Entertainment-Education Through Participatory Theater: Freirean Strategies for Empowering the Oppressed

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"I believe that all the truly revolutionary theoretical groups should transfer to the people the means of production in the theater so that the people themselves may utilize them. The theater is a weapon... a weapon of liberation."

—Augusto Boal (1979, p. ix)

"The dramatist should not only offer pleasure but should, besides that, be a teacher of morality and a political advisor."

—Aristophanes (quoted in Boal, 1979, p. xiv)

The present chapter describes participatory theater in South Africa, Brazil, and India as a means of empowering audience individuals to lead social change. The focus on participation by oppressed individuals as a means of organizing for social change was recognized as important by scholars and practitioners of

1 The present chapter draws upon Singhal (2001) and Singhal and Rogers (2005). The author thanks Professor Kayan Simonetti, Mrs. Nirmala Young/Dabonwana, Dr. George Mabuyane, and the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, South Africa, for sharing experiences about the Kwazulu-Piwon Theater Project in Durban and the Drama4ALL Project in KwaZulu-Natal Province.
PARTICIPATORY COMMUNICATION

The concept of participation is not new. Long before participation was post-colonially advocated for social change, people had formed collectives in order to farm, defend, and even destroy (Singhal, 2001). However, the discourse has been focused on local, internal, and grassroots participation in the context of the developing world. This focus has been criticized for neglecting the potential of global movements in the context of the South (Singhal, 1999). Participation, as a mechanism for social change, was not considered in the selling of Brazilian Petrobras. Therefore, the need for participation in the context of the South is acknowledged. Participation also needs to be extended to the context of the North (Singhal, 2001). Participation is essential for the development of social change. This is because participation is a mechanism for social change. Participation is not just a mechanism for social change; it is also a mechanism for social change. 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Born in 1931 in Recife, in northeastern Brazil, Paulo Freire learned lessons about hunger and deprivation from an early age. When his father, a starved worker, was thrown into jail for insufficient work, he managed to get away and return to the farm at night. Freire’s midwife’s existence was rescued, the powerful childhood lesson from the trauma of being in poverty, began with Freire’s life.

Freire’s thinking changed from the belief in classical form to a more critical perspective on the role of the teacher. He developed a strategy called participatory pedagogy, which emphasizes the active participation of learners in their own learning process. This approach is based on the idea that learners are active agents in their own education, and that the teacher’s role is to facilitate this process. Freire’s strategy involves the use of dialogue, critical thinking, and reflection to help learners construct their own understanding of the world. This approach has been widely adopted in education, and has been influential in promoting social justice and liberation.
of people’s lived experience as expressed in their vernacular. He also realized that politics and pedagogy were inseparable. With experimentation and experience, Freire’s pedagogical methods incorporated ideas of critical reflection, dialogue and participation, autonomy, democracy, problematization, and the social connection between theory and practice (Freire, 1998). Freire’s empowering approach was deemed dangerous politically by Brazil’s rightwing military regime, which seized control in 1964, and he was exiled for over two decades before returning to São Paulo in the mid-1980s to serve as Secretary of Education for the city of São Paulo (Photo 20.1).

Freire is best known for his classic book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1970) in which he argued that most political, educational, and communication interventions fail because they are designed by technocrats based on their personal views of reality. They seldom take into account the perspectives of those to whom these programs are directed. Freire’s dialogic pedagogy emphasized the role of “teacher as learner” and the “learner as teacher,” with each learning from the other in a mutually transformative process (Freire & Faqunder, 1990). The role of the outside facilitator is one of working with, and not of the oppressed to organize them in their incessant struggle to regain their humanity (Singhal, 2001). True participation, according to Freire, does not involve a subject-object relationship, but rather a subject-subject relationship.

In Freirean pedagogy, there is no room for teaching “two plus two equals four.” Such rote pedagogy, according to Freire, is dehumanizing as it views learners as empty receptacles to be “filled” with expert knowledge. Freire criticized this “banking” model of education, in which “deposits” are made by experts. The scope of action allowed students (or intended beneficiaries) “extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” (Freire, 1970, p. 58). Instead, Freire advocated problem-posing as a means to represent to people what they know and think, not as a lecture, but as an involving problem. So a lesson on “two plus two” might proceed in the following dialogic manner (Singhal, 2001):

Teacher: How many chickens do you have?
Poor farmer: Two.
Teacher: How many chickens does your neighbor have?
Poor farmer: Two.
Teacher: How many chickens does the landlord have?
Poor farmer: Oh, hundreds!
Teacher: Why does he have hundreds, and you have only two?

