti, India (April 1-20 2008.)

Bond Street was invited back to Gandhi Smriti twice after their initial visit. The first return visit occurred in the fall of 2007 to conduct a workshop with the vocational students at Gandhi Smitri. For two months, the Director Subhash Rawat met weekly with the students to build on the exercises in the previous workshop and cultivate advanced theatrical skills. The script was developed with the students from October to November, then the actual staging of the production commenced. An actor from Bond Street even joined the cast. There were about 30 participants in total, with five young actors representing the titular character of Mahatma Gandhi. Ten of the 30 students involved had returned from the prior workshop. The final performance was a two hour production detailing the child hood of Gandhi: Moniya-*the Child that Mahatma Was*. The final audience included about 250 individuals.

The second return visit was a culmination of the prior projects. Therefore, the goal of this workshop was to build on skills which were previously established and bring new students up to this advanced skill level. A lot of time was spent on strengthening improvisation skills,

especially in the context of scene work with partners. Additionally, the group continued to work on developing dramatic storylines around social issues of their choosing. Finally, the group practiced individual character development and other advanced acting skills.

The workshop culminated in the presentation of a student-created play titled *Kablana*. Kablana, the fictional world of the play, is the opposite of India in almost every way: inequality was resolved, poverty was not an issue, class conflicts did not occur, etc. In this world created by the students, people had found ways to overcome the issues which still plagued their own community. The play dealt with issues such as the differences between classes, and how those with higher education levels or social strata might help those less fortunate was explored. Approximately 15 students were involved. The audience totaled about 200. Following the performance, students filled out written reflections and discussed the impact of the workshop, as well as how they might continue to study social issues related to development. Given that repeat performances occurred, and they were initiated by the students and faculty, a high degree of collective action was recorded for the Gandhi Smitri school workshops.

Jamia Millia Islamia University, India (November 23-25 2007). The Jamia Millia Islamia University in India's capital city, Delhi, worked with Bond Street theatre in order to engage young adults who are pursuing the performing arts as a vehicle for social development. They engaged in a workshop to help direct a 'new play devised by the students about the recent political unrest in the rural region of Nandigram (located in the Bengal state) in order to raise money for the displaced population in that region.' This displaced population constituted 200 farmers who were the victims of land disputes. These farmers had been forced off their land and into temporary camps. Thus, the type of collective action here was organization at the community level to attack an obstacle to development.

The director worked with the students to devise a script and craft a performance titled 'Everyone's Village, Nandi Village.' The show was performed six times for a total of 600 audience members. About 5039 rupees ($130) were raised from the impromptu performances. Thus, the workshop became a form of collective action itself; participants were utilizing their training in theatre to deal with societal issues before Bond Street even left. The performance was followed by a workshop from February 25-27 which expanded the focus on improvisation, image theatre, and cooperation. Themes such as poverty, family, conflict resolution were discussed.

Insaani Biradri, India (Marc 5-8,11 2008).

Insaani Biradri (Human Fellowship) is a local organization in Palta village in the Uttar Pradesh state. The fellowship is dedicated to empowering people from low castes and underserved communities surrounding Lucknow, with a particular focus on women and girls. This workshop was arranged by the Director of the Nisarg Arts and Creation Group[11]. Bond Street's goal was to promote 'self-expression and improve self-esteem for the young women attending the "motivation" classes at Insaani Birardi through theatre-based exercises.' 35 women in total participated. Additionally, there were 40-50 observers of the workshop process. The workshop mostly involved 'enacting stories [based on participants'] own experiences and creating alternate scenarios and endings. Through this process, the group had the opportunity to discover solutions to problematic situations they confront on a regular basis.' The workshop was followed by a discussion between participants about how they would apply these ideas in their own lives to deal with communal issues. Thus, the type of collective action pursued in this case was the change in familial and individual habits which were oppressive to women. While these ideas were proposed and agreed upon, there is no evidence that these ideas were followed through on. Therefore, this workshop was given a medium level of collective action.

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[11] This person was not identified in the sources.

Nisarg Arts and Creation Group, India (March 5-8 2008).

The directors of the Nisarg Arts and Creation group also arranged another workshop for their

own organization. Professional directors and actors attended the workshop, the purpose of which

was 'to conduct an arts exchange with professional actors and theatre groups from the region

who are pursuing the performing arts as a vehicle for social development and with those

interested in expanding their professional theatre vocabulary.' There were 42 participants in

total, 39 men and three women.

The workshop began with a discussion of theatre in India. A major topic discussed was

the lack of women involved in theatre activities (half the groups had no women in their troupe at

all). The actors were professional, so the workshop focused on sophisticated theatre techniques:

physical principals, viewpoints, image theatre, commedia dell-arte, principles of drama, scenario

development, and flexibility in working with different audiences. In the final session, the group

created short scenes which gave them an opportunity to develop their skills, and also explore

issues through theatre which might be relevant to their audience/community. Thus, local

partnerships, improvisation, and community script drafting were incorporated in the workshop.

The workshop functioned to educate the Arts Group so that they might implement their own TfD

programming. However, there is no evidence that the Arts Group actually implemented TfD

programming, or planned to, after Bond Street's departure. Therefore, this case was coded as a

low level of collective action.

The Prerna School for Girls, India (March 10-14 2008).

The Prerna School for girls serves underprivileged students age 3-18. The school is located in the

capital of the Uttar Pradesh state, Lucknow. Bond Street's expressed aim of the workshop was

'to provide the girls of Prerna School "life skills" training through theatre workshops; and to help

the Study Hall Foundation [school sponsor] in their efforts to encourage self-reliance, self-expression, and creativity in the most disadvantaged girls.' Workshop sessions were conducted for two groups of girls. Theatre games and exercises designed to cultivate imagination and critical thinking were utilized. The goal was to empower women to fight for their rights and challenge oppressive norms. Therefore, the type of collective action sought in this case was the communal change in familial and individual habits.

During the workshop, the girls took it upon themselves to draft and present a play for workshop facilitators titled "The Trial of Krishna." The program concluded with a discussion between all participants (between 50-60 in total). An additional interview was conducted with the senior girls and school director, Urvashi Sahni, about their experiences. Urvashi Sahni expressed that '[the girls'] education has given them a status and led their parents to respect them.' The girls expressed interest at the end of the workshop in raising their voice and fighting oppression. Therefore, this workshop did result in a high level of collective action given the girls' original performance and dedication to protecting their rights.

