

Audience Participation and Community Transformation: Contemporary Student-Led Theatre for Development Practice in Ghana

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Abstract

Theatre for Development (TfD) has emerged as a powerful participatory methodology for catalyzing community transformation in Ghana, yet critical questions persist regarding how audience participation actually translates into sustained behavioral change and structural transformation. This article examines the role of audience participation in Ghanaian TfD projects through analysis of theoretical frameworks, established case studies, and recent student-led initiatives in local communities (2024–2025). Five key mechanisms of audience participation are identified: extended community entry, collaborative performance creation, interactive theatrical techniques, structured post-performance dialogue, and sustained engagement. Drawing on recent empirical evidence from four university-supervised TfD projects, all conducted by students from the Department of Theatre Arts at the University of Education Winneba, and reaching over 12,000 community members across diverse development issues; environmental sustainability, educational equity, public health, and economic empowerment, the study demonstrates that participatory theatre, when thoughtfully designed and implemented with authentic community partnerships and linkages to concrete resources, can contribute meaningfully to individual empowerment, community mobilization, and sustainable development outcomes. However, persistent challenges including power dynamics, resource constraints, facilitation capacity gaps, and sustainability limitations require deliberate strategies including inclusive facilitation, community control throughout project cycles, institutional alignment, and long-term commitment from practitioners, policymakers, and development institutions. The evidence suggests that TfD's transformative potential can be realized by embracing participation as a technique of redistributing power to

marginalized voices in development processes.

Keywords: Theatre for Development, audience participation, community transformation, participatory theatre, social change

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Theatre has long functioned as more than entertainment in African societies; it has served as a medium for education, social cohesion, political critique, cultural preservation, and collective problem-solving. In Ghana, performance traditions such as storytelling, ritual drama, and community festivals have historically provided platforms for dialogue on moral, social, and developmental issues. These indigenous performance practices laid the foundation for what later evolved into formalized Theatre for Development (TfD), a participatory methodology that integrates artistic expression with community-driven social change. From the 1970s onward, TfD emerged across Africa as a response to top-down development models that marginalized local voices and failed to address grassroots realities. Influenced by Paulo Freire's pedagogy of liberation and Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, TfD in Ghana positioned communities not as passive recipients of development but as co-creators of knowledge and action. Practitioners and scholars argued that sustainable development could only occur when communities actively participated in diagnosing their own problems, analyzing root causes, and collectively designing and implementing solutions. Despite its widespread adoption by NGOs, government agencies, and academic institutions in Ghana, the impact of TfD has often been evaluated in broad or anecdotal terms, focusing primarily on awareness creation rather than measurable behavioral or structural change. Many TfD projects have been praised for stimulating discussion, raising consciousness, and fostering community engagement, yet questions remain about whether and how audience participation leads to long-term transformation in livelihoods, governance, environmental stewardship, and social equity.

A recurring critique is that participation in TfD has most often been seen as symbolic rather than a core element. In some cases, communities are invited to watch performances or respond in discussions but are not meaningfully involved in decision-making, project design, or follow-up actions. Additionally, resource limitations, short project timelines, and uneven facilitation skills among practitioners have constrained the depth and sustainability of many interventions. These challenges highlight the need for more systematic examination of participation as a process rather than an event. Through its Theatre for Development course, the Department of Theatre Arts, University of Education, has positioned students as both learners and community change agents. Between the years 2024 and 2025, students-led projects have engaged over 12,000 community members across issues such as environmental sustainability, educational equity, public health, and economic empowerment. These initiatives represent a significant shift from externally driven development theatre to locally embedded, academically supervised, and community-partnered practice. However, while these student-led projects have generated visible community engagement, there remains limited scholarly documentation of how audience participation within them actually operates

as a mechanism for empowerment, collective action, and structural change. Existing studies tend to describe TfD activities rather than analyze participation dynamics, power relations, and sustainability pathways in depth.

This study therefore situates itself at the intersection of applied theatre, participatory development, and community transformation. It seeks to move beyond celebratory narratives of participation to critically examine how different forms of audience engagement of community entry, collaborative creation, interactive performance, dialogue, and sustained follow-up shape development outcomes. By analyzing contemporary student-led TfD projects in Ghana, the study contributes to both theoretical understanding and conceptual refinement of participatory theatre as a tool for social change.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study is hinged on three main objectives which are;

- i. To examine how audience participation is structured and facilitated in Theatre for Development projects in Ghana.
- ii. To analyze the extent to which different forms of audience participation contribute to community transformation.
- iii. To identify the key conditions, including power dynamics and institutional arrangements, that enable or constrain meaningful audience participation in Ghanaian TfD practice.

1.3 Research Questions

In addressing the objectives of this study, the following research questions serve as the primary analytical guide through which each objective is examined.