So goes the dialogic conversation that over time stimulates a process of critical reflection and awareness (“conscientization”) on the part of the poor farmer, creating possibilities of reflective action that did not exist before. Freire emphasized that the themes underlying dialogic pedagogy should resonate with people’s experiences and issues of salience to them, as opposed to well-meaning but alienating rhetoric (Freire, 1998). Once the oppressed, both individually and collectively, begin to critically reflect on their social situation, possibilities arise for them to break the “culture of silence” through the articulation of discontent and action.

**Freire in Practice: Augusto Boal’s Theater of the Oppressed**

Inspired by the writings and teachings of fellow Brazilian Paulo Freire, and his own experiences with dramatic performances, Brazilian theater director

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*This section on Augusto Boal’s Theater of the Oppressed draws upon the following Web sites: http://www 공동체의등산.net/readings/boal.html; http://www.gsp.org/education/issues/004.html; http://www.unomaha.edu/col/augusto/boal.htm; http://ed.unomaha.edu/~pboal/augusto.html*
Augusto Boal developed Theater of the Oppressed (TO), an international movement to use theater as a vehicle of participatory social change. Raised in Rio de Janeiro, Boal studied chemical engineering at Columbia University in New York, before founding the Arena Theater in São Paulo in the mid-1960s (Photo 20.2). TO's techniques—based on Freirean principles of dialogue, interaction, problem-posing, reflection, and conscientization—are designed to activate spectators to take control of situations, rather than passively allowing things to happen to them.

Boal coined the term "spect-actor" for the activated spectator, the audience member who takes part in the action. How did Boal hit upon the idea of a "spect-actor"? In the late 1950s, when Boal was experimenting with participatory theater, audiences were invited to discuss a play at the end of the performance. In so doing, Boal realized they remained viewers and "reactors." To facilitate audience participation, Boal, in the 1960s, developed a process whereby audience members could stop a performance and suggest different actions for the actors, who would then carry out the audience suggestions. During one such performance, a woman in the audience was so outraged that the actor could not understand her suggestion that she charged onto the stage, and acted out what she meant. For Boal, this defining event marked the birth of the spect-actor (not spectator). From that day, audience members were invited into the stage. Thus, passive spectators are changed into actors who become transformers of the dramatic action. Spectators delegate no power to the actor (or character) either to act or think in their place (Boal, 1979). Rather, spectators assume a protagonist role, change the dramatic action, try out various solutions, discuss plans for change, and train themselves for social action in the real world.

The Theater of the Oppressed is a form of popular, participatory, and democratic theater of, by, and for people engaged in a struggle for liberation. Drawing upon Freire's principles, Boal's theater is necessarily political. Its main purpose is to make the unequal equal and the unjust just. Boal argued that most people are resistant to take political action because of "cops in their heads," that is, their fear of oppressors. So Boal developed a series of theatrical "cops-in-the-head" exercises to ferret out internalized oppression (Boal, 1992). Through TO, the "cops in peoples' heads" are identified, and strategies for overcoming these fears are charted.

TO is basically a form of rehearsal theater designed for people who want to learn ways of fighting against oppression in their daily lives. The theatrical act by itself is a conscious intervention, a rehearsal for social action based on a collective analysis of shared problems of oppression (Boal, 1979). Boal hit upon the idea of theater as a rehearsal for action by accident. Once afternoon, in the early 1960s, Boal presented the struggle of Brazilian peasants in a theatrical piece using fake guns as props. When the show ended, the peasants came to Boal and said: "That was a great idea! Where are the rifles? Let's go! You said that we were going to take over!" (http://www.communityarts.net/readingroom/archive/boalintro.html). They thought Boal was serious about starting a revolution. Boal realized that theater was not only a portrayal of revolution, but also represented a rehearsal for revolution.

PARTICIPATORY THEATRE TECHNIQUES

Theater of the Oppressed utilizes the following key forms: (1) Image Theater. (2) Forum Theater, (3) Invisible Theater, and (4) Legislative Theater.

