

Commit the Offense, Get the Consequence: Juvenile Delinquency in the Philippines

Bachelor thesis



Utrecht University

Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology

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FRONTPAGE: “They Will Lock You Up Too If They Get The Chance” by Barnellbe, 2013.

All the other photos in this thesis are taken in the Philippines during the fieldwork by Renée and Mariska themselves.



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*“These days, only the small fishes are caught.
The big fish just swim away.”*

- Student in Olongapo City on February 21, 2017

Abstract

The democratic election of president Rodrigo Duterte on May 9, 2016, in combination with Philippines' current socio-economic circumstances, has drawn the attention of national and international agencies and is the subject of public debates. Since his War on Drugs, juvenile delinquency and criminalization have become widely discussed topics about which Duterte has said that children killed in the drug war are "collateral damage". Different governmental and non-governmental organizations are dedicated to help children by providing a shelter, love and education, as well as in-depth programmes to rehabilitate and eventually reintegrate children in conflict with the law into society. To explain the high rate of juvenile delinquency and the functioning of support and rehabilitation initiatives, we have conducted qualitative research based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa from February until April 2017. This thesis outlines how socio-economic and political circumstances are related to juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives. We argue that certain socio-economic conditions play an important role in the emergence of a crime environment children and youth live in and that Philippines' current political conditions maintain this environment. Thereby, we argue that president Duterte's War on Drugs seems counterproductive of what it is supposed to defeat and that only a focus on the causes, rather than the consequences of crime, may defeat juvenile delinquency and may positively contribute to the goals of different support and rehabilitation initiatives.

Key Words

Crime Environment, War on Drugs, Philippines, Philippine Laws, Informal Market, Gangs, Children and Youth, Poverty, Delinquency, Criminalization, Stigmatization, Rehabilitation, Reintegration

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Maps and Statistics

Map and Poverty Statistics of the Philippines

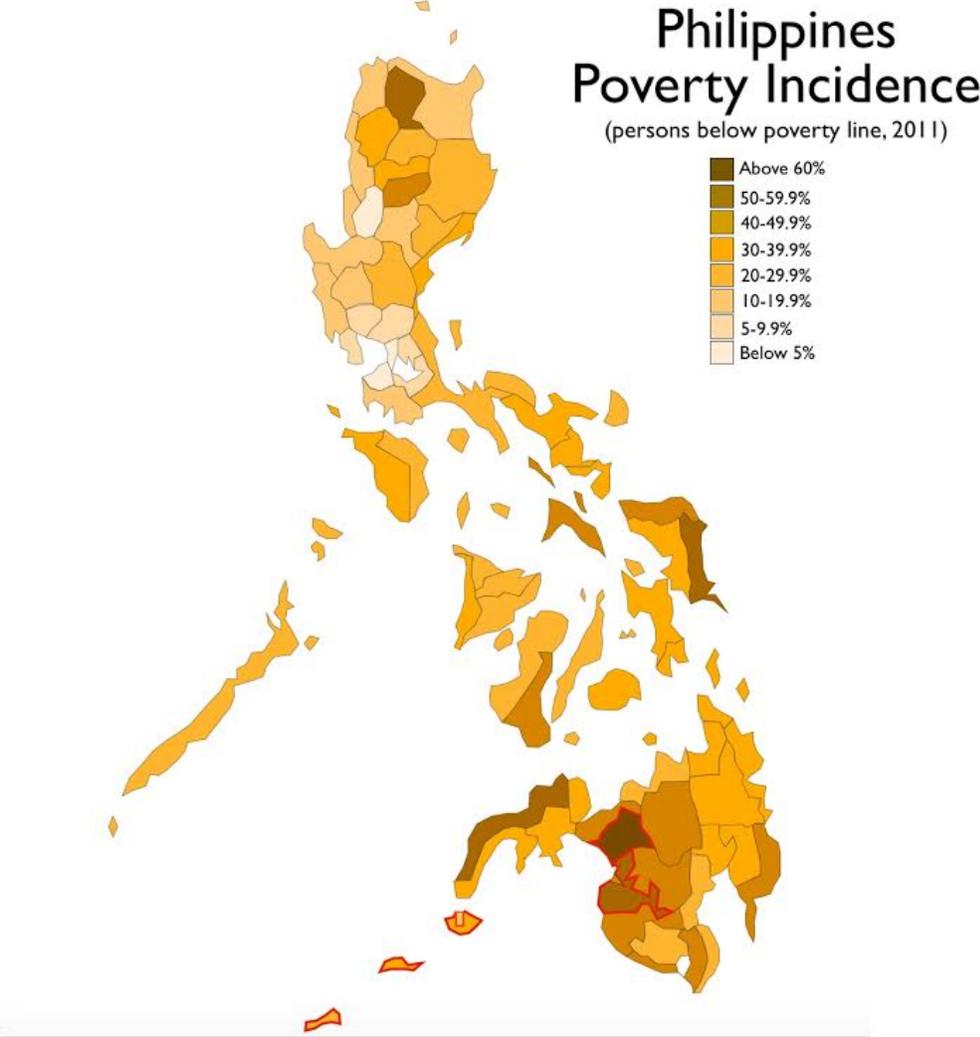
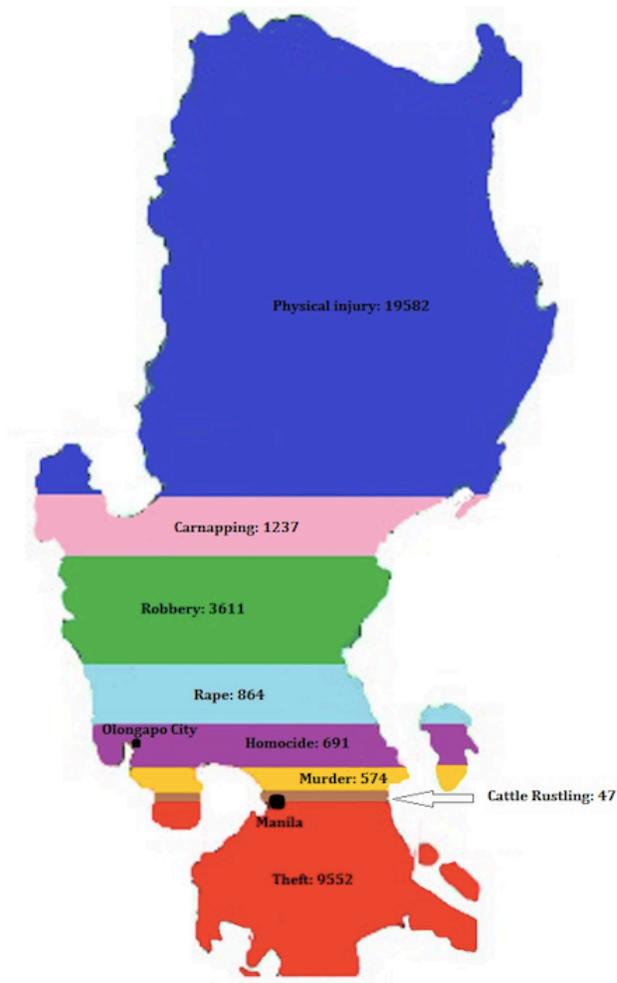


Figure 1: “Percentage of persons below poverty line in the Philippines” (Lewis 2016)

Map and Crime Statistics of Luzon



Map and Crime Statistics of Palawan

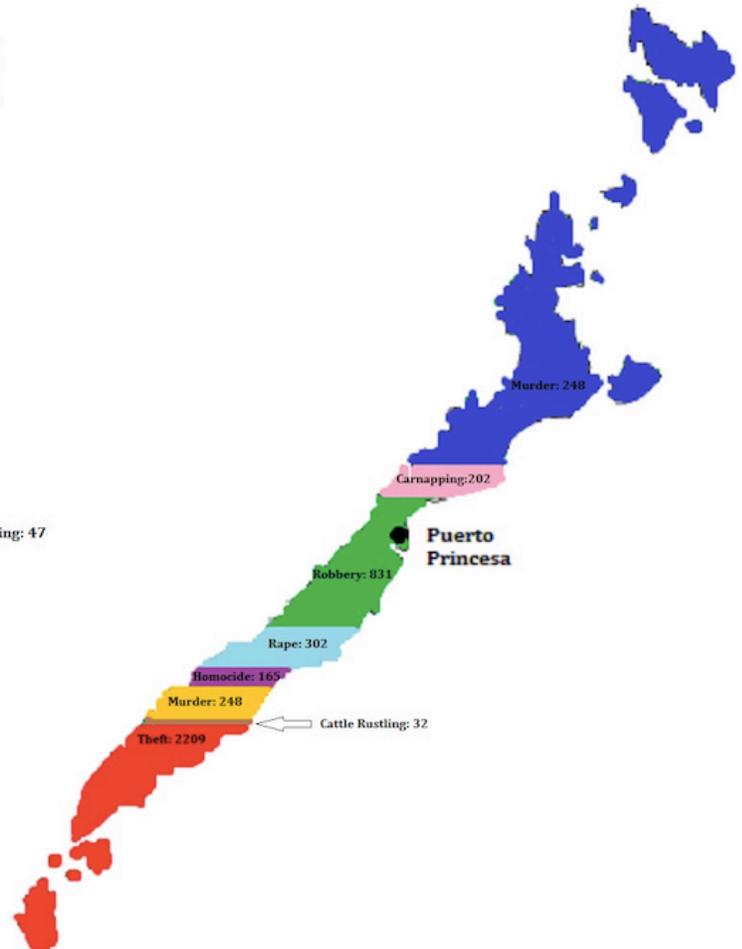


Figure 2: “Amount of registered criminal acts in Luzon”¹
(Philippine Statistics Authority 2013)

Figure 3: “Amount of registered criminal acts in Palawan”
(Philippine Statistics Authority 2013)

¹ Crime statistics of Luzon are based on Central Luzon, which includes Manila and Olongapo City



Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements

“Maraming salamat sa inyo mga kaibigan uuwi na kami”

Thank you so much to all of my friends, we are going home

- Prisoner at Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm on April 4, 2017

During ten weeks, from the February 6 until the April 14, 2017, we conducted multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa, the Philippines. Fieldwork involves the establishment of valuable relationships with informants by building rapport and gaining trust. The ultimate goal of anthropologists is to understand the experience of social reality in all its aspects by becoming insiders in a certain community. Relevant is how “the Other” speaks, behaves, thinks and feels so that the emic perspective² of the research population can be translated into the etic perspective³ of the researcher.

We have pursued this goal with the help of our informants. We would like to thank the residents of both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa for heartily welcoming us in their community. Their open attitude and willingness to help were of great value for our research. A special thank you to children and youth (in conflict with the law). We admire them for their bravery to open up to us and to share their feelings and experiences. Without them letting us taking a look into their lives, we could never have written this thesis.

Thank you to social workers and other staff who are working in or for rehabilitation centres for children in conflict with the law (CICL). Thank you to the executive director of Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (POCM), police officers, adult (ex)prisoners as well as the City Social Welfare Officers of Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa. We greatly appreciate your dedication and commitment.

Furthermore, we would like to thank the Villamor family who were extremely sympathetic towards us, who helped us to connect with different people and who gave us a unique insight into Filipino culture. Besides this family, we would also like to thank our own

² The emic perspective is the perspective of the research population what ethnographers are looking for (Kottak 2002:55)

³ The etic perspective is the perspective of the ethnographer, understandable for everyone and universal (Kottak 2002:55)

families and friends for their support and love during our stay in the Philippines as well as while writing this thesis.

Finally, we are very grateful to our supervisor Dr. Kees Koonings. His advice, suggestions and critical feedback contributed to the completion of both the ethnographic fieldwork and this thesis.



Introduction

Introduction

When thinking of the Philippines, many people imagine beautiful islands, long white beaches, diving, snorkelling and paradisiacal surroundings. However, in the past year, the media have contributed to another image of the country; a negative, one-sided image in which the violation of human rights and corruption play a pivotal role (Desker 2016). The democratic election of president Rodrigo Duterte on May 9, 2016, in combination with the current socio-economic circumstances, has drawn the attention of national and international agencies and is the subject of public debates. Most concerning are the statements Duterte has made regarding the role of children and youth in the drug problem. Since his War on Drugs, juvenile delinquency and criminalization have become widely discussed topics about which Duterte has said that children killed in the drug war are “collateral damage” (The Guardian 2016). UNICEF (2016) reports that more children in the Philippines are becoming victims of abuse, violence and exploitation and that more children become involved with armed groups.

National and international agencies seek to reduce human rights violations, in particular children’s rights, by reducing the amount of children who are living in poverty, are orphans and/or prisoners who live in appalling conditions. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations are dedicated to help those children by providing a shelter, love and education, as well as in-depth programmes to reintegrate children in conflict with the law (CICL) into society. CICL is a generic term used by all Filipino’s in everyday speech and implies that a child is below eighteen and alleged as, accused of or adjusted as having committed an offense under Philippine laws. Therefore, this term will be applied throughout this thesis.

To explain the increased involvement in delinquent behaviour of children and youth in the Philippines and the influence of support and rehabilitation initiatives, it is of great importance to understand the social, historical, socio-economic and political context children and youth live in. Several theoretical debates are important in explaining the role of socio-economic and political conditions in gang membership and delinquency: the interplay between crime-enhancing factors and delinquency (Cruz 2007), youth gangs as

partial replacement structures for institutions (Whyte 1943), gangs as reflections of lower class “subculture” (Cohen 1955), and the notion of state authorities as a means of shaping dominant modes of thinking about crime and criminals (Schneider and Schneider 2008; Wacquant 2008; Garland 2002). Besides, there are major scholars who explain the influence of the social context for support and rehabilitation initiatives, such as Liddle et al (2011), who express the importance of family involvement. Bazemore and Erbe (2003) and Hill and Langholtz (2003) add the importance of “social capital”, a central component to support and rehabilitation initiatives. By applying these theories to our empirical findings in the Philippines, we answered the following main question: *In what ways are juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives for children and youth related to the current socio-economic and political circumstances in the Philippines?*

This question is answered by studying the emergence of Philippines’ crime environment, the impact of the War on Drugs, juvenile criminalization, centres for children and youth, rehabilitation programmes and experiences of different actors in relation to juvenile delinquency. It is studied by means of a qualitative research design based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork. Thereby, we hope to add new insights to existing ideas regarding juvenile delinquency and to contribute to public debates concerning Philippines’ current circumstances. Furthermore, we hope our research results to be of interest to different support and rehabilitation initiatives that aim to improve children’s living conditions.

The Importance of Ethnographic Research

To gain an understanding in what ways Philippines’ current socio-economic and political circumstances are of influence for Filipino children and youth, a holistic approach is of great importance. This approach includes a focus on different aspects and actors so that an accurate image of juvenile delinquency in the Philippines will be created. The fact that president Rodrigo Duterte had won with nearly two-fifths of the votes, even though his aim to tackle drug problems by mass killings and mass incarceration shows the complexity and sensitivity of this research topic and the need for a holistic approach to explain Philippines’ current circumstances. Ethnographic fieldwork helps exploring the complexity of a crime

environment, criminalizing processes as well as reintegration processes and thereby it can broaden the existing knowledge. We believe a qualitative and “bottom-up” approach is extremely valuable since ideas, feelings and experiences of Filipino citizens can provide valuable insights into the causes and influences of Philippines’ current socio-economic and political conditions, thus the broad cultural context. We argue that both juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives deserve attention since children and youth are the future of a country that still has a long way to go for stability.

Fieldwork on Juvenile Delinquency

Anthropological fieldwork requires involvement in a research population for a certain period of time. Therefore, we have participated in the daily lives of our informants in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa for a period of ten weeks, from February until April 2017. During our fieldwork, less than a year after the election of president Rodrigo Duterte, experiences of juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives were the main focus. The research population consists of children in conflict with the law (CICL) living in different centres, adult (ex-)prisoners, police officers as well as founders of centres, social workers and other staff working in or with (rehabilitation) centres for children and youth. Besides these different actors, all residents of Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa who have a strong opinion regarding (juvenile) delinquency in the Philippines were of great importance for this research. Eventually, fifty-two individuals were interviewed by means of informal, unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Eleven CICL were interviewed by means of a focusgroup. All individuals that we have interviewed shared their ideas, feelings and experiences with juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives. Besides interviews, data is gathered by means of participant observation⁴ and comprises of document analysis, such as news articles, case studies and online statistics.

During ten weeks, we have built rapport with our informants and gained trust. Juvenile delinquency and politics are a heavy and sensitive topic to investigate and therefore rapport and trust is extremely important for informants to share their stories.