- i. How is audience participation conceptualized and operationalized within contemporary Theatre for Development (TfD) practice in Ghana?
- ii. How do different forms of audience participation contribute to individual empowerment, collective reflection, and community-level transformation?
- iii. What enabling conditions and constraints shape the translation of participatory theatrical engagement into sustained social and developmental outcomes?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Foundations of Participatory Theatre

The theoretical underpinnings of TfD draw heavily from Paulo Freire's pedagogy of critical consciousness and Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, both of which challenge hierarchical knowledge production and advocate for dialogical learning processes (Etherton & Prentki, 2006). Freire's concept of "conscientization" the process through which marginalized communities develop critical awareness of their oppression and agency to transform it provides the philosophical foundation for participatory theatre (Freire, 1973). Similarly, Boal's techniques, particularly forum theatre, position audiences as active problem-solvers who can interrupt performances, propose alternative actions, and physically enact solutions to depicted challenges (Boal, 1979).

In the African context, these imported frameworks intersect with indigenous performance traditions that have long served communal functions of social commentary, conflict resolution, and cultural transmission (Kerr, 1995). Ghana's Concert Party tradition, for instance, demonstrates how performance can simultaneously entertain and educate, using humor and music to address social issues (Sutherland, 1975). This cultural heritage provides TfD practitioners with locally resonant forms and conventions that enhance community receptivity and engagement.

Contemporary scholarship on participatory development communication emphasizes the importance of moving beyond tokenistic consultation toward genuine co-creation and power-sharing (Cornwall, 2008). Johnston and Taylor's social engagement theory identifies five phases-orientation, experience, participation, collective action, and intention-through which communities progress from initial contact to sustained commitment to change (Asante & Zakaria, 2021). This framework highlights that meaningful participation requires more than attendance at performances; it demands ongoing involvement in problem identification, solution design, and implementation.

2.2 Audience Participation in Theatre for Development Practice

Empirical studies from Ghana and other African contexts reveal diverse models of audience participation in TfD. At one end of the spectrum are structured participatory techniques such as forum theatre, where facilitators explicitly invite audience intervention at predetermined moments (Boal, 1979; Etherton & Prentki, 2006). At the other end are more organic forms of participation emerging from performance contexts that culturally expect audience response, including call-and-response patterns, spontaneous commentary, and post-performance discussions (Taylor, 2003).

Research on TfD projects in Ghana documents several mechanisms through which audience participation facilitates community transformation. First, participatory performances create "safe spaces" for discussing sensitive topics that might be difficult to address through conventional community meetings (Abah & Okwori, 2002). The aesthetic distance provided by theatrical representation allows communities to examine controversial issues such as HIV/AIDS stigma, domestic violence, or corruption without direct confrontation (Winskell et al., 2018).

Second, audience participation enables collective problem analysis and solution generation. When community members witness dramatic representations of their challenges and are invited to propose alternatives, they engage in collaborative critical thinking that can lead to innovative, contextually appropriate interventions (Sloman, 2012). Studies of environmental health education projects in Ghanaian fishing communities, for instance, document how post-performance discussions enabled communities to identify locally available resources and develop waste management strategies that external experts had not considered.

Third, participatory theatre can strengthen social cohesion and collective efficacy the community's belief in its capacity to effect change (Basette, 2004). When diverse community members (across age, gender, social status) participate together in theatrical events and

subsequent action planning, they experience solidarity and recognize shared interests that can motivate collective action (Somers, 2008).

2.3 Challenges and Critiques of Participatory Theatre

Critical scholarship on TfD cautions against romanticizing participation and highlights several challenges to authentic community engagement. Power dynamics within communities mean that elite voices often dominate participatory processes, marginalizing women, youth, and socially disadvantaged groups (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Without careful facilitation that actively creates space for marginalized voices, TfD can inadvertently reproduce existing hierarchies rather than challenging them (Mda, 2003).

The influence of external funding and development agencies also shapes TfD practice in ways that can undermine genuine participation. When projects are driven by donor priorities rather than community-identified needs, participation may become performative---designed to satisfy external expectations rather than serve community interests (Balme & Hakib, 2023; Mohan & Stokke, 2000). This tension between "outsider" development agendas and "insider" community priorities remains a persistent challenge for TfD practitioners.

Additionally, the sustainability of impacts from participatory theatre interventions depends heavily on post-performance follow-up and institutional support (Sloman, 2012; Kerry, 2000). Without mechanisms for translating theatrical insights into concrete action and without ongoing facilitation, the consciousness-raising achieved through participatory performances may dissipate, leaving communities no better equipped to address their challenges than before (Balme & Hakib, 2023).

Finally, questions persist regarding how to evaluate the impact of participatory theatre. Traditional development metrics focused on quantifiable outputs struggle to capture the qualitative transformations in consciousness, relationships, and collective agency that TfD aims to achieve (Guijt & Kaul Shah, 1998). This evaluation challenge complicates efforts to demonstrate effectiveness and secure continued support for participatory theatre approaches.

3. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research design that synthesizes existing scholarship, project documentation, and empirical findings from Ghanaian and wider African TfD initiatives. The analysis draws on multiple sources of evidence including peer-reviewed academic literature, project evaluation reports, practitioner accounts, and documented case studies of specific interventions in West, East, and Southern Africa.