#1. Image Theater

Boal believed that the means of producing theater is the human body, which is the source of sound as well as movement (Boal, 1979). To control the means of theatrical production means to control the human body. Through body control, a spectator (or passive observer) becomes an active protagonist. According to Boal (1979), human beings are so conditioned to expression
through words that their bodies' expressive capabilities are underdeveloped. Boal's TO techniques include over 200 exercises and games for participants to get to know their bodies, including their possibilities and limitations (Boal, 1992). Exercises are designed to undo the participants muscular structural layer and to raise consciousness about how one's body structure embodies an ideology. For instance, when a peasant is called upon to act as a landlord, or a worker to act as a factory owner, or a woman to act as a policeman, not only do their physical bearings change, but their postures reflect the ideology associated with their new roles.

In Boal's technique of Image Theater, participants are allowed only to use their bodies to portray realities. No words are allowed. Image Theater begins with an arrangement of human bodies on a stage in several poses, with various facial expressions, and using different props in order to denote a certain prevailing reality—for instance, exploitation. Participants are then asked to portray an ideal image by reconfiguring the human bodies, their expressions, and the surrounding props. Finally, participants are challenged to portray a transitional image by once again reconfiguring the human bodies, their expressions, and the props. In essence, participants are challenged to think through how to move from a prevailing reality to an ideal image. Various options are tried, discussed, and refined. Boal argued that the power of Image Theater lies in making thought visible (Boal, 1979, p. 157). By avoiding the idioms of language, communicative problems associated with descriptive and emotive meanings, and encoding and decoding losses, are overcome.

#2. Forum Theater

Forum Theater is a theatrical game in which a problem is shown in an unsolved form to which the audience is invited to suggest and act out solutions (Boal, 1992, p. 23). Forum Theater begins with the enactment of a scene in which a protagonist or an actor played by an actor) tries, unsuccessfully, to overcome oppression relevant to that particular audience. The actor (master of ceremonies) then invites the spectators to replace the protagonist at any point in the scene where they believe an alternative action could lead to a solution. Anyone can propose a solution, but it must be done on stage. The scene is replayed numerous times with different interventions from different spectators. This

The actor (or wild card) is a spectator of the events. For instance, in Forum Theater, the actor sets up the rules of the game for the audience, institutes the spectators' replacement of the protagonist, and sets up the essence of each solution proposed in the interventions. The term derives from the joker (or wild card) in a deck of playing cards. Just as the wild card is not used to a specific suit of values, so the TO joker is not tied to an audience to any one performed spectator or representation of events.

results in a dialogue about the oppression, an examination of alternatives, and a rehearsal for real solutions (Boal, 1979).

For example, in the early 1970s, in Chimbote, a fishing port in Peru, Boal's technique of Forum Theater was used by workers in a fish meal factory to combat ruthless exploitation by the factory owner. Factory workers, in their role as spectators, suggested several solutions to address the oppression. The first suggestion was "Operation Turtle," that is, the workers would slow down their production, the second suggestion was to "spend up," that is, the workers would work faster in order to overload the machinery so that they could rest while it was being fixed; a third suggestion was to bomb the factory; a fourth suggestion was to go on strike (Boal, 1979). The merits of each of these suggestions were discussed, rehearsed, and all were deemed implausible. Finally, someone suggested that the workers should form a union. After a long period of deliberation, including rehearsing the union's role, this suggestion was deemed plausible.

Why were the previous suggestions discarded by the spectators? When the suggestion of bombing the factory was discussed, the workers realized that it would destroy their source of work. How would the bomb be manufactured? By whom? When the suggestion about going on strike was discussed, the workers realized that the factory owner could easily go to the local town square and recruit other unemployed workers. Forming a workers union to gain collective bargaining power with the factory management provided them with the most appropriate means to achieve their goal.

In Forum Theater no idea is imposed. The audience has an opportunity to try out all their ideas, to rehearse all possibilities, and to verify them in theatrical practice (Boal, 1979). Forum Theater provides a way to examine all possible paths, serving as a rehearsal for practice. In so doing, it evokes the desire on part of spectators to practice in reality the act that they rehearsed in theater.