Anantnag Workshop, India (March 18-19 2008).
Bond Street staged a workshop at a girl's school in the city of Anantnag within the Kashmir region. The Jammu and Kashmir state in India still suffers from years of violent conflict. The area is 'very conservative and isolated from the rest of India.' The goals of the workshop were 'to promote self-expression, expand professional abilities, and improve presentation skills and self-esteem in the young women attending the college; to re-introduce theatre into a region where performance is almost non-existent; demonstrate a three-country team of Americans, Afghans and Indians working together for a mutual goal of social improvement.' Thus, the goal of the

workshop was to alter familial and individual ideas in a way that would be promote social welfare.

When the workshop began, students were unfamiliar with the Bond Street company. Thus, very few students were willing to volunteer for the workshop. On the second day, however, students began to participate and more students who had been observing came to attend the workshop. Bond Street introduced exercises to encourage self-expression and confidence in the women. When the workshop began, many women would cover their mouths or bow their heads when speaking; Bond Street encouraged them to 'speak openly and laugh freely without worry.' The women created short scenes based on their own experiences, played out various scenarios, and experimented with alternate endings. This enabled the group to discuss communal issues, understand problems, and discover solutions in a safe space. One of the biggest issues discussed was the threat marriage posed to their education and career. Following the conclusion of the workshop, a discussion was held to determine what the women learned and how they might apply those lessons in their own lives. The women concurred that 'the most important lesson that we got from you was teamwork, and the union of the group. That's excellent-teamwork, team spirit and the passion to guide others!' The women seemed empowered and eager to improve their circumstances. However, there is no evidence that programming continued or that the women organized to represent their interest. Therefore, the workshop was coded as a medium level of collective action.

Process of Analysis

Table III. Boolean Analysis of Techniques and Collective Action

	Conditions				Collective Action Outcomes (CA)	Number of Instances
	Local Relationships (LR)	Community Script Drafting (CSD)	Improvisation (IM)	Post-show Discussions (PSD)		
Collection 1	1	1	1	1	H	6
	1	1	1	0	H	2
	1	1	0	1	H	3
	1	1	0	0	H	1
	0	1	0	1	M	1
	1	1	1	0	M	1
	1	1	1	1	M	1
	0	0	0	1	L	2
	0	1	0	0	L	1
	1	0	0	0	L	1
	1	0	0	1	L	1
Collection 2	1	1	1	1	H	4
	0	1	1	1	H	6
	0	1	1	1	M	3
	0	0	1	0	M	1
	0	1	1	1	L	1

These case studies reveal some general trends in the efficacy of various TfD techniques. A method of Qualitative Comparative Analysis based in Boolean algebra was used to identify these trends. This entailed using binary expressions to identify the combinations of techniques which produce a high degree of collective action within the coding presented earlier. The table above reflects the results from our initial coding in this binary fashion, as well as the degree of collective action which resulted, and the number of cases in which this combination occured. A numerical value of 0 represents the absence of that technique, while a numerical value of 1 represents the presence of that technique. In the collective action column, 'H' represent high,

'M' represents medium, and 'L' represents low. The final column tallies the number of cases in which this combination occurred. The combinations we discovered include:

Collection One

HCA=LR+CSD+IM+PSD in Malya, Marotholi, Kwanga, Gibeon, Kamiriithu, and Tana Village

HCA=LR+CSD+IM in Onyuwei, Kumba

HCA=LR+CSD+PSD in Laedza Batanani (1976) and both cases of Kisiwani-Muheza

HCA=LR+CSD in Chikwakwa

MCA=CSD+PSD in Laeda Batanani (1974/5)

MCA=LR+CSD+IM in Mazah

MCA=LR+CSD+IM+PSD in Masvingo

MCA=CSD+IM in Makerere-Kikoni

LCA=PSD in Mbalachanda and Madina

LCA=CSD in Murewa

LCA=LR in Khomo-Mpate

LCA=LR+PSD in Chalimbana

In collection one, there are six cases resulting in high collective action which incorporate all four techniques; two cases resulting in high collective action incorporating local relationships, community script-drafting, and improvisation; three cases resulting in high collective action incorporating local relationships, community script drafting, and post-show discussions; and one case resulting in high collective action which includes local relationships and community-script

drafting. There is one case resulting in medium collective action which incorporates community-script drafting and post-show discussions; one case resulting in medium collective action which incorporates local relationships, community script drafting, and improvisation; one case resulting in medium collective action which incorporate all four techniques; and one case resulting in medium collective action which incorporates community-script drafting and improvisation. There are two cases resulting in low collective action incorporating post-show discussions; there is one case resulting in low collective action incorporating community-script drafting; one case resulting in low collective action incorporating local relationships; and one case resulting in low collective action incorporating local relationships and post-show discussions.

Collection Two

HCA=LR+CSD+IM+PSD in Kabul, Jalalabad, Kandahar, and Herat

HCA=CSD+IM+PSD in Patachitra (Mantangini), Ghandi Smitri, Prerna Girls School, Gatividhi Theatre, and Jama Millia University

MCA=CSD+IM+PSD in Spandan, Nisarg arts group, and Insaani Biradri Women's Center

MCA=IM in Gandhi Buniyadi

LCA=CSD+IM+PSD in Patachitra (Chandipur)

In collection two, there are four cases resulting in high collective action incorporating all four techniques; six cases resulting in high collective action incorporating community script drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions; three cases resulting in medium collective action

incorporating community script-drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions; one case resulting in medium collective action incorporating improvisation; and one case resulting in low collective action incorporating community script-drafting, improvisation, and post-show discussions.

Conclusion

These combinations enable us to draw preliminary conclusions regarding the collective action which these techniques may produce. Our analysis will begin with a discussion of each technique's efficacy as determined by the data collected. Beyond the efficacy of individual techniques, we will address the importance of the combination between local relationships and community script drafting. Additionally, we will explain how the data suggest that local relationships replace post-show discussions by initiating conscientization and social networking earlier in the TfD programing. Finally, we will also discuss whether or not increasing the number of techniques produces higher levels of collective action. These conclusions have led to additional questions which may be answered through further research. These subsequent inquiries include the potential to research other TfD techniques, as well as the effect of repeated workshops within a single community. Challenges in research, including issues of data collection and operationalization, are addressed. Alternative research designs are also identified and suggested for future research.

General Conclusions

The first technique to consider is the cultivation of local relationships. Our results indicate that this technique is necessary for high levels of collective action. Every workshop that produced a high level of collective action incorporated this technique. However, this technique is not sufficient on its own to produce collective action. Workshops which included only local

relationships (Khomo-Mpate) or local relationships and post-show discussions (Chalimbana) produced the lowest level of collective action. Therefore, local relationships must be combined with specific other techniques in order to produce collective action, as they are not sufficient on their own to produce high levels of collective action. Nevertheless, within the first collection, high degrees of collective action cannot occur without the formation of local relationships.