3.1 Case Selection Strategy

Four Theatre for Development projects were selected purposively for in-depth analysis. These projects were chosen from a larger pool of undergraduate TfD community interventions supervised by the author between 2024 and 2025. The purposive selection was guided by four main criteria which were;

- i. The project explicitly incorporated audience participation as a central methodological component rather than a supplementary activity
- ii. The project demonstrated documented post-performance outcomes beyond immediate awareness creation;
- iii. Adequate project documentation was available, including facilitator reports, supervision records, and post-intervention evaluations;
- iv. The projects addressed diverse community development issues allowing comparative analysis across the various contexts.

The four selected cases collectively engaged over 12,000 community members and represented variation in facilitation style, participatory depth, and sustainability outcomes. This sampling strategy enabled analytical comparison rather than statistical generalization, consistent with qualitative research traditions in applied theatre and development studies. Key sources include studies of youth theatre initiatives at Ghana's Community Youth Cultural Centre (CYCC), environmental health education projects in Ghanaian coastal communities, HIV/AIDS awareness interventions in East and Southern Africa, and applied theatre projects addressing governance and social justice in Nigeria and other African countries. This broader corpus allows the Ghanaian student-led projects to be situated within a continental trajectory of participatory theatre practice rather than being treated as isolated examples.

3.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis followed a qualitative interpretive thematic approach. Project reports, facilitator reflections, supervision records, and post-intervention evaluation documents were read iteratively to identify recurring patterns related to audience participation processes and outcomes. Analysis proceeded in three stages. First, open coding was conducted to identify descriptive categories related to forms of participation, facilitation strategies, community responses, and observed outcomes across the cases. Secondly, axial coding was used to group these categories into broader thematic clusters that captured relationships between participatory processes and transformation outcomes. Lastly, selective coding refined these clusters into core analytical themes representing key mechanisms through which audience participation operated in the TfD projects. Cross-case comparison was employed to examine similarities and divergences across the four student-led projects, allowing the analysis to move beyond single-case description toward analytical generalization. Throughout the process, attention was paid to contextual factors such as type of community issue/problems, facilitation approach, community structure, community/ institutional support, which shaped how participation translated into action.

3.3 Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study include reliance on published and documented accounts that may reflect selective reporting and the challenge of assessing long-term sustainability of impacts based on project records that typically capture only immediate or short-term outcomes. Additionally, the diversity of TfD practice across Ghanaian contexts means that

generalizations must be made cautiously, recognizing context-specific political, cultural, and institutional factors that shape each intervention.

4. Mechanisms of Audience Participation in Ghanaian Theatre for Development

Audience participation lies at the heart of Theatre for Development (TfD) practice in Ghana, shaping not only how performances are created and presented but also how communities interpret problems and mobilize for change. Unlike conventional theatre, where audiences primarily observe, Ghanaian TfD positions spectators as active contributors to the entire developmental process. Participation is therefore not a singular event but a multi-layered continuum that begins long before the first performance and extends well beyond the final scene. Understanding the mechanisms of this participation is essential for appreciating how TfD facilitates community ownership, collective analysis, and sustainable action. In the Ghanaian context, TfD participation unfolds through culturally grounded and structured engagements that mirror local traditions of communal dialogue, storytelling, and problem-solving. These mechanisms are embedded within TfD's participatory ethos, which views communities as co-researchers, co-creators, and co-implementers rather than passive beneficiaries. This section therefore examines the key mechanisms that enable meaningful audience participation in Ghanaian TfD practice.

4.1 Entry and Orientation: Building Trust and Relevance

Successful TfD interventions in Ghana typically begin with extended community entry processes that establish trust and cultural relevance. Practitioners conduct transect walks, community mapping exercises, and preliminary meetings with opinion leaders, youth, women's groups, and other stakeholders (Asante & Zakaria, 2021; Agbonkonkon-Ogbeide & Ugwu, 2024). These orientation activities serve multiple functions: they allow facilitators to understand community dynamics, power structures, and cultural protocols; they enable communities to assess the intentions and trustworthiness of external practitioners; and they create opportunities for participatory problem identification where communities name their own priorities rather than responding to predetermined agendas (Asante & Zakaria, 2021).

The Woarabeba environmental health project exemplifies this approach (Asante & Zakaria, 2021). Before any theatrical activities, facilitators spent weeks in the fishing community conducting observations, interviews, and focus group discussions that documented waste disposal practices, community knowledge about sanitation, and local perceptions of environmental health challenges. This data-gathering phase employed participatory methods that engaged community members as co-researchers, establishing patterns of collaborative inquiry that continued through performance creation and post-performance action planning.