El Extensionista

One of the coordinators of this book (Borges) participated in a TO play in Mexico City in 1980 presented by El Teatro Campesino (Peasant Theater). An agricultural extension agent gradually realizes that the main problem of the village farmers with whom he is assigned to work is not the use of technologies leading to greater cotton production. Instead, the farmers are being underpaid for their production, so that they are unable to get out of debt. The extension agent then helps the farmers organize a cooperative to oppose the wealthy businessmen who are exploiting them. The cooperative is effective in gaining higher market prices for the poor farmers' cotton, and they begin to attack other pressing problems. The businessmen hire an assassin to murder the extensionist, the agricultural change agent, and plant rumors among the cooperative members.
At this point, the scene on stage took their performance, sat down as the front of the state, and ask the audience how they would finish the action. Some audience members voted for realism, insisting that the elites will continue to dominate the poor farmers. But most audience individuals demanded that the farmers, now empowered, would continue to organize against economic domination. Some theater; then the audience jumped on stage to join the actors in showing this scene. Others in the audience criticized their performance, and demanded further changes. Discussion and participation continued for several hours.

#3. Invisible Theater

Invisible Theater is a rehearsed sequence of events that is enacted in a public, nontheatrical space with the explicit goal of capturing the attention of onlookers who do not know they are watching a planned performance. Its goal is to bring attention to a social problem for the purpose of stimulating public dialogue. Actors take responsibility for the consequences of the "show.

Invisible Theater is both theater and real life, for although rehearsed, it happens in real time and space (Boal, 1979). It can be enacted in a restaurant, on a sidewalk, in a market, on a train, or with a line of people waiting at a bus stop. Invisible theater suddenly erupts in a place where people naturally congregate. For instance, in 1975, in a 600-person restaurant in a well-known hotel in Chacao, Peru, a prototype of actor ordered an expensive barbecue of "3 sales, loudly complained about its poor quality, and when confronted by the waiter with the bill remarked: 'I am going to pay for it, but I am broke...So I will pay for it with labor power'" (Boal, 1979, p. 145). While the headwaiter was summoned, the ranking of the waiter-protagonist interaction began to catch the attention of patrons sitting in neighboring tables. When the headwaiter arrived, the protagonist offered to pay for the barbecue by working as a garbage thrower. When he asked how much money the garbage thrower in the restaurant made, a fellow actor, sitting at a neighboring table, said: 'seven sales per hour.' The protagonist then exclaimed: 'If I work as a garbage man, I'll have to work ten hours to pay for this barbecue, which took me ten minutes to eat. It can't be!' Either two increase the salary of the garbage man, or reduce the price of the barbecue' (Boal, 1979, p. 145). Other actors, sitting in neighboring tables joined in the 'public' dialogue, making visible the exploitation of the poor in affluent settings.

In Invisible Theater, while people go about their daily lives, an issue is made into a public scene. Boal knew that while people ordinarily do not want to

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1. This Invisible Theater performance was part of a Paulo Freire-inspired literacy program conducted in Peru in the early 1970s.

#4. Legislative Theater

Boal, like Freire, was tortured and exiled for his cultural activism by the military dictatorship that governed Brazil for two decades. Both returned to Brazil in 1984 with the return to civil society, and became active in public service. Boal served as Mayor of Rio de Janeiro in the early 1990s, whereas Paulo Freire was the Secretary of Education in the city of Sao Paulo. Boal used theater to assess and solve people's problems. Members of his Center for the Theater of the Oppressed (CTO) went on neighborhood streets, asking people to portray the problems that they wished to change. One change involved getting the telephone booths lowered for disabled individuals.

Boal used theatre as a participatory political tool to make new laws, labeling this technique "Legislative Theater." (Boal, 1968). As Baw (quoted in http://www.gnp.spc.org/resurgence/issues/sumin204.htm) noted:

CTO worked with nineteen groups of oppressed people. They would play situations about social problems, discuss with their own communities, and dialogue with other communities. ... Out of these activities many legislative proposals came to my office. We had what we called the debating cell, which was a group of actors and also lawyers. They would transform all the suggestions into proposals for new laws. I would present those proposals in the chamber like any other legislator. But the proposals for legislation would come out of my head, but from the people.

I presented 42 different proposals for new laws, 15 of which were approved. Thirteen laws that are now in existence in Rio de were ones which were proposed by the population... For instance, in Rio we passed the first Brazilian law to protect witnesses of crimes. It is a very comprehensive law that includes physical protection, includes the transference of witnesses from the place where they live to another place where they are more secure, to be given a new identity during the period of danger.