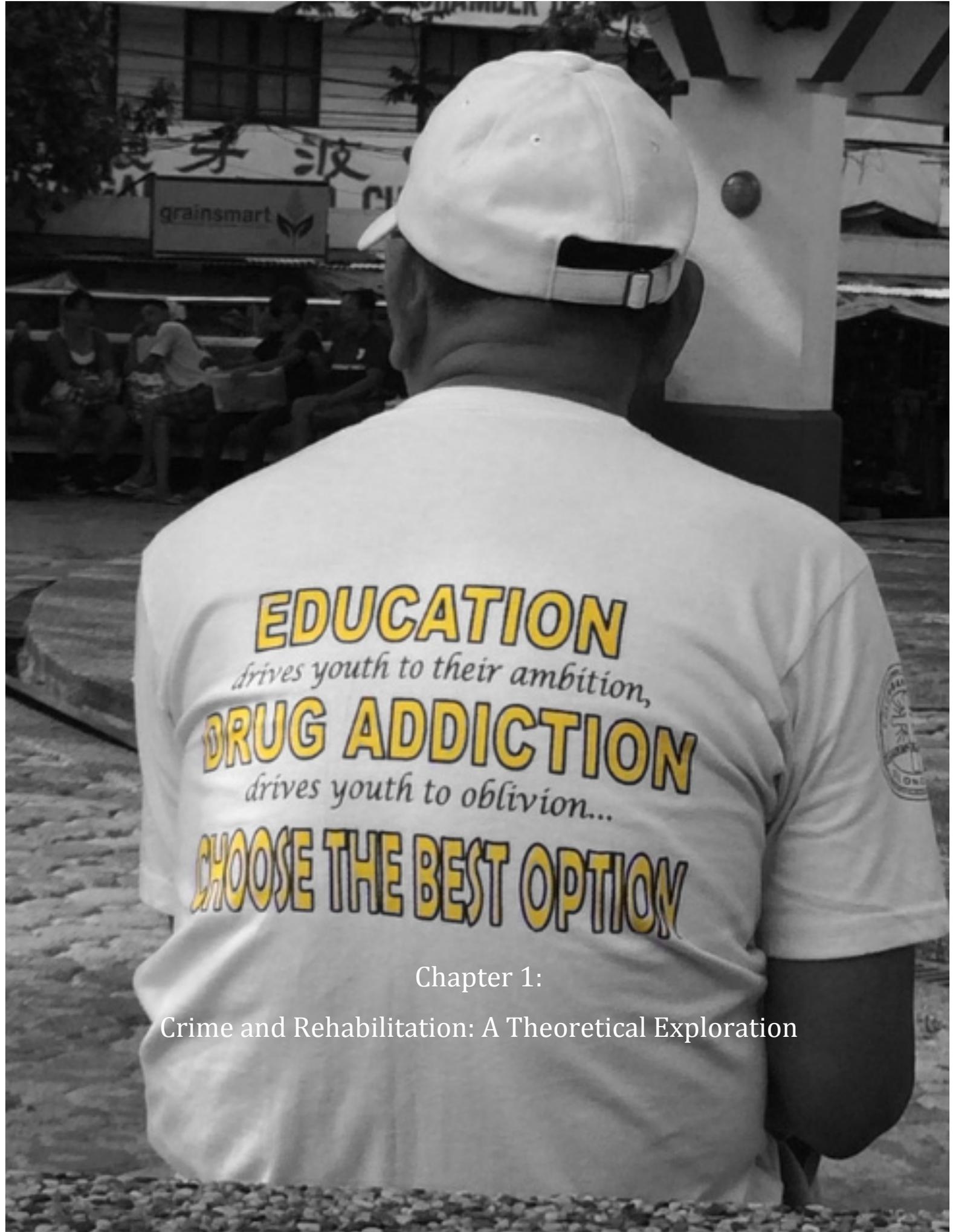
⁴ Participant observation is a method in which the researchers take part in the daily life of informants in order to learn about both explicit and tacit aspects of informants’ life routines and culture (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:1).

“Hanging out” proved to be a valuable method in building the necessary relationships. However, not everyone embraced our research completely. Initially, we would conduct research with the help of the non-governmental organization PREDA (People’s Recovery, Empowerment and Development Assistance) Foundation in order to get into contact with CICL. Due to unacceptable restrictions regarding our fieldwork, we decided to end the cooperation and to continue our research on the crime environment in Olongapo City by means of interviews with adult (ex)prisoners, police officers as well as founders of non-governmental organizations and other staff working on the living circumstances of children and youth. Luckily, we were given the chance to get into contact with CICL after moving to Puerto Princesa. Multi-sited ethnography, therefore, enabled us to conduct research on all relevant aspects.

A sensitive research topic requires a thoughtful approach. Since juvenile delinquency involves various interests and feelings of different actors, we guarantee anonymity as well as confidentiality for our informants. Besides the use of pseudonyms, we carefully considered whether to make use of quotes and whether to mention other relevant information such as where and when interviews took place. We were careful with sharing stories with other informants and people who were not part of our research. A thoughtful approach also involves our own position and role as Dutch students. Firstly, we were constantly aware of our privileged position and our task to find a balance between showing understanding and being non-judgemental while at the same time being critical about what is being said by our informants. By consciously dealing with our role as researchers, we were able to build the necessary rapport and trust with our informants and to gather the data we needed. Secondly, juvenile delinquency as a topic requires thoughtful decisions as well. Therefore, we decided, due to safety reasons, to participate together in the same activities. A major additional advantage is that, by discussing our field notes and experiences of the same activities, we increased the reliability of our research data. Furthermore, we were able to complement each other while asking questions during interviews, which resulted in more relevant research data and eventually a complementary research we are very pleased about.

Content Summary

In the first chapter, major terms such as youth gangs, stigmatization, crime, criminalization, law enforcement, rehabilitation programmes and reintegration processes will be discussed. In the second chapter, these terms will be applied to the Philippines. An overview of Philippines' current socio-economic and political circumstances will be given. In the third chapter, ideas, feelings and experiences with Philippines' crime environment are central. Firstly, the emergence of a crime environment will be explained by means of an environmental model. Secondly, the role of Philippines' political conditions in Philippines' crime environment will be reviewed by focussing on the consequences of the War on Drugs and criminalization processes. In the fourth chapter, support and rehabilitation initiatives will be addressed. Different governmental and non-governmental organizations, strategies and goals are discussed, followed by a review of the core components and an overview of the obstacles encountered. Finally, there will be a conclusion, where the above-mentioned themes will be brought together.



EDUCATION
drives youth to their ambition,
DRUG ADDICTION
drives youth to oblivion...
CHOOSE THE BEST OPTION

Chapter 1:
Crime and Rehabilitation: A Theoretical Exploration

1. Crime and Rehabilitation: a Theoretical Exploration

Juvenile Crime and Criminalization

To understand juvenile crime, one has to study the social context in which children and youth act since deviancy emerges from particular social contexts. “This social context is a micro-environment that has physical and social dimensions. The importance of a particular context is immediately recognized by the fact that crime is simply more common in some environments than others” (Miethe and Meier 1994:3). A social context, next to a historical, socio-economic and political context, contributes to different notions of crime as well as various crime-enhancing factors. Therefore, this section focuses on the relation between particular environmental conditions and criminal and violent behaviour patterns of youth gangs. Furthermore, the role of politics in the construction of crime and criminals will be discussed. Finally, some negative consequences of punitive sentencing politics will be described.

Youth Gangs: an Unfamiliar Phenomenon

Stigmatization occurs when a particular group of people is disqualified from full social acceptance (Goffman 1980), of which youth gangs are an example. According to Rodgers and Jones (2009), both youth and gangs have been stigmatized on the widespread and are often blamed to cause most violence. They argue that there is an increasingly widespread tendency to associate youth with high levels of violence, thereby blaming the so-called youth bulge for the rising levels of violence afflicting many parts of the developing world today. Although juvenile delinquency may involve many forms, it is the youth gang phenomenon that has become central to a public imagination of fear or “other” easily called up to legitimate anxieties and certain geopolitical responses, such as monitoring gangs by means of different institutions (Reguillo 2005). This is particularly obvious in relation to the application of highly repressive anti-gang measures such as the War on Drugs in South-East Asia. Rodgers and Jones (2009) argue that youth gangs remain a profoundly

misunderstood phenomenon due to the fact that people miss phenomenological understandings of violence as an action or an effect in a particular context. Therefore, it is extremely important to realize that youth gangs emerge from particular social contexts and to question how they build their reputations.

The gang-context relationship assumes that most youth gangs and delinquent behaviour are the result of significant social disorganization of poor neighbourhoods and areas (Rodgers and Jones 2009:7). According to this “social ecology” argument, youth gangs are seen as partial replacement structures for institutions, such as the family, that do not work properly as a result of social disorganization (Whyte 1943). Hence, factors such as poverty, family breakdown, school dropout, and unemployment are predictors of gang membership in general and other deviant behaviour such as violence, drugs and alcohol use, in particular. Wakefield and Uggen (2010:399) are in line with this “social ecology” argument by stating that most people arrive at prison with significant social and economic disadvantages, which implies that “disadvantaged people” are more prone to delinquent behaviour. However, while gangs are mostly associated with poorer neighbourhoods, Rodgers and Jones (2009) stress that there is no causal link between these two.

Other influential theories concerning youth gangs include cultural explanations of gangs as reflections of lower class “subculture” (Cohen 1955) and gangs as forms of resistance to “blocked” opportunities (Cloward and Ohlin 1960). According to Cohen (1955), delinquent gang behaviour is a collective reaction to problems or frustrations by youth who are being stigmatized and feel forced to adapt to a culture led by middle-class norms and values. These frustrations growing out of failure to move into the middle-class world and may lead to delinquent gang behaviour; behaviour that gives status and respectability according to fellow delinquents (Cohen 1955).

Cruz (2007) approaches youth gangs by means of his environmental model, based on street gangs in Central America. He argues that gangs are the outcome of a historical process in which various factors intervene: social conditions, political decisions, and circumstantial events. Youth gangs are the result of many social factors occurring at a certain time under diverse conditions, rather than the product of a single process or a response to a single cause (Cruz 2007:20). These conditions have created a crime environment that has enabled gangs to emerge and grow. Cruz (2007) argues that poverty

cannot be seen as a single cause of the emergence of youth gangs; only when poverty is viewed as part of a broader context of inequality and when it generates processes of social exclusion, poverty can be an important factor in the emergence of a crime environment. The environmental model depicts different relations concerning gangs on the social, community, personal as well as individual level (see Table 1). Cruz (2007:60-61) stresses that social and political policies are as important as historical, collective and individual conditions and argues against reinforcing law enforcement. Instead, one needs to take into account social and historical phenomena in order to limit youth gangs.

Table 1: Cruz environmental model, simplified version

Relation		<i>Specific factors cause</i>
Social level	Processes of social exclusion	<i>Economic instability</i>
		<i>Lack of opportunities for professional training</i>
		<i>School drop-out</i>
		<i>Unemployment or underemployment</i>
	Culture of violence	<i>Patterns in the transmission and learning of the use of violence</i>
	<i>Presence of violent actors</i>	
	Rapid urban growth	<i>Urban crowding</i>
Community Level	Presence of drugs	<i>Drug-dealing networks</i>
		<i>Drug use</i>
Personal level	Problem with families	<i>Dysfunctional families</i>
		<i>Abandonment and neglect by parents or caretakers</i>
		<i>History of violence in the family</i>
	Friends or classmates who are members of gangs	<i>Gang members in the community</i>
		<i>Gang members in school</i>
	Violence	<i>Identity based violence</i>
Individual level	Difficulties in building a personal identity	<i>Search for identity through violence</i>
		<i>Lack of positive role models</i>

Source: Cruz 2007:24-25

Crime as a Political Issue

The word “crime” involves a mix of moral and legal implications. Crime is often defined as a violation of public law and/or harm to public welfare. However, Nordstrom (2007:xvi-xvii) points out that it is extremely difficult to define criminal activities. She argues that all the money found in the informal economy “flow through millions of hands, thousands of institutions, and hundreds of borders”, which causes uncertainty about the “power grids that shape the fundamental econo-political dynamics of the world today”. Besides, governments engage in criminal violence, or authorize criminal proxies to “eradicate crime”, using such terrifying methods such as killing street children, abducting gang members, leaving the murdered bodies of presumed criminals at large for others to see, and dehumanizing victims of police brutality through media representations (Schneider and Schneider 2008:366). Thereby, state authorities, the media and citizen discourse define particular groups and practices as “criminal”, defined by Schneider and Schneider (2008) as “criminalizing processes”. These processes shape dominant modes of thinking about particular groups, evoke a threatening criminal imaginary with prejudicial consequences and often link criminal activities to the “dangerous classes”, which consist of “disadvantaged people” (Schneider and Schneider 2008:351-352). Thereby, modern states play a major role in the stigmatization of disadvantaged classes.

Gledhill (2000), who focuses on the anthropology of the state, explains the pivotal role of modern states by the fact that they can forge hegemony due to the effects of institutions and disciplinary mechanisms. One way to express hegemony is by means of politics, which contribute to a definition of crime. Comaroff and Comaroff (2006:11) describe crime and politics as two concepts that are interwoven and endlessly redefine each other as people experience different historical processes. Therefore, it is of great importance to be aware of the fact that notions of crime manifest itself in a particular context whereby people take over the definitions of those who own property, control the state, and pass the laws, which “name” what shall be crimes.

Politics play an important role in the construction and definition of crime, “the problem population” and fear by means of penal laws as well as law enforcement practices. One way is by means of penal sanctions such as imprisonment. Political conditions play an

important role in whether and to what extent incarceration takes place. Simply stated, people are being incarcerated only because the state has decided that their activities are “wrong” and should result in imprisonment (Visher and Travis 2003:104). Imprisonment is thus an exercise of power and is therefore influenced by political forces, policy choices, public sentiment, and media interpretations that drive political actors in modern society (Shannon and Uggen 2012:3).

To explain why certain penal sanctions are justified in a certain context, it is important to take into consideration the way political elites talk about and shape policy regarding “the problem population” (Garland 2002:109). Whereas Schneider and Schneider (2008) link criminal activities to the “dangerous classes” that consist of powerless groups of people, Wacquant (2008) sees a shift from a focus on the “dependent populations” to those groups considered to be “superfluous” in society, for example because of participation in the informal economy. According to Wacquant (2008), penal sanctions help to discipline fractions of the working class by raising the costs of participation in the informal economy and strategies of resistance to wage labour. He argues that an increase in imprisonment practices and immense long prison sentences for drug offenses and recidivism prevents people from getting or staying involved in illegal practices. However, by the imposition of insecure and underpaid wage labour as civic obligation for those locked at the bottom of the class structure, people are forced into the peripheral segments of the job market and a policy of “criminalization of poverty” is promoted (Wacquant 2008).

Garland (2002) focuses, just like Schneider and Schneider (2008), on the “dangerous classes” of society. He argues that a rise in imprisonment practices due to an increasingly repressive law and order regime is often the result of anxieties for people defined as the “problem population”. These anxieties are not only due to state authorities and the media, who influence society’s anxieties and demands for an increase in penal sanctions, but might be a result of citizen discourse and social and cultural changes as well, such as changes in stigmatization. Factors such as poverty, inequality and unemployment may contribute to the stigmatization of certain groups of people and the definition of the “problem population”. This “problem population” can be most effectively suppressed by moral discipline and stronger, more punitive social controls (Garland 2002).

Garland (2002:111) argues that by means of moral discipline and punitive social

controls, society's new demands for attention to the consequences of crime become central, rather than the causes of crime. In this sense, an increase in imprisonment practices might be a product of social and cultural changes as well, rather than the logical result of deliberate policy actions and choices (Bobo and Thompson 2006:467). However, these policy actions and choices are to a great extent interwoven with social and cultural issues of stigmatization. Not only are shifts in political rhetoric about crime the result of shifts in stigmatization practices on the social and cultural level, it is precisely the political discourses and crime talk that contribute to the stigmatization of certain groups of people. The definition of the "problem population", which can be dangerous or superfluous, can be seen as a process that is inseparable with a particular context and is influenced by notions of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Besides, political practices regarding penal sanctions are a product of particular political objectives in a particular context (Beckett 1997). Therefore, it is of interest to focus on how a social context may influence the punishment of a certain "problem population".

The Impact of Law Enforcement Policies

Changes in a particular social context can help drive various adaptations in the practice of punishment of the "problem population" that include more punitive sentencing policies, the War on Drugs and an increased focus on containing and managing rather than rehabilitating criminals (Shannon and Uggen 2012:9). According to Sampson and Laub (1997), this focus has a negative influence on the individual transition of children and youth to adult roles. Since different penal sanctions may cause young offenders to become stigmatized and marginalized from structured opportunities, their bonds with society weakens, which in turn increases the likelihood of offending in the future. Sampson and Laub (1997) describe this effect as the process of cumulative disadvantage, which can only be broken by "knifing off" the unwanted past with, for example, the aid of rehabilitation programmes (Elder 1998). Besides the fact that law enforcement policies such as imprisonment may cause stigmatization, the documentary *The Road from Crime*, produced by McNeill et al (2012), shows that it is particularly the harmful conditions in prisons that have an enormous negative influence on the transition from prison to community whereby

the prison functions as a “school of crime”. McNeil et al (2012) showed in their documentary that prisoners associate themselves with other peers and that they teach each other anti-social behaviour in which they adopt an identity that is difficult to reconcile with the identity society expects them to adopt. In the process from prison to community, rehabilitation programmes are extremely of interest, especially for children and youth with a long future ahead and for those who experienced terrible prison conditions such as abuse, which is commonly the case in South-East Asia.

Written by Mariska

Rehabilitation: an Answer to Juvenile Crime

In the conclusion of the previous section, the importance of rehabilitation programmes and reintegration processes for children and youth was highlighted, since worldwide only five per cent of justice-involved youth receives such specialized services (Liddle et al 2011:596). Even though juvenile delinquency is a worldwide phenomenon, most literature only focuses on rehabilitation and reintegration within the so-called Global West (Davis, Bahr and Ward 2012; Liddle et al 2011; Visher and Travis 2003). These theories will be complemented with literature concerning the rehabilitation and reintegration of child soldiers in Sub-Saharan Africa (Derluyn Vindevogel and De Haene 2013; Hill and Langholtz 2003) and documentaries documenting Asian countries. This part will consider the theoretical debates surrounding the structure of these programmes and its implementation.

To distinguish between rehabilitation and reintegration, Fox (2014) has described rehabilitation as focussing on the aim to change and reintegration concerning the broad social aspects that exist between the returning prisoner and the wider community. Nevertheless, multiple general definitions exist as to what these terms stand for. Firstly, Liddle et al (2011:448) define reintegration as “the process from incarceration to the community, adjusting to life outside of prison or jail, and attempting to maintain a crime-free lifestyle”. Secondly, it is defined by Visher and Travis (2003:91) as “the individual’s reconnection with the institution of society, which is both a process and a goal”, thus implying that rehabilitation and reintegration focus on the requirements needed to prevent recidivism. In this process, it must take offender risks into account. They also argue that it

should be more than just supervision, since it requires looking at experiences and a deeper understanding of the prisoner's life. An important aspect that must not be forgotten when discussing the rehabilitation and reintegration of children and youth, is that one should acknowledge that a certain personal and communal change has occurred over time and that life thus will not and cannot be the same as before (Derluyn et al 2013).

Rehabilitation Programmes

Even though Fox (2014:235) argues that the "reintegration of offenders released from prison is a vexing problem for governments", she and other scholars (Derluyn et al 2013; Hill and Langholtz 2003; Liddle et al 2011) discuss the involvement other actors, such as volunteers, churches and non-governmental organizations (NGO's), who are also involved in this process.

It even occurs that, worldwide, most rehabilitation programmes are based on private initiatives, either started by researchers to test a theory (Liddle et al 2011) or by volunteers to both provide a family atmosphere and be a model for prosocial, normative behaviours (Applegate et al 2000:741; Fox 2014:249). However, Liddle et al (2011) argue that once a programme is transferred from researchers to prison, it often cannot be sustained; either out of staff shortage or the unavailability of funds. Applegate et al (2000) argue that religious institutions base their beliefs and methods on either forgiveness or a punishable perspective of belief, out of which those following the forgiveness path appear to have a more positive influence.

There are however many initiatives derived from NGO's; the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Christian Aid for Underassisted Societies Everywhere (CAUSE) and War Child are helping to build rehabilitation centres worldwide, to facilitate the reintegration process for children and youth (Hill and Langholtz 2003). As UNICEF (2009:38) states that "not a single child must be robbed unlawfully or random from his or her freedom", they focus on this right worldwide. Derluyn et al (2013:878) argue, focussing on child soldiers, that, even though mostly everything is done with the help of NGO's, intensive cooperation is needed between different actors, including nongovernmental, governmental, local, national and international agencies. Only when this occurs, the broader

security, political and economic environment can be factored in all interventions (Derluyn et al 2013:879).

Key Aspects of Rehabilitation

Literature defines multiple risk factors that are expected to be the central focus in rehabilitation centres. These risk factors can be divided into personal internal factors and the external social context.

A central focus most desired by child soldiers in their rehabilitation process is the focus on educational opportunities (Hill and Langholtz 2003:282). Being incarcerated, children and youth argue that they miss important moments in school, as is mentioned in the documentary *Kids Behind Bars* (Woods and Blewett 2001) by Eugene, a twelve-year-old boy accused with rape in Manila. In Liberia, the UNICEF has provided vocational and literacy training, thus enabling former child soldiers to acquire basic skills (educational and vocational) without having to go to an ordinary school, which is often associated with bad influences from peers (Hill and Langholtz 2003:284).

Fox (2014:241) argues that the above-mentioned risk factors of employment training and educational deficits were central factors in rehabilitation programmes in the 1960's and 1970's. This focus has shifted in recent decades to a two-way focus on psychological approaches. The first factor concerns coercion. Liddle et al (2011) argue that juvenile delinquents mostly need to be coerced to be willing to change. Another internal factor involves psychological stress. Hill and Langholtz (2003) argue that post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) can have a big psychological impact, resulting in the possibility of changes in personality. The use of trauma counselling can thus have positive effects during rehabilitation. Furthermore, this can be enhanced by the ensuring of physical health, the reinstalling of a typical day structure and the presence of therapeutic activities (Derluyn et al 2013:873).

Risk factors present during both rehabilitation and reintegration are the family and community surrounding the children and youth. During rehabilitation, Sampson and Laub (in Davis et al 2012:452) argue that bonds with family members can help individuals to desist from crime. This is evident in the Multidimensional Family Therapy (Liddle et al

2011), wherein the importance of parents in rehabilitation programmes is centralized by holding weekly therapeutic conversations with parents and children, lasting approximately three to six months. During reintegration, family and the community are even seen as the most important components (Hill and Langholtz 2003). One of the biggest advantage is that family and community-based interventions can provide strong support systems (Liddle et al 2011:589; Visher and Travis 2003) and play a primary role in the formation of social capital (Bazemore and Erbe 2003; Hill and Langholtz 2003). Social capital, marked by cooperation, trust and reciprocity, defines tolerance limits and affirms community roles, thus making reintegration easier for previously non-trusted offenders. Furthermore, it also allows offenders to repair their reputation within the community (Fox 2014:242). Besides that, Visher and Travis (2003:97) argue that, by entering family and community in the reintegration process, the returning prisoner feels obliged to do something back, defining this as the “responsible citizen”. Correspondingly, parents themselves also argue that their involvement in the reintegration programme is appreciated (Liddle et al 2011). Nevertheless, family and the surrounding community are also negatively associated. Fox (2014:244-146) argues that, even though the importance of social support for offenders is often recognized, “many treatment interventions do not address that deficit”. She argues that, besides offender rehabilitation, communities must be rehabilitated as well. This is in correspondence to Derluyn et al (2013:878), who argue that not only the targeted population must be considered, but that here is a need to look at the community to prevent reification of social isolation. Davis et al (2012) argue that sometimes the involvement of parents is not always desired by children, due to their relationship in the past. On the other hand, a close bond with parents does not necessarily have to be positive: parents sometimes enable drug addictions by giving money, even after reintegration. This complex nature of family relationships is in accordance with White (1943), who argues that the family institution plays an enormous role in the life of children and youth, in particular in the possible emergence of youth gangs.

A second form of informal control surrounding children and youth concerns their peers. The presence of law-abiding peers can result in a decrease of delinquent behaviour; they can provide special bonds and discouragement of illegal attitudes and activities (Davis et al 2012; Visher and Travis 2003). On the other hand, being with delinquent peers may

result in bonds that retain illegal activity, like gang practices (Davis et al 2012). Fox (2014:241) describes that rehabilitation programmes often prohibit juvenile delinquents to associate with people they previously considered friends – like gang members, drug users and/or criminal associates.

Resulting from these negative impacts of the external social context, Davis et al (2012) argue that the need to look at substance abuse in rehabilitation programmes is the most important factor. Their interviews with offenders also support this statement, since they argue that drugs are a major problem, describing it as “the root of all problems”.

An aspect often forgotten (including by the above-mentioned authors) is the influence of religion (Applegate et al 2000; Pettersson 1991; Wolseth 2008). It is believed that believing in God places courage and strength in offenders (Wolseth 2008:106). Applegate et al (2000) argue that religion can play both a punitive and forgiving role whilst rehabilitating. The punitive role of religion deals mostly with suffering caused by God (Applegate et al 2000), a certain kind of symbolic violence of a vengeful God for people who have done Him harm (Wolseth 2008:107). Forgiveness is expressed in two ways. Firstly, it entails concern for the well-being of others and to redeem offenders, both from God and people. It thus not only shows the compassionate side of the offender (Applegate et al 2000), but can also be linked with morality, like honesty and tolerance (Pettersson 1991). Secondly, Wolseth (2008) argues, based on fieldwork in Honduras concerning juvenile gang members, that believing in God allows one to receive a certain kind of protection and salvation. The church herein provides a certain kind of sanctuary in which offenders can opt for personal salvation. This salvation is achieved by the ritual of “cleansing”, during which the past is metaphorically washed off and the offender becomes a new person. Both Applegate et al (2000) and Wolseth (2008) argue that being involved with religion encounters a strong amount of motivation.

It has been made clear that rehabilitation programmes know both a focus on the internal motivation of the offender and the external social context. However, a discussion remains on which risk factors should be prioritized. As Davis et al (2012) argue, there is a friction between these two factors, and they remain doubtful whether the internal motivation to change is enough or that this motivation will only work if the social context is positive. Hill

and Langholtz (2003) tend to go to the primary social context that family can provide, but do keep the psychological needs of children and youth in mind. Derluyn et al (2013) argue that the importance depends on the person involved, while Liddle et al (2011) argue that children and youth mostly need coercion to find motivation to change, which shows the importance of the social context. While quoting Leslie Wilkins “the problem of crime cannot be simplified to the problem of the offender”, Bazemore and Erbe (2003:246) show they also underline the social contexts. Visher and Travis (2003) argue that the desire to change lies at the heart of a successful transition, but acknowledge that the social environment is as important as the readiness to change: when the dynamic framework and changing nature of reintegration is being kept in mind along with the life experiences, needs, skills and personal characteristics of the reintegrated, successful reintegration is most likely to occur (Visher and Travis 2003:91, 107). To conclude this discussion, while arguing that most rehabilitation programmes emphasize offenders’ deficits rather than their strengths (Fox 2014:239) Fox (2014:240) describes rehabilitation programmes as “like fixing the car, but leaving the rocks in the road”, thus emphasizing the need to take the surrounding circumstances into account. Therefore, our research sought to understand the relationship between Philippines’ socio-economic and political circumstances and support and rehabilitation initiatives. Prior to connecting our empirical findings in the Philippines to these theories, the following chapter will give a small overview of the socio-economic and political conditions in the Philippines in general and Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa in particular in order to provide the context in which our fieldwork took place.

Written by Renée



Chapter 2:
Research Setting

2. Research Setting

The Philippines consist of more than seven thousand islands and are located in Southeast Asia. Luzon and Palawan, on which we have conducted fieldwork, are only two islands. Luzon is the largest one while Palawan is the most famous and popular island among tourists. For more than three hundred years, the Philippines were colonized by the Spanish, which ended with the Spanish-American War in 1898. From that year on, until 1946, the American Colonial Era marked Philippine history. Nowadays, the Philippines are known as a third world country with a high poverty rate⁵. Olongapo City, a highly urbanized city located in Luzon and known for its sex industry due to its proximity to the previous American Naval Base, hosts different organizations that support the living circumstances of disadvantaged children and youth. In contrast, Puerto Princesa, the capital of the island of Palawan and gateway for traveling tourists, is less known for its appalling conditions for children and youth. Poverty statistics⁶, described below, show the conditions in which residents of both cities live. These conditions, in combination with the current political circumstances, play a pivotal role in the development of children and youth. Since particular socio-economic and political conditions contribute to the crime environment children and youth may live in, this chapter focuses on both the situation in the Philippines in general and of Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa in particular.

Inside the Harsh Living Conditions for Filipinos

The Philippines are characterized by a high amount of structural inequality, which is primarily caused by the substantially unequal distribution of money (Yu 2011). This is the result of two factors: the economic decline since the 1970's and the infamous law of 1991 concerning devolution (Hodder 2000), wherein local governments themselves are made

⁵ Confirmed by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) latest report in 2016

⁶ For detailed poverty, economy, education and crime statistics of the Philippines we refer to [Knoema#](https://knoema.com/atlas/Philippines) (<https://knoema.com/atlas/Philippines>) a free to use public and open statistical data platform comprised of data gathered by multiple independent research agencies.

responsible for all financial matters concerning their territory. In addition, Ofreneo (2015:122) argues, using figures from labour force statistics, that not only many Filipinos are forced to work beneath their status (around 20% in 2010), there is also a high rate of unemployment (7.3% in the same year). This substantial and chronic underemployment and unemployment are seen as the roots of persistent poverty in the Philippines. In 2009, the National Statistical Coordination Board (Ofreneo 2015:124) stated that one out of every five Filipinos was considered poor. Two years later, this national figure has risen to 26%. In 2016, UNICEF has stated that this amount has risen to 36.8% of the Filipino population to live in poverty, while 47.5% must live on less than \$2 per day. This has resulted in many Filipinos working overseas – something that has only negatively influenced this declined economy.

Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa

Since Olongapo City is famous for its location close to the American Naval Base, as described above, the City Statistics (City Planning and Development Office 2011) argue that the economic activities that arises from that period are to this day beneficial for the city, such as increased investments (concerning businesses catering to the needs of locators, businesses and workers at the port) to increased employment. However, they also state that, in 2011, unemployment was at a rate of 8.81%, which is higher than the national figure of 7%. In the same year, survey results done by Olongapo City governmental officials showed that 20.95% of the residents live under poverty threshold, 12.4% under food threshold and 4.77% of all households have no access to an improved water source, with an average household size of 4.5. 31% of Olongapo City residents have no permanent jobs. The poverty line however has changed in recent decades: whereas in 2011 the per capita income is around 28.000 pesos⁷ per year, before 2011 this amount was 20.000 pesos⁸ per capita. This lack of employment and persistent and massive poverty is reflected by people living between graves on the outskirts of Olongapo City. The city is also characterized by beggars and the streets are crowded with public transport, such as tricycles and jeepneys,

⁷ 28.000 pesos is equal to 504 euros (June 11, 2017)

⁸ 20.000 pesos is equal to 360 euros (June 11, 2017)

whose drivers have no fixed income.

The structural inequality and issues concerning employment is reflected in the city crime rates. Even though crime incidents have declined between 2009 and 2012, the Olongapo City Data described in 2012 a total crime volume of 432 incidents per 100,000 individuals, ranging from murder to petty thefts. This number is significantly higher than the national average of 227 out of 100.000. Nevertheless, the number of crime incidents handled by law enforcement has improved, having changed from 12,2% to 27,5%. In 2010, 235 children in conflict with the law (CICL) were registered, a number that rose to 574 in 2012.

Puerto Princesa has two different faces: being a tourist destination, a high amount of governmental funds is spent here, resulting in many bars, cafés and sight-seeing spots in and around the city. However, international research organization PEP (Partnership for Economic Policy, 2009) has argued that, at the same time, one-fifth of the households live below the poverty threshold and one out of nine households do not have sufficient income to satisfy their basic food needs, with 9,2% of its residents being unemployed. The average household size is 4,8, which is roughly equal to Olongapo City.

The statistics described above contribute to a crime environment in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa. This extreme climate of socio-economic conditions is not only maintained since the election of president Duterte, his policies also contribute to it.

Written by Renée

Political Change: A Punitive Turn toward Mass Killings and Imprisonment

Philippines' presidential election on May 9, 2016, brought the seventy-one-year-old Rodrigo Duterte to power. Comparing himself to Hitler⁹, Duterte's objectives are domestic; law and order, anti-corruption and crushing the drug problem are at the top of his agenda. In his focus on peace and order, he deals with people in conflict with the law such as alleged criminals, drugs addicts or users and marginalized sectors such as informal urban

⁹ "If Germany had Hitler, the Philippines would have..." he said, pausing and pointing at himself during a conference in Davao, the Philippines, September 18, 2016 (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Efx6_rXzVMw)

settlements. He tries to achieve his goals by mass killings and imprisonment and focuses on children and youth in particular. “Most criminals of today are young people who are covered by the Juvenile Justice Law who grow up without a sense of accountability that whenever you do something wrong and bad in this world, you have to be liable and pay for it”, Duterte declared according to Davao Today (2016). Therefore, he aims to lower the age of criminal liability from fifteen to nine years old.

One month after president Duterte took office, there have been over nine hundred drug-related killings, seven hundred anti-illegal drug operations, seven hundred arrests and hundreds of thousands of voluntary surrenders all over the country, further crowding prisons already serving over five times their maximum capacity (ABS-CBN Investigative and Research Group 2016). The number of prisoners has increased enormously after the election of president Duterte and includes Filipino’s below the age of fifteen¹⁰. Since Duterte is famous for human and children’s right violations, allegations about summary executions and swearing and insulting, his political leadership has attracted much international attention. His disregard for human rights has been the most worrisome aspect of his administration, of which he has said: “Human rights cannot be used as shield or an excuse to destroy the nation.”¹¹

Despite all, he is a popular leader among Filipinos. Laya and Marquez (2011) argue that, by actively monitoring the work performed by subordinates and executing corrective actions if deviations from expected standards occur, he is a leader who focuses on goals and results and takes responsibility for his actions and decisions. However, both national and international developments may intrude and shape his administration, which is especially important for children and youth with a long future ahead. Various support and rehabilitation initiatives fight the detention of minors and try to improve their living situation. Since the violation of children’s rights remains of everyday practice, Sanchez (2016) argues that those who do not end up in institutions and community programmes have poor prospects for their future.