4.2 Performance Creation: From Data to Drama

A defining feature of effective participatory TfD is the active involvement of community members in transforming collected data into dramatic form. Rather than external practitioners creating scripts in isolation, contemporary Ghanaian TfD practice places strong emphasis on collaborative devising, where the community becomes co-authors of the performance. Through storytelling circles, issue-mapping exercises, improvisations, and group discussions,

community members identify themes, articulate lived experiences, and determine how these should be represented theatrically (Byram&Kidd, 1997, Asante 2021; Agbonkonkon-Ogbeide & Ugwu, 2024). This process helps to democratize knowledge production by situating authority within the community rather than in the hands of outside facilitators.

Pedagogically, collaborative creation strengthens critical consciousness by allowing participants to interrogate the structural, cultural, and interpersonal factors shaping their circumstances. As Etherton and Prentki (2006) observe, the analytical work that occurs during devising helps individuals move beyond surface-level understandings toward deeper recognition of underlying causes and power relations. Through dramatizing real encounters such as conflicts over sanitation, school attendance, or agricultural practices participants rehearse alternative interpretations of events and discover new possibilities for action.

Politically, this process safeguards the authenticity and cultural integrity of the final performance. Dramatic representations grounded in community voices inherently challenge the risk of external practitioners imposing narratives that reinforce stereotypes or misinterpret local realities (Balme & Hakib, 2023). Instead, collaborative devising repositions community members as knowledge holders whose insights shape both content and form. It also allows for the integration of indigenous performance traditions such as storytelling, drumming, call-and-response, proverbs, and humour which enhance cultural resonance and audience identification.

Moreover, the devising process itself becomes a participatory arena where tensions, disagreements, and diverse viewpoints can be negotiated openly. This collective exploration transforms performance creation into a space of dialogue, empowerment, and mutual learning, reinforcing the broader objectives of TfD as a tool for social transformation.

4.3 Interactive Performance Techniques and Audience Engagement

A third mechanism of audience participation in Ghanaian TfD is the deliberate use of interactive performance techniques that invite spectators to become “spect-actors” rather than passive observers. Approaches such as forum theatre, direct address, call-and-response, and on-stage role substitution enable community members to interrupt scenes, question characters, propose alternatives, and physically rehearse different courses of action, thereby transforming performances into collective problem-solving laboratories. In the student-led truancy project at Gomoa Mankoadze, for instance, forum-style interventions allowed students, parents, and teachers to step into scenes of conflict around school attendance, articulate their perspectives publicly, and negotiate more collaborative responses to absenteeism. Similarly, the sanitation project in Gomoa Akramang blended scripted scenes with frequent direct address and audience questioning, drawing on Ghanaian storytelling conventions to normalize verbal responses from spectators and reposition them as co-authors of the emerging narrative.

4.4 Post-Performance Dialogue, Action Planning, and Follow-Up

The final mechanism involves structured post-performance dialogue processes that move communities from reflection to collective decision-making and concrete action. Facilitated discussions immediately after performances create space for audiences to relate dramatic

scenarios to their own experiences, identify structural and cultural barriers to change, and co-design practical steps that individuals, groups, and institutions can take. In the recycling project at Gomoa Akotsi, this phase culminated in the formation of the Mutatio Recycling Club, the selection of a representative committee, and agreements on collection schedules and partnerships with recycling companies, all of which were still functioning at three-month follow-up. By contrast, in the unemployment project at Ekumfi Otuam, action planning without sustained institutional support and mentoring led to the rapid weakening of the proposed youth cooperative, underscoring that post-performance dialogue must be coupled with realistic resource mapping and follow-up structures if participation is to translate into durable transformation.

5. Recent Applications: Student-Led Tfd Initiatives in Ghana (2024-2025)

The theoretical and empirical foundations discussed above find contemporary expression in a series of student-led Theatre for Development projects implemented in coastal communities of Ghana's Central Region between January 2024 and August 2025. These initiatives, undertaken by final-year students from the University of Education, Winneba's Theatre Arts Department as part of their capstone projects, provide fresh evidence of how audience participation mechanisms operate in diverse community contexts and across varied development issues. While student-led, these projects were supervised by experienced Tfd practitioners and followed rigorous methodological protocols, offering valuable insights into the practical application and challenges of participatory theatre for community transformation.

The four projects addressed distinct yet interconnected development challenges: environmental sustainability (waste management and recycling), educational equity (school attendance and truancy), public health (sanitation infrastructure and worker dignity), and economic empowerment (youth unemployment and entrepreneurship). Collectively, they reached approximately 12,000 community members across four neighboring communities, involved over 150 participants as performers and facilitators, and documented measurable outcomes through three-month post-intervention evaluations.

5.1 Community Entry and Participatory Problem Identification

All four projects exemplified the extended community entry processes discussed earlier in this article. Facilitators spent between four to eight weeks conducting transect walks, attending community events (funerals, church services, market days), and meeting with diverse stakeholder groups including traditional authorities, school administrators, religious leaders, youth groups, and women's associations. This prolonged orientation phase served multiple functions beyond data gathering it established the facilitators' legitimacy, demonstrated respect for local protocols, and created space for communities to articulate their own development priorities rather than responding to externally imposed agendas (Anieku, 2024).