Boal's Theater of the Oppressed, including its many forms—such as Image Theater, Forum Theater, Invisible Theater, and Legislative Theater, are directly rooted in the pedagogical and political principles espoused by Paulo Freire: The situation lived by the participants should be understood, including its root causes, and changing the situation should follow the perceptions of social justice (Freire, 1970). Boal deserves tremendous credits for taking the principles of Freire's dialogic pedagogy, and enhancing it with his own wide-ranging experiences in theater, to create an engaging 'politics of the Oppressed.' Boal considered Freire to be his supreme teacher.
THE OPPRESSED

To this end, communities in South Africa have been using various means to challenge the policies and practices of the apartheid regime. One such community is the Dlamini Zuma, who has been involved in various political and social movements in the country. Dlamini Zuma is a member of the ANC, and has worked as a senior official in the party. She has also been a prominent figure in the struggle against apartheid, and has been influential in the development of women's rights in South Africa.

The Dlamini Zuma story is one of resilience and determination. She has been a leader in the struggle against apartheid, and has been a vocal advocate for women's rights. Her leadership has been instrumental in the development of the ANC, and she has been a key figure in the organization's efforts to promote women's rights in South Africa.

In conclusion, Dlamini Zuma's story is one of courage and determination. She has been a leader in the struggle against apartheid, and has been a vocal advocate for women's rights. Her leadership has been instrumental in the development of the ANC, and she has been a key figure in the organization's efforts to promote women's rights in South Africa.

EPILOGUE

Drama AIDS Education in South Africa

Drama AIDS Education is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa. The first AIDS education theatre workshop was held in 1990 in Cape Town, and since then, the number of workshops has grown considerably. Today, AIDS education theatre workshops are held all over the country, and are increasingly popular among young people.

The workshops are designed to educate young people about the dangers of AIDS, and to encourage them to adopt safe sexual practices. In addition, the workshops also aim to challenge the stigma surrounding AIDS and to dispel myths about the disease.

The workshops are conducted by trained facilitators, who use a variety of techniques to engage young people and to make the workshops as effective as possible. These techniques include role-plays, discussions, and group activities.

In conclusion, Drama AIDS Education is a valuable tool in the fight against AIDS. The workshops are effective in educating young people about the dangers of the disease, and in encouraging them to adopt safe sexual practices. In addition, the workshops also help to dispel myths and stigma surrounding AIDS, and to promote a more positive understanding of the disease.

NOTE

The Dlamini Zuma story is one of resilience and determination. She has been a leader in the struggle against apartheid, and has been a vocal advocate for women's rights. Her leadership has been instrumental in the development of the ANC, and she has been a key figure in the organization's efforts to promote women's rights in South Africa.
Theater for Empowerment in India

Several theater groups in India are using participatory approaches to raise consciousness about oppression and to empower the oppressed. For instance, the theater group Thaat Theater (formed in 1994) in the northwestern state of Rajasthan, led by Kaushik Sinha, focuses on issues such as gender, caste, and social inequality. Thaat Theater employs theater as a means to challenge the status quo and to create awareness among the people about the need for social change. The theater group has performed in villages and small towns across the state, reaching out to a diverse audience.

In the southern state of Tamil Nadu, the theater group Tamil Nadu Performing Arts (TNPA) has been using theater to address issues of caste and social exclusion. TNPA, founded by J. B. Joseph, uses theater as a way to create dialogue and to empower marginalized communities. The group has been working with local communities, including Dalits and Adivasis, to develop their own stories and to express their experiences through theater.

Theater can be a powerful tool for social change, and these groups in India are using it effectively to inspire and engage their audiences. Their work is an important contribution to the global movement for theater for development.
A Pedagogy of Prevention in Brazil

In Brazil, prevention programs use the power of theater to engage communities in understanding the complexities of HIV/AIDS prevention. In partnership with community organizations, health care providers, and governmental agencies, theater productions are designed to challenge traditional narratives and stereotypes about HIV/AIDS.

In collaboration with students, teachers, and community members, the program developed a pedagogy of prevention which sought to simultaneously educate and entertain. This approach, known as the "Theater of the Oppressed," was adapted to Brazilian realities and adapted to the specific cultural and social contexts of the target audience.