However, in the second collection of cases, there is one case which produced a high level of collective action and didn't include local relationships: Patachitra in Shahid Mantangini. However, in each of their workshops, Bond Street did have an established partner with ties with organizations in the community prior to the workshop. Additionally, Bond Street introduced the workshop with warm-up exercises which allowed them to relate with villagers. There is no evidence of these partnerships or warm-ups occurring in the cases belonging in set one. Thus, while the cultivation of relationships did not occur during a defined period upon the practitioners' arrival, there were local partners facilitating the workshop's progress. Therefore, Bond Street had indirect local partnerships with key individuals which gave them some pre-existing relationship with the locals in Shahid Mantangini.

Additionally, during the workshop, Bond Street worked closely with the artist during the workshop to learn about their art form. This was not coded as local relationships, because it did not consists of formal observation and interviews; rather, Bond Street practitioners learned about the Patachitra artist and bonded with participants throughout the workshop. Therefore, practitioners cultivated local relationships. Even if these relationships were initially indirect and fostered primarily during the workshop, they still initiated audience engagement and contributed to the resulting collective action. It therefore seems that local relationships are necessary for high levels of collective action. Additionally, every Bond Street case which did include local

relationships produced a high level of collective action. Furthermore, other projects which fostered relationships indirectly and in rehearsals produced medium levels of collective action all but twice. At the very least, there appears to be a correlation between high measures of collective action and the cultivation of local relationships.

The second technique is community script-drafting. The data suggest that this technique is necessary for high levels of collective action. Every workshop that produced a high level of collective action incorporated this technique. However, community-script drafting was incorporated in some workshops which did not produce a high level of collective action. Therefore, community script-drafting is not sufficient to produce collective action. In fact, cases which incorporated only community script-drafting (Murewa) produced a low level of collective action. Furthermore, cases which combined community script-drafting with only one other technique (Laedza Batanani, 1974/75 and Makerere-Kikani) produced only a medium level of collective action. Therefore, community-script drafting must be incorporated in a workshop and combined with other specific techniques in order to produce a higher level of collective action.

Improvisation is the third technique to consider. The data suggest that this technique is neither necessary nor sufficient. In workshops which produced the highest level of community engagement, improvisation is not consistently implemented. Therefore, it is neither necessary nor sufficient. However, it is important to note that this does not indicate that improvisation is *completely* irrelevant to the cultivation of collective action. In our first collection of cases, two thirds of those resulting in high collective action included improvisation. Additionally, there is only one case which produced a medium level of collective action which did not include improvisation. There are no cases which included improvisation that produced a lower level of collective action. In our second collection of cases, every workshop included improvisation.

Within this collection of cases, only two of the sixteen workshops produced a low level of collective action. Therefore, we do observe some correlation between improvisation and medium or high levels of collective action. While more empirical analysis is required to determine if a relationship exists between collective action and improvisation, the data suggest that there is a correlation between this technique and collective action.

Finally, the data indicates that post-show discussions are neither necessary nor sufficient. Initial research and literature suggested that the mechanisms of conscientization and social-networking, which post-show discussions operate through, are critical to overcoming collective action problems. Additionally, the post-show discussion involves more individuals from the community than any other component of the TfD program. Thus, it seems that post-show discussions would be the best opportunity to initiate conscientization or social-networking, and be highly efficient at alleviating collective action problems.

However, the data does not confirm that post-show discussions are necessary for high levels of collective action to occur. In collection one, only half of the combinations of techniques which produced high levels of collective action included post-show discussions. When post-show discussions were combined with another technique, they failed to produce a high level of collective action, remaining at medium or low levels of collective action. Workshops which incorporated only post-show discussions resulted in the lowest level of collective action; thus post-show discussions are certainly not sufficient to produce high levels of collective action. Therefore, post-show discussions are not necessary for high collective action.

These results both confirm and debunk the claims made in our hypothesis. This analysis confirms that community script-drafting is necessary for producing a high degree of collective action. Additionally, although it does not confirm that improvisation is necessary, the analysis

suggest that there may in fact be a correlation between improvisation and increasing degrees of collective action. The analysis confirmed our hypothesis that post-show discussions were not necessary, but may still contribute to the cultivation of collective action. Ultimately, however, the importance placed on post-show discussions by our hypothesis was not reflected in the results; many workshops were able to produce impressive levels of collective action without the additional benefits provided by post-show discussions. Thus, while it is still a possibility that post-show discussions slightly increase collective action, the technique seems to have a limited impact. The claim that local relationships will have no impact on collective action was disproven. In fact, it seems that local relationships may be even more effective than post-show discussions.

While these conclusions are valuable, there are still many other factors to study which may influence TfD's operation. Overall, what is apparent in the results is that various combinations of techniques might lead to the fruition of collective action. Equifinality is thus an important reality to consider when studying successful TfD workshops. Thus, while these conclusions are valuable, there are many factors contributing to TfD's impacts that have yet to be explored. Given that this is an obscure and young topic of inquiry, the most valuable outcome of this research might be the direction to unexplored paths of inquiry which are described below.

Next Steps

While the conclusions drawn from this research are valuable, there are still many questions which have yet to be answered. The first exploration includes potential theories which might be produced from this research, and require more empirical analysis to prove or disprove. Secondly, this research calls for the consideration of other TfD techniques which may contribute to the cultivation of collective action. Additionally, alternative methods through which TfD might be

studied are considered. Finally, the difference between workshops which occur once and those which are repeated is considered.

Additional Theories

Combining Local Relationships and Community Script-Drafting

This first theory involves the combination of local relationships and community-script drafting. Neither of these techniques is sufficient on its own to produce a high degree of collective action; but combined, these techniques often produce high degrees of collective action. Therefore, this data suggest the potential that multiple conjunctoral causation involved local relationships and community script drafting incites high degrees of collective action.

This multiple conjunctoral causation is observed in both collections of cases. Within the first collection of cases, every workshop resulting in high level of collective action included both local relationships and community script-drafting. Within the second collection of cases, only one workshop producing a high degree of collective action did not combine local relationships and community script-drafting. This was the Patachitra workshop in Shahid Mantangini, and the presence of local relationships within this workshop has already been clarified in the above analysis. Thus, it seems possible that the combination of these two techniques makes them especially effective and capable of inciting collective action. The data indicates that the combination of local relationships and community script drafting is necessary for high levels of collective action.

There are some cases in which our data would suggest that this relationship is not sufficient. Within the first collection, the Mazah and Masvingo cases combine local relationships and community script-drafting, but only produce a medium degree of collective action. However, this coding does not suggest that these techniques do not support collective action. The first

important caveat is that these workshops did at least produce a medium degree of collective action; there is no evidence that local relationships and community script-drafting can be combined and produce anything less than a medium degree of collective action.

Additionally, at the Mazah workshop, practitioners noted that although they incorporated community script-drafting, they were unable to involve the community as much as they wanted to; the constant bickering between men and women meant that practitioners were forced to draft most of the script before presenting it to community members in order to make sure the workshop moved along. Thus, the implementation of community script drafting was flawed. They attributed the lower level of collective action to this failure; therefore, the medium level of collective action results from the fact that community script-drafting was only partially implemented, which was not captured in our binary coding model.

Finally, the Masvingo workshop did produce a considerable level of collective action. In fact, when coding, it was difficult to distinguish between a medium and high level of collective action. While some degree of collective action continued, practitioners were unsure whether or not it was resilient enough to sustain a development initiative. We coded a medium level of collective action, even though the community had assembled to address communal issues, in order to remain rigorous. Therefore, while these workshops suggest that the combination of local relationships and community script-drafting is not sufficient, contextual circumstances may explain why this combination produced a mere medium degree of collective action. Ultimately, the combination of local relationships and community script drafting is a relationship which must be explored through further empirical testing to determine whether or not it is sufficient.

Local Relationships vs. Post-show Discussions?

The second involves the relative importance of local relationships and post-show discussions. Our initial hypothesis and research suggested that post-show discussions were an effective TfD technique which would cultivate collective action. However, it seems that local relationships are more prone to cultivate collective action than post-show discussions. A potential explanation for this phenomenon is that the conscientization and social networking which occurs in post-show discussions might actually take place in pre-show discussions during the cultivation of local relationships. When practitioners speak with locals during the research period, they are grappling with communal issues and asking subjects to debate with each other in order to create an accurate depiction of the community's issues. Therefore, a process of conscientization and social-networking might be taking place during the formation of local relationships which allows local relationships to take the place of post-show discussions in the cultivation of collective action.

The process of the TfD workshop itself might be sufficient to incite collective action without requiring post-show discussions to attempt to broaden this collective action. The mechanisms of conscientization and social-networking are engaged throughout the workshop through other techniques. Additionally, the analysis and problem-solving characterizing post-show discussions also occur during the workshop and rehearsal process. Therefore, by the time the performance is finished, there may be no need for a post-show discussion; community members have already assembled, debated issues, and agreed on potential solutions by the time the post-show workshop may happen. While issues may be further discussed in post-show discussions, and there are many cases in which post-show discussions solidified plans for

development initiatives, these discussions may not be necessary or even beneficial for every

workshop.

Table IV. Description of Techniques and the Mechanisms they Initiate

	Definition	Mechanisms
Cultivating Local Partnerships	Practitioners arrive in the community for a visit prior to the commencement of the TfD workshop to cultivate relationships.	Audience Engagement, Conscientization, Social Networking
Community-drafting	Community members are recruited to be involved in the drafting of the performance script.	Audience Engagement, Conscientization, and Social Networking
Improvisation	Audience members are recruited to be involved in role-playing and the simulation of real-life events during the workshop.	Audience Engagement, Conscientization,
Post-show Discussion	A conversation is held among audience members following the performance, often facilitated by a TfD practitioner trained in Freirian problem-posing education.	Social Networking

This conclusion has led us to revise our earlier theories about the correlation between

various techniques and mechanisms. These revisions are reflected in the table above. In this

revised model, post-show discussions contribute to collective action when they facilitate social

networking. The formation of local relationships contributes to collective action not only by

supporting audience engagement, but also by initiating conscientization.

The Impact of Multiple Techniques

The data does suggest that the use of multiple techniques will typically result in a higher level of collective action. Therefore, while some of the techniques are not necessary to produce collective action, they still support its cultivation. Within the second collection of cases, there is not as much variety in the number of techniques implemented as each workshop was conducted by the same theatre. However, within collection one, there is greater variation in the number of techniques implemented in the workshop. Thus, in analyzing collection one, we can detect a pattern where increases in the number of techniques incorporated corresponds with greater degrees of resulting collective action.

There is a correlation between the number of techniques included and the degree of collective action resulting. Among the cases producing the highest level of collection action, there were six cases incorporating all four techniques, five incorporating three techniques, and only one incorporating two techniques. None of the cases producing high degrees of collective action used only one technique. Among the cases producing the medium level of collective action, there are two incorporating all four techniques, one incorporating three techniques, and two incorporating two techniques. Among the lowest levels of collective action, there were four cases incorporating only one technique, and one incorporating two techniques. Thus, there is a tendency for workshops incorporating more techniques to produce higher levels of collective actions, while workshops including fewer techniques typically produce a lower level of collective action. This suggests that while some techniques are not necessary for collective action, they do support the foundation of collective action when occurring in conjunction with other techniques.

If the incorporation of more techniques correlates with high levels of collective action, the combination of only local relationships and community-script drafting may not always be sufficient to produce high levels of collective action. Indeed, three cases in collection one which produced a medium level of collective action included both local relationships and community script-drafting. Among the cases producing high collective action, only one included solely the two necessary techniques. Therefore, while this combination strongly encourages collective action, it is not always sufficient. The inclusion of improvisation or post-show discussions often helps increase the level of collective action.

This pattern suggests something about the efficacy of post-show discussions and improvisation. Unlike local relationships and community script drafting, improvisation and post-show discussions are not direct causal factors of collective action given that they are not required for the fruition of collective action. However, this is not to say that these techniques are completely irrelevant to the process causing collective action. While they may not play a central role, the presence of these techniques may still influence the efficacy of other techniques and the cultivation of collective action. This is evidenced by the fact that improvisation and/or post-show discussions occur in all except one workshop producing high levels of collective action. Furthermore, the correlation between increasing inclusion of techniques and increasing levels of collective action suggest that improvisation and post-show discussions do have some sort of impact on collective action. Thus, improvisation and post-show discussions, although unnecessary, may indirectly support the process by which collective action is produced.

The Importance of Context

Given that TfD workshops do not take place in a vacuum immune to the surrounding context, contextual factors must be recognized as having some impact on the efficacy of TfD workshops.

Every TfD workshop takes place under a unique set of conditions. These contextual factors are so numerous and complex, it may be impossible to account for all of them. However, within the scope of this thesis, there are two types of contextual factors that should be addressed.

The first is the antecedent variable: community willingness to participate. Logically, a workshop would benefit from a community which had invited the workshop and was eager to engage in TfD programming. However, the data in this thesis indicates that community willingness to participate is not required for a TfD workshop to be successful. In fact, there are five cases in our research in which community willingness to participate was absent, but high levels of collective action still resulted. Additionally, in discussions with Joanna Sherman, she indicated that there are ways to overcome initial hesitancy among workshop participants. In fact, at the Gandhi Buniyadi Vidyalaya school and the Anantnag workshop, Sherman was able to overcome such initial hesitancy. Therefore, the factor of community willingness to participate does not determine a workshop's success.