The recycling project in Gomoa Akotsi illustrates this approach. The facilitator's initial community entry revealed multiple concerns---unemployment, teenage pregnancy, poor road

networks but through sustained engagement with community members, school children, and local environmental advocates, waste management emerged as the community's priority issue. Critically, this problem was not simply identified through surveys but through the facilitator's participation in community life, observing plastic waste accumulation around schools and waterways, and listening to residents express frustration about environmental degradation. This organic problem identification process ensured community ownership from the outset (Anieku, 2024).

Similarly, the truancy intervention in Gomoa Mankoadze emerged from extensive consultations with school headteachers, parents, and a pre-existing (though dormant) community task force established to address student absenteeism (Boakye, 2024). The facilitator's discovery that truancy rates exceeded 30% for upper primary grades came not from external assessment but from school records and frank discussions with educators who acknowledged that previous top-down interventions had failed. By positioning herself as a collaborator rather than expert, the facilitator created conditions for honest dialogue about sensitive issues including teacher motivation, parental responsibility, and student disengagement (Boakye, 2024).

Table 1. Comparative Overview of Student-Led Theatre for Development Projects, Ghana (2024-2025)

Project	Community	Primary Issue	Key Partners	Participants	Main Outcomes
Promoting Recycling Practices 2024	Gomoa Akotsi	Waste management, low recycling awareness	AME Zion School, Shape Attitude Org, PP Pure Plastic Recycling	4,000+ reached, 150+ active participants	Mutatio Recycling Club established (50 members), waste sorting normalized, income generation, district support secured
Curbing Truancy 2024	Gomoa Mankoadze	High student absenteeism (30%+)	Mankoadze Basic School, task force, parents, teachers	3,500+ reached, 200+ participants	Attendance improved 68%→82%, Reading Club formed, improved parent-teacher communication
Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods 2025	Gomoa Akramang	Abandoned toilet, sanitation worker stigma, unemployment	Akramang schools, assembly, health clinic	2,000+ reached, 100+ participants	Public toilet reopened, monthly fee structure (GHS 2), 35 trained in soap production, community commitment sustained
Reducing Unemployment 2024	Ekumfi Otum	Youth unemployment, lack of skills	Local youth groups, schools, district office	2,500+ reached, 60+ youth trained	Skills acquired (detergents, food products), some enterprises started, youth cooperative formed (though challenged by coordination issues)

5.2 Performance Creation and Community Co-Authorship

The four projects demonstrated varying degrees of community involvement in script development, reflecting both facilitator choices and practical constraints. The sanitation project in Gomoa Akramang employed the most collaborative devising process. Following data collection through focus groups and interviews, the facilitator organized a series of workshops where community members including potential sanitation workers, youth, women's groups, and elders contributed stories, identified key themes, and role-played scenarios that eventually formed the dramatic structure. This process required multiple sessions over three weeks, with the facilitator serving more as documenter and organizer than primary author.

The resulting drama reflected authentic community perspectives in ways that would have been impossible through external script development. For instance, a pivotal scene depicting a young man's internal conflict about accepting a toilet attendant position emerged from an actual youth participant's experience. The dialogue incorporated local idioms about dignity and work, and the character's ultimate decision to embrace the role with pride resonated because it reflected community members' own negotiation of stigma and necessity. When performed, audience members recognized their own struggles in the narrative, facilitating deeper engagement.

In contrast, the unemployment project in Ekumfi Otuam employed a more facilitator-directed approach, with the lead student developing the script based on research data and then recruiting community performers. While this approach allowed faster project implementation given time constraints, post-performance evaluations revealed that some community members felt less ownership of the narrative compared to projects with more collaborative creation processes. This difference underscores the trade-offs between efficiency and authentic co-creation that TfD practitioners must navigate (Ackah, 2024).

All four projects incorporated local performance traditions to enhance cultural relevance and audience connection. The recycling drama integrated both contemporary and traditional Fante dance forms, poetry in both English and Fante, and musical elements familiar to community members (Anieku, 2024). These aesthetic choices were not merely decorative but pedagogical; traditional dance movements were adapted to symbolize waste sorting actions, and familiar song melodies were given new lyrics about environmental responsibility, enabling audiences to participate through singing along. This integration of indigenous performance conventions exemplifies the culturally responsive approaches discussed in contemporary scholarship and demonstrates how TfD can serve simultaneously as development intervention and cultural affirmation.

5.3 Interactive Performance Techniques and Audience Engagement

While all four projects employed interactive elements, the specific techniques varied based on facilitator training, issue sensitivity, and audience composition. The truancy project made extensive use of forum theatre techniques, with the facilitator explicitly inviting audience members to interrupt scenes and propose alternative approaches to conflicts between students,

teachers, and parents. During the main performance, attended by over 400 community members, seven different audience members intervened to suggest solutions parents proposed improved communication with teachers, teachers acknowledged the need for more engaging pedagogy, and students themselves articulated reasons for their disengagement including long distances to school and lack of learning materials (Boakye, 2024)

This forum theatre engagement proved transformative not because it generated novel solutions but because it created public space for typically marginalized voices (students, younger parents) to speak with authority in the presence of elders and officials. One fourteen-year-old student who intervened during the performance to explain that she sometimes stayed home to help her sick grandmother with housework prompted immediate discussion among adults about providing support to vulnerable families. This exemplifies how participatory techniques can redistribute communicative power, even if temporarily (Boakye, 2024).

