

# Theatre of the street: Drama and Performance as a potential gang intervention strategy and social development resource in affected communities in South Africa

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## ABSTRACT

*Throughout South Africa, especially in Cape Town and the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, gangsterism remains one of the greatest challenges affecting social development in communities. Seemingly at wits end, community leaders, city officials and law enforcement authorities frustratedly continue to fight what appears to be a losing battle. One of the glaring gaps in the war against gangsterism is an approach that seeks to utilise the experiences of the gang members themselves as a vehicle towards their rehabilitation. Thus, this article proposes the use of drama and performance as a strategy aimed at rehabilitating youths already caught up in the gang lifestyle. The authors address the central question: to what extent can drama and performance be used as a viable intervention strategy to assist gang-affected communities? Further, how could the proposed strategy be used as an effective social development resource in such communities?*

**Keywords:** Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, drama and performance, gangsterism, social therapy, South Africa

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## **Introduction**

The communities of the Cape Flats in the Western Cape province, as well as those of the northern areas in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, are arguably the most affected by gangsterism and related challenges. Despite various efforts from authorities to address the issue of gangsterism; gang violence and gang-related crimes continue in these areas, leaving communities in fear. In some communities, the violence emanating from gang conflicts has reached levels such that calls have been made to deploy the South African military to gang hotspots (Petrus, 2014). The predominant response from the authorities has been punitive, with police operations focusing on arrests and imprisonment of gang members and leaders. However, the problem with this approach is that it does not address the root causes of gangsterism, which go beyond criminality. This article thus, explores the use of drama and performance as a viable alternative strategy to addressing gangsterism in affected South African communities. The most affected communities, namely the coloured communities in places such as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, are the types of communities that the authors have in mind in the discussion. The authors argue that gangsterism in the coloured communities occurs in a specific context with unique push factors, as such intervention measures should address the challenges faced by the communities directly. Drama and performance which tend to reflect and mirror society have the potential to address issues that affect society and contexts that reinforce it, thus, helping society to reflect on its problems and victories.

The discussion begins with a broad overview of South Africa's gang challenge, particularly as it affects the coloured communities (the meaning of which is explained in this section). The next part of the discussion focuses on drama and performance as social therapy by drawing on international as well as African and South African perspectives. The final part of the article addresses the potential of drama and performance as a viable gang intervention strategy in

the South African context.

### **An overview of the gang challenge in south Africa**

Throughout the world gangs and gang-related issues pose a significant challenge to governing authorities, so much so that they have become a 'significant worldwide phenomenon' (Hagedorn, 2005: 153; Petrus and Kinnes, 2018). South Africa as a nation is not immune to this phenomenon as gangsterism and gang-related crime and violence affect many communities throughout the country. For example, a recent news report carried a story about how residents of the Kraaifontein community in the Western Cape Province 'called on police to respond to their pleas for help against gangsterism' (Correspondent, 2018). According to the residents, gunshots could be heard almost daily as there appeared to have been an increase in gangsterism. In another report, Pitt (2018), a Ugandan academic, compared children in the Cape Flats in the Western Cape to 'child soldiers', as they get 'exposed to violence and trapped within their communities'. As a result of the above context, children are conditioned into gangsterism and become easy targets for recruitment at a young age. In the community of Etwatwa in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, local residents were at war with a local youth gang known as OVL. In 2015, the violence reached such proportions that several teenage members of the gang were killed by community residents (Hartleb, 2015).

What is vital to note is that gangsterism is not only limited to males. Increasingly, females are also becoming embroiled in the gang lifestyle. Scheepers (2017) informs that, 'in recent years, it has become apparent that more and more women are becoming hardened gangsters themselves. While their senior male equivalents are called *Madoda* [men], they [the women] are called *Ma's* [mothers]'. Furthermore, Scheepers (2017) states that the true extent of gangsterism in South Africa, is unknown much less are we sure of how many women and girls are involved in gangs or

gang-related activity.'The above statement shows that further research is required to identify the push factors for women to join a life of crime and violence as gang members, however what cannot be denied is that this phenomenon is pervasive and destructive to men, women, young and old.

Gangsterism in Port Elizabeth, as in Cape Town, is predominantly among the coloured communities of the northern areas leading to a somewhat erroneous perception that gangsterism is a “coloured problem”. Contrarily, gangsterism is found throughout South Africa, and affects many communities. An observation suggests that there are some factors in certain coloured communities that make them more predisposed to gangsterism.

Although gangsterism is a problem in other parts of the country, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth appear to be the most adversely affected. Arguably, the city of Port Elizabeth is only surpassed by Cape Town as one of the most prolific areas of gangsterism in South Africa. In Port Elizabeth, more than 150 gang-related incidents were registered in 2011 (Wilson, 2012). Between 2012 and 2016, 566 murders were perpetrated in the coloured suburbs of Port Elizabeth. Many of these murders were regarded as gang-driven (Van Aardt, 2016). In 2016, the Democratic Alliance (DA) labelled the gang problem in Port Elizabeth as a 'catastrophe' and a 'crisis' (*RNews*, 2016).

It is necessary at this juncture to briefly clarify what is meant by the term *coloured*. In the South African context, coloured is a term that is generally preferred to persons of mixed descent. However, this term is far more complex than the classification, especially when referring to the *coloured identity*. Various scholars, including Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012) have elaborated on the many complexities inherent in the meanings of coloured identity in

South Africa, but for the purposes of the current discussion it suffices to say that the coloured identity dynamics bear a marked impact on gangsterism in coloured communities. In the coloured communities of Cape Town in the Western Cape (see Kinnes, 2000 and Jensen, 2008) as well as those in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape (Petrus, 2013), coloured identity dynamics, influenced by both historical and contemporary factors, have shaped the emergence of gangsterism in these communities. In a sense, gangs are a response to the perceived historical and contemporary marginalisation of poor coloured communities. As is the case in Port Elizabeth, gangs symbolise past and present tensions, and conflicts within the communities themselves. To a large extent, gangs have developed into a subculture that has become entrenched in the social organisation of the communities in which they exist. From the view alluded to, a symbiotic type of relationship has emerged where the communities and gangs function co-dependently.

Gangs have become key “institutions of provision” (Petrus, 2013: 79) in communities where legitimate structures of authority and governance have failed to deliver basic services and resources to the people. Consequently, in as much as people are aware of the problems posed by gangs against safety and security, there are many residents who tolerate gangs because of the perceived advantages that they provide. Consequently, it becomes impossible for the authorities to completely eliminate gangs from these communities. In fact, in some cases, residents may respond with hostility to law enforcement agents who attempt to apprehend known gangsters.

The above suggests that gangsterism in the South African context is indeed a complex matter that has multiple dimensions. As such, it requires a holistic and multi-pronged approach to constructively

address the challenge in a way that holistically benefits the entirety of the affected communities. Unfortunately, in coloured communities such as those of Port Elizabeth, where gangsterism has become an endemic subculture and a way of life for some youths and adults, gangsterism has been treated solely as a law enforcement concern, focusing exclusively on the gangs themselves, and utilising a punitive approach. What is needed is a community-wide therapeutic approach as a means of addressing the deep-rooted causes of gangsterism in the first place. Hence, the authors explore drama and performance as a viable alternative strategy to address not only gangsterism and particularly its underlying causes as well.

### **Drama and performance as social therapy in some international perspectives**

Environmental protection, sustainable development, health and wellness, as well as security, have become the platforms on which major global issues of the century are debated. Theatre is increasingly becoming a predominant tool for sensitisation and mobilisation of local communities for economic, health, political and environmental development. Subjects that have been dealt with include family planning, safe motherhood, safe drinking water, environmental degradation, child abuse, violence against women, rape, and HIV/AIDS education. As a learning process, theatre is also used to analyse, discuss and identify problems and seek solutions with the participation of a particular community which is affected by a specific problem (Inyang, 2016: 2). Both local workshops and public performances represent a process of learning. Through dialogue, theatre raises the level of awareness and contributes to the empowerment of all involved. It may also mobilise people to take action and support the process of social and political change. It does so by involving the target population in both the creative and analytical process of the performance.

Ebong (1980: 86) is of the view that theatre in relation to education, 'addresses itself to the more immediate, more practical issues and experiences of the day. It emphasises the individual and the collective through analysis and self-criticism and urges communal awakening to a positive organic and dynamic group action'. In addition, Eyoh (1996: 115) emphasises the relevance of theatre to education because, as he puts it:

Theatre encourages people-centred development because it builds on the skills people already possess. The actor provides the songs, choreographs the dances, creates the scenarios and is responsible for the themes which are developed. Where theatre is used as an educational strategy, it combines the entertainment values of the performing arts with their capacity to highlight issues in relation to community development.

The concept of what is now known as *applied theatre* originates from the works of two Latin American radical scholars, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal. In their adult literacy campaigns in Peru in the 1970s, these two scholars sought to empower the masses, through non-formal techniques of communication and education so that they could liberate themselves from the oppressive forces engendered by the minority ruling class. For Freire, the Brazilian adult educator, literacy is meant to be a weapon for equipping the masses with the critical awareness that would generate action for confronting and eradicating the oppressive machinations of the advantaged class (Freire, 1996). Crucial to the Freirian educational process of consciousness-raising or conscientisation is the emphasis on the actual involvement of the ordinary people in determining the content and form of the educational programmes in which they participate.

Boal, a Brazilian mass conscientisation activist, sees the theatre as

a catalyst for social mobilisation and radical change. Like Freire, he feels that the people should be at the fore-front in the creative organisation and control of their educational medium as an instrument to raise their consciousness. According to Boal (1979):

'We tried to show in practice how the theatre can be placed at the service of the oppressed, so that, by using this new language, they also discover new concepts... I believe that all the truly revolutionary theatrical groups should transfer to the people the means of production in the theatre so that the people themselves may utilize them. The theatre is the weapon, and it is the people who should wield it.'

Boal's assertion here echoes the theories of the German theatre activist, Bertolt Brecht, which greatly influenced the Latin American popular theatre experience. Advocating a theatre of social reform, Brecht (1957) revolted against the conventional or formal theatre practice which he saw as being incapable of stirring up the oppressed majority to action for desirable social change. He charged this theatre with its creation of an illusion of reality that resulted in the emotional involvement of the audience.

In another vein, Brecht argued that emotional presentation of events exposed in the traditional theatre, stifled the critical ability of the spectator and lulled him/her into a state of complete passivity. Brecht therefore, saw his ideal drama as one that 'stirs up thought and incites the spectator to act for desirable social reforms...the one that escapes becoming an opiate and assumes a productive role in men's lives'(quoted in Brockett 1964: 313).In other words, 'Brecht hoped that ultimately an inquiring and critical viewer would relate the stage action to the outside world and work for the improvement of social and economic conditions' (Chimwenje, 1993: 3). In all these he sought to achieve by employing a presentational technique of playwriting and theatre production in which the drama was to be seen as a theatrical or

fictional narration but with definite social and political implications. Theatre's involvement in community development have been criticised as being one-sided.

Theatre has often been accused of wielding too much power in the development of interventionist tools. The plays are designed by the practitioners from their own perspective, leaving the target populace out of the creative process. Scholars such as Wilkins and Mody (2001) have viewed this type of communication as a political process, marked by power relations that determine the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the subaltern classes. Furthermore, Wilkins and Mody (2001: 198) define this power as 'the ability to shape social contexts' and argue that power is central to how problems are defined and how solutions are framed.

Consequently, Wilkins and Mody (2001: 393) argue that campaigns are dictated by the capacity of those with power to select and frame social conditions as problematic, legitimising particular approaches to their resolution and not others. Foss and Griffin (1995: 3) contend that because the campaign has persuasion as its primary objective, much of it is based on a 'desire for control and domination, for the act of changing establishes the power of the change agent over the other'. Many developmental projects in Africa are conducted by people who do not understand the salient realities of their target population. This has resulted in the application of a top-down communication methodology by people who do not understand the social/economic realities of the local population.. This results in what is usually referred to in developmental discourse as domestication, in which issues and solutions are imposed on the target population by outsiders who claim superior knowledge of these issues and their solutions. This top down communication approach is synonymous to most developmental efforts in Africa. According to Morrison (2003: 5),

'In Africa, development projects are usually designed by

western experts. The communication is designed to inform and persuade the beneficiaries of the advantages of this development. The support uses top down communication models with the state or agency as the source sending a message to a specific population'.

Unfortunately, this kind of top down approach to development rarely produced the intended results.