However, the community's willingness to participate may still have some influence on a workshop's potential to produce collective action. Out of all the cases where community willingness to participate was present, only one produced a low level of collective action. Twelve cases where community willingness to participate was present produced high collective action, and three where community willingness to participate was present produced medium collective action. Alternatively, six cases where community willingness to participate was absent produced low collective action, and three cases where community willingness to participate was absent produced medium collective action. These trends indicate that there is some correlation between community willingness to participate and collective action. Thus, when communities are eager to participate, TfD workshops produce high levels of collective action.

The second is the combination of cultural factors which may influence the TfD process and results. One of the methods most commonly included in TfD workshops is the incorporation of cultural elements. The purpose of including these elements is to help the audience relate to the performance and maintain their interest. Drafting relatable characters is one way in which familiar cultural figures are incorporated. However, there are numerous other methods through which cultural elements are included in a performance or workshop.

There are a couple examples of inclusion of cultural elements in our first collection of cases. In Murewa, Zimbabwe, practitioners were able to incorporate traditional forms of dance in the workshop (Byam 1999, 116). Scholars and practitioners cite this as a major success of the program, and applaud the workshop leader, Stephen Chifunyise, for incorporating such elements. Another example is Tana Village, Mali. Within this community, there was no concept of public performance or storytelling (stories were orally passed down, and new stories were never created) (Mavrocordatos, 99). Therefore, practitioners had to work within the confines of the culture to produce a performance. Practitioners used the village's traditional hunting stories as a basic model on which to craft new stories (Mavrocordatos, 101), and relied on a traditional game remniscient of charads (referred to by community members as 'obori) in order to induce the participants to improvise and alter the story (Mavrocordatos, 99). Therefore, culture had an enormous influence on the TfD process in these two cases.

The degree to which cultural elements are conducive to a theatrical performance and can be included may influence the success of a TfD workshop. In communities where the implementation of cultural elements could be offensive, or public performance is not incorporated in culture, it may be difficult for practitioners to incorporate these elements. Therefore, the success of the workshop would be limited. Ultimately, the general trend indicates

that TfD practitioners attempt to incorporate whatever cultural elements they can to promote the success of the workshop.

However, it is interesting to note that in the examples listed above, the inclusion of cultural elements did not produce high collective action. In Murewa, Zimbabwe, low collective action resulted. In Tana Village, Mali, medium collective action resulted. These cases do not prove that the incorporation of cultural practices does not influence the cultivation of collective action, whether positively or negatively. However, the data does suggest that the inclusion of cultural practices is not sufficient.

Another way in which culture should be considered is the ethnic makeup of a community. While many communities in which TfD workshops are staged consist of only one ethnic group, many communities experience ethnic diversity. This ethnic diversity has the potential to prevent community members from engaging in collective action. For example, in Kumba, Cameroon, the inclusion of three different groups within one community had previously made it impossible for the community to assemble and address public issues (Eyoh and Mlama 1991). Although a bridge was never built, another council was formed to mediate between the groups, which led to the successful completion of other development programs (Eyoh, 19). Another example is Kisiwani-Muheza, Tanzania. In this instance, the resettlement of the Kijijni people in Kisiwani had resulted in land disputes and ethnic tensions within the community (Nyohi, 222). This ethnic division was both a development problem in itself, and a factor exacerbating other development issues. Ultimately, practitioners were able to mediate some of these disputes, and a high level of collective action eventually resulted (Nyohi, 223). Therefore, ethnic conflict is an issue which many TfD programs encounter. Sometimes, workshops are able to overcome this conflict, and at other times, this conflict inhibits the success of the program.

Besides these two issues addressed within this thesis, there are numerous other contextual factors which might influence the success of a workshop. The community's geographic location, the involvement of local government, access to NGOs, land distribution, power structures, the societal position of women, the relative remoteness of the community, access to valuable resources or money, etc. Many of these factors will influence the issues most pertinent to the community, as well as the community's ability to deal with these issues. Collective action will be shaped by the resources and influence the community has at its disposal. I would have liked to explore such specific contextual factors in this study. The goal for incorporating cases from Bond Street was to hold the independent variables constant, and identify potential contextual factors which would have contributed to different outcomes. However, the contextual information available at Bond Street was limited. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account these contextual factors in future studies.

Other Techniques to Consider

Ultimately, without further empirical testing, we cannot confirm whether or not repetition actually impact TfD's efficacy. The most important realization that came of this thesis was that there is no 'correct' version of TfD. In my research, I read about programs which didn't incorporate any of these four techniques but were still successful. . This indicates that successful TfD programming is defined by equifinality. Such equifinality is evidenced in my own research given that (1) several different variations of techniques produced high levels of collective action and (2) I have identified multiple other factors-repetition of workshops, community willingness to participate, improvisation, post-show discussions, etc.-which may influence the production of collective action in certain cases. Looking forward, I would like to study other variations of TfD and broaden the range of techniques that I consider. There is still a lot to learn about other

techniques which have been proven successful, as well as why and when those techniques were efficacious. Analyzing the four techniques in this thesis is only the beginning.

It is necessary for us to consider what other factors or techniques might contribute to the efficacy of TfD for a couple reasons: (1) our data indicated that none of the four techniques we studied are sufficient on their own to produce high levels of collective action and (2) studying other techniques into this coding process might reveal workshops which didn't incorporate local relationships and community script drafting and produced high levels of collective action, deeming these techniques unnecessary. The TfD workshop which incorporates the four techniques analyzed here is only a subtype of all the TfD workshops which have been designed. There are numerous other TfD techniques which may be incorporated in a TfD workshop. Some programs implement body awareness, acrobatics, image story-telling, mask work, collaboration between communities, confidence building exercises, trust exercises, etc. Therefore, while the four techniques studied in the thesis are significant, there are a lot of other relevant TfD methods whose efficacy might be studied. These alternate techniques may not form a completely alternative explanation, but rather serve to revise our earlier hypothesis and suggest other factors of consideration.

To determine which factors or techniques actually impact TfD's efficacy, we can look at the cases coded from Bond Streets sources. Many of these cases implemented the same combination of techniques, but produced different results. Differences between these workshops might reveal factors which increase the collective action resulting from TfD. There are very few instances in which Bond Street's workshop produced a low level of collective action; most of their cases resulted in either medium or high collective action. Those cases resulting in a medium level of engagement were all part of the India program. The programs in India which observed a

high level of collective action include Gandhi Smitri, Patachitra at Shahid Mantangini, and the Gatividhi theatre. All of Bond Street's programs in Afghanistan produced a high level of collective action. Studying the differences between these workshops will enable us to determine what other factors might be necessary to progress from medium collective action to high collective action.