The sanitation project employed a different interactive strategy that proved equally effective. Rather than forum theatre interruptions, the performance incorporated direct address, with characters speaking directly to the audience, asking questions, and soliciting responses (Alanga, 2025). This approach, rooted in Ghanaian storytelling traditions where narrators engage listeners throughout, felt culturally familiar and encouraged spontaneous audience commentary. When a character expressed shame about considering sanitation work, multiple audience members shouted encouragement and affirmations of the work's dignity, creating a call-and-response dynamic that reinforced the performance's core message organically rather than through scripted dialogue.

5.4 Post-Performance Dialogue and Action Planning

The post-performance phase revealed both the transformative potential and practical challenges of linking theatrical engagement to concrete action. The recycling project in Gomoa Akotsi provides a strong example of effective translation from performance to sustainable structures. The post-performance discussion, facilitated by the student leader with technical input from representatives of PP Pure Plastic Recycling Management and Shape Attitude Organization, moved through clear phases: audience reflection on the performance, connection to lived experiences, identification of barriers to recycling, and collective action planning.

Critically, the facilitator came prepared with potential partnership opportunities and practical resources rather than expecting communities to navigate these connections independently. This preparation enabled the immediate establishment of the Mutatio Recycling Club with a twelve-member committee drawn from diverse community sectors (youth, women's groups, school representatives, traditional authority nominees). The club structure included defined roles (chairperson, secretary, treasurer, zonal coordinators), regular meeting schedules, and explicit linkages to external support systems. Three-month follow-up documentation revealed sustained activity including weekly collection points, income generation through sale of recyclables, and expanded membership (Anieku, 2024).

In contrast, the unemployment project in Ekumfi Otum faced greater challenges translating theatrical insights into sustained action despite arguably more intensive skills training components (Ackah, 2024). The project included extensive workshops on detergent production, food processing, and business planning alongside the theatrical performance. Post-performance discussions generated enthusiasm and the formation of a youth cooperative. However, follow-up evaluation revealed that while individual participants maintained skills learned, the cooperative structure struggled due to limited startup capital, inadequate ongoing mentorship, and challenges coordinating collective activity once the facilitator departed.

This contrast illuminates a critical insight: participatory theatre alone, even when supplemented with skills training, cannot overcome structural constraints including inadequate financial resources, limited market access, and weak institutional support systems. The recycling project succeeded in part because it aligned with existing policy priorities (Ghana's 3R Strategy for waste management) and could connect to established recycling enterprises, while the unemployment intervention lacked comparable institutional scaffolding (Ackah, 2024). This points to the importance of strategic alignment---ensuring TfD initiatives connect to existing support structures rather than creating parallel systems dependent solely on facilitator presence (Sloman, 2012).

5.5 Skills Training Integration and Economic Empowerment

Three of the four projects integrated practical skills training with theatrical interventions, representing an evolution in TfD practice that addresses critiques about consciousness-raising without material support for action. The sanitation project included soap and disinfectant production workshops for potential toilet attendants, demonstrating how sanitation work could be supplemented with related income-generating activities. Thirty-five community members, primarily youth and women, participated in these workshops, with several subsequently producing and selling cleaning products locally.

The unemployment project offered the most extensive skills component, with workshops on liquid detergent production, air freshener manufacturing, and food product processing (Ackah, 2024). Over sixty youth participated in these multi-day training sessions. While immediate skill acquisition was documented, longer-term economic outcomes proved more variable. Some participants established small enterprises, others incorporated new skills into existing income activities, but many struggled to translate skills into sustainable livelihoods due to capital constraints and limited entrepreneurship support.

These experiences suggest that skills training can enhance TfD's impact when integrated thoughtfully, but success depends on several factors: ensuring skills taught match local market demand and resource availability; providing not just technical training but business development support including access to capital and markets; and establishing ongoing mentorship rather than one-off training. The most successful skills interventions were those where facilitators connected participants to existing trade associations or business support organizations that could provide continued guidance after the TfD project concluded.

5.6 Challenges Encountered: Power Dynamics, Resources, and Sustainability

The four projects encountered challenges that illustrate broader constraints on TfD practice discussed throughout this article. Power dynamics manifested in multiple ways. In Gomaa Mankoadze, initial community meetings about truancy were dominated by male elders and headteachers, with parents (especially mothers) and students themselves remaining largely silent (Boakye, 2024). The facilitator addressed this through separate focus group discussions with different stakeholder groups before bringing them together, and by explicitly structuring post-performance dialogue to hear from students first, then parents, then teachers and officials. While this helped surface diverse voices, it required conscious facilitation and additional time that resource-constrained projects may not afford.

