Upholding the *Dangal* (Dignity) of Biracial (*Haphap*) Children in Angeles City, Philippines

by

Maria Margarita R. Lavides

Thesis submitted to the Auckland University of Technology
in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
in
Public Policy**

15 January 2020

Supervisors:

Associate Professor Camille Nakhid
Associate Professor Rogelia Pe-Pua
Professor Marilyn Waring
Dr. Kirsten Hanna

Abstract

There is some literature on the situation of Filipino children relative to the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in the Philippines. However, there is a scarcity of research about the experiences of the Filipino *haphap* (biracial) children, particularly those living in Angeles City; as well as a lack of investigation on the concept of children's dignity from an indigenous perspective. Addressing these gaps are imperative since the Philippines ratified the Convention in 1990, and considering that millions of Filipino children are in poverty. Hence, this study aimed to recommend child-centred policies that can be applied by the Angeles City Local Government so as to uphold the dignity of the Filipino biracial children. In the thesis, I consider the context of the study through a discussion of the Philippine society, culture, political system, colonial history, and geography. I highlighted the impact of colonisation on Filipino women and children, and provided details about Angeles City and the biracial children.

I developed the theoretical framework of this study from an indigenous Filipino standpoint, and with a focus on the Filipino concept of dignity called *dangal*. I employed *sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino psychology) as my epistemology, and used semi-structured interview, together with Filipino research methods in my fieldwork in Angeles City. In line with promoting their participation rights, I involved the biracial children in this study not only as participants but also as junior research associates (JRAs). During my fieldwork, I had a support team consisting of a research assistant, a recruitment facilitator, a translation consultant, and three JRAs. I conceptualised, collected, and analysed the data. I transcribed and coded the interviews I conducted with 10 biracial child participants, 10 parent participants, and 16 community participants (6 teachers, 5 government officials, 2 priests, a nun, a policewoman and an NGO worker).

I analysed the interview data and the child participants' drawings using thematic analysis. Themes that were related to children's understanding of their dangal, as well as its enablers and barriers, emerged.

The data analysis revealed that the child participants' dangal had internal and external domains. While the external domain was reflected in functionality, the internal domain was promoted through *pakikipagkapwa* or treating others as *kapwa* (fellow human beings). The barriers to dangal included social prejudice, poverty, governmental inadequacy, and environmental disturbances. The research argues that the biracial children's dangal can be upheld by establishing a functional environment, addressing social prejudice, and providing financial assistance as well as access to education.

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Date: 15th of January 2020

Related Research Outputs

The following are research outputs relating to this study or literature review.

Journal Publication

Lavides, M., Waring, M., Hanna, K., & Nakhid, C. (2018). *Haphap*: A Filipina perspective on the biracial child's *dangal*. *JATI-Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *23*(1), 191–214. https://doi.org/10.22452/jati.vol23no1.9

Conference Presentations

Lavides, M. M. (2017). *Haphap*: A Filipina perspective on the biracial child's *dangal*. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Multidisciplinary Filipino Studies, University of Hawaii in Hilo, Hawaii, USA, 27–28 October 2017. The paper received the Best Paper Award in the conference.

Lavides, M. M. (2018). *Dangal*: A Filipino approach to study of human rights. Paper presented at the International Indigenous Research Conference, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand, 13–16 November 2018.

Lavides, M. M. (2019). *Dangal*: Understanding dignity from a Filipino child's perspective. Paper presented at the 3rd International Conference on Multidisciplinary Filipino Studies, Cebu City, Philippines, 22–24 November 2019.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank the Lord for the strength, as well as the miracles, that brought me to the completion of my PhD journey.

I thank the children and the adults who participated in this research. Thank you for sharing your stories, as well as for your trust and confidence in me as a researcher.

I thank my parents, Andrea and Gilbert Lavides, for their sacrifices; my siblings Maria Carmen, Jonathan, Leslie, and Elenita, and my good friends Eloisa Erfe, Rose Leisi, Lolo Saulala, Amor Hirao, Stenly Hely Sajow, Ida Arr, and Fred Massera, for their support; and my nieces and nephews for their smiles. My family and friends have always been the source and enabler of my *dangal* (dignity) especially during the frustrating moments of this journey.

I wish to express my gratitude to the government of New Zealand for the generous scholarship that funded my four-year PhD program. Thank you to the supportive NZAID staff at AUT, led by Sacha Pointon.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Marilyn Waring for believing that I was capable of pursuing a doctoral degree, and to Dr. Kirsten Hanna for teaching me how to conduct research with children. Thank you so much, Marilyn and Kirsten! I am also grateful to Professor Waring's potluck group for their support, particularly during the first half of my PhD journey.

I wish to thank Agnes Espiritu, Jessica Brian Bacani, and Dr. Nestor De Guzman for their assistance in my preparation for data collection. I am also grateful to Angeles City's former Mayor Edgardo Pamintuan, the Board of Directors and staff of Pearl S. Buck Foundation–Philippines, Inc., the DepEd Division Office, and the members of Angeles City's Local Council for the Protection of Children, for their support during my fieldwork.

indigenous researcher, as well as her thoughts on my research with biracial children. *Maraming salamat po, Prof. Beth.* (Thank you so much, Prof. Beth.)

I'm most grateful to Associate Professor Camille Nakhid for accepting me to be her PhD student. Thank you so much, Camille, for your patience, and for not giving up on me.

Finally, I offer my sincerest gratitude to Associate Professor Rogelia "Rogee" Pe-Pua for being my supervisor and mentor. Thank you so much, Ma'am Rogee, for being willing and available to supervise my thesis the second time I sought your help. I'm not sure if you remember, but your being busy with your new book made you decline my request the first time I (a stranger that time) sent you an email. Ma'am Rogee, your presence in the supervision team during the last stage of my thesis was a sign that the Lord loved me and wanted me to finish my thesis. I will never forget the constant exchange of emails about my thesis topic, and your unwavering encouragement that motivated me to see my PhD journey to completion. *Maraming salamat po, Ma'am Rogee. Hindi ko po kayo malilimutan.* (Thank you so much, Ma'am Rogee. I will never forget you.)

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter 1 Introduction

Haphap or "half-half" refers to half-Filipino, half-foreigner. The original Tagalog/Filipino language did not have an "f" letter or sound, so when Filipinos try to pronounce an English word with an "f", it can come out as "p". Haphap is a term used for biracial children in the Philippines. Other labels for biracial individuals tend to indicate the race of the individual, for example, *Chinoy* (half-Filipino and half-Chinese), *Japino* (half-Filipino and half-Japanese), *Kopino* (half-Filipino and half-Korean), *mestizo* (half-White male), and *mestiza* (half-White female). But haphap is generic and inclusive as it places all the mentioned terms under its umbrella.

I first met biracial children from the shanty communities in Angeles City in 2013 when I was the Executive Director of the Pearl S. Buck Foundation–Philippines, Inc. (PSBP). I was in charge of designing and implementing projects for our child beneficiaries then. Meeting those children sparked my curiosity on how we could best help them. An intense yearning to learn more about their situation led me to apply for the New Zealand ASEAN Scholarship, and to my completing this research for a PhD in Public Policy at the Auckland University of Technology.

1.1   Research Background and Rationale

This thesis is about upholding the *dangal* (dignity) of the haphap or biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines.

The Philippines ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1990 through Senate Resolution 109 (ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly [AIPA], 2011). The UNCRC is an international treaty that sets out children's rights which the ratifying countries are obliged to uphold (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], n.d.). However, despite the ratification of the UNCRC, the Philippines' large economic inequality (Pennington, 2017) and the government's

choices for resource distribution limited the state's capacity to address the needs of millions of indigent Filipino children (Reyes, Tabuga, Asis, & Mondez, 2014).

Based on Reyes, Tabuga, Asis, and Mondez's (2014) estimations, there were 13,395,338 poor children in the Philippines in 2009[1]. This figure, which comprised 35.5% of all children in the country in 2009, was computed based on a 2009 poverty threshold[2] of approximately 16,800 pesos (roughly USD352 at that time)[3] on average per individual per year. Furthermore, this population of poor children in the Philippines is growing. The number of impoverished children has increased both in magnitude and as a percentage of all children in the country from 33% (11,114,007) in 2003 to 35.2% (12,272,441) in 2006 (Reyes et al., 2014). Poor children in the Philippines may lack any one or more of the following: food, education, sanitation facilities, safe water, health care, shelter, electricity, and information (Reyes et al., 2014).

Moreover, the government fell short in looking into the diverse needs of minors from different backgrounds (Civil Society Coalition on the Convention on the Rights of the Child Inc. [CSC-CRC], 2017), such as biracial children whose concerns might necessitate specific solutions.

There have been earlier works about the state of child rights in the Philippines (Coram International, 2018; Ortega & Klauth, 2017; Plan Philippines, 2009; Protacio-Marcelino et al., 2000; Psychosocial Support and Children's Rights Resource Center [PST CRRC], 2017; PST CRRC, Ong, Domingo, & Balanon, 2008; University of the Philippines Manila, the University of Edinburgh, Child Protection Network Foundation,

---

[1] This is based on the matched data from two surveys led by the National Statistics Office (NSO), namely, the Family Income and Expenditure Survey for years 2003, 2006, and 2009; and the Labor Force Survey for January 2004, 2007, and 2010.

[2] Poverty threshold refers to "the minimum income/expenditure required for a family/individual to meet the basic food and non-food requirements" (http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/portal_/indimeta.asp). An absolute measure that is used by the Philippine Government, the poverty threshold is fixed though adjusted annually for inflation.

[3] Based on records of the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (Central Bank of the Philippines) as cited in the official website of the Philippine Statistics Authority (http://www.nscb.gov.ph/stats/pesodollar.asp) and retrieved on 31 March 2015, the average Peso-US Dollar Exchange Rate in 2009 was 47.637. Hence, using this rate, the Php16,800 poverty threshold in 2009 is equivalent to USD352.67.

& UNICEF Philippines, 2016). These studies, which used the UNCRC as part of their framework, claimed that the Filipino children's exercise of their rights was hindered by the lack of finances, by economic inequality, the rapid increase in population, ill-equipped and understaffed public facilities, governmental inefficiencies, and the society's biases against children.

Amidst these studies about child rights in the Philippines, there are two gaps that this thesis aimed to address. One is the lack of attention to a specific group of children with parentage unlike the majority of Filipino children. Another gap is looking at child rights in terms of dignity, and from the perspective of the Filipino child.

There is a dearth of empirical studies about the new population of biracial children in the Philippines. The available literature about the biracial children in the Philippines focused on the earlier generation of Amerasian children (Gastardo-Conaco & Israel-Sobritchea, 1999; Kutschera, 2010). Amerasian is a term coined by activist Pearl S. Buck to refer to children whose mothers were Asians and whose fathers were American servicemen (Lapinig, 2013). Studies by Gastardo-Conaco and Israel-Sobritchea (1999), as well as Kutschera (2010), revealed that Amerasian children were discriminated against because their mothers were prostitutes, and their foreign fathers left them. They added that Black Filipino Amerasians were bullied due to their skin colour. In addition to Amerasians as defined above, this thesis focuses also on the Filipino biracial children who had Filipino mothers but whose fathers might be tourists/visitors who were not Americans. Angeles City became an obvious candidate for a research site since this place transformed from being a location for interaction of Amerasian children's parents to a site for encounters of the parents of the new generation of biracial children (Chua, 1994).

Within the framework of child's rights, we do not have a child-centred model or theory on children's dignity (Polonko & Lombardo, 2005), much less, one that is based

on an indigenous Filipino perspective. Past studies have been concerned with the implementation of children's rights mainly; studies looking at children's dignity *in depth* or based on children's perspectives have been largely neglected (Jamalimoghadam, Yektatalab, Momennasab, Ebadi, & Zare, 2017; Narayan, Hooker, Jarrett, & Bennett, 2013; Noghabi, Yektatalab, Momennasab, Ebadi, & Zare, 2018; Polonko & Lombardo, 2005). Underlying the UNCRC's mission is to promote children's dignity. Bringing in a framework that is from within the Filipino culture, and the children's perspective, will lead to the formulation of better governmental policies that can contribute to the Convention's mission of promoting children's rights. Such framework and perspective are what this thesis embodies.

The rationale for using a Filipino indigenous perspective in this study is provided by *sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino psychology). Founded in the 1970s under the leadership of Virgilio Enriquez (Pe-Pua, 2006), sikolohiyang Pilipino (SP) was a feminist (Enriquez, 1997) response to the colonial perspective of Filipino values that resulted in a distortion of Filipino personhood (Enriquez, 1992). SP aims not only to liberate the Filipinos from the influence of colonisation, but also to establish an academic discipline that is indigenous to the Filipino culture, and at the same time, non-elitist or one that is reflective of the greater number of the Filipinos. SP facilitates the process of indigenisation from within (Enriquez, 1992) which, in this research, highlights the point of view of Filipino biracial children. SP is a culture-based approach which makes it appropriate and crucial to this study about children in the Philippines. Although SP arises from the field of psychology, its foundation was multidisciplinary (Pe-Pua, 1990) which makes SP a key component of this thesis on public policy.

At the heart of sikolohiyang Pilipino is the *kapwa* theory, of which the indigenous concept of dignity (*dangal*) is part. These two concepts are defined below and discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The need to uphold the indigenous/cultural perspective and the children's views also applies to this study's methodological approach. In researching about the child sector, Christensen and James (2017) argued that while children serve as the focus of any investigation, they are not to be regarded as the "objects of enquiry" (p. 1). This thesis has been motivated by the need to give children more voice by involving them in research about issues in the child sector, and thus promote their participation rights (Alderson, 2008). In determining the methodology of this study, I attempted to engage the biracial children to participate voluntarily as research participants and as junior research associates.

The rationale for an indigenous approach in methodology in this study is provided by the literature surrounding *maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik* or Filipino-oriented research. Pe-Pua (2006) provided a good discussion of this approach, and how indigenous research methods developed as a consequence of using this approach. Basically, maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik is the application of Filipino research methods and techniques on investigations about Filipinos and their way of life. The conduct of maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik is guided by five basic principles (Pe-Pua, 1989; Pe-Pua, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000), namely, the use of the local language, the selection of methods based on the participants' circumstances, setting the participants' welfare as the highest priority, ensuring a power balance between researchers and participants, and establishing rapport. In the maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik approach, how the researcher is regarded by the participants is considered a factor in the resulting correctness and consistency of the information or data gathered (Pe-Pua, 1989; Pe-Pua, 2006; Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

Angeles City in the Philippines presented a suitable case study for the study of the new generation of biracial children. Angeles City was a highly urbanised locality with a population of 411,634 in 2015 (PSA, 2019). The city's entertainment hub was in

Barangay Balibago which was also the most populated area at the time of the study. The growth of the sex industry in Angeles City was attributed to the establishment of the US military's Clark Air Base (De Dios, as cited in Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998). The pubs and clubs in Angeles City served as the American soldiers' venue for rest and recreation. Although these businesses went bankrupt in 1991 due to the closure of the air base and the damages brought on by the Mt. Pinatubo eruption, the sex trade did not stop. Rather, the patronage changed from American servicemen to foreign tourists from different countries. The presence of these foreign men led to the birth of haphap or biracial children in Angeles City.

At the time of the study, the Angeles City Government did not have any database of the Amerasian children nor of the new population of biracial children in their locality. However, previous investigations on Angeles City's Amerasians (Gastardo-Conaco & Israel-Sobritchea, 1999; Kutschera, 2010) and its new group of biracial children revealed that both groups experienced poverty and social prejudice. Their impoverished conditions were attributed to the fact that their mothers, grandparents, and other carers had no stable income, and they were not supported or adequately supported by their biological fathers. These two groups of children were also discriminated against for their skin colour, for having mothers who were allegedly prostituted, and for the absence of their foreigner fathers (Gastardo-Conaco & Israel-Sobritchea, 1999; Kutschera, 2010).

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

The study aimed to investigate how the Angeles City Local Government could help promote the dangal (dignity) of biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines.

The specific research questions that the thesis addressed were:

a. What is the concept of dangal among biracial children?

b. What are the barriers to the promotion of the biracial children's dangal?

c. How can the dangal of the biracial children be promoted?

In terms of scope, the study was limited to Filipino biracial children from low income areas in Angeles City whose mothers, grandparents, and other carers had no stable source of funds or were minimum wage earners.

1.3   Key Concepts

The main concepts that are embodied in this thesis are discussed in this section.

The subject of this thesis were the biracial children of Angeles City. The term *biracial* refers to children whose biological parents are of two different races (Cipriani-Price, Lim, & Alberici, 2010). Race is regarded as a social construction and is used interchangeably with a person's ethnicity. *Children*, in this study, referred to persons who were below 18 years old, while *parent* pertained to adults who raised and provided the needs of the biracial children, such as biological mothers, extended family members, as well as individuals who may or may not be related to the child by consanguinity or affinity. The biracial children in this study included children of Filipino women, who may or may not have worked in the sex industry, and foreign men who may have been servicemen or tourists in Angeles City.

This study was inspired by the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC). The UNCRC is a globally acknowledged agreement among state parties to promote children's rights in their respective territories (UNICEF, n.d.). The UNCRC's articles were divided by Limber and Flekkoy (1995) into four categories, namely, "survival rights, protection rights, development rights, and participation rights" (p. 5).

This study employed an indigenous perspective of research known as *sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP) or Filipino psychology which is "the embodiment of the systematic and scientific study, appreciation and application of indigenous knowledge for, of and by the Filipinos" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 26). The SP perspective has been used

widely in the Philippines, as well as outside the Philippines, especially among Filipinos overseas (Pe-Pua, 2015; Yacat, 2013).

A core Filipino indigenous concept in SP was *kapwa* which refers to the integrated "'self' and 'others'" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 43), and thus, signifies egalitarianism (De Guia, 2018), as well as interdependence (De Guia, 2010). The concept of kapwa "regards all human beings as co-equals," irrespective of their gender, age, financial status, and educational background (De Guia, 2010, p. 69). This means that disadvantaged groups such as children, women, and the poor must be treated as kapwa. Enriquez (1992) positioned kapwa at the very centre of the Filipino values system. The behavioural component or manifestation of kapwa is *pakikipagkapwa* or the treatment of others as fellow human being. Kapwa and pakikipagkapwa were used as anchor in looking at children's dignity in this study.

The focus of this study was the biracial children's *dangal* or dignity. Dangal is "the intrinsic quality of a person or sector that allows him/them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 46). Dangal features significantly in the Filipino structure of values. It reflects a person's social status, as well as level of social acceptance (Enriquez, 2012). Dangal has an internal and external dimension (Enriquez, 1992).

Enablers and barriers to dangal were explored in this study. Related to enablers, pakikipagkapwa sustains dangal. A particular concept related to barriers to dangal is *paglalapastangan* or showing disrespect. This violation can range from mild disrespect to abuse, and spoils "the basic requirement for being human" (Tabbada, 2005, p. 47).

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

This introduction chapter provides the background and rationale, aims and research questions, and a definition of key concepts.

I set out the context of the study in Chapter 2. I started by giving a social, cultural, political, historical, and geographic background about the Philippines. Then I discussed the Philippine Governmental structure, existence of non-governmental organisations, the imposition of the colonisers' patriarchal worldview on precolonial egalitarian Philippine society, and the influence of colonisation on Filipino women and children. In the next section, I focused on Angeles City – the city government, the Local Council for the Protection of Children (LCPC), and the sex industry in the locality. I ended the chapter with a section about the biracial children in the area.

I presented the study's theoretical framework in Chapter 3. I began with a discussion of the UNCRC, and how this was reflected in the majority of studies on Filipino children's rights. Afterwards, I provided a brief assessment of how the Philippine Government performed in relation to the UNCRC. This was followed by a description of sikolohiyang Pilipino as epistemology, dangal-kapwa as ontology, and the link between dangal and children's rights.

Chapter 4 described the *maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik* (Santiago & Enriquez, 1976) approach or the conduct of research through means that are culturally familiar to Filipinos. I discussed SP's basic principles, and the application of Filipino methods in research with, for, and about children. I detailed the specific procedures for selecting child and adult participants, fieldwork, interviews, other research activities, and data analysis. I concluded the chapter with a reflection on ethics and insights gained from the conduct of research.

In Chapter 5, I presented the research findings under three sections: (1) the biracial children's understanding of their dangal, for example the internal and external dimensions of dangal; (2) the barriers to the child participants' positive dangal experiences, such as social prejudice, poverty, governmental inadequacy, and environmental disturbances; and (3) the means of upholding the biracial children's

dangal, for example, enhancing the functionality of their immediate environment, giving them access to education, increasing social awareness on discrimination, and addressing their financial needs.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I integrated the various findings with the existing literature and developed a diagram to illustrate the biracial children's concept of dangal. I discussed the findings' implications to policy, and the implication of the dangal framework to the Philippines' UNCRC compliance. I ended the chapter noting the limitations of the study and made a number of suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 Angeles City, Philippines and Its Biracial Children

(Setting the Stage)

This chapter sets the context of the study in two levels so as to provide the readers with a comprehensive overview of the various factors that shape the biracial children's *dangal* (dignity). On a macro level, the Philippines' geography, history, culture, and socio-political structure are presented. The following are discussed: the subdivision of the political system, the presence of civil society organisations, the evolution from an egalitarian to a patriarchal society, the Catholic Church's continued suppression of women, and the impact of colonisation on children. The discussion at the micro level, on the other hand, focuses on Angeles City and its socio-political environment, such as the city government's political structure, the power and responsibilities of the Local Council for the Protection of Children (LCPC), and the state of prostitution in the area. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the conditions that affected the dignity of the earlier generation, and the new population of biracial children in Angeles City.

2.1 The Philippines' Geography and Socio-political Structure

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelagic nation with a population expected to have reached 107 million by the end of December 2018 (Cepeda, 2018). The Philippines consists of 7,107 islands and is situated in the western Pacific Ocean, between the Philippine Sea and the South China Sea. The Philippines is part of Southeast Asia, and neighbours the countries of Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

The Philippines is separated into three main groups of islands, namely, Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. Luzon is comprised of islands in the northern part of the country; Angeles City is located in Luzon. Visayas is composed of islands that are located in the middle section, while Mindanao consists of islands located in the south.

Since the Philippines is within the Pacific Ring of Fire, the Filipinos' resilience is constantly tested by earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and typhoons. The country is identified as "one of the most disaster-prone" territories internationally (Dumlao-Abadilla, 2018a, p. B3). The impact of natural calamities is exacerbated by the effects of climate change. In April 2018, the heat index exceeded the 41-degree Celsius limit which had harmful health effects (Mangosing, 2018). Heat index is the extent of physical distress that is attributed to the level of air temperature and relative humidity that is felt by the human body (Philippines Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration [PAGASA], 2019). A heat index from 41 to 54 degree Celcius is considered unsafe for humans due to a high possibility of experiencing muscle spasms and overtiredness. Heat stroke is also likely with prolonged heat exposure (PAGASA, 2019). Based on the 2017 Global Climate Risk Index Report, "the Philippines landed 11th overall with the most number of recorded deaths due to extreme weather events" (Enano, 2018b, p. A6). Climate change also adversely impacted food supply in the Philippines in 2018 as it brought agricultural damages worth approximately Php36 billion (Ocampo, 2019) or about USD682 million based on the exchange rate of Php52.735 for one US dollar (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas [BSP], 2019).

Despite the slow internet in the Philippines (Camus, 2018), digital connectivity facilitates communication among Filipinos living in the different islands of the archipelago, as well as with Filipinos overseas. According to the Digital 2018 Report of the consultancy firm We Are Social, the number of Facebook users in the country reached 67 million or more than half of its population, while the typical length of time that Filipinos network online was almost four hours per day (Camus, 2018).

The Philippine Government is characterised by the separation of powers among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches as stated in the 1987 Constitution

(Republic of the Philippines, 1987) which sought to establish a system of checks-and-balances, and therefore prevent undue manipulation by any office. The Congress of the Philippines, which is comprised of the Senate and the House of Representatives, maintains the legislative power but excluding matters such as constitutional amendments. The President, who is elected by the people to serve a six-year term, holds the executive power of government, and cannot be re-elected. The Philippine courts, especially the Supreme Court, which comprises 15 justices, exercise the government's judicial power (UNPAN, 2004, p. 5).

The Philippine Government is politically subdivided into the National Government and the Local Government Units (LGUs). The LGUs are comprised of provinces, independent cities, cities and municipalities, and barangays (villages).

Authority and influence in the Philippine Government used to be highly centralised as a result of the Spanish colonisation from 1521 to 1898. However, former President Corazon Aquino changed this when she espoused a decentralisation of "power, functions, and responsibilities from central government to the sub-national level" as a strategy to hasten the country's move towards progress. Relative to this, the Philippine Legislature approved the Republic Act[4] (RA) 7160 which is otherwise known as the Local Government Code[5] (LGC) of 1991 (Legaspi, 2001, p. 132).

Under RA 7160, every LGU has an executive, a legislative council, and local special bodies. The provision of "local services and functions such as agriculture, health, social services, maintenance of public works and highways, and environmental management and protection," which used to be the responsibility of the central

---

[4] Act is defined as "a written law passed by Parliament, Congress, etc." (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/act) Hence, it went through a review by a legislative body.

[5] Code is defined as "a systematic collection of laws or statutes." (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/code) Another definition of Code is "a systematic and comprehensive compilation of laws, rules, or regulations that are consolidated and classified according to subject matter." (http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/code)

government, was devolved to the local governments. Consequently, staff from the central government were moved to sub-national levels (Legaspi, 2001, p.134).

To support the LGUs in fulfilling their additional responsibilities to their constituents, RA 7160 doubled the LGUs' Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) allocation from 20 per cent to 40 per cent (Legaspi, 2001). IRA is the local governments' "share in the national internal revenue taxes" (LGC of 1991, s 284). Moreover, the LGC of 1991 promoted the LGUs' fiscal autonomy by giving them authority "to contract loans with financial institutions and to issue bonds to finance the construction and the implementation of projects (p.134)."

Unlike health and social welfare, the provision of basic education, housing, employment, and law and order were not devolved to local governments and, therefore, remained under the jurisdiction of the national government. However, this does not prevent the local governments from initiating projects that aid public schools, provide shelter, and create jobs for their constituents. For example, through the Special Education Fund (SEF) which is raised by local governments through a one percent increase in real property tax, in accordance with RA 7160, the LGUs are able to provide assistance to the public elementary and high schools within their jurisdictions (Manasan, Celestino, & Cuenca, 2011).

Civil society organisations (CSOs) have an important role in Philippine society. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (Macasaet, 2013), the CSOs in the Philippines have been known to be an unconventional but efficient substitute mechanism to help the disadvantaged sectors, particularly those sectors that have been overlooked by the administration. However, Macasaet (2013) added that these CSOs were hampered by their considerable reliance on foreign donations, a shrinking population of junior employees, mismanagement within the organisations, and their unwillingness and inability to work with the government to help promote transparency

and improve the delivery of services to the public. The plight of legitimate CSOs has also been made worse by fraudulent CSOs which were discovered despite the government's registration and monitoring procedures (Francisco & Geronimo, 2013) and the presence of the Philippine Council for NGO Certification (PCNC). The PCNC's role is to guard its fellow CSOs by granting certifications to organisations that served the disadvantaged sectors and met PCNC's basic standards for fiscal administration and transparency (Philippine Council for NGO Certification, 2012).

Based on the records of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) (2015), there were non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that operated in Angeles City to help the women and children sectors. These social welfare groups were monitored by DSWD through registration, licensing, and accreditation. They provided various direct services that promoted the children's education, health, and psychosocial well-being.

2.1.1   *From an Egalitarian to a Patriarchal Society*

The Philippines was colonised by Spain for more than 300 years. During pre-colonial Philippines, the social order was not "matriarchal, but Filipino women did enjoy equal status with men" (Mananzan, 2003a, p. 114). Babaylan[6] scholars such as De Guia (2010), Mananzan (2016), Mangahas (2006), and Strobel (2005, 2010) explained the egalitarian social structure in the Philippines prior to colonisation by citing the Filipinos' myth about creation where the first man and woman concurrently came out from a huge bamboo, exemplifying the equal status of man and woman.

Before Catholicism was introduced to the early inhabitants of the Philippines, Filipino women (or Filipinas) had the responsibility for the practice of culture and tradition, which was in contrast to the Spanish expedition that was dominated by male

---

[6] According to Salazar (1996), the babaylan "was the central personality in ancient Philippine society in the fields of culture, religion and medicine and all kinds of theoretical knowledge about the phenomenon of nature" (p. 213). They are the ancient priestesses in pre-colonial times.

Catholic colonisers (Brewer, 2001). Moreover, Filipino women enjoyed more sexual freedom. For example, women who were unmarried and had a child or children were not treated with shame, but rather esteemed, as they had demonstrated their ability to have children (Infante as cited in Mananzan, 2003a). However, engaging with different sexual partners was prohibited (Mananzan, 2003a).

Unfortunately, for more than 300 years (1521 to 1898), the Spaniards imposed patriarchy onto the Filipinos' belief system (Mananzan, 2003a, p. 114). The early church leaders' "misogynistic attitude" resulted in the Catholic Church's second-rate perception of women (Mananzan, 1998, p. 47), and fuelled their attempts to strip women of their social and cultural leadership roles (Brewer, 2001). The Catholic colonisers maligned the dignity of babaylans (ancient priestesses) who were "ferreted out mercilessly and publicly humiliated" (Mananzan, 2018, p. 151), as well as banished and labelled as witches or "*mangkukulam*" [emphasis added] (Santiago, 2007, p. 25).

The Catholic Church succeeded in colonising and dominating the Filipinos' religious ideologies. In 2010, the Philippines ranked third among countries with the highest number of Catholics. Approximately 75,570,000 Filipinos or 81% of the country's total population were followers of the Roman Catholic Church (Pew Research Center, 2013). Fr. Federic Lombardi, the Vatican's spokesman, referred to the Philippines as the "bastion of the Catholic Church in Asia" (Dinglasan, 2015, p. 1). Although the 1987 Constitution does not favour any particular religion, the Roman Catholic Church has significantly affected Filipinos' thinking and behaviour, as well as their perception of their social and political environment (Duerr, 2015). In the 21st century Philippine society, patriarchy dominated the Filipino socio-cultural beliefs and practices (Mananzan, 2018). The notion that a woman must have no sexual experience prior to marriage persisted (Bonifacio, 2018); divorce was against the law (Inquirer

Research, 2018); and the majority of Filipinos were against gay marriage (Salaverria & Inquirer Research, 2018).

The Catholic Church in the Philippines continued in its subjugation of women through its opposition to abortion and modern contraception (Finer & Hussain, 2013). Despite the abortion-related complications which killed about 1,000 Filipinas annually, the clergy "forbids the use of modern contraceptives" (p. 2). The number of unintended pregnancies in 2008 reached 1.9 million wherein at least 90% were "women using traditional, ineffective methods [of contraception] or no method at all" (p. 2).

In the Philippines, "abortion is illegal under all circumstances and is thus highly stigmatized" (Finer & Hussain, 2013, p. 1). Pregnant women and practitioners who were involved in abortion were liable to a maximum detention period of six years under the Penal Code. However, despite this legal barrier, a number of women still chose to undergo abortion and risk their safety in illegal abortion clinics which were unhygienic and employed obsolete methods. Abortion was also made inaccessible by practitioners who "charge high fees to compensate for the clandestine nature of the procedure" (p. 6).

The Catholic Church likewise displayed its might with its efforts to block the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act of 2012 which is also known as the Reproductive Health (RH) Law (Punongbayan, 2018). The RH Law is considered a landmark legislation that would pave the way for Filipino women, especially those in marginalised groups, to benefit from sex education, counselling about matters relating to their reproductive health, and have access to new methods of contraception (Finer & Hussain, 2013). Although the Catholic Church failed in blocking the passage of the RH Law, it employed legal, political, and administrative means to delay, if not permanently stop, the RH Law's implementation (Punongbayan, 2018).

2.1.2   *The Impact of Colonisation on Children*

Colonisation adversely affected not only the situation of women but also the situation of children.

During the pre-Spanish period, all children had access to education regardless of their gender (Mananzan, 2003a). Female children were educated about sex and had equal "liberty of movement" as their mothers (p. 7). This spirit of egalitarianism is still present in some indigenous communities. As an illustration, the Mangyans' method of child-rearing has "no segregation of household tasks, both girls and boys learn to cook and wash dishes, and work on the farm. Child care is a responsibility of both men and women" (Santiago, 2007, pp. 8-9).

However, when the Spanish colonisers came, they established a Western model of education with a "separate curriculum for men and women" (Vernon as cited in Velayo, 2005, p. 193). Female students were regarded as "intellectually inferior," hence, their training was mainly about housekeeping and socialising (Velayo, 2005, p. 193), or basically about becoming the colonial model of an ideal housewife.

The Catholic Church and the educational institutions regarded the "adult-child relationships very clearly as authoritative and hierarchical" (Yacat & Ong as cited in Velayo, 2005, p. 194). Children were presumed to be ignorant and thus ought to yield to the adults' superiority which paved the way for them to be subjected to abuse.

Moreover, the Catholic Church's concept of an ideal family comprised the Child Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Joseph (Schmidt & Schmidt, 2014), and imposed a standard that resulted in "the narrow way of interpreting what a family is" (Mananzan, 2018, p. 157). Importantly, it established a belief that marriage between a man and a woman, and bearing a child were pre-requisites to being considered a "family" (Salvador, 2013). Such beliefs incited discrimination against children who were born outside of marriage (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR],

2009), as well as those who were adopted. This colonial notion of an ideal family also prompted a prejudice against couples who were childless, and couples of the same sex. It also helps explain the lack of data on children of same-sex couples, as this kind of family is disapproved socially and not authorised legally (Medina, 1991).

2.2 Angeles City, Philippines

Angeles City was considered a first-class city. As per Executive Order No. 249 which was approved on 25 July 1987 and entitled Providing for a New Income Classification of Provinces, Cities and Municipalities, and for Other Purposes, a city was considered first class if it had "obtained an average annual income of thirty million pesos or more" (s 1a). Angeles City was also a highly urbanised city (Philippine Statistics Authority [PSA], 2019) as it met the requirement of the LGC 1991 of having "a minimum population of two hundred thousand (200,000) inhabitants, as certified by the National Statistics Office, and with the latest annual income of at least Fifty Million Pesos (Php50,000,000.00) based on 1991 constant prices, as certified by the city treasurer" (s 452a). Php50 million is approximately USD948,137 based on exchange rate of USD1 = Php52.735 (BSP, 2019).

Based on the 2015 census, Angeles City had a population of 411,634 (PSA, 2019). Among the barangays of Angeles City, Balibago had the largest population of 50,734 (Navales, 2015), and was also where the entertainment clubs that attract sex tourism were concentrated.

The local language in Angeles City has always been Kapampangan although the local residents could also speak Filipino. Filipino is the national language of the Philippines, and is mainly based on Tagalog. Filipinos from other provinces communicate with Angeles City residents using Filipino/Tagalog. English is also popularly used in the city.

Angeles City is governed by the City Mayor and the Sangguniang Panlungsod (the City's legislative body). The City Mayor is the chief executive who "exercises general supervision and control over all programs, projects, services, and activities of the city government" (LGC of 1991, s 455), while the Sangguniang Panlungsod "approves ordinances and passes resolutions necessary for an efficient and effective city government" (LGC of 1991, s 458).

Like other LGUs, Angeles City has local special bodies that serve specific purposes. The body which functions as the "umbrella organisation for all children's concerns" is the Local Council for the Protection of Children (LCPC) (Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), 2014, p. 1).

Angeles City's LCPC was formally established in 2012 through City Ordinance No. 327, the Child Welfare Code of Angeles City. Section 2 of this ordinance recognised the locality as a "child-friendly city," and highlighted its commitment to promote the children's survival, development, protection, and participation rights in accordance with the United Nations Convention of the Rights of Children (UNCRC).

As per Section 4.2 of the same ordinance, Angeles City's LCPC is co-chaired by the City Mayor and the Vice Mayor. Its members include representatives from the Sangguniang Panlungsod, heads of offices under the City Mayor, including, but not limited to, the City Social Welfare and Development Office and the City Health Office, the President of the League of Barangays, the President of the Federation of Youth Councils, the President of the Federation of Day Care Workers, representatives from national governmental agencies, such as the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), Philippine National Police (PNP), and the Department of Education (DepEd). Membership is also open to NGOs that assist the child sector, provided that they have secured accreditation from the City Council. Regarding Angeles City, some of the NGOs that became LCPC members in 2018 include the Soroptimist

International, the Ing Makababaing Aksyon (IMA) Foundation, the League of Angeles City Entertainers and Managers (LACEM), and the Kapisanan para sa Kagalingan ng mga Kababaihan sa Angeles (KAKKA) (J. Duaso of Angeles City's CSWDO, personal communication, February 9, 2019). Unfortunately, the mentioned NGOs' primary focus was the women sector instead of the child sector in Angeles City. Although such organisations also catered to children, they did so only as a "sideline" or as a consequence of helping women. Furthermore, having LACEM as an LCPC member implies that the "pimps" (also called "managers") had an influence on policies affecting children in Angeles City.

In accordance with Section 4.3 of City Ordinance No. 327, some of the LCPC's powers and functions are to promote children's education and health, as well as to advance positive parenting, to ensure "wholesome entertainment" for children, and to provide public facilities, such as playgrounds and day care centres. The LCPC is likewise mandated to oversee the conditions of children, and to ensure the effective implementation of programs for the child sector in the area. The funding for the LCPC's initiatives is sourced from one percent of the City's internal revenue allotment, as per Section 4.5 of the mentioned ordinance.

From a country where prostitution was non-existent before the arrival of the Spaniards (Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998), Angeles became, as stated by worldsexguide.org (as cited in Johns Hopkins University [JHU], 2007), "a city where the entire economy is based on the sex trade" (p. 135).

During pre-colonial Philippines, members of tribes that were defeated in an encounter with other tribes became objects of slavery, but not prostitution. However, by the second half of the 16th century when the Philippines had already become a Spanish colony, there were allegations that Filipino women were exported to become sex slaves in Europe (Leyson, 2001).

After the Philippines gained its independence from the US in 1946, the two countries entered into an agreement which allowed the US to operate military bases in the Philippines for 44 years (Santos, Hofmann, & Bulawan, 1998). In reality, though, even before the signing of this military agreement, Fort Stotsenberg (Clark Air Base's former name) already served as an Army Cavalry station for the American troops until the culmination of the war between the US and Spain in 1898. Clark Air Base was considered valuable for its strategic location in Southeast Asia, and its capability to cater to the aircrafts that were being deployed all over the Western Pacific (Santos, Hofmann, & Bulawan, 1998).

Depicting the "sexualized national security alliance" between the American and Philippine governments (Enloe, 2000, p. 73), the American soldiers' supposed need for rest and recreation was cited justify the establishment of pubs and clubs near Clark Air Base (Santos, Hofmann, & Bulawan, 1998). The sex trade flourished (De Dios, as cited in Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998), and became so prevalent that "prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation were seen as normal" (Santos, Hofmann, & Bulawan, 1998, p. 1) in the area.

The year 1991 was a turning point in the history of Angeles City. The catastrophic volcanic explosion of Mt. Pinatubo that damaged the bases significantly, the decision of the Philippine Senate to discontinue the foreign military presence, and the US' financial constraints, led to the removal of Clark Air Base (Ralston & Keeble, 2008). This resulted in an increase in unemployment in the area. Also, compared to the approximately U$50m invested in 1981 through the Clark Air Base (Enloe, 2000), post-Mt. Pinatubo investments into the local economy came to a standstill.

However, subsequent developments made it possible for Angeles City to reinvent itself. In 1993, the former US air base was converted to the Clark Special Economic Zone (CSEZ) which attracted investors and facilitated job creation. The airfield was

further developed, and Angeles City became one of the few cities in the Philippines with an international airport, located just approximately 92 kilometres from the international airport in Manila.

Prostitution persisted as the entertainment establishments were purchased by foreign nationals through their Filipino wives, under whose names these properties were registered (Ralston & Keeble, 2008). Foreigners were not permitted by the 1987 Philippine Constitution to purchase and own land in the country. Even so, in Fields Avenue[7] where at least 200 tourism-related establishments were situated, more than half were "maintained" by foreigners – an arrangement which contributed to attracting sex tourists from overseas (Protacio-Marcelino et al., 2000). Filipina sex workers failed to secure other means of making a living while the "local demand" for their services remained (Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998, p. 102). Moreover, the Filipino women's feeling of "*hiya*" [emphasis added] or humiliation made it difficult for them to escape prostitution (p. 105) since they had lost their virginity and considered themselves worthless (Mananzan, 1991).

Prostituted women are belittled in the Philippines primarily due to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church which has significantly affected and shaped the Filipinos' religious beliefs. Maranan (as cited in Roces, 2009, p. 272) pointed out that more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule established "Christian machismo" which significantly affected how Filipino women view themselves, how Filipino men view Filipino women, and how Filipinos behave in general. Roces (2009) quoted Añonuevo who argued that Filipinas are limited to a binary perspective of women, that is, either as Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, or Magdalene, the immoral temptress.

---

[7] Fields Avenue is likewise called "Walking Street (after the red-light district of Pattaya, Thailand), about 500 meters of pedestrian road where tourists and locals rub elbows" (Tejero, 2016, p. F3).

Angeles City's sex sector or "flesh industry" (Reed, 2014, p. 33), which faced bankruptcy in 1991 due to the closure of the Clark Air Base, was able to reinvent itself by shifting its clientele from American servicemen to foreign tourists (Chua, 1994). Within the archipelago, Angeles City seems to be the most popular destination for sex tourists. The ECPAT International Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Database (as cited in JHU, 2007) revealed that sex tourists came from the United States, Australia, Japan, South Korea, the United Kingdom, Germany, and other nations in Western Europe. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women claimed that approximately 13,000 Australian tourists went to Angeles City annually (JHU, 2007).

More than two decades after the Clark Air Base was closed, Angeles City was described as a big "brothel" (Simons, 2015, p. 8) where female sex workers had to struggle with the Catholic Church's influence, unlawful and unsafe abortions, as well as expensive contraception. Unlike decades ago when Fields Avenue was patronised by fit and active US military personnel, the establishments' customers nowadays were older foreign men (Tejero, 2016) who used their financial resources to be with their preferred Filipina bar girls on terms and for a duration that the men dictated (Ralston & Keeble, 2008).

Many Filipina sex workers long to find a foreign husband (Ralston & Keeble, 2008). Aside from being tolerant of women who were no longer virgins, white men were generally regarded as rich and superior. They possessed sought-after Caucasian attributes such as whiteness and tallness that could be passed on to their offspring. "It is about money and power, but also significantly about *colonial* notions of white racial 'beauty'" (Ralston & Keeble, 2008, p. 104).

The city government's tolerant stance on sex tourism has been blamed for the unrelenting presence of prostitution in the locality (Ralston, 2007). With the authorities' promotion of tourism as the main driver of the economy (Mananzan, 1991), those in

government acted no less like a "pimp" (De Dios as cited in Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998, p. 104). Under the Penal Code, engaging in the sex trade is against the law. Yet, local governments issue permits to businesses which served as "fronts for prostitution" (Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998, p. 119). The female sex workers are called "'hospitality workers' or 'guest relations officers'" as a way of covering up the sex trade which was unlawful but usually remained explicit to the public (Reed, 2014, p. 33).

The city government's seeming approval of prostitution in the locality is aggravated by the national government's and the business sector's actions which "indirectly" support sex tourism in Angeles City. For example, there was the "connivance" of travel agencies, airline companies, and places of accomodation (National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women as cited in Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998, p. 103) that offered travel packages for tourists, which included sex. The Filinvest Development Corporation, a part of the private sector, was set to build in Clark an "integrated gaming resort" worth USD200 million, thus boosting Angeles City's tourism industry (Dumlao-Abadilla, 2018b, p. B3).

Furthermore, included in the current Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte Government's five-year plan is the construction of an additional terminal at the Clark International Airport (Salaverria, 2016). The airline companies were invited to offer flights connecting Clark Airport to the US (Camus, 2017) after the Philippine Airlines opened the Clark – Incheon, South Korea route on 1 January 2017 (Cabuenas, 2017). On 6 March 2017, Duterte authorised the National Broadband Plan, a project that was in line with the administration's promise to speed up the country's internet (Cheng, 2017) – a move that would make it even easier for foreigners to book flights and tour packages.

Although these initiatives would contribute to Angeles City's economic progress, if implemented under conditions which tolerate and promote prostitution, they are likely

to further sex tourism in the area. Improvements in the infrastructure and transport system would make Fields Avenue more accessible to foreign sex tourists. With faster and cheaper internet services, pre-arrival transactions between foreign men and sex workers would be more convenient, particularly as the women did not have to go to bars to meet potential clients (social worker A. Espiritu, personal communication, April 20, 2017) but could just do so online quite readily.

The presence of American soldiers in Philippine territory will remain, especially with the highest court's decision maintaining the legal status of the defense treaty with the US, the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) (Torres, 2016). The Philippine Government expressed its support for EDCA as well as the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT) of 1951 when the heads of states, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte and US President Donald Trump convened in Manila in November 2017 (Anakbayan, 2017).

With these developments, it is apparent that alongside Angeles City's upsurge as the Philippine economy's "new center" (Clark Global City: Welcome to the new center, 2018, p. 10) and "Asia's next aerotropolis" (Medina & Roa, 2018, p. B4-4), prostitution and the consequent birth of biracial children in the locality would continue.

2.3   Biracial Children

The term *biracial* pertains to individuals who are the offspring of parents who are racially different. This is different from *multiracial* which means people who are composed of at least three races due to their predecessors' "interracial marriages" over many years (Cipriani-Price et al., 2010, p. 155).

This study recognises that the usefulness of race as a category is questionable as, according to Kivisto and Croll (2012), race as well as ethnicity are terms which are socially constructed. They are "dependent upon the particular social and historical

contexts in which they occur" (p. 13). Nonetheless, this thesis accepts the usefulness of the term "race" as well as its limitations.

In the Philippines, where the majority of the population is classified as Malay in terms of race, children who are biracial have been given different labels depending on the mixture of their heritage. Children who are half-Filipino and half-Chinese are called *Chinoy,* while those who are half-Filipino and half-Japanese are called *Japino*. The word *Kopino* is used to refer to children who are half-Filipino and half-Korean.

The words *mestizo* and *mestiza* are used to identify children who are biracial although they are limited to biracial children with white skin. As explained by Laforteza (2015), mestizo and mestiza are used by Filipinos "to indicate a male or a female who has a mix of 'Filipino' blood and a 'lighter' skin tone, such as that possessed by white Europeans and white Americans" (p. 1). In other words, mestizo and mestiza are not used to refer to children who are half-Black, even though they are also biracial. During my fieldwork in the Philippines, some participants used the term "*haphap*" to refer to biracial children. Haphap means half-Filipino, half-foreigner.

2.3.1   *Filipino Amerasians: The Earlier Generation of Biracial Children*

Angeles City's populace is unique due to the influx of foreigners, including but not limited to tourists and servicemen, which has resulted in the locality's demographic diversity, as well as to the presence of biracial children. Since World War II, this area has been a birthplace for Amerasians or children who were fathered by American servicemen and whose mothers were Asians.

In 1996, the United States Assistance for International Development (USAID) funded a study about Filipino Amerasians, which was led by the University of the Philippines Center for Women's Studies (UPCWS) and the Pearl S. Buck International (PSBI). They found that Filipino biracial children and their mothers experienced serious difficulties, such as low educational attainment, inability to secure stable and adequately

paying employment, domestic violence, social discrimination, sexual abuse or harassment, public humiliation, trauma, addiction to alcohol and drugs, and involvement in brawls (Gastardo-Conaco & Israel-Sobritchea, 1999).

In a study by Kutschera (2010), Filipino Amerasians' mental health was examined. Results revealed that the psychological trauma from stigmatisation and discrimination led to their lack of self-confidence, to alienation and the feeling of not being wanted by the community. To distract themselves from reality, some Amerasians turned to alcohol and drugs (Kutschera, 2010).

Earlier studies on Filipino Amerasians by Gastardo-Conaco and Israel-Sobritchea (1999) and Kutschera (2010) reported two key findings. One is that being the offspring of a prostituted woman, abandoned by an American serviceman, brought social degradation to the Filipino Amerasians by members of society. Another is that Black Filipino Amerasians experienced discrimination due to the negative connotations attached to their skin colour. Filipinos preferred white over dark skin. Being white was associated with being pretty, intelligent, wealthy, and clean. On the other hand, being dark was associated with being ugly, uneducated, poor, and unclean (Rondilla, 2012).

Filipinos' fondness for a "European standard of beauty is an offshoot of colonization" (Enriquez, 1994, p. 29). According to McFerson (2002), the colonisers from Spain and the US imposed on the Filipinos a Westernised "image of beauty" (p. 16) which favoured whiteness and tallness – a strange ideation for a nation of mostly brown-skinned Filipinos. She added that this merely incited a feeling of inferiority among Filipinos that became pervasive within their system of values and beliefs. This resulted in discrimination against indigenous Filipinos such as the Aetas whose physical traits include being "dark-skinned, short mountain people, of small frame, with kinky hair, broad noses, and large black eyes" (p. 19).

Despite their Caucasian features, the White Filipino Amerasians are still discriminated against. Although their white skin has made them physically attractive to the Filipinos in the locality, they also "stand out" in a Filipino community that is largely composed of people whose skin is brown. The Amerasians' different skin colour has served as a "social marker" which makes them noticeable and subjected to discrimination for being stereotyped as a prostituted woman's child who was abandoned by their foreign father. They are considered products of prostitution (A. Espiritu, personal communication, April 20, 2017) even if such may not be the case as there were several Amerasians who "were born out of committed relationships" which ended when the military bases were removed (Lapinig, 2013, p. 1). The closure of the US military bases led to a decrease in the number of Filipino Amerasian children being born.

As they were seen to be different from the Filipino notion of "family", the Filipino Amerasians are socially discriminated for being children born out of wedlock. They are taunted with phrases such as "*iniwan ng barko* ('left by the ship') and *babay sa daddy* ('goodbye to daddy')" [emphasis added] (Lapinig, 2013, p. 1).

Given the disadvantaged situation of the Filipino Amerasians, a number of them thought of migrating to the US as a way to improve their living conditions. However, the US Amerasian Act of 1982 permitted the immigration to the US of Amerasians from countries such as South Korea, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, but not from the Philippines. Subsequent attempts to include the Filipino Amerasians were disapproved by the US Senate Judiciary Committee which argued that "Filipino Amerasians were not victims of discrimination, that they were conceived from illegal prostitution, and that, unlike Amerasians in South Korea and Vietnam, they were born during peacetime" (Lapinig, 2013, p. 1).

While earlier studies are deemed valuable in understanding the plight of Filipino Amerasians, it should be emphasised that these investigations were limited to biracial

children who were fathered by American servicemen. Their research lacks information about the "new" population of biracial children, particularly in Angeles City, whose foreign fathers are of different nationalities and varying occupations.

2.3.2   *The New Group of Haphap in Angeles City*

Biracial children have been the subject of a documentary film by the Russia Today (2016). The disadvantaged biracial children were portrayed as the consequence of the sex tourism in Angeles City. The documentary tried to suggest that these children, who were fathered by men from various countries, had no choice but to survive in an environment marked by indigence and breaking of the law.

As per Republic Act 9262, a father who does not provide maintenance to his child can be held criminally liable and be subjected to imprisonment (Paul, 2018). Section 5e (2) of RA 9262 states that violation is committed if the father was "depriving or threatening to deprive the woman or her children of financial support legally due to her or her family, or deliberately providing the woman's children insufficient financial support" (Paul, 2018, p. 1). However, the implementation of RA 9262 is complicated in cases where the father is not a Filipino and resides overseas. In that instance, the rules in his country of origin and the country where he presently resides affect the case (Paul, 2018; Atty. E. O. Reyes, Jr., personal communication, February 8, 2019). There is also a financial cost as the claimant might need to file the petition in person, hire a legal expert from overseas, and submit an evidence of paternity or maternity (Paul, 2018; E. O. Reyes, Jr., personal communication, February 8, 2019). Proof of paternal or maternal relations is crucial. For example, the US Embassy in Manila requires children that were born in the Philippines and are applying for US citizenship to prove their "blood relationship" with their American parent and suggests a method such as "genetic testing" (United States Embassy in the Philippines, n.d., p. 1) or DNA test results.

Moreover, based on the records of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the "Philippines is not yet a party to the Hague Convention on the International Recovery of Child Support and Other Forms of Family Maintenance although it is a party to the 1956 Convention on the Recovery Abroad of Maintenance [CRAM] " which is facilitated by the Philippines' Office of the Solicitor General (DFA Assistant Secretary J. E. Malaya, personal communication, February 13, 2019).

The objective of the 1956 CRAM is the "recovery of maintenance to which a person, who is in the territory of one of the Contracting Parties, claims to be entitled from another person who is subject to the jurisdiction of another Contracting Party" (J. E. Malaya, personal communication, February 13, 2019). However, issues on intercountry enforcement impede the effectiveness of a Hague Convention (Richard T. Bell & Associates, 2019). Unfortunately, there is a lack of studies about the utility of Hague Conventions in promoting the Filipino children's dignity.

In 2015, a news article featured two poor biracial children whose mothers met their fathers at Fields Avenue where the women used to work. The foreign men refused to support the children; instead, they required a DNA test which cost between Php14,800 and Php50,000 (Buan, 2015) or approximately USD297 and USD1,002, respectively, based on the exchange rate of Php49.905 to one US dollar (BSP, 2017). Consequently, by demanding that such costs be shouldered by the penniless women, the foreign men were able to avoid their parental obligation (Buan, 2015).

With a lack of financial support, it is unsurprising to find biracial children living in shanty communities. Half-Australian half-Filipino children could be found in a concealed slum area in Angeles City called the Hadrian Extension (Simons, 2015).

Aside from the offspring of American, European, and Australian men, there were biracial children whose fathers were Japanese, Lebanese, Indian, Kenyan, and Nigerian (Angeles City Teen Information Center, 2016). Around 10,000 half-Korean half-

Filipino children in the Philippines were needing paternal support and their presence was attributed to the increasing number of Koreans staying in the country temporarily (Al Jazeera English, 2013).

Yet, the Angeles City Local Government has no database and lacks information on the biracial children in their locality. The scarcity of research on this topic also hinders the formulation of policies that would aid this group of children in Angeles City.

2.4   Summary

The Philippines is a country in Southeast Asia and is geographically subdivided into three main islands, namely, Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. It is within the Pacific Ring of Fire; hence, it is likely to experience natural calamities with an impact that is worsened by climate change. Around half of the population are into social media which is ironic for a country with poor digital connectivity. Transparency, accountability, and non-abuse of power are the rationale for the Philippine governmental system whose power is equally shared by three institutions, namely the executive branch, Congress (the Senate and the House of representatives), and the judiciary. The units under the executive branch is categorised either as national or local. The local government units include provinces, cities, municipalities, and barangays (district). The centralised form of government which was a legacy of the Spanish colonial rule shifted towards decentralisation mainly through the passage of the Local Government Code of 1991 (Republic Act 7160). Health and social welfare services were devolved to the local government units while law enforcement, shelter, job creation, and basic education were retained by the national agencies. Addressing the inefficiencies in government services is done through the legitimate civil society organisations in the country.

Centuries of colonial rule transformed the Philippines from an egalitarian to a patriarchal society. Its ancestors believed and practised equality of treatment of men and

women. However, the arrival of the Catholic colonisers moved the Filipino women towards the society's periphery. The modern Philippine society is marked by patriarchy as exemplified by Filipinos' disapproving attitude towards divorce, gay marriage, prostitution, contraception, abortion, and pre-marital sex. Colonisation also resulted in prejudice against children, regarding adults as superior over children. A colonial model of an 'ideal' family – a married heterosexual couple with children of their own – was also promoted.

Angeles City is in the central region of mainland Luzon. It is a first class and highly urbanised locality with a population of 411,634 in 2015 (PSA, 2019). The majority of the pubs and clubs are in a district called Balibago. Languages such as English, Filipino/Tagalog, and Kapampangan are used in this area. The city government is led by a mayor and has a special body called the Local Council for the Protection of Children that leads policy formulation for the child sector.

The establishment of the Clark Air Base (a US military facility) was blamed for the flourishing of the sex trade in Angeles City (De Dios, as cited in Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998). The Base was shut down in 1991 after the Mt. Pinatubo volcanic eruption devastated the place. However, prostitution continued when the area was revived and redeveloped, and the sex industry started to cater to foreign tourists in place of the American servicemen that left the country. Among the factors that hindered the female sex workers in Angeles City from disengaging in prostitution were the lack of economic opportunities, social discrimination, and the colonial idea of white superiority. The city government also consents, although indirectly, to the existence of prostitution in their locality since it boosts the economy there.

Filipinos have various terms to refer to haphap or biracial children such as Chinoy (half Filipino, half Chinese), Japino (half Filipino, half Japanese), and Kopino (half Filipino, half Korean). Mestizo and mestiza are also used for biracial children who have

Caucasian features. In Angeles City, the early generation of biracial children were the products of the second world war, and were called Amerasians – children of American servicemen and Asian women. Unlike the Amerasians though, the foreign fathers of the "new" group of biracial children in Angeles City are from different countries and are not necessarily from the military. Nevertheless, both groups of biracial children experienced poverty and social prejudice due to the presumption of most people that their mothers were linked to prostitution, and also due to the lack of (or no) support they got from their biological fathers. Unfortunately, legal measures that could potentially pave the way for biracial children in the Philippines to be acknowledged and supported by their foreign fathers are not yet in place nor forthcoming. Biracial children who are half black also tend to experience more discrimination due to their skin colour, as Filipinos relate dark skin to unpleasant looks, illiteracy, indigence, and being unkempt.

Chapter 3 Children's Dignity, Filipina Worldview, and *Dangal-Kapwa*

(Mapping the Theoretical Framework)

Several studies that are related to Filipino children's dignity have utilised the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as the framework for investigating the extent to which Filipino children are able to exercise their rights (Coram International, 2018; Ortega & Klauth, 2017; Plan Philippines, 2009; Protacio-Marcelino et al., 2000; PST CRRC, 2017; PST CRRC et al., 2008; UP Manila et al., 2016). As an approach, the UNCRC highlights that any kind of work with children must be centred on the best interests of the child (E. De Castro, personal communication, January 8, 2019). Also, the Philippines was a signatory to the Convention and therefore has an obligation to implement the articles in its jurisdiction.

The UNCRC does not specify what constitutes a child's dignity based on children's perspectives. Instead, the concept of a child's dignity is patterned from adults' own viewpoints. The available literature on dignity is largely based on adults' views, and research on children's notion of their dignity is limited (Jamalimoghadam et al., 2017; Narayan et al., 2013; Noghabi et al., 2018). According to Polonko and Lombardo (2005), "the need for and validity of a *child-centered perspective* on the human rights concept of human dignity is a reflection of a growing realization and concern with the oppression of children" (p. 21).

This begs the question of how children see their dignity, and how they think their dignity might be enhanced. This study aims to answer the said question through the use of an alternative lens to the UNCRC, employing instead *sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP) or Filipino psychology as epistemology, and *dangal-kapwa* as ontology. The application of dangal-kapwa liberates a researcher from the adults' assumptions that are integral to the

UNCRC, and gives more voice to children, particularly to their thoughts about the promotion of their dignity.

This chapter maps the theoretical framework of this thesis. The initial section provides an overview of the UNCRC based on how Limber and Flekkoy (1995) categorised the articles in the Convention (Survival, Protection, Development, and Participation). In the second section, I provide a discussion of how the Philippines has performed regarding its compliance with the Convention, together with the issues and problems concerning UNCRC's implementation. The remaining parts of the chapter detail this research's theoretical underpinnings, with an emphasis on SP, and the Filipino concepts of dangal and kapwa.

3.1 The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

The UNCRC was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 20 November 1989, and entered into force on 2 September 1990 (UNICEF, n.d.). It is an agreement among states parties (or countries which ratified the Convention) that give importance to children's rights, and that are therefore willing to commit their resources and risk their international reputation for the realisation of the Convention.

Article 44 of the UNCRC declares that states parties which have ratified the Convention are obliged to submit a report to the UN's Committee on the Rights of the Child (the Committee) regularly, to provide updates regarding the advancement of children's rights in their respective jurisdictions. The first report is due two years after ratification, and the succeeding reports are provided every five years afterwards. The Committee is the body established to monitor the states parties' compliance with the UNCRC, as stated in Article 43 of the Convention (UNICEF, n.d.). Although this Committee lacks "individual court sanctions" that it could utilise, it would be "internationally shaming" for states parties if they fail to fulfil their commitments pertaining to the UNCRC (UN monitoring and reporting, n.d., p. 3). In other words,

other than employing public humiliation on a global scale, the Committee has no direct

means to discipline states parties that fall short in implementing the UNCRC.

Limber and Flekkoy (1995) classified the children's rights, as stated in the various

articles in the UNCRC, into four groups, namely, "survival rights, protection rights,

development rights, and participation rights" (p. 5). Limber and Flekkoy's system of

classification represents the objectives and purposes of the articles of the Convention

succinctly.

Survival rights pertain to rights that are necessary for a child to live. These

include the provision of health-related services as stated in articles 24 and 25.

Protection rights (as listed in articles 19, 34, 32, 11, 35, 37, 38, 33, and 36) outline the

child's right to be safeguarded from unsafe practices, including involvement in combat,

profit-making or sexual corruption, and physical or emotional abuse. *Development*

rights (as mentioned in the Preamble, as well as in articles 27, 28, 29, and 31) refers to

the rights that encourage "positive development," such as having a "family

environment, an adequate standard of living, an education, and the opportunity to

engage in play, leisure activities, and cultural events." *Participation rights*, as explained

in articles 12 to 16, pertain to the children's right to engage and exercise their free will.

Participation rights include, but are not limited to, "the right of access to information"

and the "right to protection from libel and slander" (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995, pp. 5-7).

Among the UNCRC articles, Article 2 (non-discrimination), Article 3 (the best

interests of the child), Article 6 (the right to life, survival, and development), and

Article 12 (the right to participation) are considered to be the "general principles" of the

Convention as they support and provide direction on how the articles should be applied

by the states parties (Thomas, 2011, p. 8).

The UNCRC has Optional Protocols which are not modifications but rather

supplements to the articles. Compliance is not compulsory but left to the discretion of

states parties. These Optional Protocols include the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; the involvement of children in armed conflict; and the rights of the child on a communications procedure (Buck, 2014, p. 107).

The UNCRC is a recognised platform for endorsing children's rights. Jupp (1990) argued that the Convention would serve as an international legal framework for the promotion of children's rights. The UNCRC would set the criteria from which local legislation could be patterned, as well as evaluated. Also, the UNCRC would establish a worldwide setting that would pave the way for an extended dialogue on children's rights. Moreover, the UNCRC would be a means to initiate action. It could be used to inform children about their rights, as well as to fight for children's rights. The UNCRC would bring together societies from across the globe towards a common goal. Melton (1991) also pointed out the significance of the UNCRC when he stated that the Convention "provides moral authority for all serious child advocates" (p. 349).

However, despite the benefits which the UNCRC affords to children and the number of supporters of children's rights, the Convention has no definite explanation of what constitutes a child's dignity even if the articles were drafted to uphold the dignity of children. A universally accepted benchmark on how children must be regarded was the goal of those who drew up the UNCRC, in spite of the circumstances wherein such would be difficult to apply. The implementation of the Convention varies among states parties as each has its distinct cultural beliefs, resources, legal structures, as well as problems to deal with (Thomas, 2011, p. 9).

3.2   The State of Filipino Children's Dignity Based on the UNCRC

Although it has been three decades since the Philippine Government ratified the UNCRC which was mainly based on adults' ideas about child rights, "many children in the Philippines are still left behind," according to the UNICEF Philippines Country Representative Lotta Sylwander (Geronimo, 2014, p. 1). Using the UNCRC as the

framework, this section aims to paint a picture of the state of dignity of the Filipino children who are "left behind." Following Limber and Flekkoy's (1995) classification of the articles of the Convention, the discussion has four parts that correspond to the extent that the Filipino children's survival, protection, development, and participation rights have been upheld.

3.2.1   Filipino Children's Survival Rights

More than two decades since the Philippine Government ratified the UNCRC, there has been significant progress in helping children to survive. The child mortality rate in the Philippines took a downward trend. From 1990 to 2015, both the infant mortality and under-five mortality rates declined by around 50%. Infant mortality rate dropped from 41 to 21 deaths per 1,000 live births, while the under-five mortality rate fell from 59 to 27 deaths per 1,000 live births during the said period. Neonatal mortality also reduced from 18 to 13 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1993 and 2013, respectively (Coram International, 2018).

However, a number of issues are yet to be resolved to continually promote children's survival rights. A key barrier has been the lack of financial resources which limit children's access to adequate nutrition, quality housing, and efficient (albeit pricey) medical providers.

Child poverty is a pressing issue in the Philippines as one third of Filipino children, or approximately 13.4 million, were in impoverished conditions as of 2009. This figure is unlikely to be reduced within the short-term (UNICEF & PSA, 2015), given the "inequitable distribution of resources" (Mananzan, 2018, p. 153), and the continuous increase in the population of the country (UNICEF & PSA, 2015).

Filipino children are exposed to poor housing conditions. Based on the 2017-2022 Philippine Development Plan (PDP), around 5.55 million families lacked adequate housing during the period from 2011 to 2016, and this figure is expected to reach 6.8

million in 2022 (De Villa & Medina, 2018, p. B6-4). An increase in the number of children living in shanty communities within cities is alarming as "food security and nutrition are worse among the urban poor than the rural poor" (Coram International, 2018, p. 164), and thus exacerbate the "increasing number of children who are underweight and stunted" in growth (Sylwander, 2018, p. A9).

In the Philippines, poor children with unfavourable health conditions are vulnerable since the universal health insurance (UHI) fails to cover most of the cost, hence, the hospital and other medical expenses are paid largely by the household members out of their pockets (World Bank, 2011). Consequently, the economic status determines whether a household would opt to go to a public, or a private hospital, or a clinic. Low income household members go to government-funded providers, whereas those with higher income avail themselves of privately operated health services and amenities (Lavado, Sanglay-Dunleavy, Jimenez, & Matsuda, 2010).

The situation is worsened in cases where public hospitals underperform and poor families have no choice but to go to private hospitals. A report by Coram International (2018), a UK-based research and consultancy firm that specialises in children's rights, revealed that the lack of needed medicines in governmental facilities was a contributing factor that drove patients to "higher-priced private hospitals and self-medication" (p. 138).

In general, "the average expenditure of patients confined in private hospitals is twice that of the average expenditure of patients confined in public hospitals" (Lavado et al., 2011, p. 26). Private providers also have a reputation for being income-oriented (Lavado et al., 2011). Consequently, a poor family that would attempt to bring their children to private facilities is likely to face "financial catastrophe" (Coram International, 2018, p. 142), and a high number of those who are admitted in non-

governmental facilities fall into debt in order to settle their hospital bills (Lavado et al., 2011).

3.2.2   Filipino Children's Protection Rights

Filipino children are exposed to various risks which can either be man-made or caused by nature. Despite the existing protective mechanisms, children in the Philippines become victims of corporal punishment (CSC-CRC, 2017; Coram International, 2018; Lansford et al., 2010; Plan Philippines, 2009; PST CRRC et al., 2008; Sanapo & Nakamura 2010; Sarmiento & Rudolf, 2017; UP Manila et al., 2016), bullying (Arayata, 2018; Sanapo, 2017), online abuse (Sylwander, 2018; Tudtud, 2018; UNICEF, 2016), pornography (Diloy, 2013), child labour (Anti-Slavery International, 2013; UNICEF & PSA, 2015; UP Manila et al., 2016), and road accidents (Coram International, 2018). They become targets of drug syndicates as well as the "collateral damage" of the Duterte administration's aggressive campaign against illegal drugs (CSC-CRC, 2017; Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 2018; PhilRights, 2017). Children are vulnerable to climate change (Berse, 2017; Ortega & Klauth, 2017; UNICEF & PSA, 2015). Their daily activities are affected by extreme weather disturbances. Animal bites also impose a serious threat to children's safety due to the lack of access to vaccines (Amparo et al., 2018), and the inefficient monitoring of animal bites incidences in communities (Deray et al., 2018).

There are a number of legal measures that are meant to protect the Filipino children (PST CRRC, 2017). Among these are the Child and Youth Welfare Code, Labor Code, Family Code, Civil Code, Republic Act 9262 (Anti-Violence Against Women and their Children Act), Republic Act 7610 (Child Protection Act), Republic Act 9344 (Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act), Republic Act 9710 (Magna Carta of Women), and Republic Act 9346 (Act on the Prohibition of the Death Penalty) (Child Rights International Network, 2011).

There are also administrative measures to protect children. These include the Child 21: The Philippine National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, the National Plan of Action for Children, the Comprehensive Program on Child Protection, the ASEAN Guidelines for the Protection of the Rights of Trafficked Children, the Philippine Guidelines for the Protection of Trafficked Children, the Manual on Law Enforcement and Prosecution of Trafficking in Persons Cases, the Philippine Anti-Trafficking in Persons Database (PATD), the National Telecommunication Commission (NTC) Memorandum Circular No. 01-01-2014, and the Department of Education Child Protection Policy (PST CRRC, 2017, p. 12). Nevertheless, these legislative and administrative measures were largely based on Filipino adults' preconception on children's "vulnerability" that requires "special protection" (Bessell, 2009, p. 306).

Moreover, despite the protective measures available, studies on child violence in the Philippines showed that children's protection rights are not always upheld. According to UNICEF Philippines, "two in three children experience physical violence" (Sylwander, 2018, p. A9) wherein one of the most common form was corporal punishment.

In the Philippines, "corporal punishment is not prohibited" (Coram International, 2018, p. 365), and is a publicly recognised means of disciplining children (PST CRRC et al., 2008). In a multi-country study that interviewed roughly 4,000 participants comprised of parents and children (aged from 7 to 10yo), it was revealed that among child respondents from the Philippines, at least 71% suffered from slight beating, while 8%, at the minimum, had to endure the pain of being hit on the facial area or being repeatedly beaten by a whip, ruler, or other instruments (Lansford et al., 2010).

Corporal punishment of children typically takes place within households. Based on a survey of 1,145 child respondents by Children Talk to Children (C2C) in 2015, five

out of ten Filipino children experienced corporal punishment at home (CSC-CRC, 2017). Directed by children, C2C is a body composed of 17 organisations from different parts of the country and is assisted by a project team. It advocates for children's rights and tries to keep track of the Philippine Government's compliance to the UNCRC (Bajo, 2018). In another study which surveyed 270 Filipino school children, 6 out of 10 child respondents were physically punished at home, usually due to their mischievous behaviour and their insubordination to the adults' orders (Sanapo & Nakamura 2010).

Children likewise experienced corporal punishment in school. An investigation of 2,400 child participants revealed that correcting the children's mistakes or misbehaviour was used as a pretext for school personnel to punish their students physically (Plan Philippines, 2009).

Physical punishment has been known to incite negative reactions from children. Of those who were physically punished in the study by Sanapo and Nakamura (2010), some felt resentment (25%), isolation (14.5%), and animosity (7.2%). A study which surveyed 155 adults revealed that being physically abused during childhood had a detrimental impact on the early adults' socialisation and their sense of personal fulfilment (Sarmiento & Rudolf, 2017). Children whose parents were maltreated during childhood were found to go into drug addiction, experienced economic pressure, and were more likely to experience physical violence. Other significant contributors to the propagation of physical punishment were beliefs regarding the methods of instilling accepted behaviours, the hierarchical relationship between parent and child, and the level of educational attainment of parents (UP Manila et al., 2016).

There are underlying factors that contribute to violence against children are the adults' prejudices. Adults have biases against children which do not only trigger corporal punishment but also lead to a practice of the lack of consultation with children (PST CRRC et al., 2008). Parents and other adults presume that "children only

understand the language of pain" (p. 5), and are therefore incapable of comprehending explanations based on reason. Adults have a bias that children have no will power over their actions, and that they are naïve, powerless, and are "born without a sense of right and wrong" (p. 5).

Bullying or "any act that causes damage to the victim's psyche or emotional well-being" (Arayata, 2018, p. 1) is another form of violence that is commonly experienced by Filipino children (Sanapo, 2017). In a study by Sanapo (2017) which surveyed 340 children, 4 out of 10 became victims of bullying which was mostly verbal. The said study which also interviewed teachers revealed that, despite their awareness of the prevalence of bullying in their schools, most teachers failed to inform their schools' Child Protection Committee (CPC) of such incidences. As per the DepEd Child Protection Policy or DepEd Order No. 40, s. 2012, there must be a CPC in every primary and secondary school, whether government-funded or privately operated. The CPC is comprised of the school head/administrator, guidance counsellor/teacher, a teacher representative, a student representative, and a community representative. The mentioned shortcoming in reporting cases of bullying is a reflection of the inefficient implementation of the Republic Act 10627 (Anti-Bullying Act of 2013) which is the "Act Requiring All Elementary and Secondary Schools to Adopt Policies to Prevent and Address the Acts of Bullying in their Institutions" (Arayata, 2018, p. 1). This requires immediate attention as "feeling a sense of belonging is an important factor in keeping the public-school students engaged" (Bernardo, Ganotice, & King, 2015, p. 665).

According to Sylwander (2018, p. A9), "Online sexual exploitation of children is the leading cybercrime in the Philippines." Incidences of online abuse increased as, during the period from 2013 to 2015, the figure rose from 57 to 167 reports of online abuse (UNICEF, 2016). In poor communities, children use pisonet to access the internet. Pisonet or "*pisong internet*" (Tudtud, 2018, p. 1) is a set of computers typically

placed outside an owner's house that can be used by anyone after inserting some coins. A four-minute access costs one peso (or approximately USD0.019); hence, it is an attractive option for children and adults who do not require hours of internet access (Jovito, 2016). However, despite the benefit of pisonet to children, it is allegedly paving the way for "activities like cyberpornography" (Tudtud, 2018, p. 1). A study conducted in 2012 showed that among two groups of children aged between 13 to 17 and 10 to 12 years, 72% and 49%, respectively, have been exposed to pornography through the internet, and one-third of such incidences occurred by chance or unintentionally. The children become unprotected from pornographic sites in publicly accessible computers, such as the internet shops where adult users retrieve pornographic websites even when minors are around (Diloy, 2013).

The danger that climate change poses to Filipino children can no longer be ignored – another area in which children remain unprotected. The extreme weather conditions increase the possibility of having more children suffer in impoverished conditions as the "calamities wipe out their families' productive assets" (UNICEF & PSA, 2015, p. 90). In poor urban communities, children are more vulnerable to the impact of climate change since those areas are marked with "poverty; congested housing and transportation; inadequate waste management; pollution of land, water and air; a lack of access to basic services; and an absence of decent and safe public spaces" (Ortega & Klauth, 2017, p. 7). Houses in squatter areas are not geared to protect children effectively from extreme weather conditions. This is made worse by the absence of public facilities such as electricity, water, health clinics, and covered courts or gymnasiums where children can play, especially during humid or rainy days. The poor sanitation and crowded population in those communities also make children susceptible to communicable diseases.

According to Ortega and Klauth (2017), the worsening heat and typhoons in the country become barriers to children attending school, and increase their exposure to health risks such as dengue, diarrhoea, and malnutrition. Dengue is caused by a virus transmitted by mosquitoes. To date, no antidote has been identified to help dengue patients (World Health Organization [WHO], 2018). