

**DRAMA-IN-EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR REHABILITATION
OF SKOLOMBO STREET CHILDREN IN CALABAR
MUNICIPALITY**

David Igbe Edadi

Department of Mass Communication
University of Calabar, Calabar
edadidavid@gmail.com
0810-7291429
Orcid number: 0009-0002-0403-629X

Isabel Obi Abang

Department of Mass Communication
University of Calabar
bellaabang002@gmail.com
08137260391
Orcid number0009-0000-4836-5496

Lawrencia Manyo Ntui

lawrenciantui@yahoo.com
[0703 083 8143](tel:07030838143)
Department of Mass Communication
Federal Polytechnic, Ugep
ORCID ID: 0009-0007-3809-4144

Abstract

This study examines the use of Drama-in-Education (DiE) as a rehabilitative tool for Skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality, Cross River State. The study examines the problems faced by the Skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality, to highlight the various ways in which the societal and personal problems presented by the Skolombo street children could be managed and the use drama-in-education to foster rehabilitation of the Skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality. The study is guided by Transformative Learning Theory. The study explores how drama can be employed to highlight the social and personal issues associated with the Skolombo phenomenon and to redirect the energies of affected children toward positive change and rehabilitation. This study employed a qualitative research design and Drama-in-Education (DiE) and interviews as data collection methods. The population of skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality is unknown. Therefore, a sample size of 32

participants was drawn for the participatory drama activities while only 12 participants were interviewed. The study was conducted at Marian by Atekong in Calabar Municipality, Cross River State, and involved male street children aged 15–23 years selected through a purposive sampling technique. Data were generated and analysed descriptively in themes. Findings reveal that the drama intervention significantly motivated participants, fostering reflection, emotional expression, and a renewed sense of hope for life beyond the streets despite the persistent daily challenges they face. Based on this, the study recommends that government agencies and non-governmental organisations integrate Drama-in-Education into rehabilitation programmes for Skolombo street children.

Keywords: Drama-in-Education, Skolombo Children, Rehabilitation, Street Children, Transformative learning

Introduction

In many African traditional societies, dramatic performances were embedded in cultural practices such as marriage, funeral, and naming ceremonies, often serving as informal educational tools for transmitting societal values to younger generations. Drama unfolds in two major academic dimensions: drama as a theatre art and drama as a literary genre. Drama, as a theatrical art form, involves transforming an idea or concept into lifelike, concrete action through actors' performances. Drama, as a literary genre, shares affinities with prose and poetry and exists primarily as written texts intended for both reading and performance. Play texts have historically served as powerful tools of persuasion, used by renowned playwrights for moral instruction and socio-political reform, positioning theatre as a community classroom. This historical relevance underscores why drama has been widely adopted as an educational method. From ancient times, drama has been recognised as an integral component of an ideal educational system, functioning both as a distinct subject and as a pedagogical tool across multiple disciplines.

Drama-in-Education (DiE) is a participatory pedagogical approach that allows learners to demonstrate, observe, and experience learning within a controlled environment. It provides an alternative to conventional teaching methods by emphasising experiential and reflective learning. Drama-in-education balances both the form and content of drama, enabling participants to “live through” dramatic situations and engage meaningfully with the issues presented (Buse,

2019). Through this process, learners gain deeper insight into societal realities and human behaviour. The emphasis of drama-in-education is on examining human experiences and fostering self-understanding. By exploring actions, events, historical periods, and socio-political contexts within a broader framework, young people can recognise complex social forces and understand how these forces shape human action (European Commission, 2020). The primary goal of drama-in-education is not entertainment but the facilitation of attitudinal and behavioural change. Empirical studies indicate that drama-in-education generates enthusiasm among participants and serves as an effective learning tool that combines creativity with enjoyment (Caldwell, 2021). Drama-in-education promotes deep exploration of concepts and has been integrated into curricula and teaching methodologies in many educational institutions worldwide to enhance learning outcomes. In this process, participants use language purposefully to convey meaning, negotiate understanding, and solve real-life problems (Buse, 2019).