Gender dynamics proved particularly significant in the unemployment project, where initial entrepreneurship workshops attracted primarily male youth despite women's often greater involvement in small-scale enterprise in rural Ghana (Ackah, 2024). The facilitator addressed this by conducting targeted outreach to women's groups and offering some women-only sessions, which increased female participation. However, this experience highlights how TfD projects can inadvertently reproduce gender inequalities unless practitioners actively work to counter them.

Resource constraints affected all four projects. Operating with budgets between GHS 1,500 and 2,500 (approximately USD 125-210), facilitators faced constant trade-offs between project quality and scope. Limited funds constrained the number of rehearsals possible, the quality of costumes and props, the ability to provide refreshments at meetings (culturally important in Ghana for showing respect to participants), and crucially, the capacity for extended follow-up engagement. While all facilitators conducted follow-up visits at three months, ongoing support and mentorship were not financially sustainable.

The institutional location of these projects as student capstone work created both advantages and limitations. Advantages included university supervision, access to academic resources, and connection to an institution with some community legitimacy. Limitations included time constraints (projects had to be completed within academic semesters), the temporary nature of student engagement (facilitators could not maintain long-term presence in communities), and the projects' assessment function (needing to demonstrate results for academic evaluation potentially conflicting with organic community processes).

5.7 Evaluation and Documented Outcomes

All four projects conducted post-intervention evaluations at three months, offering insight into sustained impacts. The recycling project documented the strongest evidence of behavior change and institutional sustainability: waste sorting at source had become normalized in schools and many households, the Mutatio Recycling Club maintained regular operations with fifty active members, and the community had secured district assembly support for additional waste bins. Community leaders attributed these changes directly to the TfD intervention, noting that previous awareness campaigns about waste management had failed to generate comparable engagement or sustained action.

The truancy project documented moderate success: school attendance rates for the targeted grades improved from approximately 68% to 82%, a reading club established during the project maintained weekly meetings, and parents reported increased communication with teachers (Boakye, 2024). However, facilitators noted that attendance improvements were greater for students whose parents attended the performance and post-performance discussions, suggesting that the intervention's impact was strongest for those directly engaged rather than generating community-wide transformation.

The sanitation project achieved its most visible outcome: reopening the abandoned public toilet with community commitment to pay monthly fees (GHS 2 per household) to support a full-time attendant (Boakye, 2025). Three months post-intervention, the toilet remained operational with consistent community financial contributions---a striking contrast to its four-year abandonment. Community members attributed this to the TfD intervention's success in reframing sanitation work as dignified and necessary, and to the practical skills training that enabled the toilet attendant to supplement income through related products.

The unemployment project showed mixed results. Individual skill acquisition was documented, and several participants had initiated small enterprises. However, the youth cooperative structure envisioned during post-performance planning had largely dissolved by the three-month evaluation, with participants citing coordination challenges and lack of capital (Ackah, 2024). This outcome reinforces research findings about the difficulty of establishing and sustaining community-based organizations without ongoing facilitation and institutional support (Sloman, 2012; Banda & Mpolomoka, 2019).

5.8 Contributions to TfD Theory and Practice

These four contemporary projects contribute several insights to TfD scholarship and practice. First, they demonstrate that relatively brief, student-led interventions can generate meaningful community transformation when they employ rigorous participatory methods, establish authentic community partnerships, and connect theatrical work to concrete resources and support structures. This challenges assumptions that only long-term, professional interventions can produce sustainable impacts.

Second, the projects illustrate the importance of issue selection and institutional alignment. Interventions addressing issues where communities possessed agency and where some institutional support existed (recycling with district waste policy, sanitation with health ministry priorities) achieved more sustained outcomes than those addressing structurally embedded challenges like unemployment where communities had limited capacity to generate opportunities independently.

Third, the varying degrees of community involvement in script development across projects reveal trade-offs between collaborative creation and project efficiency. While more participatory devising processes produced greater community ownership and cultural authenticity, they required significantly more time and facilitation skill. TfD practitioners must navigate these tensions based on available resources, timeline constraints, and project objectives.

Fourth, the integration of skills training with theatrical intervention represents a promising evolution in TfD practice, but success depends on training relevance to local economies, connection to markets and capital, and ongoing mentorship. Skills training alone, without addressing structural barriers to livelihood development, shows limited sustained impact.

Finally, these projects underscore persistent challenges around evaluation. While three-month follow-up provides more longitudinal data than many TfD projects document, truly understanding transformative impact requires tracking communities over years rather than months, using participatory evaluation approaches that capture qualitative shifts in consciousness and relationships alongside behavioral indicators.