The production "3034" by Eduardo Bonomi uses the medium of theater to discuss the issue of HIV/AIDS in Brazil. The play follows the story of a young woman, who is diagnosed with HIV/AIDS and must navigate the challenges of disclosure and stigma.

The performance explores themes such as the role of family, friends, and community in supporting individuals living with HIV/AIDS. It also highlights the importance of education and early intervention in reducing the transmission of HIV.

Through a series of interactive sessions, the audience is encouraged to reflect on their own experiences and to consider the implications of the play's message. The program aims to create a space for dialogue and to foster a sense of community and solidarity.

In conclusion, the use of theater as a pedagogical tool in HIV/AIDS prevention is an innovative approach that can effectively engage audiences and promote positive social change. By combining education with entertainment, the program "3034" offers a powerful model for addressing the challenges of HIV/AIDS in Brazil.
or understand their own fantasy. The pillow provided a vehicle to speak out through an imaginary character, while preserving individual privacy (Paiva, 1995).

Group processes showed that sexual intuitions could be broken in the context of an anonymous sexual milieu, accompanied by exaggerated sexual talk and eroticization of the context (Paiva, 1995). Condoms became easily disposable when both the boy and the girl were ready to 'squeeze the [big] or turnover the car' while engaging in sex. Thus the pedagogy of prevention was based on an 'eroticization' of protection.

Evaluation of Paiva's project were not based on counting the number of condoms used, but on the progress made by students, teachers, and community members in becoming 'sexual subjects'. They were collectively empowered to make choices, and to act them out in culturally appropriate ways.

**Participatory Mass Media EE in Brazil**

A strong participatory movement in the state of Ceará in Brazil in 1997 brought artists from all walks of life to join hands against AIDS. It illustrates an integration of mass media EE with participatory approaches. This movement is the brainchild of Raulino Cardoso, Jr., who was greatly influenced by Paulo Freire's participatory strategy and by Augusto Boal's Theater of the Oppressed. Beginning in Fortaleza, the capital of Ceará state, and supported by funds from the MacArthur Foundation, the Bricicatos Centro A AIDS (Street Artists Against AIDS) Project trained hundreds of artists in developing emotionally powerful scripts on HIV prevention, care, and support, and performing them in schools, prisons, and street markets. Gordel, a popular, rhyming, storytelling folk form in Brazil's Northeast, was co-opted for this movement. The most effective theater scripts were turned into entertainment-education radio spots (radio soap operas) launching another movement called Radioiastros Contra a AIDS (Radio Broadcasters Against AIDS). The most popular radio soap opera, Radionoelas de Camisetas (Radio Soap Opera Condol) is broadcast in Ceará and in other states of Brazil.

Ceará's participatory experiences in using theater, art, and radio to promote HIV prevention and to reduce AIDS-related stigma has spread to artists from eight Brazilian states, including Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, and others. The use of participatory theater, local folk media forms, and radio, which reaches 80% of the low-income population in Brazil, represents an innovative integration of EE approaches to HIV prevention (Singhal & Rogers, 2003).

**CONCLUSIONS**

Most past entertainment-education interventions have utilized mass media vehicles (television, radio, films, video, or comic books) to tackle issues of development and social change. Seldom are such media-centered EE interventions designed, owned, and operated by the people themselves. EE programs, like most literacy programs, are designed and implemented by experts for a "target" audience, leaving little room for the dynamic dialogic pedagogy employed by Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal. The one-way nature of mass media interventions, as also the desire of development officials to reach large audiences, relegates the relatively smaller-reach theater-based interventions to the sidelines of most development programs.

The present chapter sought for more consciously adding participatory theatrical practices to the entertainment-education arsenal. The dialogic pedagogy of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal’s Theater of the Oppressed techniques (for example, the "spectactor") transform entertainment-education interventions from being a one-way "monologue" into a two-way "dialogue" between audience and actors. Mass media-based EE initiatives should work hand-in-hand with engaging participatory theater initiatives, each supplementing the other.

As the field of entertainment-education continues to evolve, grow, and reinvigorate itself, participatory strategies for empowering the underdogs will increasingly find a more central place in the EE discourse. Perhaps other entertainment-education interventions could incorporate elements of the participatory approaches described in this chapter, moving spectators to become spectactors.

**REFERENCES**