At first glance, there are a variety of issues which might contribute to the difference between a medium and high level of collective action. Given that these programs occurred in Afghanistan and India, and Afghanistan cases produced high collective while Indian cases typically produced medium collective action, one might argue that the workshop was better suited for Afghani communities than Indian communities. While it is certain that contextual and cultural factors impacted the efficacy of each project, this argument is too simplistic. Cultural differences exist between the communities *within* these countries. Therefore, the general distinction between Indian and Afghani society is not a sufficient explanation, as cultural differences occurred within these countries and not simply between them. Additionally, there were three workshops in India which produced a high level of collective action.

Therefore, it is not incompatibility with a broader Indian culture which prevents Bond Street's workshops from producing a high level of collective action in many Indian villages. Thus, we must look for additional explanations for these differences. Some of these might involve cultural differences between *villages*. However, given the focus of this thesis is on methodology, I am more interested in a particular deviation in the methodologies implemented in some of these cases which should be considered.

It appears that this deviation is the element of repetition. While many TfD programs are implemented once and then depart, there are other TfD programs which conduct repeat

workshops and performances in communities. The prolonged presence of a TfD workshop and repeated performances allows practitioners to effectively connect with communal issues, sustains discussion regarding these issues, and provides the workshop time to establish a development initiative before their departure. Therefore, if structures are in place that make a workshop sustainable, the workshop is more likely to produce high levels of collective action.

Bond Street conducted both workshops which were prolonged and involved repeat sessions, and workshops which only occurred once. Every program in Afghanistan was a workshop which was prolonged and resulted in the solid foundation of a TfD theatre in that community in addition to shifts in communal ideologies. In the cases of Gandhi Smitri, Patachitra in Shahid Matangani, and Gatividhi Theatre, repeat performances occurred. In the case of Gandhi Smitri, not only were their repeat performances, but there were multiple workshops which built on the skills taught in the previous workshop. In every Indian workshop which Bond Street's program resulted in medium collective action, workshops and performances were not repeated. Therefore, this repetition seems to a building block in the foundation of collective action. While this element is not necessary, as there are plenty of cases in the first collection which produced high collective action without repetition, it is a significant factor to consider. Further empirical analysis may be conducted to explore this learning phenomenon.

The Learning Phenomenon

There are several instances in our research where a workshop was conducted not just once, but repeated multiple times in the same area. Some of the examples of these reoccurring workshops include Laedza Batanani, each of Bond Street's programs in Afghanistan, Ghandi Smitri, Chikwakwa, and Malya Project. In each of these instances, a higher level of collective action resulted after repeated workshops. Bond Street Theatre's director, Joanna Sherman, has

established theatres through workshops and continued to support TfD programming in the communities she visits for this reason. By repeating TfD programming, workshops can avoid becoming a 'flash in the pan' that doesn't have a sustained effect. Therefore, in workshops which are repeated, we observe sustained progress and higher levels of collective action resulting from later workshops.

We also observe changes made to workshops which are repeated. Thus, a higher level of collective action and sustained improvement occurs as workshops evolve, alter techniques, learn how to better service a community, and build upon the progress established in earlier workshops. Essentially, these instances suggest that there is an evolution and learning which occurs when TfD workshops are able to return to a host community. This process of continued involvement and consequential evolution may be a critical component in some of these successful TfD programs. One example in collection one is Laedza Batanani. The previous analysis of this workshop details how continuing workshops over extended periods enabled practitioners to mold the TfD model into a more efficient format for that community.

Another interesting example of a TfD program evolving is the Otobi project. The Otobi village was part of the Theatre for Integrated Development workshop (TIDE) along with Onyuwei, Nigeria (Samson 2000, 137). Following the initial workshop in 1989, the village was able to obtain funding from the Canadia NGO Casu for a food processing machine (Samson 2000, 138). This machine was meant to facilitate the work of the women's wing of the Otobi Community Development Association, allowing them to process a greater variety of foods and alleviate issues surrounding perishable foods, lack of nutrition, and the risk of investing in agriculture. Thus, the women were given the responsibility of operating the machine (Samson 2000, 139).

However, conflicts began to emerge over the ownership of the machine and the money it generated. Consequentially, five years after the machine was obtained, the workshop revisited the village in order to resolve the conflict and reestablish cooperation (Samson 2000, 139). This additional workshop occurred because NPTA owned the machine; therefore, the agency sponsoring the original workshop had an incentive to resolve the dispute and protect their investment (Samson 2000, 139).

Following the workshop, a committee was formed consisting of ten individuals representing the elders, youths, women, NPTA, and the committee which had previously managed the machine (Samson 2000, 143). This second committee reflected every party's interests, and was more effective at ensuring cooperation (Samson 2000, 143). Therefore, the continued involvement of the theatre initiative led to subsequent workshops where there was a more acute understanding of communal issues, unforeseen problems with development initiatives were handled, and the workshop was better tailored to the community hosting it. Indeed, one of the participants in Otobi workshop affirmed that 'this [experience] underscores the importance of continuous cooperation and follow-up in theatre for development practice.' (Samson, 2000, 144). Thus, sustained involvement can be critical to the establishment of an effective development initiative.

Sometimes, sustained development is achieved through a partner theatre. In such cases, the primary purpose of the initial workshop is usually conducted to train a new theatre troupe, which is then expected to continue the TfD program after foreign practitioners' departures. The best examples of such workshops in our study include the work of Bond Street. In these workshops, the need to train workshop participants meant that the focus of the program was on evolving the TfD method.

Some of these programs were more successful than others. Bond Street's work in Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat, Kandahar, Patachitra Shahid Mantangini, Gatvidhi Theatre, and Gandhi Smitri aimed to establish a theatre practice which these communities could use to address their problems. Each of these communities was exposed to a workshop and performances multiple times, and thus were familiarized with the TfD process. Consequently, groups within these communities have continued collaborating to produce TfD. Even when the theatres left behind have struggled to become established, they are still inciting Boalian conversations about communal issues. Therefore, repeated TfD workshops and programming is critical when the aim of the workshop is to create a sustained TfD program that can continue discussion.

This is reflected in our first collection of cases as well. There are certain TfD programs which aimed to establish a theatre continuing TfD programing; two examples we will look at more deeply include Gibeon and Masvgino. In Gibeon, Namibia, practitioners had organized the workshop with the intention of training others in TfD practices so TfD might be incorporated in future development initiatives. This program incorporated multiple workshops. Additionally, practitioners helped the trainees to continue creating shows and facilitating discussions after the first show. The success of multiple shows led to the formation of the YES group: a youth theatre company which travels bringing their shows to festivals and implementing workshops in other communities. Therefore, in this case, the prolonged presence of practitioners gave the group a solid foundation from which to build their theatre.

In the case of Masvingo, practitioners aimed to leave behind a theatre troupe that could continue TfD programing; they conducted training first, then had trainees facilitate a workshop of their own. Practitioners stayed for the first performance the workshop produced. While the performances were implemented multiple times, practitioners were not there to continue working

with trainees. Ultimately, practitioners felt that they had left too soon, and were uneasy with the thought of concluding their work after six weeks without having left a solid foundation for the TfD programming to persist and develop. Therefore, the practitioners' inability to remain accessible through multiple workshops and performances prevented any sustained, meaningful theatre from being established.

These examples indicate that a potential method to ensure TfD's efficacy is sustained involvement. This involvement may result in a development initiative, continued conversations, or even a new theatre. The common goal among all of these forms of sustained involvement is evolution. TfD workshops can streamline their approach, adapt to the targeted communities, and continue to learn new ways of implementing TfD by continuing programing. The potential benefits of such learning and adaptation are the increasing efficiency and efficacy of TfD programs. Based on the data in this study, it seems that repetitive workshops that enable a program to evolve have more potential to produce collective action. Therefore, it is necessary for further research to explore how the learning phenomenon impacts TfD's ability to incite collective action among an audience.

Research Reflections

Data Collection

In the future, I would hope to improve my data collection process. A challenge that I encountered in this research is that I did not get to conduct as many interviews as I would have liked. While the research design used in this study had its benefits, might employ another research design in the future if given the opportunity. The first problem I have with my research design is that I did not get to conduct as many interviews as I would have liked. Although my coding incorporated a range of perspectives and sources, a more holistic, in depth understanding

of each case study would have allowed me to place more confidence in the trends observed.

Additionally, analyzing more resources would have illuminated the specific intricacies of TfD's

operation. I certainly realized that the balancing act between collecting enough cases and

collecting enough in depth information is difficult. While I think I balanced these two needs

fairly well, I would have preferred to spend more time digging for information on my case

studies.

Operationalization

Another challenge encountered in this research was difficulty in operationalizing certain

concepts. Translating theoretical and abstract terms into a tangible, recognizable form required

making some difficult decisions. One of the difficult concepts to work with was the dependent

variable: collective action. This is a complex phenomenon which was difficult to operationalize

for the purposes of this study. Eventually, a scale of high, medium, low was decided upon.

However, this scale does not capture the true diversity of the collective action reflected in these

cases. There are many types of collective outside of 'high-low.' Each of these types of collective

action makes its own contribution to the process of development.

The first type of collective action is the continuation of TfD programming. Many of the

cases included in this study implemented a TfD workshop with the goal of establishing some sort

of theatre or structure which could continue TfD programming after the practitioners' departures.

In this case, TfD programming that continues is the collective action which results, as it requires

the cooperative efforts of members of the community to maintain a theatre program. Within

collection one, workshops which aimed to incite collective action through continued TfD

programming include Tana Village, Masvingo, Khomo-Mpate, Chikwakwa, Malya,

Mbalachanda, Madina, and Marotholi. Within the second collection, cases aimed to encourage

participants to continue using TfD exercises or, at the very least, continue discussions of communal problems. These cases included the Nisarg Arts and Creation Group, the Gandhi Smitri school, Gatividhi Theatre, Spandan Theatre, the Patachitra workshops, and all the workshops in Afghanistan.

Ultimately, sustainable theatre and discussion is a common goal of many TfD workshops. This type of collective action contributes to development, as it facilitates organization, critical discussion, and solution seeking among individuals in struggling communities. Continued programming empowers communities to work cooperatively towards improving their circumstances. This cooperation helps form the basis for civil society, which in turn support democratization (Putnam 1994). Additionally, by combining their efforts, community members are more likely to successfully implement development initiatives in the future. Therefore, they are given the social capital necessary to fight for causes which would improve their standard of living.

Many cases which involve continued TfD programming are particularly beneficial for providing marginalized people with agency. So often, the development process doesn't include the very people which will be impacted most directly by development. Using TfD to include these individuals and their opinions may alter the course of development. Additionally involving a greater number of people in the development process will increase the resources contributing to the development process, expediting development. Ultimately, encouraging involvement through TfD programming will empower individuals who are typically overlooked and encourage them to be active in the development process, changing the course of development.

The second type of collective action is the collective change of familial or individual habits. These workshops highlight societal norms that are recognized as being detrimental to the

overall well-being of the community. For instance, the lack of sanitation due to improper disposal of waste in Kampala was an issue in the Makerere Kikoni workshop. The solution to such a problem was for families to dig pit latrines and change their habits. Similar approaches to dealing with sanitation and disposal habits were taken in Laedza Batanani, and Gibeon, Namibia. This was a collective change, as the community agreed to do it together. However, the initiative only required a change in habits which could be accomplished on an individual basis.

Another example is the workshops dealing with the mistreatment of women in Bond Street's cases. Many of the workshops which Bond Street conducted in India-Anantnag, Prerna School for Girls, Insaani Biradri, Gandhi Buniyadi Vidalaya-dealt with this issue by inciting conversations among girls and empowering them to fight for their rights. The primary locus driving the mistreatment of women was the family unit, which encouraged them to marry young, forgo education, and be subservient to the men in their family. Therefore, once again, the development movement evolving from these workshops was focused on collective changes in habitual practices made on an individual and familial basis.

In these cases, the empowerment of marginalized individuals is a symbol of development. The standard of living for such individuals is affected not only by lack of infrastructure, healthcare, food, government, etc., but also by a lack of respect. These marginalized groups are mistreated on a daily basis. Alleviating mistreatment would drastically improve the standard of living for such individuals, and open opportunities for them to pursue the standard of living they aspire towards. Additionally, it would enable these individuals to support the development process while representing their interest. Increasing the influence of these individuals would refocus development efforts as well as support such efforts.

Such collective action contributes to development by expanding the critical awareness of communities. This new awareness allows communities to make informed decisions about communal issues. Providing individuals with information and alternative perspectives is necessary in order to enable them to make choices about the lives they would like to lead. These choices are critical, as captured in the concept of 'social choice.' Social choice requires that individuals be free to pursue the quality of life they choose in order to produce overall social welfare (Sen 1999). Therefore, as collective action across a community encourages families and individuals to choose alternative habits and beliefs in order to progress their own standard of living, as well as social welfare (Sen 1999). In such a line of logic, the dedication of individuals within a community to improved sanitation or women's rights constitutes as development (Evans 2002, 55).

Additionally, as this critical awareness is experienced across the community, a sense of communal engagement is established. This communal engagement is critical for supporting the civil society which contributes to democratization, a generally accepted component of development (Putnam 1994). Such collective efforts to make changes as individuals contribute to development, as ones 'ability to choose the life [one has]reason to value often hangs on the possibility of [ones]acting together with others who have reason to value similar things. Individual capabilities depend on collective capabilities" (Evans 2002, 56). In other words, one's own progress both supports and depends on the development of the community as a whole. Ultimately, these changes contribute to the improvement of standards of living for individuals within the community.

The third type of collective action is the formation of a new organization to deal with communal issues. This type of collective action is seen in several cases in collection one:

Onyuwei, Kumba, Kwanga, Gibeon, Murewa, Kisiwani-Muheza, Chalimbana, and Mazah.

Similar collective action is also seen in Jamia Millia Islamia University in collection two. These

organizations are typically formed to pursue a specific development initiative such as of

women's rights, the instalment of a food processor, construction of a bridge, etc. In some cases,

even after their initial project is fulfilled, these organizations will persist by moving onto other

development initiatives. These projects typically result in the provision of a public good. In this

type of collective action, the public good would likely not occur without the organization and

efforts of such committees. Therefore, this third type of collective action is especially important

for securing development initiatives which might have been more difficult to attain.

These organizations typically contribute to development in very specific ways. Each

community has unique problems which negatively impact the standard of living of individuals.

Establishing organizations dedicated to taking on the responsibility of dealing with specific,

communal problems ensures that public goods improving standard of living will be provided.

Issues such as infrastructure, healthcare, government, food, education, etc. are areas which

development planner typically target. By enabling a community to deal with these issues on their

own, collective action through organizations enables communities to target some of the most

commonly understood symptoms of underdevelopment. Addressing these symptoms provides

opportunities for individuals to lead healthier, more fulfilling lives.

Additionally, this type of cooperation and formal organization contributes to civil society

(Putnam 1994). Such civil society is a fundamental aspect of development, as collectives

'provide an arena for formulating shared values and preferences, and instruments for pursing

them, even in the face of powerful opposition" (Evans 2002, 56). Therefore, this type of

collective action contributes to the development of a community by providing an initial public good, and also establishing organizations which will support future development.

The independent variables in this study were also a struggle to operationalize. In the data presented here, the variables were coded as either 'present' or 'absent' in a workshop. However, this binary scale does not capture the full range in which these techniques might be implemented. For example, in the Mazah, Nigeria workshop, practitioner technically implemented community script drafting, but they only did so at the end of the drafting process. Therefore, they did not fully implement this technique. Eccentricities such as this were not able to be captured in our coding scale.

There was another round of coding done using a three point scale which was not included in this thesis. Local relationships in this version were coded as 'none,' 'networking occurs in a designated period before rehearsals,' or 'workshop is a return visit.' Community script drafting was coded as 'none,' 'feedback given,' or 'community wrote the script. Improvisation was coded as 'none,' 'participants discuss scenes,' or 'participants act in scenes.' Post-show discussions were coded as 'none,' 'discussion without trained facilitators,' or 'discussion with trained facilitators (capable of mediating and using Boalian methods).' Utilizing this coding would have allowed me to conduct a more sophisticated and detailed analysis depending on fuzzy set.

However, I was concerned enough about the calibration of these variables to not conduct an analysis using the data collected through this coding. This is because I decided on the ordinal scale for each variable, and conducted the coding, before considering utilizing fuzzy set in the analysis. Therefore, I am not sure that the ordinal scale listed above would be appropriate for a fuzzy set analysis along three categories. I would need to reconsider these categories and recalibrate the variables in order to utilize a fuzzy set analysis appropriately.

Yet another concept I struggled with was 'conscientization.' All of the literature on TfD

mentions conscientization as both a critical step in the TfD process and desired outcome.

However, it is difficult not only to conceptualize this term within the context of TfD, but also

operationalize it so it might be recognized within case studied. Ultimately, I came to understand

conscientization as the process through which an individual engages in critical, objective

analysis of their circumstances and gains an awareness of the systems that contribute to their

position in life. Recognizing this process as it occurs is difficult to do. Within the TfD process,

conscientization may be recognized in critical discussions in which individuals reflect on the

causes of communal issues and consider the perspectives of others (especially those who are

typically marginalized, such as women or children). Ultimately, this is a term which scholars

continue to grapple with and struggle to reach a consensus on its operationalization.

Future Research Design

Furthermore, I might employ another research design in the future. If given the

opportunity, I would attempt to compare the effects of TfD using a type of randomized control

experiment in the field. Originally, I felt that comparing two localities-one in which there was no

TfD project and one in which there was-would be a valid research design. This comparison

would allow us to control for confounding factors and observe the impacts of TfD. Upon

researching case studies, I realized it would be impossible to execute this design. Not only is it

difficult to gather the data required to adequately analyze a TfD program's impact, but the data

available for neighboring communities would be even more cumbersome to find. Therefore, I

dropped this design in lieu of coding. Later in the process, however, I stumbled across a potential

opportunity to implement my original research design in some fashion.

Joanna Sherman noted that after Bond Street finishes a workshop, neighboring villages sometimes step forward to request a workshop in their own community. Unfortunately, given that the theatre works on such a tight budget, they rarely have an opportunity to add workshops. Bond Street has always looked at this as a failure on their part to spread TfD's benefits; I suggested it might be a potential opportunity to measure TfD's impact. If these communities are open enough to ask for a workshop, they would likely be willing to fill out the survey instruments the theatre uses to track their impacts. If Bond Street could compare the results they gather from the community they visit, as well as have a local representative in a neighboring community gather results using the same instrument, a comparison which controls for contextual factors may be made. This is a potential experiment which Ms. Sherman seemed eager to pursue, and one which I might attempt to implement if I can continue working with the theatre. Therefore, the next steps in this project will largely center around developing more accurate measurement mechanisms to assess the impact on the communities hosting TfD workshops.

Ultimately, this thesis is an examination of a sparsely researched topic depending on limited resources to draw conclusions. Thus, the questions posed in this conclusion represent the beginning of many potential inquiries which will be required in order to fully understand TfD's operation. Ideally, as these avenues of research are explored, methods will be devised to improve TfD's operation. With a greater understanding of how TfD can be made more efficacious, TfD's potential impacts will have a broader, more efficacious reach. This scholar hopes to be a part in some of these inquiries, and continue deciphering the complex phenomenon that is TfD.

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