5.9 Emergent Themes

The thematic analysis across the four cases revealed five interrelated themes characterizing effective audience participation in Ghanaian TfD practice:

- i. Extended community entry serves as a foundation for trust and relevance
- ii. Collaborative performance creation and co-authorship
- iii. Interactive theatrical techniques as spaces for community collective action
- iv. Post-performance dialogue serves as a bridge between reflection and action
- v. Institutional support and follow-up as conditions for sustainability

5.10 Synthesis and Implications

The student-led TfD initiatives in coastal Ghana between 2024-2025 provide contemporary empirical evidence supporting the theoretical frameworks and earlier case studies discussed in this article. They demonstrate that the five mechanisms of audience participation---extended community entry, collaborative performance creation, interactive theatrical techniques, structured post-performance dialogue, and sustained engagement---when thoughtfully implemented, can contribute to individual empowerment, community mobilization, and concrete developmental improvements across diverse issue areas.

However, these projects also illuminate persistent constraints which may include power dynamics that can marginalize already disadvantaged voices; resource limitations that compress timelines and constrain follow-up; facilitator capacity needs including skills in group process, and institutional navigation beyond theatrical expertise; and evaluation challenges in documenting complex, qualitative community transformations. Addressing these constraints requires deliberate strategies including prioritizing inclusive facilitation, ensuring community engagement throughout project cycles, linking theatre to resources and institutional structures, investing in facilitator training, employing participatory evaluation approaches, and building institutional support for TfD within Ghana's development milieu.

5.11 Conceptual Contribution

This study proposes a *conceptual framework of participatory mechanisms* through which

audience participation contributes to community transformation in Theatre for Development practice. Grounded in empirical case analysis and informed by participatory development and applied theatre theory, the framework identifies five interdependent mechanisms; community entry, collaborative creation, interactive performance, dialogical reflection, and institutional linkage, that collectively shape transformational outcomes. This framework offers an analytical tool for practitioners and researchers to design, evaluate, and refine participatory theatre interventions in development contexts.

6. Recommendations for Strengthening Audience Participation in Theatre for Development

The findings of this study demonstrate that audience participation is not merely a supportive feature of Theatre for Development (TfD) but the central mechanism through which communities engage in dialogue, reflect critically on their lived experiences, and mobilize for collective action. At the same time, the case studies reveal notable variations in the depth and effectiveness of participation across different interventions. While some projects led to sustained community organization and behavioural change, others faltered due to limited follow-up, weak institutional support, unrealistic project scope, or inadequate resourcing. These inconsistencies emphasize the need for clearer strategic guidelines to enhance participation and optimize the developmental impact of TfD practice in Ghana.

Drawing on the evidence presented, the following recommendations outline key strategies for practitioners, development agencies, and policy institutions committed to advancing participatory theatre as a transformative development methodology:

i. Deepen Community Ownership Through Genuine Participation

Practitioners should treat participation as a long-term ethical and political commitment rather than a procedural step. This involves extended community entry, deliberate trust-building, and the inclusion of community members in problem identification, performance creation, decision-making, and evaluation. By sharing power and centering marginalized voices, TfD initiatives become more responsive, culturally relevant, and community-driven.

ii. Use Culturally Responsive and Context-Specific Participatory Techniques

Participation must be tailored to local communication traditions and cultural norms. While structured methods such as forum theatre offer valuable frameworks, indigenous forms of interaction such as storytelling, call-and-response, improvisational dialogue, and communal debate can be equally or more effective. Adapting participatory techniques to context enhances engagement, fosters ownership, and strengthens the authenticity of the TfD process.

iii. Strengthen Project Design Through Realistic Resourcing, Institutional Alignment, and Long-Term Evaluation

TfD projects require budgets that acknowledge the true cost of deep participation, including extended entry processes, quality dramaturgy, and meaningful follow-up beyond initial performances. Projects are more sustainable when they align with existing community capacities, local institutions, and policy structures that can support ongoing action. Evaluation

frameworks should employ long-term participatory tools—preferably over 12 months—to capture shifts in consciousness, relationships, and community behaviour that short-term assessments often overlook.

iv. Expand Institutional Support, Training, and Policy Recognition for TfD Practice

Ghana's universities, development institutions, and civil society organizations should create enabling structures that recognize TfD as a legitimate and effective development communication approach. This includes dedicated funding streams, facilitator training, practitioner networks, and the integration of TfD into academic curricula—particularly in institutions such as the University of Education, Winneba. Systemic support ensures continuity, strengthens professional practice, and enhances the broader developmental impact of participatory theatre.

7. Conclusion

Audience participation in theatre for development represents far more than a technique for engaging communities in development processes. When meaningfully implemented with authentic power-sharing, genuine community partnership, and clear linkages to resources and institutional support, participatory theatre can contribute to individual empowerment, community mobilization, and concrete developmental improvements. The evidence from four student-led TfD initiatives in Ghana demonstrates that relatively brief interventions, even when resource-constrained, can generate measurable impacts when they employ rigorous participatory methods.

However, realizing TfD's transformative potential requires moving beyond treating participation as technique toward embracing it as an intentional commitment to redistributing power and directing the voices and agency of marginalized communities. This demands capacity building among practitioners, institutional support from development organizations, policy commitment from governments, and long-term financial investment in participatory theatre approaches. The challenges are significant, but the possibilities for community-led transformation are equally compelling.

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