Drama-in-education enables participants to access their creativity and spontaneity while developing confidence in expressing ideas. Drama functions as a versatile educational resource through which key concepts, historical events, and social issues can be dramatised using improvisation, pantomime, and playwriting. These strategies stimulate interest, enhance comprehension, and improve knowledge retention (Caldwell, 2021). Pearce and Brennan (2020) describe drama-in-education as an improvisational, non-exhibitional, and process-centred approach guided by a facilitator, enabling participants to imagine, enact, and reflect collectively on human experiences. Drama-in-education is particularly effective when working with marginalised groups who are often misunderstood by society, such as Skolombo street children. Because drama is rooted in the exploration of human situations, it allows individuals who may not excel academically to take central roles, especially those with lived experiences related to the subject matter. This approach fosters empathy by enabling participants to understand diverse behavioural motivations and multiple perspectives. In its most effective form, drama-in-education enables individuals to step into others' realities, fostering shared understanding and social awareness. Drama-in-education makes it especially suitable for examining the rehabilitation of Skolombo street children. The method allows participants to engage safely with sensitive issues by situating problems within a fictional framework, even when the drama is inspired by real-life experiences. Through the suspension of disbelief, participants reflect critically on presented issues without direct exposure to personal

risk. Drama-in-education relies on presenting alternatives whether persons, situations, or symbolic objects through which central problems are made tangible. Importantly, both facilitators and participants collaboratively construct the fictional narrative, reinforcing participatory learning and shared ownership of meaning (European Commission, 2020).

In this study, the human experiences explored through drama are those of Skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality. These children, typically between the ages of 8 and 15, leave their homes due to factors such as domestic violence, substance abuse, parental death, family dysfunction, natural disasters, insurgency, and socio-economic collapse. Consequently, they are forced to survive on the streets through scavenging, begging, hawking, and other informal activities in slums and environmentally degraded areas of Calabar (Alaye, 2021). Initially perceived as harmless, these children later gained notoriety as *Isakaba* around 2007–2008, becoming associated with insecurity and social disorder. Most Skolombo street children operate in groups and initially functioned as beggars at street corners before gradually engaging in violent activities, including the use of crude weapons to extort money and valuables. Reports of robbery and public disturbances within Calabar Municipality have been linked to this group (Akpan, 2022). Although the immediate past government under Senator Ben Ayade attempted to curb the menace through security initiatives such as *Operation Skolombo*, alongside the Quick Intervention Squad and Rapid Response Squad, these measures largely emphasised arrest rather than rehabilitation. Many children were detained and released without reintegration plans, resulting in a recurring cycle of street return and re-arrest.

Against this backdrop, drama-in-education serves as a critical intervention for examining the realities of Skolombo street children, raising awareness of the causes and consequences of street life, and highlighting the roles of individuals and the government in addressing the issue. By fostering reflection, empathy, and participation, drama-in-education offers a pathway toward reform and rehabilitation, aligning with broader goals of social transformation and inclusive development.

Many dwellers in the Calabar Municipality have at one time or another been confronted with the menace of the Skolombo street children. They have been used as spearheads to perpetuate acts ranging from incessant begging to petty stealing, armed robbery, and even maiming their victims, thereby making some parts of the Calabar

Municipality unsafe, especially after the sunsets. Whereas it is easy to blame or even hate them for these actions, it has been realised that the Skolombo street children resort to these acts as a means of survival after being rendered homeless, while some of them answer to older touts or gang bosses who expect them to remit some money in exchange for protection while living on the streets.

In addition, the State government and various Non-Governmental Organizations have been trying to play their parts in getting these children off the streets and ensuring that the Calabar Municipality is safe at all times, some of these children have been known to return back to the streets shortly after because there has been no real change in their character or attitudes even though they were taken off the streets. This research is aimed at assessing the extent of the problems posed by the presence of Skolombo street children, specifically in the Atekong area of Marian in the Calabar Municipality, and at exploring the possibility of changing that narrative by rehabilitating them to move them off the streets.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To examine the problems faced by the Skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality.
2. To highlight the various ways these societal and personal problems presented by the skolombo street children could be managed.
3. To highlight strategies for managing the societal and personal problem affecting skolombo street children.

Review of Related Studies

Conceptual Review of of Drama-in-Education

Drama-in-Education (DiE) refers to the intentional use of dramatic processes and techniques as pedagogical tools to facilitate learning across the curriculum. Rather than emphasising performance or playmaking, DiE focuses on understanding, reflection, and attitudinal change, prioritising process over product (Athiemoolam, 2018). Through imaginative engagement, learners explore reality via fictional contexts, enabling them to examine actions, motivations, and consequences in a meaningful and experiential way. Drama-in-Education, also referred to as