Written by Mariska

¹⁰ Confirmed by recent statistics of the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology

¹¹ Duterte declared this in his first State of the Nation Address (Sona) on July 25, 2016



Chapter 3:
Crime Environment

Written by Mariska

3. Crime Environment

The Emergence of a Crime Environment

As Miethe and Meier (1994) point out, the social context is important for a full understanding of crime since it is the micro-environment that may determine how other factors influence delinquent behaviour. Next to this social context, the complexity of juvenile delinquency in the Philippines can be found in the historical, socio-economic and political contexts, which contribute to different crime-enhancing factors. These crime-enhancing factors are related to one another and play a vital role in the emergence of the crime environment children and youth live in. In accordance with the environmental model of Cruz (2007), we have found different relations between environmental conditions and youth gangs on both the social, community, personal and individual level. The overarching factors emerging from our research that influence Philippines' crime environment are a lack of accessible and proper education, a lack of job opportunities and a lack of parental guidance and care.

A Lack of Accessible and Proper Education

Education affects the development of a child as well as that of a country in several ways. The most obvious is the relationship between education and employment. A lack of accessible and proper education contributes to the emergence of different crime-enhancing factors, such as school drop-out, a lack of opportunities for professional training and gang members at school, which are mentioned by Cruz (2007) as well. These factors, in turn, increase the likelihood of juvenile offending and decrease future opportunities on the labour market.

One important crime-enhancing factor is the high amount of out-of-school-youth, which is caused primarily by money-issues. For some Filipino's, the costs of education do not weigh against the benefits of attending school. For others, attending school is simply impossible due to compulsory tuition fees and other expenses, such as traveling costs. Rizal,

a teacher at an elementary school in a remote, rural area at two hours drive from Olongapo City, sees more and more children leaving school after the sixth grade. He explained this trend by the fact that children are forced to help their family earning an income:

“Because they start working! Most stop after grade six because the parents need money. [...] They help their parents, most on the rice fields. [...] Because they have no other choice. They can’t go to college. It is too expensive and too far from here. [...] They need to travel really far. [...] I don’t know. I think by jeepneys. That’s why nobody goes to college, haha.”¹²

In addition to the fact that education involves costs, parents missing out on money by not letting their children work for the family. Quitting school can be a matter of interests as well as a result of the inability to continue school due to high expenses, which is among others mentioned by Patrick, an employee who works for the City Planning and Development Office of Olongapo City:

“The department of education says: for every one hundred students, secondary students who enrol, only ten graduate. Ten graduate in the college level. So that’s too small. What happens to the ninety per cent? [...] So that’s one effect. That’s because of the high costs of education. They can’t afford it. Even the public education means some expenses. Though it is free on the national law, they still need expenses; traveling costs, their food allowance, so those basic things they can’t afford that. That’s one effect of it. Unemployment, out of school.”¹³

Unlike attending college, elementary and secondary schools do not require the payment of tuition fees. Nevertheless, travel expenses and costs for food and other basic needs do compel parents to pay for their children whilst attending school. Therefore, a trend is seen in which children and youth from disadvantaged classes are excluded from the opportunity to get professional education and drop-out of school. Joshua, an eighteen-year-old child in conflict with the law (CICL) who undergoes a rehabilitation programme at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre after he had been caught with drugs on the age of sixteen, explained why he dropped out of school and what happened after:

“My father left when I was one years old. [...] My mother paid for the school and raised all my brothers and sisters [he has six siblings]. But after grade six, I stopped school because we needed money. [...] I want to go to college and have a good job, but I needed to help my mother in prison [his mother was caught on dealing drugs]. [...] My friends introduced me to other friends and they introduced me to drugs. I used and sold drugs every day and I earned a lot of money so I could give that to my mother in prison. But now, I want to finish college

¹² Conversation on February 8, 2017

¹³ Semi-structured interview on February 24, 2017

and have a good job.”¹⁴

Just like Joshua, most children and youth drop out of school due to money-issues. Despite the wish for a decent job, they are practically excluded from participation in professional training in order to achieve the required qualifications. The involvement in informal activities is seen as a way out to solve the money-related problems. Besides that, roaming the streets and joining a gang is considered to be a solution of boredom, which might occur after quitting school. Felix, a CICL who murdered a drunken man with other gang members, explained his boredom after he quitted school in the first year of high school:

“I had nothing to do. All I did was being on the street... One day I met gang members and so I decided to join the gang when they asked me. [...] It was better with them than being at home. [...] No the gang members were no classmates. I met them on the street. [...] We did... eh... hanging out... smoking... drinking and gang fights.”¹⁵

Since most out-of-school-youth experience difficulties in finding a decent job due to the absence of diplomas and/or experience boredom, school drop-out may function as a crime-enhancing factor. In this sense, the involvement in illegal activities that generate money and gang membership can be explained within a context of social exclusion from opportunities, such as the opportunity to get sufficient education. This is in line with Cloward and Ohlin’s (1960) argument that juvenile delinquency can be seen as resistance to “blocked” opportunities.

Another crime-enhancing factor is the presence of gang members in school. In most cases, children and youth come into contact with gang members through (friends of) classmates. Michelle, an employee at the Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (POCM), explained that schools play a vital role in getting into contact with gang members. She argued that schools function as inadequate places for education since they are mainly places to meet “wrong peers” and to experiment with delinquent behaviour.¹⁶ Unlike Felix, who met gang members after he dropped out of school, most CICL argued that their gang membership was the result of peers in school. Carlos, a thirteen-year-old boy who is living in the PREDA Home for Boys, told us with the aid of an interpreter that his classmates had

¹⁴ Informal interview on April 13, 2017

¹⁵ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

¹⁶ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

seduced him to skip classes. They had asked him to join them to scavenge for food and do street gamble. Carlos explained that he barely attended classes and that he was often away from home. However, he did care for his family and showed this by giving money to his mother and candies to his siblings.¹⁷

A Lack of Job Opportunities

Next to a lack of accessible and proper education, a lack of job opportunities plays a vital role in the emergence of Philippines' crime environment as well by contributing to different crime-enhancing factors. The crime-enhancing factors we have found in the Philippines are in accordance with the factors mentioned by Cruz (2007), such as urban crowding and economic instability. Both factors influence each other and increase the likelihood of involvement in delinquent behaviour.

The inadequacy of job opportunities strikes the fact that even the simplest jobs, such as being an employee in a fast food chain, require Filipino's to attend at least two years of college. Therefore, many uneducated jobseekers are unable find a decent job that provides them with sufficient income. Besides that, it is common to earn below the minimum wage and to be rejected due to one's marital status and the possibility to get pregnant. This was confirmed by means of participant observation; different vacancies on windows and doors require potential candidates to be single.¹⁸ Another employment-related problem is the insufficiency of jobs. Grandmother Chona, uneducated, argued: "People must take whatever job they can get, even if it pays half the minimum wage."¹⁹ Patrick explained the high unemployment rate of Olongapo City as follows:

"The population planning advocacies say that it's the big size of households. Well, it's probably a mix of all. I think it's an economic issue. Employees in the rural areas migrate to the urban areas. They look for jobs, which affects of course the agricultural area. It's not the issue of population, at least not for the city. On the national scale the issue of family planning is still an issue, but on the city level, we cannot cope with the demand of unemployed people going here. We estimate that around ten per cent of the population are migrants. They come here, so it contributes to the amount of unemployed people. They settle here, marry and have families, so it contributes to the population as well. And another thing... if you look at

¹⁷ Informal interview on February 13, 2017

¹⁸ Field notes on multiple dates

¹⁹ Informal interview on February 11, 2017

the quality of employment, it is still an issue. For example, companies or investors here practice the issue of contractualization. They hire people for three months after when they renew the contract from three to six months. After six months, they renew the contract for another bunch of young workers so it will change.”²⁰

For Olongapo City, the biggest challenge lies in the large number of unemployed Filipinos moving to urban areas and searching for jobs. Patrick explained the rapid urban growth as a result of few job choices in rural areas and a large informal market in cities. We argue that urban growth must be seen within its socio-economic and social context; it must be understood in terms of access to education, transport as well as health care and housing. Since a lack of access to the above-mentioned aspects are worse for the rural poor than for the urban poor, rural poor move to urban areas in their efforts to get out of poverty. Thereby, rural poor’s efforts have contributed to a rapid population growth and a rapid unemployment and underemployment growth in cities that, in turn, increases macroeconomic instability.

One consequence of economic instability might be that some children and youth are unmotivated to finish school at college level, since it may be unrewarding. Another result might be that children and youth experience more work pressure to support their relatives due to the fact that their family members may be unemployed or may have an unstable job for an uncertain period of time. Different children in conflict with the law (CICL) explained the importance of helping their relatives without mentioning their involvement in illegal activities to get money. Ronaldo, an eleven-year-old boy who has been accused of curfew violation, argued:

“My parents [mother and stepdad] sell cigarettes and candies in the morning and coffee in the evening because we have no job. [...] My mother had different jobs because my father had gone missing. But now, me and my brothers and sisters [he has six siblings] help my parents. [...] First, after school I went home immediately to help them. I cooked. Now I always helped them and I miss that now. That’s what I always do.”²¹

In accordance with Ronaldo's story, several adult informants argued that most “disadvantaged” children and youth are forced or willing to quit school and start working, whether in the formal or informal market. They name poverty as the main reason for

²⁰ Semi-structured interview on February 24, 2017

²¹ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

engagement in the informal market and see a vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty. Since it is an enormous challenge for families to earn sufficient income, not all children and youth are able, allowed or motivated to attend school that, in turn, results in few job opportunities. Moreover, completing a course at college level does not guarantee good job opportunities. Jeanine and Maria, two residents of Olongapo City since birth, argued:

J: "My children will attend college. They are lucky because of me haha. I'm trying! I want my children to grow and have a good future. No problems. That's what I hope."

M: "That's why I sent my husband to Abu Dhabi haha. Jobs are better there. He takes care of us. I will join him one day. It's for the future of my children. We do it for them.... I want a good future, that's why I voted for Duterte but I made a mistake... Because... He doesn't do something about the real problem. [...] The real problem is poverty."

J: "You can imagine? Some parents are so poor that they can't give their children this. No school so no job. So they will be poor too. Poor children... [...] Yes Duterte doesn't address this problem, only drugs, drugs... are there no poverty problems? Yes of course! It doesn't disappear like this."²²

Since president Duterte does not address poverty in general, the vicious circle can only be broken through involvement in criminal activities, such as theft, robbery and drug dealing, different informants argued. Jeanine, who is concerned about the drug problem in the Philippines, explained:

"Some parents have a lot of children. I think this is because they are bored, haha. Sometimes they have no job because that is difficult in the Philippines. Drugs are just easy money. Easy money! It is the only way to earn enough money, so easy as that!"²³

"Easy money" is a synonym for dealing drugs and other illegal products and is used by Filipino citizens to explain Philippines' biggest problems and challenges. Besides the participation in criminal activities, joining a gang is also a way to break through the vicious circle. Different (ex-)gang members explained that a gang provides people support on the financial level. Ian, a forty-year-old prisoner convicted for murder at the age of seventeen, explained why he appreciates his gang:

"I could have said no but actually I could not haha. They were so kind for me. We help each other and they are still my friends. Sometimes they come and bring me food. And when I am free, I will help them. It is like brotherhood. They are my brothers and we always help each

²² Informal interview on February 19, 2017

²³ Semi-structured interview on March 13, 2017

other.”²⁴

Participation in illegal activities that generate money as well as joining a gang can help to break through the vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty. In this sense, juvenile delinquency in the Philippines can be seen as a development issue; it is a result of a lack of development and the maintenance of poverty.

A Lack of Parental Guidance and Care

Other crime-enhancing factors mentioned by Cruz (2007) are abandonment and neglect by parents or caregivers, a lack of positive role models, learning of the use of violence, the presence of violent actors, drug use, dysfunctional families and a history of violence within the family. As we have seen in the Philippines, these factors are translated into a lack of parental guidance and care.

Due to a lack of education, job opportunities and the need to earn sufficient income, parents work long days, are not present for a longer period of time due to jobs in a different cities or countries and/or give the wrong examples to their children by earning money illegally. This results in a lack of parental guidance and care in general and the emergence of the crime-enhancing factors mentioned above in particular. Another reason for a lack of parental guidance and care constitutes in the fact that Filipino families are rather large and that parents have to divide their attention to all children.

Since parents have a great influence on a child’s development, the presence of parents who function as positive role models are extremely valuable. Different informants, among whom children in conflict with the law (CICL), argued that the absence of parents might result in children taking care of themselves, for example by means of stealing and pickpocketing and seeking support by peers, for example by joining a gang and all gang activities that go along with it. CICL themselves defined a youth gang as “brotherhood” or as “a group of people who defend each other”.²⁵ Joshua argued that street life requires one to join a youth gang. He said:

²⁴ Semi-structured interview on April 4, 2017

²⁵ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

“My gang was called [name]. I was with my friend every night and did “baba” [going down]. We went to the city to hang out, drive a motorcycle and find enemies. We had a lot of gang fights. With them I was much stronger than alone. We protected each other. [...] People without a gang have problems.... They are weak. [...] Because we are strong! We win the fight!”²⁶

Since street life may be dangerous due to the high amount of gang fights and other delinquent behaviour of people on the streets, a youth gang provides a sense of security. Furthermore, different CICAL argued that being a gang member gives status and respectability, which is in line with Cohen’s (1955) arguments. Joshua continued his story:

“We were very intimidating to other people. [...] We won a lot of gang fights because we were so strong. That’s why people were scared of us. We were just strong. Some people in the gang were not strong and didn’t dare anything... [...] No I was not scared!”

Youth gangs are associated with “brotherhoods” and “status and respectability” and therefore the participation in a gang and all violent activities that go along with it may help to construct a certain identity. As Cruz (2007) argues, the search for identity through violence is an important factor in the emergence of juvenile offending. Even though youth gangs may contribute to the construction of a certain identity with the use of violence, all CICAL argued that their arrest was not a result of their participation in a gang. Instead, their delinquent behaviour was a result of “bad influences” within the gang, with which they meant some specific peers.²⁷

Various social workers of different organizations explain the relation between delinquent peers and juvenile delinquency by the term “peer pressure”, which plays a bigger role when there are no parents around that can act as a positive role model for their children. Efren, a social worker at the PREDA Home for Boys, explained this relation as follows:

“Rape, for example, is a good example of peer pressure. They do it because of peer pressure. Not because of money or things like that. Just because of their friends. [...] They convince each other to do it. Do it or you are a loser! And they do it... [...] I think it is also a matter of education and parenting. They never learned good behaviour from there but they... they learn bad behaviour from peers.”²⁸

²⁶ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

²⁷ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

²⁸ Informal interview on February 13, 2017

One result of peer pressure is that children and youth take over “bad behaviour” of peers, such as drinking alcohol, smoking and experimenting with drugs and other illegal activities.

In addition to the fact that parents should be present for their children, it is extremely important that they function as positive role models as well. Felix, the CICL living in the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, explained that his family situation was rather negative. He argued that he preferred staying on the street with his “bad peers” than being with his parents at home because of the fact that they were always fighting with each other.²⁹ Since youth gangs can help to survive street life, to counteract boredom and can fulfill someone’s desire to belong to a group of people, we see the youth gang as a means to replace the dysfunctional family. This is in accordance with Whyte (1943), who considers gangs as replacement structures for institutions that do not work properly as a result of social disorganization. In this sense, the participation in gang activities may be influenced by problems within families, which is mentioned by Cruz (2007) as a crime indicator.

Besides the fact that family problems may push children and youth into street life, which in turn increases the likelihood of delinquent behaviour, caretakers may give them wrong examples as well, for example by fighting and using violence. Shay Cullen, founder of PREDA Foundation, once said to other employees: “How you behave, is what your kids become.”³⁰ Michelle, an employee of the Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (POCM), who takes care of children of prisoners, told us her experiences with those children. She argued:

“Most parents used and sold drugs for money. That example is what they give to their children! They think it’s normal. Most of them were even born in prison! They think it’s normal to do criminal activities as long as it earns money.”³¹

Michelle sees more delinquent behaviour by children and youth whose parents exposed them to drugs or an environment of violence, thereby stressing the importance of positive role models. Jeanine put it in different words by stating that there is a link between the lifestyle that caretakers pass on to their children and juvenile delinquency.³² Michelle goes a step beyond the issue of “wrong” lifestyles and argued that there are even children who are

²⁹ Informal interview on April 13, 2017

³⁰ Conversation of February 10, 2017

³¹ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

³² Conversation on March 2, 2017

forced to engage in criminal activities:

“Because children below fifteen years old have no criminal liability, relatives take advantage of that by forcing them to commit crimes. Think about theft, robbery and drug-related crimes. That’s why some Filipino’s agree to lower the age of criminal liability from fifteen to nine years old.”³³

Due to the fact that children below fifteen years old have no criminal liability, adults abuse children and youth for their own purposes, which are often money related. This is why most informants agree with president Duterte to lower the age of criminal liability.

Even though almost all our informants see a causal link between poverty and juvenile delinquency, we argue that poverty must be seen within a broader, social context in which processes of social exclusion, a culture of violence, rapid unplanned urban growth, the presence of drugs, problems with families, friends or classmates who are members of gangs and difficulties in building a personal identity, all of them crime indicators mentioned by Cruz (2007), contribute to the vulnerability of children and youth and the potentiality of juvenile offending. Poverty thus does play an important role in the emergence of a crime environment by contributing to a lack of accessible and proper education, a lack of job opportunities and a lack of parental guidance and care that, in turn, contribute to different crime-enhancing factors.