### **Drama and performance as social therapy in some historical and contemporary African and South African perspectives**

The exploration of drama and performance as a form of social therapy has long been an area of interest for social scientists, including anthropologists. Perhaps the best known anthropological or ethnographic work on drama and performance as social therapy in Africa was conducted by the British symbolic anthropologist Victor Turner. Turner worked among the Ndembu of former Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and published various works relating to his ethnographic study of this African society (see, for example, Turner, 1957; 1961; 1962; 1967; 1968). Turner's work inspired later generations of anthropologists and ethnographers. It has had a significant impact on the anthropology of ritual and performance. For the purposes of this discussion, only a few of Turner's contributions will be highlighted.

First, Turner introduced the concept of the *social drama*, which Deflem (1991: 1) describes as 'a device to look beneath the surface of social regularities into the hidden contradictions and eruptions of conflict in the Ndembu social structure.' Ndembu society was prone to regular conflicts due to various factors, hence they created a social mechanism by which such conflicts could be resolved. This social therapy took the form of the social drama, rituals of performance in which tensions were remedied. Second, these social dramas demonstrated what Turner called a

'processional' or processual form (Turner, 1957: 92), meaning that they often occurred in a series of several phases. Turner identified four phases, namely: the breach of social relationship norms between persons or groups of a social unit; an exacerbation of the breach unless the conflict could be resolved speedily; remedial mechanisms brought in by leaders of the social group; and, finally, reintegration of the disharmonious group or social recognition of a breach beyond repair (Turner, 1980: 91-94; Deflem, 1991). Within this process, ritual occupied a central role, in that there was due social recognition that the powers of ritual symbols could influence and change the individuals involved in the ritual performance (Deflem, 1991). From this viewpoint, it can be argued that drama and performance possess a socially therapeutic quality in that they can be used to manage tensions and conflict in a society. Another scholar who researched on the role of forum theatre in society is Morrison (2003), who developed a community problem solving model called the *koteba* which was modelled after the community form in Burkina Faso. The model was based on Augusto Boal (1979) and Paulo Freire's (1974) ideas. Boal developed this form of theatre as a mechanism for self-liberation of oppressed people in Brazil and Peru, and Freire used this interactive theatre as a process to encourage dialogue in education.

From this discussion, it is clear that forum theatre presents an opportunity for people's voices to be heard, as well as a feeling of contributing in community problem-solving. The elements of dialogue, feedback, and sharing which are hallmarks of forum theatre are important elements in the success of theatre's intervention. Forum theatre also provides an opportunity for dialogue between people who are powerful and powerless, educated and uneducated, urban and rural and this is a necessary step for progress towards community development. It is for this reason that it is viewed as a potential strategy to deal with gangsterism in South African communities that are ravaged by this

scourge. In the case of theatre, a three-year research on theatre's HIV/AIDS communication by Uwah (2012) led to the development of a new and more effective template for effective HIV/AIDS communication. According to the template designed by Uwah (2012: 162) in his doctoral thesis on theatre's health communication campaigns, the basic principles for effective communication include the following:

'Theatre practitioners must anchor their community interventions on the cultural norms of the target population. Man is a cultural being. Studies have shown that people respond positively when communication is designed based on their cultural norms and practices. Cultural artefacts like language are particularly important so that the audience understands the key aspects of the message. The use of cultural artefacts such as music, dance, song, folk narrative should not be ruled out as these artefacts speak to the heart of the African community. Traditional or folk media are employed in Africa to communicate new ideas. Drums and gongs often transmit news; puppets are used in morality plays. These media are grounded in the metaphors of an indigenous culture produced and consumed by members of a group and they reinforce their values. Theatre needs to tap into this cultural resource if it wants to make an impression on the minds of its African audiences.'

The role played by theatre in the fight against HIV/AIDS cannot be disputed as it conscientised people about the spread, transmission and treatment of HIV/AIDS. Based on these findings, the authors argue that drama and performance can contribute positively in the fight against gangsterism.

In using theatre as a strategy against gangsterism, the stakeholders

should take into account the following:

The fact that the notion of community is still very strong in Africa, that is, the group still takes precedence over the individual. At the village level, many problems are solved communally. A performance that brings the village or community together and involves all in problem solving is likely to be more appropriate than other approaches (Morrison,2003). In South Africa, the concept of indaba is widely used and the term describes group meetings in traditional African culture where people get together to sort out the problems that affect them , where everyone has a voice and where there is an attempt to find a common mind or story that everyone is able to tell when they go away from the indaba. Performances should take the same format as indaba.