creative or process drama, is facilitated by trained educators who guide learners through structured dramatic experiences in a safe and supportive environment (Iddon, 2021). Core dramatic elements such as imitation, imagination, role-play, and interpretation contribute significantly to the development of language, movement, and social behaviour, especially among children. Research suggests that drama aligns naturally with human developmental learning patterns, making it an effective educational strategy (Andersen, 2020). Unlike conventional theatre, DiE does not separate actors from audiences; learners simultaneously assume the roles of participants and observers within an improvised and imagined context. A defining principle of drama-in-education is its emphasis on “process over product.” Learning emerges through decision-making, improvisation, and collaborative problem-solving rather than rehearsed performance outcomes (Andersen, 2020). Valverde (2019) describes DiE as consistent with the “learning by doing” philosophy, employing techniques such as simulation, role-play, improvisation, and theatrical games to foster creativity, social skills, and critical understanding. By engaging learners in symbolic and fictional scenarios, drama enables deeper exploration of social realities beyond surface-level actions.

Drama-in-Education has been widely acknowledged for its inclusivity and capacity to engage learners who may not thrive under traditional instructional methods. Water (2018) notes that DiE actively involves learners cognitively, emotionally, and physically, using the same tools as professional actors—mind, body, and emotion—to achieve educational rather than performative goals. Its interdisciplinary and performative nature makes drama particularly effective for promoting inclusion, diversity, empathy, and social awareness. Contemporary studies emphasise the importance of emotional intelligence in education, especially in response to increasing emotional and behavioural challenges among children. Goleman (2020) argues that emotional health is fundamental to effective learning and social functioning. Drama techniques such as role-play, hot seating, image work, and improvisation have been identified as effective means of developing emotional intelligence, self-control, empathy, communication, and cooperation among learners (Goleman, 2020). Drama enables children to explore life experiences at both emotional and cognitive levels, thereby reinforcing holistic learning.

Furthermore, drama-in-education contributes significantly to the development of higher-order thinking skills. Learners engaged in

dramatic activities are required to invent, analyze, speculate, evaluate, and make judgments within evolving scenarios, thereby enhancing critical and creative thinking abilities (Katz, 2019). As education increasingly values creativity, flexibility, and collaboration, drama occupies a vital role within the curriculum by providing learners with a voice and a safe space to explore personal, social, and political issues (Tiller, 2021).

Street Children Rehabilitation in Calabar: Contextual Literature

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by the United Nations, defines a child as any individual below the age of eighteen and guarantees children's civil, social, economic, cultural, and health rights, including protection from abuse, exploitation, and neglect (UNICEF, 2021). Although Nigeria is a signatory to the CRC and domesticated its provisions through the Child Rights Act of 2003, the phenomenon of street children continues to pose a significant social challenge. Globally, street children remain a pervasive problem, with UNICEF estimating that up to 150 million children live or work on the streets worldwide (UNICEF, 2016). Nigeria accounts for a substantial proportion of this population, with large numbers of children either living entirely on the streets or engaging in street-based survival activities.

In Calabar, Cross River State, one of the most visible manifestations of this crisis is the group commonly referred to as *Skolombo* street children. The term "Skolombo" is locally understood to mean "obtained by force," reflecting the group's association with aggression and survivalist criminality (Partnerships Initiative in the Niger Delta [PIND], 2017). Skolombo street children include boys and girls who have been abandoned, accused of witchcraft, orphaned, trafficked, or forced to flee abusive and dysfunctional homes. While the boys are often linked to violent crimes, the girls popularly known as *Lacasera girls* are more commonly exposed to sexual exploitation, child labour, and trafficking (Okam, 2019; Odey, 2020). Beyond abandonment, these children experience severe social and psychological abuse, which deepens their marginalisation.

Research indicates that the growth of the Skolombo phenomenon is rooted in poverty, superstition, family disintegration, urbanisation, and weak child-protection systems (Alaye, 2021; PIND, 2017). Religious stigmatisation, particularly accusations of witchcraft by some churches, has also contributed to child abandonment in Calabar and surrounding communities (Akpan, 2022). Many of these children live in abandoned

buildings, markets, motor parks, and public spaces, surviving through begging, scavenging, menial labour, and informal street trading (Henshaw & Ekpenyong, 2020). Over time, street bonding and exposure to criminal networks have normalised violence and insecurity as survival strategies. Historically, the presence of street children in Calabar predates recent administrations, with evidence suggesting its emergence in the post-Nigerian Civil War period due to displacement, poverty, and lack of resettlement frameworks (Henshaw & Ekpenyong, 2020). By 2018, more than 2,300 street children were recorded in Calabar and other parts of Cross River State (Nigerian Tribune, 2018). The evolution of the phenomenon, as documented by PIND (2017), shows a progression from homelessness in the 1990s to organised street gangs and cult-related activities by the mid-2010s.

In response, both governmental and non-governmental actors have attempted various intervention strategies. Cross River State domesticated the Child Rights Act in 2009 to strengthen child protection mechanisms (Henshaw & Ekpenyong, 2020). Notable non-governmental interventions include the establishment of the Destiny Child Centre in 2009 by the former First Lady of the State, which provided shelter, education, and vocational training to over 200 children before its closure in 2015. Despite its successes, the centre's discontinuation led many beneficiaries to return to the streets, highlighting the challenge of sustainability in rehabilitation efforts (Akpan, 2022).

Other civil society initiatives, such as the Society for Youth Development and Rescue Initiative (SYDRI), Girls Power Initiative (GPI), African Child Network Nigeria (ACNN), and the Rochas Foundation, have continued rescue, education, and rehabilitation programs, albeit with limited capacity and funding (Nigerian Tribune, 2021). These interventions rely largely on private goodwill, with minimal institutional support from the government. Conversely, the most prominent government response has been punitive. In 2015, the Cross River State Government launched a multi-agency security task force known as *Operation Skolombo* to curb crimes associated with street children. While the initiative aimed to enhance public safety, it largely criminalized the children without addressing the structural causes of street life, such as poverty, abuse, and neglect (PIND, 2017). This enforcement-driven approach has reportedly exacerbated abuse and mistrust between street children and law enforcement agencies, with little evidence of long-term reduction in street presence or criminal activity.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on Transformative Learning Theory, which conceptualizes learning as a dynamic and reflective process rather than a fixed or statutory exercise. Transformative learning involves a deep structural shift in individuals' frames of reference, encompassing changes in thoughts, feelings, and actions (Mezirow, 1991). Developed by American sociologist Jack Mezirow in 1978, the theory emerged from the need to explain how deeply internalized attitudes and assumptions can be critically examined and transformed through reflective learning experiences.

From a social-emancipatory perspective, scholars such as Taylor (2007) argue that transformative learning assigns responsibility not only to the learner but also to society in addressing conditions that constrain human development. Rooted in Freire's concept of *conscientization*, this perspective views learners as active subjects capable of reflecting on and transforming their social realities rather than passive recipients of knowledge (Freire, 1970). Through processes such as critical reflection, dialogue, and participatory engagement, transformative learning enables marginalized individuals to develop critical consciousness and challenge oppressive structures.

Central to this framework is the role of the teacher or facilitator as a co-learner who creates democratic and dialogical learning spaces. Transformative learning requires a horizontal learner–teacher relationship in which knowledge is not merely transmitted but co-created through interaction and shared inquiry (Okoye, 2015). Educators are therefore expected to be adequately prepared to guide learners through emotional, cognitive, and social challenges that may arise during the learning process. Applying transformative learning to children presents unique challenges, particularly in contexts where adverse socio-economic conditions hinder development, such as among Skolombo street children in Calabar, Cross River State. To address these challenges, learning experiences must be engaging, expressive, and contextually relevant. Drama-in-education provides such an avenue by sustaining children's interest while enabling them to confront real-life problems and explore possible solutions within a supportive environment (Okoye, 2015).

As Sullivan (2005) notes, transformative learning involves a shift in how individuals understand themselves, their social location, and their relationships with others. Similarly, Fayose (2011) emphasises that

drama communicates messages more powerfully because social issues are enacted through human action, making learning more concrete and impactful.

In this study, drama-in-education serves as a transformative tool for guiding Skolombo street children toward reform and rehabilitation. By fostering reflection, critical consciousness, and self-expression, drama facilitates personal and social transformation in line with the principles of Transformative Learning Theory.

Methodology

This study employed a narrative inquiry qualitative research design and Drama-in-Education (DiE) and interviews as data collection methods. The population of skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality is unknown but they are above 40 in Calabar Municipality. There a sample size of 32 participants was drawn for the participatory drama activities while only 12 participants were interviewed. The study was conducted at Marian by Atekong in Calabar Municipality, Cross River State, and involved male street children aged 15–23 years selected through a purposive sampling technique. Data were generated and analysed descriptively in themes. Ethical approval was obtained from the Skolombo boys and they were informed that the study was conducted for academic purposes, not as a government initiative.

Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Lived Realities of Street Life-Trauma, Survival and Institutional Mistrust

The first theme that strongly emerged from the demographic data, interview, and participatory observations is the entrenched vulnerability that shapes the everyday lives of the Skolombo boys. The age distribution (9–23 years) indicates that most participants entered street life in childhood or early adolescence. This prolonged exposure suggests that the street is not merely a temporary refuge but a formative social environment that shapes identity, behaviour, and worldview. Family disintegration was repeatedly identified as a precipitating factor. During the interview, one respondent explained: “After my mother died, my stepmother started maltreating me. She did not treat me like her child... I decided to run away.” This narrative highlights bereavement compounded by rejection and abuse. Similar accounts surfaced informally during drama exercises, where participants constructed

scenes depicting domestic violence, parental conflict, and expulsion from home. One participant, during a role-play improvisation, stated: “Nobody cares whether you eat or not. You survive by yourself.” Such expressions demonstrate how neglect and instability function as push factors into street life.

Street existence itself was described as precarious and threatening. The interviewed respondent characterised it as: “full of danger... you sleep with one eye open.” He further explained: “Police disturb us. If something is missing, they say it is us.” This reflects what may be coded as criminalised identity, where the boys are perceived and begin to perceive themselves as socially suspect. The perception of law enforcement as hostile was reinforced during group discussions in the workshop. When asked about government interventions, one participant remarked: “They only come to chase us. They don’t help.”

Another added: “They promise to take us somewhere better, but we come back to the street.” These raw accounts reveal a pattern of cyclical and ineffective interventions. The violent interruption during the interview session, where a participant accused the researcher of planning “another way to arrest us,” illustrates deep-seated mistrust. This reaction should be interpreted as protective rather than oppositional. The findings make evident that the boys’ scepticism is grounded in repeated institutional failure, stigma, and perceived betrayal.

Emotional Expression and Participatory Engagement through Drama

The second theme concerns the transformative space created by the Drama-in-Education (DiE) workshop as a platform for emotional articulation and participatory engagement. Initially, participants appeared guarded and observant. However, as improvisational activities progressed, their level of involvement increased noticeably. During early warm-up sessions, some boys hesitated to speak. Yet once scenarios reflecting street life were introduced, engagement intensified. In one scene depicting police harassment, a participant emphatically declared: “Why you always blame us? We are not thieves!” The emotional intensity of this delivery prompted visible reactions from peers, including nodding and verbal affirmations such as “Na so!” (“That’s how it is”). This collective affirmation indicates shared experiences and communal validation. The dramatic process also enabled the expression of grief and longing. In a devised scene portraying a child addressing a deceased mother, one participant

improvised: “Mama, if you were here, I will not suffer like this.” Although framed within performance, the emotional authenticity was evident. Such moments reveal how drama allowed participants to project suppressed feelings within a structured and safer environment. The interview data further supports this finding. The respondent reflected on his emotional burden, stating: “Sometimes I think about my home, but there is nothing for me there.” This ambivalence longing intertwined with resignation was mirrored in the drama narratives constructed by the group. Importantly, the participatory nature of the intervention shifted the boys from passive subjects to active creators. They contributed storylines, shaped dialogue, and influenced character outcomes. Observational notes indicated increased eye contact, spontaneous suggestions, and collaborative problem-solving during rehearsals. This may be coded as emergent agency, where participation fosters a sense of ownership and voice.

Hope, Identity Reconstruction and Social Reorientation

The third theme reveals a significant perceptual shift following the presentation of *Hope Dey for Tomorrow*. The drama’s storyline depicting transformation from street marginalisation to responsible citizenship resonated strongly because it mirrored participants’ realities while introducing an alternative trajectory. After the performance, several participants expressed renewed optimism. The interviewed respondent stated: “This drama make me see that leaving the streets is possible.” He elaborated further: “The boy in the play was like us, but he changed. If he can change, maybe I too can change.” This statement is particularly significant. It reflects identity reconstruction, where the participant begins to detach from a fixed “street boy” identity and imagine a redefined self. Other spontaneous comments during the reflective discussion included: “Street is not our final bus stop.” and “There is hope if somebody supports you.” These expressions demonstrate a reframing of street life from permanence to transition. Prior to the intervention, narratives were dominated by survival and distrust. Afterwards, discourse incorporated possibility and aspiration. The findings clearly show that while structural barriers poverty, weak family networks, and punitive state responses remain substantial, the drama intervention disrupted fatalistic thinking. Government actions were largely described as coercive (“They only chase us”), reinforcing antagonism. In contrast, the DiE approach was experienced as non-threatening and dialogical. The evidence suggests that participatory drama can catalyse psychological reorientation by

fostering empathy, reflection, and forward-looking thinking. Although the intervention does not eliminate systemic challenges, it initiates cognitive and emotional shifts essential for long-term reintegration.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of Drama-in-Education as a tool for the Rehabilitation of Street Children in Marian by Telling, Calabar Municipality L.G.A, Cross River State. The study presents results on demographic variables and the increase of skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality of Cross River State. In line with the statistical findings obtained from this study, it was therefore concluded that there was a significant influence of background on the increase of skolombo street children in Calabar Municipality. There was a significant influence of family structure on the increase in street children in Calabar Municipality. The Skolombo Street children phenomenon is a major challenge for residents of Calabar Municipality, raising questions about the extent to which society upholds the fundamental rights of children, the adequacy of policymakers' planning for future generations, and the types and nature of interventions undertaken. This study reveals that Drama-in-Educaiton offers not only catharsis but also a strategic intervention tool in contexts of social dislocation such as the Skolombo crisis. However, limited institutional capacity and lack of sustainable programming remain barriers. It is the conclusion of the research that the family are the main source of street children in Calabar and therefore, should be given priority intervention programmes if we have to curb the menace.

Recommendations

Based on the findings obtained in the study, the following recommendations were made;

1. Government agencies, in collaboration with NGOs and social welfare departments, should establish and maintain an updated data bank documenting the demographic profiles, family backgrounds, educational levels, health status, and specific needs of Skolombo street children
2. Government of Cross River State should engage professionally trained DiE facilitators to implement structured drama-based activities as part of psychosocial support services. This would provide street children with a safe and participatory platform for emotional expression, trauma processing, confidence-building,

and identity reconstruction, thereby complementing existing rehabilitation efforts.

3. Ministries or departments responsible for youth, social welfare, and child protection in Cross River State should provide policy support, funding, and oversight to integrate drama clubs into state shelters and rehabilitation programmes.

References

- Akpan, A. (2022). Child abandonment and street life in Southern Nigeria. *Journal of African Social Issues*, 15(2), 1–12.
- Alaye, T. A. (2021). Street children and survival strategies in Southern Nigeria. *Journal of Social Development Studies*, 9(2), 45–60.
- Andersen, C. (2020). *Drama education and learning: Theory and practice*. London, UK: Bloomsbury.
- Athiemoalam, L. (2018). Drama-in-education: A tool for effective teaching and learning. *Journal of Education Studies*, 12(2), 1–10.
- Buse, K. (2019). *Drama-in-education: Theory and practice*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Caldwell, R. (2021). Creative drama as a tool for learning and engagement. *International Journal of Arts Education*, 14(1), 1–12.
- European Commission. (2020). *Drama and participatory learning in education*. Brussels: Directorate-General for Education and Culture.
- Fayose, P. O. (2011). *Drama in education and society*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Kraft Books.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Goleman, D. (2020). *Emotional intelligence: Why it can matter more than IQ* (Updated ed.). New York, NY: Bantam.
- Henshaw, J., & Ekpenyong, E. (2020). *Street children and child protection in Calabar*. Calabar: Citizens' Rights Initiative.
- Iddon, M. (2021). *Creative drama in contemporary education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Katz, L. (2019). Thinking skills and creative learning through drama. *Early Childhood Research Journal*, 17(3), 45–58.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Nigerian Tribune. (2021). Rochas Foundation rescues street children in Calabar.
- Okam, C. (2019). Gender dimensions of street life in Calabar. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 11(1), 75–96.
- Okoye, C. (2015). *Drama and participatory learning in child development*. Nsukka, Nigeria: University Press.
- Partnerships Initiative in the Niger Delta (PIND). (2017). *Assessment of street children and youth criminality in Cross River State*. Abuja: PIND.
- Pearce, J., & Brennan, M. (2020). *Drama as a learning process*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Sullivan, P. (2005). *Art practice as research: Inquiry in the visual arts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Taylor, E. W. (2007). An update of transformative learning theory: A critical review of the empirical research (1999–2005). *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(2), 173–191.
- UNICEF. (2016). *The state of the world's children*. New York, NY: UNICEF.
- UNICEF. (2021). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York, NY: UNICEF.
- Valverde, L. (2019). Drama-in-education and experiential learning. *Pedagogy and Performance Review*, 8(1), 7–15.
- Water, M. (2018). Process drama and inclusive learning. *Applied Theatre Research*, 6(2), 1–14.