The Maintenance of a Crime Environment

Whereas Philippines’ current socio-economic circumstances have a great influence on the emergence of juvenile delinquency, its current political conditions play a pivotal role in maintaining the crime environment children and youth live in. Not only by the engagement of the Filipino government in criminal violence to “eradicate crime”, as Schneider and Schneider (2008) mention, but also by focussing solely on the consequences of crime, rather than the causes (Garland 2002). Furthermore, president Duterte’s political agenda contributes to the criminalization of poverty (Wacquant 2008) and stigmatizes “disadvantaged people” (Schneider and Schneider 2008), which in turn increases the

³³ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

likelihood of offending due to what Sampson and Laub (1997) describe as the process of cumulative disadvantage.

War on Drugs: the Consequences

“You haven’t been there? Beautiful islands, beaches, lagoons... All tourists are there!” The tricycle driver seems to be surprised by the fact that we are not interested in visiting El Nido [place in the north of Palawan]. What does intrigue us, are his two bracelets, which are made of rubber. The first and blue one says “Duterte”, while the green bracelet next to the blue one has white letters indicating “Transparency and good governance”. When asking him about the meaning of the green bracelet, he points us at several jeepneys passing by, coloured blue, yellow and reddish. “Look, on the side, that is the slogan of Olongapo. Look, there you see them too!” A huge, blue poster of president Duterte himself draws our attention. Pink and blue letters say: “Duterte kami [we] 2016” and “Transparency and good governance”. There is no need to search for political advertisements; they are on every street and corner, all of which vote for president Duterte. But how can a controversial man like Rodrigo Duterte be so popular?³⁴

President Duterte’s political agenda is dominated by the War on Drugs; an overarching term used to denote all anti-drugs actions against drug users, addicts and dealers. Duterte is most famous because of his idea to eliminate all drug users and traffickers by using terrifying methods. These methods include killing street children, abducting gang members and leaving murdered bodies at large for others to see. Besides, media representations dehumanize victims of police brutality. These methods, both mentioned by president Duterte and Schneider and Schneider (2008:366), are not or rarely applied in Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa. However, state authorities as well as media and citizen discourse create a culture of violence by invoking these methods, methods that may be applied in other parts of the Philippines such as Manila and the “dangerous island” of Mindanao. Since

³⁴ Field notes on March 14, 2017

a culture of violence is an important crime-enhancing factor (Cruz 2007), the means by which the Filipino government tries to “eradicate” crime has counterproductive consequences. Multiple informants argued that his goal to reduce drug-related crimes is desirable, but that eliminating all drug users and traffickers is an inappropriate way to approach Philippines’ drug problem. Maria, who is a resident of Olongapo City and mother of four children, argued:

“The goal does not justify the means. I don’t want my children to grow up in an environment with lots of drugs. That’s why I voted for him. But, I also don’t want so much violence in my country. I don’t want them to see that... [...] What examples do they get? [...] And actually, it doesn’t work. He should address poverty. Because that’s the problem, poverty!”³⁵

According to Maria, it is a matter of choosing the lesser of two evils: a drug environment or a culture of violence in which children and youth grow up. Despite the fact that this culture of violence does not replace the drug environment, Christian, an undercover drug policeman in the region of Subic, explained us that the amount of drug users and dealers visibly reduces under president Duterte:

“Yes I can see differences. Crime reduces. A lot of drug addicts have surrendered. [...] In Olongapo City they have the chance to voluntary surrender. [...] No we don’t kill them when they surrender! [...] The problem is that there are not enough places for them. The jails were not prepared for so many people. [...] Because using drugs results in most of the crimes.”³⁶

Since using drugs is associated with other delinquent behaviour, such as violent-related offenses, reducing drug criminals is linked to reducing crime in general. That is the reason why the Filipino police forces are endeavouring to change drug users and addicts. Police officer Linda Santos explained the role of the police as follows:

“Tok-Hang means eh... “Tok” means knock and “hang” means convince. They are knocking on the door of drug personalities and convince that person to stop. That is the literal meaning of Tok-Hang. [...] We can only arrest him or her when we know the... drug personality. We have a process on that.”³⁷

When the police have a drug user or addict in mind, they knock on their door and convince that person to change. If it turns out to be unhelpful, the police will do everything in his

³⁵ Informal interview on February 19, 2017

³⁶ Semi-structured interview on March 14, 2017

³⁷ Semi-structured interview on March 16, 2017

power to gather sufficient evidence in order to arrest him or her. Reduction of drug criminals is thus not accomplished by mass killings, Christian argued. Instead, reduction is being pursued by means of mass imprisonment:

“It depends [whether he is allowed to kill drug users and dealers]. If there is a dangerous situation and a gun, then yes. We are allowed. Better him than me or someone else. When there is no danger, we don’t kill. We bring him to jail. That’s why jails are too crowded. Everyone is in jail. [...] No I have never killed anybody. [...] Yes Manila is different. There are a lot of killings there. [...] Because it’s the president and his campaign. [...] Here? No, only when it’s dangerous.”³⁸

In line with Christian, all residents of both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa argue that drug-related killings are rare with exception of certain “dangerous” places in Manila and Mindanao, where people do respond to the calls from president Duterte to physically eliminate drug users and addicts. Abegail, a twenty-two-year-old student who lives in Olongapo City, explained that the nation-wide increase in the amount of killings is not solely a consequence of law enforcement practices; it is due to fear as well.³⁹ Since some drug users and dealers fear that their partners in crime will betray them in front of the police, more and more drug users and dealers kill each other.

However, in places such as Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa, drug-related killings are quite rare. Instead, prisons and rehabilitation centres exceed their maximum capacity. Jails in these two cities were not prepared for this high amount of new inmates. During our visit to the Olongapo City District Jail, we have seen the high amount of overcrowded cells; even though the women’s department has four hundred inmates, most of them imprisoned due to drug-related crimes, their maximum capacity is only two hundred women.

A female guard in blue uniform opens the door, decorated by hanging plants with green leaves, and points at the small courtyard filled with five rows of ten chairs. While some women wearing orange t-shirts with black letters spelling BJMP [Bureau of Jail Management and Penology] walk out their cell to occupy a chair, others stay behind the bars of which some are smiling to us, two of the six newly arrived visitors. A short conversation with a prisoner in front of the open prison door is

³⁸ Semi-structured interview on March 14, 2017

³⁹ Informal interview on March 3, 2017

disturbed immediately when a young lady with green hair straps says: “Come in! I’ll show you my cell!” While the sturdy guard gives us a nod, we follow her into her cell. A long and narrow corridor is stuffed with women of whom almost everyone is lying on the floor. It is difficult to pass the women and to take a step further. The hallway has several doors, all of which are open and leading to small spaces packed with even more prisoners. While they are lying on the floor, in hammocks attached to the ceiling or in bunk beds with multiple other women next to each other, we are greeted kindly over and over again. Totally in shock, we thank the lady who guides us for her kindness. While surrounded by multiple prisoners, a woman we have not noticed yet, says: “God wants us to be kind. We have to. We keep on smiling. We have no choice.”⁴⁰

Most of our informants argued, in accordance to Jeanine and Maria who mentioned the vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty, that president Duterte does not address poverty in general, thereby ignoring the crime-enhancing factors that contribute to Philippines’ crime environment. Besides, by invoking criminal violence to “eradicate crime”, president Duterte creates a culture of violence in which children and youth grow up, which maintains Philippines’ crime environment.

Criminalization under President Duterte

There is a vital role for politics in labelling children and youth as offenders. Next to the fact that political discourses create dominant modes of thinking about the “problem population” (Schneider and Schneider 2008, Garland 2002, Wacquant 2008), politics play a big role in whether activities are considered to be “wrong” and should result in punishment (Visher and Travis 2003) and for whom punishments are intended.

For the “disadvantaged classes”, insecure and underpaid wage labour seems to be the only solution to earn an income in the formal market. Therefore, the harsh anti-drug policy of president Duterte to tackle participation in the illegal market tackles mostly the

⁴⁰ Field notes on March 20, 2017

Filipinos in the peripheral segments of the job market. Thereby, he has laid a focus on those who are considered to be “superfluous” in society and influences thoughts and ideas regarding the “problem population”. All our informants described the “problem population” in the Philippines as people who are involved in “easy money”. Jeanine said:

“Ha, the problem? The problem is everywhere. There are drugs everywhere and it is very easy to get it. Everyone can get it. We have a really big drug problem for years already and Duterte is the first who wants to do something about it. [...] The problem is all the people who use and sell the drugs. Easy money! [...] Why? Because it is easy money! They are poor, that’s why. They have no job.”⁴¹

Drug users and dealers are seen as the real problem in the Philippines. This “problem population” is linked to notions of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Unlike Garland (2002), who argues that the “problem population” is a result of anxieties for the “dangerous classes” of society, we see a focus on the “superfluous classes”. In other words: those who participate in the informal economy. In accordance with Wacquant (2008), we argue that by focussing on those considered to be “superfluous” and by imposing insecure and underpaid wage labour as civic obligation for those locked at the bottom of the class structure, rather than addressing insecure and underpaid jobs, president Duterte promotes a policy of “criminalization of poverty”, thereby stigmatizing the “disadvantaged classes”. Amnesty International (2017) put it in different words by stating that his War on Drugs is less of a drug war than it is a war on the poor. Poverty, inequality and unemployment thus contribute to the stigmatization of the “problem population”, which can be most effectively suppressed by moral discipline and stronger, more punitive social controls, as Garland (2002) argues. Therefore, president Duterte’s War on Drugs contains severe sanctions against drug delinquents, including children and youth.

Part of Duterte’s political agenda is lowering the age of criminal liability from fifteen to nine years old. The age of criminal liability determines whether a civil case against one can be made and should be reduced in order to address drug-related crimes in the Philippines, according to president Duterte. Whereas most informants agree with the president to lower the age in order to reduce the amount of children being used by elders to commit crimes, some do not. Christian, the policeman in Subic, explained:

⁴¹ Informal interview on February 19, 2017

“Children should know what is right and wrong. Nine years is too young. They don’t know what is wrong. But twelve, I think that would be ok.”⁴²

Whereas Christian agrees with reducing, he disagrees with the age and stressed the importance of being aware of notions of right and wrong. Tomás, an official of the City Social Welfare and Development Office (CSWDO) in Olongapo City, is strongly against lowering the age of criminal liability:

“No. A minor is a victim. The adults victimize them. Why put in jail the victims? Put in jail all the perpetrators, all the instigators of crime... criminals. [...] They should be put in jail. Not the victims. You are also victim when you are older than twelve. It is the obligation of parents to give minors a good family and to teach them good behaviour. They need guidance. Send them to school and guide them.”⁴³

Michelle of POCM is in line with Tomás by stating that children and youth are victims of the circumstances they live in.⁴⁴

Striking is the inconsistency of our informants regarding the age at which a crime might result in imprisonment. We think this inconsistency might be due to differences in law and practice. Different interviews with children in conflict with the law (CICL) made clear that it is common for delinquent boys between fifteen and eighteen years old to end up in jail, while under Philippine laws one should be eighteen years old. Joshua explained how he ended up in prison for six months at the age of seventeen:

“I ran a business with another person so we could share our contacts with each other. I was afraid for police, but my partner did not listen and booked a room in a hotel. Then the drug police followed us. We had methamphetamine and were arrested. [...] It was horrible. I could not accept I was in prison. No good food, I had only two meals per day. Later I realized [gave thought to] my family. I do not want to be unhappy for them.”⁴⁵

Joshua prefers not to look back at his time in prison since his experiences with prison life are extremely negative. Just like Joshua, Arjun, a CICL who went to prison for seven months at the age of sixteen, explained his negative experiences to us:

“There were a lot of guards and I was very restricted, limited movement. [...] During daytime, I cleaned the jail and attended religious meetings.”⁴⁶

⁴² Semi-structured interview on March 14, 2017

⁴³ Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017

⁴⁴ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

⁴⁵ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

⁴⁶ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

The inconsistency of our informants regarding the age at which a crime might result in imprisonment might be due to a legislative amendment in 2006 as well. Prior to the amendment, delinquents above fifteen years old were forced to join a rehabilitation programme in preparation for prison. Ian, the forty-year-old prisoner, explained:

“When I was seventeen, I went to the DSWD [Department of Social Welfare and Development]. They prepared me for jail. [...] When I was twenty, I was transferred to jail. First in a strict jail in Manila, but I’m lucky I’m here [Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm] now.”⁴⁷

At the age of twenty, delinquents were sent to prison due to an offense committed between fifteen and eighteen years old. After the legislative amendment in 2006, delinquents between twelve and eighteen years old are forced to join a rehabilitation programme without being imprisoned at a later age as a result of their offense committed as minor. Marcel, a social worker at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, argued that the legislative amendment enabled the Youth Centre to focus on “reintegration into society”, which is extremely important in the development of a child. He told us that the CICL participate in a rehabilitation programme until the judge decides that a child or youth may leave the Youth Centre, which is usually about two years.⁴⁸ This explains why some youth in the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre reached the age of twenty. However, the legislative amendment of 2006 mostly applies to boys due to a lack of rehabilitation programmes for girls. For them, it is more common to end up in prison as a minor. Table 2 shows the differences between boys and girls in how they are punished for their crimes.

⁴⁷ Semi-structured interview on April 11, 2017

⁴⁸ Semi-structured interview on April 10, 2017

Table 2: What should happen after a child has been caught on committing crimes under Philippine laws?

	0-9 years	9-12 years	12-15 years	15-18 years	18+
Boys	No civil case, caretakers are given advice	No civil case, caretakers must “pay” for what CICL did	No civil case, forced to undergo rehabilitation either at community level or centre-based	Civil case, forced to undergo rehabilitation either at community level or centre-based	Jail
Girls	No civil case, caretakers are given advice	No civil case, caretakers must “pay” for what CICL did	No civil case, forced to undergo rehabilitation either at community level or centre-based if available OR caretakers must “pay” for what CICL did	Civil case, forced to undergo rehabilitation either at community level or centre-based if available OR jail	Jail

Source: Compiled by authors based on field interviews

When asking informants about the imprisonment of minors, many people think it could be a matter of arbitrary use of power. However, Marcel and Wilson, both social workers at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, blame the incarceration of minors to a lack of birth certificates or “bad behaviour” within rehabilitation centres. They explained that some children are unable to prove their minority by means of a birth certificate, which may result in the imprisonment of a minor. Furthermore, the imprisonment of a minor can function as a “last resort” in case a minor misbehaves in a rehabilitation centre, for example by trying to escape.⁴⁹ However, different organizations, including Youth Centres and PREDA Foundation, dedicate themselves to protect the interests of children and youth by trying to get minors out of prison. They attempt, for example, to prove their minority by means of a dental examination or with the help of a school’s opinion so that a CICL can undergo rehabilitation.

The value of rehabilitation centres is enormous. The War on Drugs of president Duterte and the increased focus on the punishment of the “problem population”, which includes children and youth, have a negative influence on a child’s development. Efren, the

⁴⁹ Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

social worker who works for PREDA Foundation, argued:

“The focus should be on rehabilitation. They should learn how to behave. Children never learned that. That’s the problem. But they can learn. There is hope for them. We believe that. That is why we focus on them. Try to keep them on the right track. When we give up on them, it’s over. It doesn’t help. Teach them!”⁵⁰

Many others agree with Efren that merely a focus on rehabilitation and reintegration can positively contribute to a child or youth’s development. Strong imprisonment policies, however, leave them unable to change. In line with Sampson and Laub (1997), who argue that certain policies may cause young offenders to become stigmatized and marginalized from structured opportunities, which weakens their bond with society and increases the likelihood of offending in the future, informants stressed the importance of education in order to enlarge CICL’s opportunities. Efren continued:

“If we don’t teach them? I don’t know... It will get worse. They don’t know what good behaviour is. Education helps. It changes them. They can return to society and behave like everyone else. [...] If we put them in jail, they won’t learn anything. They will meet other criminals and stay criminals.”

Marcel stressed it is most important to teach CICL new skills, so that they feel part of the society and are able to make a new start, while earning an income.⁵¹ Rehabilitation can thus help to “knife off” the unwanted past, as Elder (1998) argues, and break the process of cumulative disadvantage, which is mentioned by Sampson and Laub (1997). This is especially important when a child or youth experienced harmful prison conditions (McNeill et al 2012). Therefore, Philippines’ political conditions, which contribute to the criminalization of poverty and president Duterte, who focus solely on the consequences of crime and the eradication and imprisonment of criminals, contribute to the maintenance of a crime environment, in which recidivism often occurs, as stressed by residents of Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa.

⁵⁰ Informal interview on February 13, 2017

⁵¹ Semi-structured interview on April 10, 2017

WELCOME

TO

BAGONG PAGASA

YRTC

Chapter 4:
Support and Rehabilitation Initiatives

Written by Renée

4. Support and Rehabilitation Initiatives

The previous section highlighted the importance of rehabilitation centres to reintegrate juvenile delinquents and children in conflict with the law in the Philippines. Since Derluyn et al (2013), Hill and Langholtz (2003) and Liddle et al (2011) have described a wide range of actors involved in the rehabilitation process, this part commences with a consideration of the goals and aims of different organizations in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa that aim to reintegrate these CICL back into normative society. Besides this, it will also take organizations into account that do not specifically work with CICL, but either work with (children of) prisoners and/or offer programmes that are used by rehabilitation centres. Their relevance lies in the fact that they provide unique insights in the difficulties and opportunities regarding rehabilitation and reintegration. Furthermore, the main part of this chapter will consist of an analysis of the contents of these rehabilitation programmes, its relation to Filipino socio-economic and political circumstances previously described, as advocated for by Derluyn et al (2013), experiences surrounding the focuses and the difficulties encountered.

A Wide Range of Opportunities

Fox (2014) argues that the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders should be mainly the concern for governments, which is reflected in the presence of a nation-wide rehabilitation programme called City Youth Centres, also known as Bahay Pag-Asa (meaning House of Hope). These are obligatory centres for CICL that must be based in every municipality, which in turn is governed by the City Social Welfare and Development Office (CSWDO). The Olongapo City Youth Centre is a well-maintained facility. Upon entering the building through a door opened – and again locked – by a guard, the left wall reveals the painted house rules and some Christian proverbs. Across from the entrance, a room is filled with bunk beds, out of which children come running to see who just entered. Even though

there is always a guard present, some boys were allowed outside.⁵² Concerning the objective and goals of this centre, it has been described by Nicole, assistant at the CSWDO, as:

“It will ensure a halfway home for those children to modify their behaviour with programmes and services integrated on it.”⁵³

Tomás, the official of the CSWDO, described the contents of the rehabilitation programme he is responsible for as:

“We have the session to restore their normal functioning.”⁵⁴

Contradictory to the relatively central location in the city of the Olongapo City Youth Centre, the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre can only be reached after a forty-five-minute boat ride followed by a 15-minute tricycle drive. Participant observation during our visits to this centre has showed that the building is surrounded by a three-meter wall that serves to keep the CICL inside the premises.⁵⁵ Locally called Bagong Pag-Asa [New Hope], this Youth Rehabilitation and Training Centre is part of the centre-based programme the City Social Welfare and Development Office at Puerto Princesa offers. The main objective of this centre is “to form their skills and reform their behaviour”, which serves to reconnect CICL with society and to prevent recidivism (Visher and Travis 2003). After the CICL in this centre-based programme are rehabilitated and are therefore ready for reintegration, they enter the Puerto Princesa community-based programme. While being in this programme, they have monthly contact with the government, who oversee the follow-up of these children and youth.

However, as Hill and Langholtz (2003) argue, Olongapo City also knows non-governmental rehabilitation centres. An example is PREDA Foundation, founded by Irish Christian missionary Shay Cullen. The presence of this rehabilitation centre is in accordance with Applegate et al (2000), who argument that religious institutions often appear to show more compassion for those in conflict with the law. It becomes clear that PREDA

⁵² Field notes on February 21, 2017

⁵³ Informal interview on March 9, 2017

⁵⁴ Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017

⁵⁵ Field notes on April 5, 2017

Foundation focuses on the perspective of forgiveness, since they both rescue children from the street and from “prison” (both City Youth Centres as well as real prisons) and immerse them with their core values of equality and freedom. When we asked Joseph, who had lived at PREDA Foundation for one week, about his experiences so far, he told us that “it is a solution to get home”.⁵⁶

Another non-governmental organization located near Olongapo City is the Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (POCM). Even though not a rehabilitation centre, they do offer unique insights into the Philippines’ current socio-economic circumstances and allow a glimpse into prison life and its relation to children. The houses can only be reached walking up a hill though one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the area. Along the right side of the road, a man can be seen washing himself, being surrounded by graves. Across from him, on the other side of the road, two small girls are washing clothes in a tub, while an older woman is sitting beside them, waving to us as we pass. They are surrounded by garbage. On the wall of the administration, a small space filled with three desks which are buried with papers, hang three frames, on which we can read “vision, mission and goal”, which describe the clear aspiration to be a home and second family for children who have either lived themselves with their parents in prison or who have parents who are incarcerated.⁵⁷ Michelle, employee of POCM explained:

“Our aim is to create a home, let them understand where their family is.”⁵⁸

The goals described above are equal to the much-needed wish to provide a family atmosphere and the need to be a role model for prosocial, normative behaviours Applegate et al (2000) and Fox (2014) describe.

Besides these organizations, prisons also use certain rehabilitation programmes. The previous chapter described the illegality for children below eighteen years old to be in jail. However, due to the non-existence of rehabilitation centres for girls and the ambiguity of one’s age, it does occur for children and youth to spend a certain amount of time in jail. Even though they are different from rehabilitation centres designed for children and youth,

⁵⁶ Conversation on February 13, 2017

⁵⁷ Field notes on March 13, 2017

⁵⁸ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

they do allow a certain perspective on this process. We visited two prisons: Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm and Olongapo City District Jail. Even though they have the same purpose, – serving as a correctional facility –, they are opposite in execution. Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm is an open colony near Puerto Princesa. The compound is huge; besides it being a two kilometre walk through farms to reach the nearest plaza, during our first visit we drove around with a car for twenty minutes to reach a natural pool within the prison.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Ian, a forty-year-old prisoner living there since 2004, told us the prison extends to far inside the mountains surrounding the main plaza. Its population is comprised of three kinds of inmates: maximum security inmates have the least kind of freedom and are not allowed to leave their heavily secured compounds. Medium security inmates are either allowed outside their compounds once every day for a drill or must entertain visitors. Minimum security inmates are either free to walk around this significantly large area or can even leave the prison during daytime.⁶⁰ Participant observation while joining POCM during a church service showed that Olongapo City District Jail, already described in the previous chapter, is the opposite. Marvin, a prisoner who was incarcerated in Olongapo City District Jail for two-and-a-half years, and who lived with sixty-seven people in one cell (around 100m²) said that “all our moves were controlled”.⁶¹

Addressing Socio-Economic Conditions

The above description shows that even though there are a variety of rehabilitation centres present in the Philippines, the centres are relatively equal in aims, goals and desires. These aspirations are achieved by a wide range of programmes and factors within these centres. Some of these contents, for example education and family, are addressing the socio-economic circumstances that are related to juvenile delinquency. Others, like religious influences, can be linked indirectly with the presence of drugs.

⁵⁹ Field notes on April 2, 2017

⁶⁰ Semi-structured interview on April 4, 2017

⁶¹ Semi-structured interview on March 13, 2017

Education

Education is of importance in all rehabilitation centres. However, participant observation with PREDA Foundation and many interviews have shown that the execution differs.⁶² Whereas PREDA Foundation and POCCM have arranged their own educational programmes, prisons and City Youth Centres make use of the Alternative Learning System (ALS), that can be completed with an acknowledged certificate to enter college. ALS is a component of the Department of Education, that is managed by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). It is a programme that provides primary and secondary education for people who are unable to get education otherwise, for example due to financial means explored in the chapter above. Interviews and conversations showed that this support programme is community-centred, since teachers themselves have the responsibility of organizing people. However, the implementation of this practice has its drawbacks. Marcel, a social worker at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, explained:

“[...] sometimes... because the teacher is coming from town and he needs to ride back. And sometimes there are also other communities they need to... but basically the schedule is every day, but we are lucky if he is here three times a week.”⁶³

Despite not being implemented as desired, the presence of education is highly appreciated by CICL; one runaway boy from PREDA Foundation decided to return due to its existence. At the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, seven out of the eleven boys present during our focusgroup expressed their wishes to continue studying through ALS whilst living at the Youth Centre. Jay, seventeen-year-old resident living in the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre for eight months, argued:

“ALS helps my studying, because back in the streets my friends will get me out of school.”⁶⁴

This way CICL hope to “find a legal job”, “earn good income that I want to give to my family”, or “go to college” to fulfill their wish to become a police officer or lawyer.⁶⁵

⁶² Field notes on multiple days

⁶³ Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

⁶⁴ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

⁶⁵ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

“Would you like to see the garden?” Marcel asked us. We nod enthusiastically and follow him into the blazing sun. Next to the living room and sleeping quarters, a large area is available for gardening. In the middle stand two small houses. When we arrive there, they appear to be houses of glass filled with all kinds of crops, while on iron tables lined up at the side of these houses smaller crops are trying to grow. “What plants do you grow here?” we ask Marcel. “Everything! Cucumber, zucchini, eggplant, tomatoes...” The glass houses are surrounded by ploughed grounds, some empty, some filled with green crops that are almost ready to be harvested. Goats stand tied with a rope fastened on wooden poles all around the area, making way as we pass.⁶⁶

Besides elementary and secondary education, technical and vocational training is also mentioned as being highly beneficial: gardening, carpentry and the obligatory household chores “[...] allow me to gain more experience”, Red, a seventeen-year-old resident of the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, said.⁶⁷ Their stance towards education corresponds to Hill and Langholtz’ (2003) study about educational opportunities. However, Hill and Langholtz (2003) also state that children and youth miss important moments in school while being incarcerated. In the Philippines nevertheless, ALS is available in the prisons discussed.

Family & Community

Theoretical debates (Fox 2014; Hill and Langholtz 2003 and Liddle et al 2011) emphasize the importance of the presence of the family and community within rehabilitation programmes. This corresponds to the socio-economic circumstances CICL derive from, since the presence of parents play a vital role in the development and behaviour of children and youth. However, Lydia, a social worker at the Olongapo City Youth Centre, argued that:

“It is rather difficult to involve them in a child’s/youth’s reintegration process.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Field notes on April 12, 2017

⁶⁷ Informal interview on April 5, 2017

⁶⁸ Conversation on February 21, 2017

Even though weekly visits are occurring in each programme, the active involvement of being present during counselling advocated for by Hill and Langholtz (2003) and Liddle et al (2011) is not present in these organizations, since parents are poor, must work and/or live too far away to visit CICL regularly. Furthermore, Tomás, the official at the Olongapo CSWDO, argued:

“[...] we don’t put the child in the same place when the origin is the cause. Because when we do that, you have already changed your functioning, but you have the same environment again. It will do the same. So, when we reintegrate them, we will make sure that the place where they belong is not the same. Maybe another place, or another family.”⁶⁹

This contrasts to Hill and Langholtz’ (2003) notion that the reunion with the youth’s family and surrounding community should be key in successful reintegration. The statement that parents are important in rehabilitation programmes (Liddle et al 2011) by arguing that family members can help individuals to desist from crime (Davis et al 2012), does not entirely come forward in the Philippines.

Nevertheless, family involvement is highly appreciated by CICL. Davis, a fourteen-year-old charged with rape living at PREDA Foundation, mentioned that he valued the presence of his parents during his rescue. Rodrigo, a seventeen-year-old ex-drug dealer, mentioned after his reintegration that he found family therapy most beneficial during his stay at PREDA Foundation⁷⁰. However, since a lack of parental guidance is a common cause for delinquent behaviour, not all CICL profit from their involvement. Seventeen-year-old Red, CICL at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, said that his family lives too far away to visit him regularly.⁷¹

A more negative aspect concerning family that particularly occurs after being reintegrated relates to Filipino culture. Michelle from POCM said that, even though it is most desired to reintegrate people with their relatives, they must deal with the cultural expression of “Utang Na Loob” [I help you so you have to pay for that]. This often results in children and youth being enslaved whilst living with their relatives, Michelle explained.⁷² However, when comparing this to the experiences of CICL, other views exist concerning

⁶⁹ Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017

⁷⁰ Informal interview on February 9, 2017

⁷¹ Informal interview on April 5, 2017

⁷² Semi-structured interview, on March 17, 2017

“Utang Na Loob”. A CICL positively mentioned this cultural expression as part of this future:

“I want to get back to my family and to work, give them the money I have cost them.”⁷³

This view corresponds to Visher and Travis (2003:97), who defined this as the “responsible citizen”. Therefore, by reintegrating the child or youth with the family, the CICL will feel a certain kind of responsibility to them.

Concerning the community, Nicole, assistant at the Olongapo CSWDO mentioned that:

“Rehabilitation centres give them the opportunity to show their repentance to the community.”⁷⁴

This corresponds to Fox (2014) argument that the insertion of the community within the rehabilitation process allows the CICL to show their regret. However, Rodrigo, the seventeen-year-old ex-drug dealer, has said after his reintegration that he has had trouble with society, since a large part of his community does not know the entire story. This thus shows that the showing of remorse is considered as a difficult factor.

Peers

The previous chapter described that, besides family, the presence of friends also influences the display of delinquent behaviour. However, at first glimpse, rehabilitation programmes appear to operate contradictory. Even though they, logically, keep CICL at a distance from their previous peers, they assemble CICL from all different backgrounds and gangs. Even though this relates to Davis et al (2012) who argues that being with delinquent peers may result in bonds that retain illegal activity, the rehabilitation programmes discussed appear to have opposite results; the importance of status and respectability within and between gangs, described above, has declined. However, “old enemies” now seem to be living together as friends, a positive form of social capital, an important factor according to Bazemore and Erbe (2003) and Hill and Langholtz (2003).

However, rehabilitation programmes do not and cannot address the influence of

⁷³ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

⁷⁴ Informal interview on March 7, 2017

peers in the previous environment of the CICL. Rodrigo, the seventeen-year-old ex-drug dealer, feared returning to his old friends since he was afraid to be killed by his peers out of revenge.⁷⁵ This fortunately has not happened. Nevertheless, he has mentioned that he is going out with his friends again, while keeping the limitations he has learned with PREDA Foundation in mind.⁷⁶

Religion

Religion is an important aspect of life in the Philippines. In the Olongapo City District Jail church services were not provided by the government, but taken up by foreign-funded organizations (in this case POCM). Even though in the women's department not everyone joined mass, Marvin, a prisoner who was incarcerated in Olongapo City District Jail for two-and-a-half years, said:

“They are very strict inside the jail about attending mass, attending the... they are very strict inside. Because if they do not go, they said they will be hurt. They give you punishment.”⁷⁷

Even though this means that religion does not always have positive connotations, CICL remain positive concerning its influence. Even though PREDA Foundation and POCM are based on religious values, the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre residents highlighted its importance. Jay said:

“I only started believing in God now I am here. Actually, I believe too much. If God is not here, I am not here.”⁷⁸

Believing has helped him to be in contact with God, who has in turn helped him to come to terms with his current situation. His views are shared by other CICL. Bonbon has said that being in the Youth Centre has helped him to know God, whereas Felix, a CICL who dropped out of school and murdered a drunken man with his gang, said that it all has been a test from God:

⁷⁵ Informal interview on February 9, 2017

⁷⁶ Semi-structured interview on April 9, 2017

⁷⁷ Semi-structured interview on March 13, 2017

⁷⁸ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

“No, I’m not afraid for the gang, I am afraid for God.”⁷⁹

Whereas the programmes follow the forgiveness perspective of religion, the experiences of the CICL appear to deal with both the forgiveness and punishment perspectives discussed by Applegate et al (2000) and Wolseth (2008). Both perspectives were often related to the negative influence of the presence of drugs and of a certain kind of friends.

Psychological Training

A day after a boy ran away during house visits, all children living at the Home for Boys at PREDA Foundation were called together. Inside a large, frugal room, (previously) white plastic chairs were facing a big whiteboard, with a giant wheel drawn on it. Alberto, one of the social workers responsible for the children that day, started explaining something in Tagalog. After five minutes, he wrote UP-DOWN-BALANCE on the whiteboard. Below, he wrote WIN-LOSE-DRAW. Then he began drawing two arrows besides the wheel, one going up and one going down, indicating a circle. “Life is like a wheel”, Alberto said. “Once you are touching the ground, there is only one way up and things will get better. Just don’t ever give up.”⁸⁰

Since most CICL, especially those who have spent a certain amount of time in prison, deal with stress (Derluyn et al 2013; Hill and Langholtz 2003), the presence of psychological meetings is another highly appreciated factor. At PREDA Foundation, this consultation is expressed by holding group and individual conversations and during primal sessions, explained by psychologist Judy Ann as:

“It is an emotional release therapy, so the boys can express their anger, not keep it inside them. They have experienced a lot and this is our way of dealing with it.”⁸¹

Participant observation during a primal session at PREDA Foundation showed that CICL not only converse about their experiences, but also get the opportunity to physically express

⁷⁹ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

⁸⁰ Field notes on February 9, 2017

⁸¹ Informal interview on February 6, 2017

their anger in a room filled with large cushions.⁸²

It is widely acknowledged in literature that dealing with one's feelings is vital in rehabilitation programmes. However, the focus of these psychological sessions appears to be different. Whereas Visher and Travis (2012) link psychology to employment opportunities, the time of incarceration and ties with family and friends, rehabilitation programmes in the Philippines focus more on the personal experiences encountered during this period, related to the bond with family and relatives.

Liberty

There exists one factor that support and rehabilitation initiatives do not agree on: the aspect of liberty. Liddle et al (2011) argue that coercion is needed for juvenile delinquents to be willing to change, which is expressed in the presence of a wall surrounding the compound. This type of confinement, that serves to minimize runaways, can be found in the Olongapo City District Jail and both the City Youth Centres.

However, not all rehabilitation centres and even prisons agree to this fact. Michelle, the employee of POCM, told us:

“We never close the doors. Well we do close them, but we never lock them.”⁸³

Another actor that stands for liberty is PREDA Foundation. Participant observation during afternoons at the Home for Boys has shown that that the boys are often wandering around the area, playing basketball, hanging around wearisome or talking and playing games with volunteers. However, during some activities – headcount and feedback sessions, the doors are locked.⁸⁴

At Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm, the aspect of relative liberty plays a vital role in this prison. Even though inmates are called PDL's (Prison Deprived Liberty), being able to walk around the prison is highly appreciated. Ian, a forty-year-old prisoner convicted for murder at age seventeen and living in Iwahig since 2004, mentioned that being relatively

⁸² Field notes on February 9, 2017

⁸³ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

⁸⁴ Field notes on February 9, 2017

free has allowed him to meet new people. This has not only resulted in a clearer view of his future, he also believes it will also make his future release easier.⁸⁵

Drug Issues

The previous chapter has described the harsh War on Drugs of president Duterte currently taking place in the Philippines. Concerning this current political environment, it would be expected that there is a great need to look at substance abuse in rehabilitation programmes (Davis et al 2012). On the one hand, this has been achieved since CICL who were previously in contact with drugs are at a distance from these substances. Jay, the seventeen-year-old boy caught for drugs, told us after eight months in rehabilitation:

R: "You know, I had many vices outside."

I: "Vices like what?"

R: "Smoking, drugs, like "shabu" [a kind of drug]. But you know, I feel I changed myself already!"⁸⁶

However, there appears to be no central focus on this matter. On the contrary, at the City Youth Centres drug offenders are mixed with other CICL and at PREDA Foundation they are even mixed with abandoned and neglected children, all following the same programme.

Linking the above-mentioned empirical findings to recent theoretical debates concerning the driving force behind reintegration programmes, police officer Linda Santos, following Derluyn et al (2013), argues: "[...] it is in themselves, selfmotivation."⁸⁷ Correspondingly, CICL in the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre said: "I do not want to go through this again" and "My mother is in prison. I want to get out to get money to give to her."⁸⁸ However, this shows that family also appears to have a certain amount of influence, thus underlining the social context, following Bazemore and Erbe (2003) and Hill and Langholtz (2003). Besides family, organizations also offer vocational training and education, aspects that are highly appreciated by all CICL. All in all, the division made by theoretical scholars between the

⁸⁵ Semi-structured interview on April 4, 2017

⁸⁶ Informal interview on April 7, 2017

⁸⁷ Semi-structured interview on March 16, 2017

⁸⁸ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

external context and internal motivation thus appears to be present in the Philippines. However, whereas literature focuses more on family and the community as external influences, rehabilitation programmes in the Philippines focus more on educational and vocational training to enhance the development of CICL.

Obstacles to Rehabilitation

The above-mentioned analysis shows the variety of socio-economic and political circumstances rehabilitation centres try to incorporate into their programme. However, both children in conflict with the law and the parent organizations deal with several obstacles whilst running the centres. This part will take the most important obstacles and difficulties into account, ranging from adjustment and financial issues within centres and issues with the desired cooperation mentioned by Derluyn et al (2013) between centres.

Resistance to Discipline

An aspect that appears to be most difficult for CICL revolves around adjustment. Rodrigo, the seventeen-year-old ex-drug dealer, said:

“Because in PREDA we have rules, but here outside there’s no one can tell me what I am doing. And it’s just a little bit adjustment. The most difficult time is when you want to do some things but you cannot do.”⁸⁹

Jay, living in the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, added:

“Because when we are in the outside community, when we were bored, we do with friends, outside, jamming, and when we are here, we are just talking to each other inside this centre. That is the difference in the outside community and here in the centre. That is why we need to adjust. Because sometimes here we have a misunderstanding because we all come from a different community and different surrounding, that is why sometimes we can’t understand the others here, the point of one, that is why we get misunderstanding and misinterpreted.”⁹⁰

The major difference between their previous lives in their own community and their

⁸⁹ Semi-structured interview on April 9, 2017

⁹⁰ Focusgroup on April 12, 2017

current lives in the rehabilitation centres appear to be difficult for most CICL. They struggle with the fact that they cannot do as they please and must follow the mandatory structure, even though it has been argued by Derluyn et al (2013) that the reinstatement of a day structure can also be positively experienced.

Despite misunderstandings and miscommunications, Rodrigo mentioned that, after being reintegrated, he really misses “the essence of sharing”. Ironically, he also told us that boys steal your things whilst sleeping.⁹¹ This is confirmed by John, head of the Home for Boys, who said that the boys sleep without pillows and blankets due to thefts.⁹²

Runaways

An obstacle all rehabilitation programmes deal with is the issue of runaways. Being only mentioned once by PREDA Foundation during the weekly meeting, the issue was dismissed with the sentence “fast reintegration”.⁹³ Marcel, from the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, does acknowledge this problem. However, he also stated that it is beyond his control. In fact, he argued that when a boy runs away, matters get even worse, since the boys usually end up in prison due to misbehaviour.⁹⁴ Michelle from POCM blames it on the living circumstances children and youth have had before their reintegration process started.⁹⁵ Similar to Jay’s argument of adjustment and the above-described issue of liberty, she argued that being used to live in the open and doing what they want, often results in not being able to deal with the structure reintegration programmes require. Police officer Linda Santos, working with juvenile delinquents, argued that the outcome mostly depends on the age, wherein youth aged fifteen to seventeen appear to be most difficult to change.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Semi-structured interview on April 9, 2017

⁹² Conversation on February 7, 2017

⁹³ Field notes on February 2, 2017

⁹⁴ Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

⁹⁵ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

⁹⁶ Semi-structured interview on March 16, 2017

Follow-Ups

To become aware of the results, follow-ups appear to be a final issue to occur within a centre. As PREDA Foundation argued that it is impossible to do follow-ups due to the lack of possible ways to contact CICL (who are said to have no Facebook and no addresses), the Puerto Princesa CSWDO has a team working on it, of which Marcel strongly argued that it needs improvement.⁹⁷ POCM themselves are not allowed to follow-up, with this being the responsibility of governmental social services. However, Michelle said that “they don’t like to do it”. Their ex-residents keep in touch with POCM through Facebook though, she added.⁹⁸

As explained above, according to the law, rehabilitation centres are only meant for children and youth. Since they stay in the centres for approximately two years, it does occur that young adults aged twenty still live there. However, even though Youth Centres are politically obliged, there is not much arranged by politics once they are reintegrated. Whereas POCM has arranged boarding houses and jobs within their own centre and pays for school tuition fees at college level for ex-residents, and Tomás, the official of the Olongapo City CSWDO, told us that scholarships are given away, practice showed that CICL are often left to fend for themselves.

Financial Issues

A national issue surrounding all City Youth Centres concerns finances. Tomás said:

“You need four million pesos⁹⁹ first. To put up a building that is maybe functional. And the facilities. The people, the building, like social workers, psychologist, house parents, doctors. Four million pesos.”¹⁰⁰

However, interviews and participant observation to the centres have shown that the obligated four million pesos are not always made available; there appears to be no

⁹⁷ Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

⁹⁸ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

⁹⁹ Four million pesos is equal to 72000 euros (June 15, 2017)

¹⁰⁰ Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017

governmental high priority for the building, maintenance and upholding of the City Youth Centres. In the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, this is expressed by the fact that an unfinished kitchen building besides the living room is awaiting completion and that US Peace corps volunteers were needed to advocate the government for funds. Marcel, an employee of the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre, mentioned:

“Sometimes the local officers here don’t listen to us, the Filipino. They listen to them from the other countries.”¹⁰¹

Besides that, Marcel also stated that the absence of funding has resulted in a struggle concerning sufficient staff:

M: “Provide more social workers, more doctors, more nurses, more psychologists. We are just social workers, but in standard we need psychologists and nurses.”

I: “You don’t have them?”

M: “We are the doctors and we are also the nurses. Hahahaha.”¹⁰²

Since not enough money is available to afford the wide range of staff needed to successfully run the Youth Centre, untrained social workers now feel obliged to take up these tasks themselves. The absence of funding for already established rehabilitation centres has resulted in some CICL living in poor conditions, which were described by both the founder of PREDA Foundation and social workers at the Puerto Princesa Youth Centre as prison-like.

Whereas PREDA Foundation and POCM are non-governmental organizations and thus cannot expect governmental funds, they try to get their support from abroad. However, both organizations appear to struggle, albeit at a different level. PREDA Foundation manages to operate entirely, but must pay attention in order to be thrift. Michelle from POCM, however, told us that they barely manage to get through the month; since they only receive funds from abroad and the value of money has declined over the years, they must watch all expenses.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

¹⁰² Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

¹⁰³ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

Cooperation

Michelle relates the financial issues POCM struggles with to their relationship with the government of Olongapo City. She told us:

“I am so angry because of the absurd requirements. Like, we need our own cook, laundry woman, nutritionist, haha. What are they thinking! We even need one carer for an infant and for a special needs child. One! But funding us? No way! Only when there are elections. So that means we have two more years to go. And you know the funniest thing? The City Youth Centres are exempt from these crazy rules.”¹⁰⁴

And:

“We are helping Filipinos but the Filipino government is not helping us.”¹⁰⁵

Even though City Youth Centres are not a high priority for the Filipino government, they restrict POCM in their activities and their functioning. This way, POCM is experiencing several setbacks. However, they still receive calls from the governmental DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development) when a child is found in prison, who they then feel obliged to take into their custody.

Furthermore, multiple other ambiguous relationships exist. Firstly, participant observation during general weekly meetings and conversations with Shay Cullen and other social workers show that PREDA Foundation rescues their residents not only from the street and real prisons, but also from City Youth Centres that resemble prisons due to poor conditions, for example in Manila.¹⁰⁶ By doing so, they make the appearance to work against the government, since children and youth are assigned to City Youth Centres by court order, as described above.

Secondly, there appears to be an one-sided disagreement between PREDA Founder Shay Cullen and the Olongapo City CSWDO. Whereas we were told by John, head of the Home for Boys, that Cullen appears to be in a fight with them,¹⁰⁷ Tomás, official of the CSWDO, said:

“PREDA is a different partner. When we have training, we invite them to join. To learn and to

¹⁰⁴ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

¹⁰⁵ Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017

¹⁰⁶ Field notes on multiple days

¹⁰⁷ Conversation on February 17, 2017

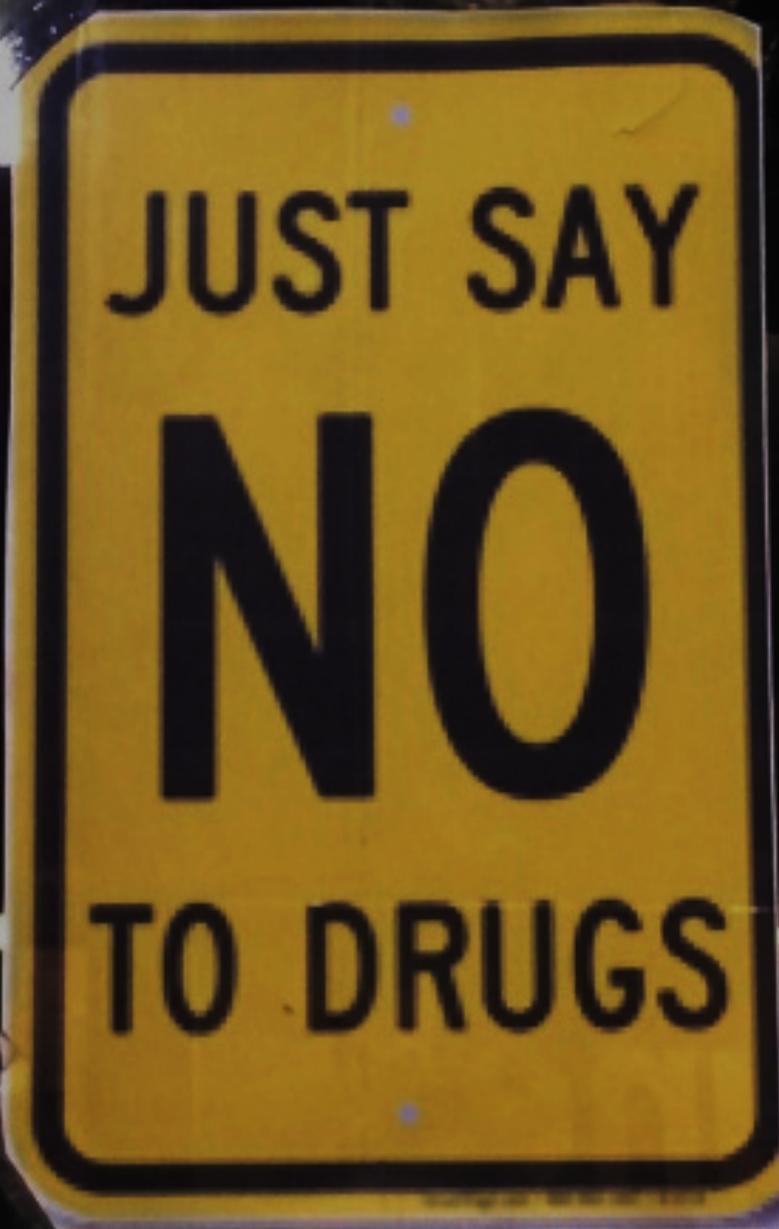
keep up reach with the present system and laws in this country, to learn.”¹⁰⁸

This shows that PREDA Foundation is invited for meeting to discuss developments, not only within the organizations, but also on the wider macro-level.

The intensive cooperation needed to function well within not only a wide range of socio-economic circumstances surrounding juvenile delinquency, but also within a politically tense environment (Derluyn et al), appears not to be present in the Philippines.

The analysis above of different types of support and rehabilitation programmes show that even though there consists a wide variety of these programmes, their contents are rather the same. However, some of these contents do not appear to link with the socio-economic circumstances that are the causes of juvenile delinquency, described in the chapter above. This is expressed mostly in the involvement of family, friends and the surrounding community. Furthermore, all programmes deal with certain setbacks, that is not only experienced within centres and organizations, but also concerns cooperation. While combining the socio-economic and political circumstances in the Philippines and support and rehabilitation programmes in Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa, it becomes clear that the link between these factors does not always exist. Even though all support and rehabilitation programmes, their parent organizations and social workers do what lies in their abilities, it appears that they are fighting a losing battle.

¹⁰⁸ Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017



JUST SAY
NO
TO DRUGS

Chapter 5:
Conclusion/Discussion

5. Conclusion/Discussion

Our fieldwork of ten weeks in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa aimed to answer how Philippines' current socio-economic and political conditions are related to juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives. We focussed our research on the crime environment children and youth live in by explaining the crime-enhancing factors that they face, and by examining the influence of politics in the maintenance of Philippines' crime environment. Thereafter, we focussed on a wide range of support and rehabilitation initiatives, their focus and obstacles encountered. This conclusion will link the different themes that are related to juvenile delinquency before making recommendations for further research.

Criminal and violent behaviour patterns become most visible in its social context. This social context constitutes Philippines' crime environment, an environment in which a lack of accessible and proper education, a lack of job opportunities and a lack of parental guidance and care, three factors emerging from our research, contribute to the different crime-enhancing factors mentioned by Cruz (2007). Besides that, these three factors contribute to a vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty, which negatively influences the development and rehabilitation process of children and youth in the Philippines. Besides the current socio-economic conditions, politics play an important role in maintaining the crime environment as well. Thereby, president Duterte and his War on Drugs do have a negative impact on juvenile delinquency as well as on support and rehabilitation initiatives.

First of all, Philippines' current socio-economic conditions are expressed in a lack of accessible and proper education due to the fact that children and youth are often not able, allowed or motivated to attend school. Informants name this as a result of money-issues; attending school is associated with certain expenses and the fact that parents missing out on money, and/or a result of few job opportunities. However, the absence of diplomas does contribute to even fewer job opportunities since even the simplest jobs require Filipinos to attend school at college level for at least two years. Due to social exclusion from education

and job opportunities and the need to earn sufficient income to sustain their families, Filipinos work long days, are not present for a longer period of time due to jobs in different places and/or give the wrong examples to their children by earning money illegally. This, in turn, relates to the third factor: a lack of parental guidance and care, which is translated into abandonment and neglect by parents, a lack of positive role models, learning of the use of violence, the presence of violent actors, drug use, dysfunctional families and a history of violence within the family. These different crime-enhancing factors, next other crime-enhancing factors mentioned by Cruz (2007), which are, among others, school drop-out, gang members in school and economic instability, enhance possible participation in gang membership and delinquent behaviour. Therefore, we argue that juvenile delinquency may be seen as partial replacement structures for institutions, such as the family, that do not work properly (Whyte 1943) or as a result of “blocked” opportunities, as Cloward and Ohlin (1960) argue. However, there is no single cause to designate. We argue that joining a youth gang and juvenile delinquency are mainly means to break through the vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty. Even though gang membership seems to precede delinquent behaviour, children in conflict with the law (CICL) did not report any causality.

Secondly, political conditions influence Philippines’ high crime rate as well. Firstly, the legal status of behaviour, whether it is defined as crime or not, does not lie in the content of the behaviour itself, but in the response to this behaviour by state authorities (Garland 2002; Schneider and Schneider 2008; Wacquant 2008). Hereby, the justice system reinforces the gap between criminal acts and noncriminal acts and determines whether a person is liable or not. Even though the age of criminal liability is fifteen in the Philippines, interviews with informants showed that children below this age have been imprisoned on a regular basis, which may be a consequence of the absence of birth certificates that prove someone’s age or misbehaviour in City Youth Centres, which rehabilitate and reintegrate CICL into society as a result of a court order.

Besides the role of policy choices and actions in the construction of crime and criminals, politics play an important role in the maintenance of Philippines’ crime environment. By focussing solely on the consequences of crime and by invoking criminal violence to “eradicate crime”, the Filipino government contributes to a culture of violence in which children and youth grow up. The media enhance this culture by dehumanizing

victims of police brutality and by stigmatizing the “problem population”, which are drug addicts and dealers in the Philippines. This, in turn, increases the likelihood of offending due to what Sampson and Laub (1997) describe as the process of cumulative disadvantage. President Duterte’s War on Drugs thus seems to be counterproductive of what it is supposed to defeat, namely criminal enterprise by drug addicts and dealers. Even though criminal behaviour involves many forms, residents of both cities tend to link delinquency to drug-related crimes, such as using, dealing and other violent crimes that may be a result of drug use.

All in all, Philippines’ crime environment is not only influenced and maintained by different socio-economic factors, but also by political factors such as the War on Drugs of president Duterte. Since delinquent behaviour is linked to a certain social, socio-economic and political context, different support and rehabilitation initiatives aim to improve children’s living conditions. Their goal is to get CICL back on the rails and to reform their behaviour by addressing important factors that may have contributed to involvement in delinquency. Besides governmental Youth Centres, the Philippines are also known for its non-governmental organizations, such as Philippine Outreach Centre Ministeries (POCM) and PREDA Foundation. All organizations focus on approximately the same aspects: education, family and community, peers, religion, psychological training, liberty and drug issues. However, not all these facets are addressed as desired due to setbacks and obstacles initiatives face in Philippines’ current socio-economic and political context.

Since a lack of education is of great importance in a child’s development and may explain delinquent behaviour among children and youth, organizations focus on education. Whereas POCM and PREDA Foundation cooperate with schools, Youth Centres make use of the Alternative Learning System (ALS), which is subsidized by the Department of Education and highly appreciated among CICL. Besides educational training, religion and psychological training also play a pivotal role in coaching children and youth. These different components should contribute to the development of new skills and a sense of belonging to society. However, since most organizations stop supervising children and youth at the age of eighteen, youth are unable to continue their development by means of education due to high expenses, which has a negative impact on job opportunities in the future.

A less central component in support and rehabilitation programmes is the involvement of the family. Even though Fox (2014), Hill and Langholtz (2003) and Liddle et al (2011) name the involvement of the family and community within programmes as extremely important, support and rehabilitation initiatives are incapable of doing so. Due to a lack of education, job opportunities and the need to earn sufficient income, most CICL have no parents that function as positive role models. Therefore, the incorporation of a supportive family in the rehabilitation programme seems impossible, while at the same time essential. Because of the fact that most CICL will be reintegrated with their families in their old community, it is of great importance that both children and parents undergo a transformation to avoid potential relapses of children and youth. Besides, factors such as peer pressure should be considered, since most CICL experience the same “bad influences” after their reintegration in their old community as previously. Besides the difficulty to incorporate the family and community due to Philippines’ current socio-economic conditions, governmental and non-governmental organizations deal with other setbacks and obstacles in Philippines’ context, which involves financial issues, and resistance to discipline and runaways. Hereby, Philippines’ political conditions play a pivotal role.

Different organizations expressed their frustrations about the Filipino government and mentioned that they feel obstructed in their activities to support and rehabilitate children and youth. Since the national government gives insufficient financial support, some governmental and non-governmental organizations are unable to offer the programmes they desire. Furthermore, some Youth Centres have so little funds that they resemble prisons for children and youth. This may explain why CICL expressed difficulties in adjusting to discipline and structure and why different centres deal with a high amount of CICL who misbehave or escape. Remarkable is that the different organizations do not cooperate to actively address the influences of socio-economic and political conditions. Even though Derluyn et al (2013) argue that intensive cooperation between different organizations is of great importance, certain restrictions and arguments between governmental and non-governmental initiatives prevail on cooperation.

The relations, ambiguities and obstacles described above provide the answer to our research question; we argue, in accordance with the quote at the very beginning of this thesis, that president Duterte’s political agenda does not positively contribute to the future

of children and youth by focussing solely on the criminals themselves, rather than the major features causing crime. Philippines' current political environment thus maintains poor socio-economic conditions and the crime environment children and youth live in by not breaking through the vicious circle in which poverty sustains poverty. Moreover, Philippines' socio-economic and political conditions obstruct different support and rehabilitation initiatives in their goal to improve children's living conditions as long as certain contextual aspects cannot be implemented as desired. Therefore, a major task remains for politics in addressing juvenile delinquency and in removing obstacles support and rehabilitation initiatives face.

In order to achieve this, we argue that delinquency should not be approached as a military problem that can be solved by means of a War on Drugs, but should be seen as a social issue whereby support and rehabilitation initiatives play a pivotal role. Rather than attempting to understand the high amount of juvenile delinquents in a particular context, the public and authorities seem to prefer to incarcerate delinquents at mass level, resulting in prisons exceeding their maximum capacity. Even though children and youth below eighteen years old are exempted from imprisonment under Philippine laws, there should be more effort made in protecting them not only in theory, but also in practice. This can be accomplished by means of creating space for the voices of support and rehabilitation centres and children and youth (in conflict with the law) and by listening to the problems they face. We argue that a more direct focus on the causes of these problems can help to prevent children and youth from committing crimes as well as to contribute to their rehabilitation and reintegration process. However, as for now, Philippines' current political conditions seem to focus solely on the consequences of juvenile delinquency.

Recommendations for Further Research

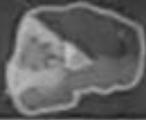
As argued, delinquent behaviour emerges from a particular social context. This context is dynamic, rather than fixed, since a particular social context is a result of constant change within certain socio-economic and political conditions. The construction of delinquent behaviour transforms as people experience different historical processes. Therefore, we recommend further research on juvenile delinquency in its social context in a number of

years in order to examine potential shifts in the construction of juvenile delinquency and its relation to socio-economic and political conditions. We think it would be extremely valuable to see how the Philippines, as a crime environment for Filipino children and youth, develop. Furthermore, follow-up interviews with CICL after a certain period of time may be valuable in order to draw conclusions about the influence of support and rehabilitation initiatives on future behaviour and opportunities.

Secondly, we recommend further research in other parts of the Philippines. Since president Duterte's War on Drugs may have different consequences in different cities of the Philippines, we think it would be interesting to compare the relation between political conditions and juvenile delinquency in Olongapo City, Puerto Princesa and in other cities, such as Manila. Besides that, it would be of interest to examine differences in various City Youth Centres nation-wide. Since City Youth Centres in the Philippines seem hard to compare, we wonder whether, and to what extent, differences in these centres may contribute to differences in the reintegration process of CICL.

Thirdly, it would be interesting to research differences and similarities regarding boys and girls delinquents and facilities. Adding the gender component may shed new lights on how certain crime-enhancing factors influence boys and girls. Besides that, it remains unanswered to what extent rehabilitation centres for girls in conflict with the law exist and how they function. Another remaining question is whether support and rehabilitation initiatives have different outcomes for boys and girls.

Finally, it would be of interest to compare the Philippines to other Asian countries that have repressive drug policies, such as China, Indonesia and Singapore. We are convinced that a comparative perspective on the fight against drugs contributes to the formulation of new theories regarding the effect of repressive drug policies on the emergence and maintenance of a crime environment.



TAPANG AT MALASAKIT

#justDUit



DUTERTE
FOR
PRESIDENT

3 TUNAY NA
PAGBABAGO

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Appendices

Appendices

List of Informants

The following informants and dates are mentioned in the thesis:

- Abegail, student, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on March 3, 2017
- Arjun, Jay, Ronaldo and eight other children in conflict with the law, Puerto Princesa
 - Focusgroup on April 12, 2017
- Carlos, child in conflict with the law, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 13, 2017
- Chona, grandmother of five children, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 11, 2017
- Christian, undercover drug policeman, Subic
 - Semi-structured interview on March 14, 2017
- Davis, child in conflict with the law, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 9, 2017
- Efren, social worker at PREDA Home for Boys, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 13, 2017
- Felix, child in conflict with the law, Puerto Princesa
 - Informal interview on April 7, 2017
 - Informal interview on April 13, 2017
- Ian, prisoner at Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm, Puerto Princesa
 - Semi-structured interview on April 4, 2017
 - Semi-structured interview on April 11, 2017
- Jay, child in conflict with the law, Puerto Princesa
 - Informal interview on April 7, 2017

- Jeanine, mother of two children, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 19, 2017
 - Conversation on March 2, 2017
 - Semi-structured interview on March 13, 2017
- John, head of the PREDA Home for Boys, Olongapo City
 - Conversation on February 7, 2017
 - Conversation of February 17, 2017
- Joseph, child in conflict with the law, Olongapo City
 - Conversation on February 13, 2017
- Joshua, child in conflict with the law, Puerto Princesa
 - Informal interview on April 7, 2017
 - Informal interview on April 13, 2017
- Judy Ann, psychologist at PREDA Foundation, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 6, 2017
- Linda Santos, police officer, Subic
 - Semi-structured interview on March 16, 2017
- Lydia, social worker at Youth Centre, Olongapo City
 - Conversation of February 21, 2017
- Marcel, social worker at Youth Centre, Puerto Princesa
 - Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017
 - Semi-structured interview on April 10, 2017
- Maria, mother of four children, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 19, 2017
- Marvin, ex-prisoner, Olongapo City
 - Semi-structured interview on March 13, 2017
- Michelle, employee at the Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries, Olongapo City
 - Semi-structured interview on March 17, 2017
- Nicole, assistant at the City Social Welfare and Development Office, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on March 9, 2017

- Patrick, employee at the City Planning and Development Office, Olongapo City
 - Semi-structured interview on February 24, 2017
- Red, child in conflict with the law, Puerto Princesa
 - Informal interview on April 5, 2017
- Rizal, teacher at elementary school, San Marcelino
 - Conversation on February 8, 2017
- Rodrigo, child in conflict with the law, Olongapo City
 - Informal interview on February 9, 2017
 - Semi-structured interview on April 9, 2017
- Shay Cullen, founder of PREDA Foundation, Olongapo City
 - Conversation of February 10, 2017
- Tomás, official of the City Social Welfare and Development Office, Olongapo City
 - Semi-structured interview on March 9, 2017
- Wilson, social worker at Youth Centre, Puerto Princesa
 - Semi-structured interview on April 7, 2017

Summary

The democratic election of president Rodrigo Duterte on May 9, 2016, in combination with Philippines' current socio-economic circumstances, has drawn the attention of national and international agencies and is the subject of public debates. Since his War on Drugs, juvenile delinquency and criminalization have become widely discussed topics about which Duterte has said that children killed in the drug war are "collateral damage". Different governmental and non-governmental organizations are dedicated to help children by providing a shelter, love and education, as well as in-depth programmes to rehabilitate and reintegrate children in conflict with the law. To explain the high rate of juvenile delinquency and the functioning of support and rehabilitation initiatives, the social, socio-economic and political context of residents in both Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa are explored. This research especially aimed to construct how socio-economic and political circumstances are related to juvenile delinquency and support and rehabilitation initiatives. Research is conducted by means of a qualitative research design based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa from February until April 2017. It contributes in giving a voice to juvenile delinquents themselves and aims to add new insights to existing ideas regarding juvenile delinquency and to contribute to public debates concerning the current circumstances in the Philippines.

Several theoretical debates are important in explaining the role of socio-economic and political conditions in gang membership and delinquency: the interplay between crime-enhancing factors and delinquency, youth gangs as partial replacement structures for institutions, gangs as reflections of lower class "subculture", gangs as forms of resistance to "blocked" opportunities and the notion of state authorities as a means of shaping dominant modes of thinking about crime and criminals. Besides, rehabilitation as an answer to juvenile delinquency will be explored. First of all, different definitions of rehabilitation will be discussed. Secondly, the key aspects of rehabilitation programmes, which involve both the internal motivation and the external social context, will be outlined: educational training, employment, psychological training, the family, community, friends, substance abuse and religion. After the theoretical embedding of the research, the specific context of the Philippines in general and Olongapo City and Puerto Princesa in particular is mapped

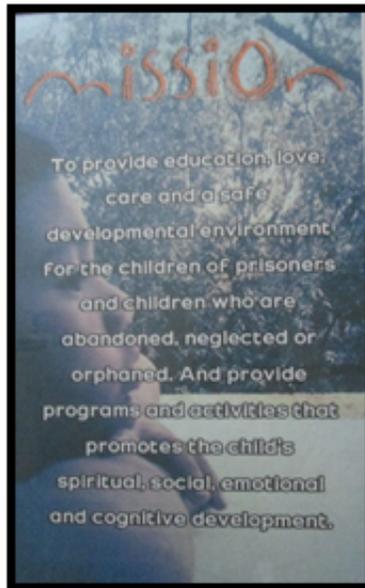
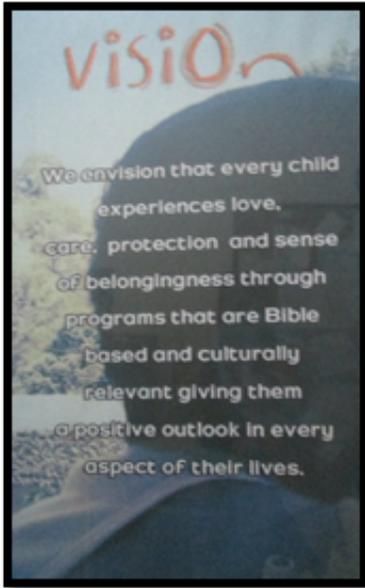
out. A close look at the current socio-economic circumstances is taken and Philippines' current political context is introduced by explaining the role of the Duterte administration in the emergence of mass killings and imprisonment.

In the two empirical chapters, the ideas, feelings and experiences of the informants have a central place. The first empirical chapter exposes how Philippines' current socio-economic circumstances contribute to the emergence of Philippines' crime environment; an environment in which different crime-enhancing factors negatively influence the development of children and youth. The three main factors emerging from our research that constitutes the crime environment are a lack of accessible and proper education, a lack of job opportunities and a lack of parental guidance and care. It also shows the role of political conditions in the maintenance of this crime environment by contributing to a culture of violence in which children and youth grow up and by stigmatizing the "problem population", which has a counterproductive effect on future opportunities and delinquency.

In the second empirical chapter, the wide range of support and rehabilitation initiatives is explored. Different Bahay Pag-Asa, which are also called City Youth Centres where children in conflict with the law (CICL) participate in a rehabilitation programme as well as different non-governmental organizations such as PREDA Foundation and Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (POCM), are relatively equal in aims, goals and desires. Overarching components in rehabilitation programmes are educational and vocational training, religion, psychological training and the family. However, the different governmental and non-governmental organizations face difficulties incorporating the family and experience setbacks due to resistance to discipline, runaways and financial issues. Besides, not all organizations work perfectly together in order to achieve their goal.

In the conclusion, it is argued that there is a major task for politics in addressing juvenile delinquency. Delinquency should not be approached as a military problem that can be solved by means of a War on Drugs, but should be seen as a social issue. Thereby, it is important to create space for the voices of rehabilitation centres and CICL and by listening to the problems they face. It is stated that president Duterte's political agenda has a huge but negative influence on the future of children and youth since delinquency will not be solved and rehabilitation will not have the desired effects by focussing on the consequences, rather than the causes of crime.

Photo-Page



Frames at Philippine Outreach Centre Ministries (March 17, 2017)



Entrance of Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm (April 4, 2017)



Sign of Olongapo City (February 17, 2017)



Entrance of Olongapo City District Jail (March 20, 2017)



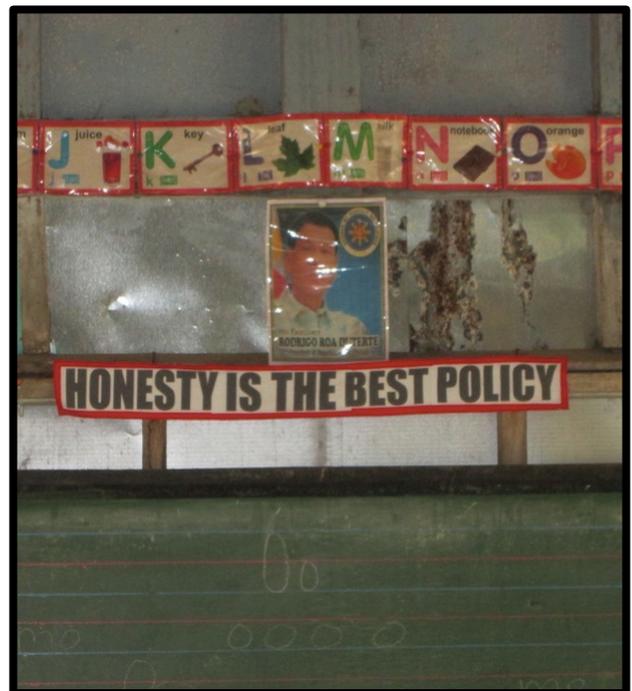
Part of the garden at Puerto Princesa Youth Centre (April 17, 2017)



Propaganda Duterte (March 17, 2017)



Visible military presence (February 17, 2017)



Duterte in an elementary school (February 8, 2017)