The involvement of target audiences in the actual performance cannot be over-emphasised. Stone (1986: 241) contended that Africans 'often think of performance in a transactional sense. Like two people pulling at either end of a tug-of-way rope, rather than two people simply standing alone, one part rarely exists without the other'. When the community is not involved in the process, the scripts developed by the theatre practitioners are considered as foreign products and will not be accepted by the target community.

Theatre interventions should, as a matter of urgency start by conducting a needs assessment programme of the communities where they have been invited to perform. The needs assessment programmes should be sensitive to the experiences of and the risks faced by priority populations. Such assessments include epidemiological analysis of behavioural correlates and sociological analysis of resources and capacity of the community. The materials used in the play could be sourced from the information gathered during the needs assessment phase. The

major advantage of this method is that it affords the communities ownership of the creative process as well as gives them the resources to advocate for a change in behaviour.

Finally, the need for theatre groups to either perform regularly at specified communities or create sustainable structures that can continue the intervention within that community is an important methodology that will guarantee success. This template has been implemented with maximum success in community theatre engagements in East London, South Africa (Uwah, 2015).

### **The significance of community theatre for social development**

Theatre has always functioned as an educational tool in pre-colonial African communities. Societies were shaped and reshaped through the involvement of theatre. The Griots of North Western Africa performed in communities with the sole aim of educating those communities on historical and moral issues. Elders in their respective communities also employed the power of theatrical performance to teach morals and community values to the youth using storytelling performances (Prentki and Lacey, 2004). In present day Africa, theatre has remained an important means of conscientisation. The following are significant functions of community theatre:

### **An effective means of communicating sensitive issues**

Community theatre is an effective way of communicating sensitive issues without the attendant antagonism and strife that would have occurred in a direct realistic situation. Many community theatre projects are usually critical of social issues yet the community members participate without any antagonism. This shows the

power of dramatic performance in dealing with community issues.

### **A powerful means of engaging community members emotionally**

Theatre presents members with situations that engage them not only intellectually and aesthetically but also emotionally. This type of emotion is best described as “empathy”, which Augusto Boal in his theatre of the oppressed defines as the emotional relationship established between the character and the spectator, which makes the latter feel the impact of what has happened, is happening or may happen to the former (Boal, 1979).

### **A powerful tool for stimulating community action**

Theatre is a powerful means by which messages can be put across with the aim of stimulating community action to address identified problems and issues. However, for any theatre to achieve its action-inspiring objectives, the performance need not take the audience to its final conclusion but allow them to suggest conclusions. At a community engagement project, conducted by Uwah(2010) in a high school in the Mamelodi township in Pretoria, dramatic performance was used to address the burning issue of domestic violence. The drama featured an alcoholic husband who constantly gives his wife very little money for food. At the end of everyday, the woman would serve him pap and stew cooked with chicken necks. This infuriates the man who ends up beating the woman. At this juncture the audience was invited to suggest solutions starting from the scene where the man would come home from work and find pap and chicken neck stew on the table. The audience members were invited to re-dramatise the scene and there were many positive suggestions. The post-performance discussions were very lively resulting in a thorough and critical analysis of the subject of domestic abuse. Bertolt

Brecht wants the theatrical spectacle to be the beginning of action by the spectator who should seek to transform the society to bring about the needed equilibrium.

### **A way of giving a voice to the voiceless**

Theatre is a way of giving a voice to the voiceless within the community. Uwah's theatre intervention in Masixole High school in Mdantsane East London offered an opportunity for the “voiceless” learners to express the major handicap to their academic aspirations. In a needs assessment interview session (needs assessment is a way of determining the major needs of the target community through interviewing) the majority of the learners indicated the major obstacle to their educational aspirations was the lack of parental support. Uwah and the learners then took the issue and wrote a play which was presented to an audience that comprised of teachers, parents, members of the school governing body and a handful of officials from the Department of Basic Education. During the play a good number of learners broke down and cried because that had haunted them for years. The parents were surprised that this was an issue that had affected their children without them knowing. During the post-performance discussions, this issue was thoroughly thrashed out and everyone concerned promised to 'turn a new leaf'. The teachers indicated that they thought the children were not responding to their teaching. The exercise gave the voiceless learners a voice in that community.

### **Building sustainable structures for community sensitisation and mobilisation**

Community theatre provides a sustainable tool for sensitising and mobilising communities. For two years after Uwah's drama intervention in Sthembiso High school, Masixole High school in Mdantsane (East London) and Mangaise Secondary School in

Mthatha in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, the drama groups that he set up in these schools continued to put up drama performances on a range of issues concerning the communities in question including the issues that his drama intervention dealt with. These activities have kept the community activism alive through theatre. In the past years, follow-up research in this school indicated that these groups that were established have continued to perform plays that deal with issues beyond our original interventions. Many of the issues that our intervention raised in these schools have been dealt with. For instance, in Masixole High school, in Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape, where lack of parental support was the main problem, parents and teachers have been engaged in constant dialogue on the importance of parental support for their children.

### **The potential of drama and performance as an effective gang intervention strategy**

Internationally, there are some examples of the use of drama and performance as a gang intervention strategy and to create awareness around the issue of gangsterism. In the UK, the 'Girls in Gangs' project was created to address 'the issue of girls in gangs using drama and film' (Bright Futures Educational Trust, 2017). In the project, sixteen female students produced a drama performance about how gangs operate, as well as highlighting the dangers of becoming involved with gangs. The students then performed in front of the House of Commons in the UK Parliament.

In another example from the UK, an independent theatre company addressed issues of extremism, gangs and child sexual exploitation in a community affected by these issues. According to Carter (2012), the GW Theatre group staged performances in front of thousands of schoolchildren, and addressed several key

issues affecting the community, including Islamic and far-right extremism, as well as gangs and sexual exploitation of girls. The play dealing with the gang issue, *Ganging Up*, illustrated 'the consequences of involvement in gangs, and how young girls are exploited by their members' (Carter, 2012).

In the US, drama and performance are also used to highlight the dangers of gangsterism and to raise awareness. For example, a one-act drama by Jerome McDonough, entitled *Hoods*, focuses on teenage street gangs in the US. The play aims to be a gang intervention strategy by 'Turning the spotlight on the horrors [of gangsterism]', in order to 'help remove [its] glamour' (Dramatic Publishing, 2018).

In the South African context, the potential for drama and performance to address gangsterism and other crime challenges has been recognised by some. According to Sithole (2018), Themba Mkhoma, a Soweto-born Masters graduate in drama therapy, created the concept of 'Positive Gangsterism' which seeks to use drama as a means of channelling the negative aspects of gangsterism into something positive. Mkhoma indicated that 'as a drama therapist, [I] use drama as a form of therapy to deal with the emotional, physiological and social factors that affect people in the townships' (Sithole, 2018). Furthermore, one of the most popular dramas dealing with gangsterism, the publicly aired television series *Yizo Yizo*, was aired 'from 1999 to 2000 and was commissioned by the South African government to educate township youth about social issues, such as the dangers of gangsterism...'. (Williams, 2016: 14). However, these initiatives all targeted youths in the African townships, and while there are certain similarities to challenges in the coloured townships of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, there are certain specific differences that these initiatives did not take into account. Issues of coloured

identity dynamics, as indicated earlier, heritage, culture and social integration, all specifically impact coloured communities, and that inform the context of gangsterism in the communities. Hence, while the potential for drama and performance as a viable intervention strategy is there, the types of theatrical performance utilised need to be adapted to the specific context of coloured communities in order to be effective.

## **CONCLUSION**

Community theatre offers a lot of flexibility and presents some opportunities for application in a wide range of contexts and subject matters. The power of theatrical performances in behaviour change interventions cannot be overemphasised. Firstly it offers a voice to the voiceless. In the case of rooting out gangsterism from communities, theatre offers the helpless victims of gangsterism an opportunity to address the fundamental issues emanating from this social misnorma of gangsterism. It is also important that the intervention strategies are aligned to maximise success. The involvement of community members in the design of the theatrical performance, the insistence on using appropriate local language and cultural norms are important aspects to achieve success in behaviour change in target communities.

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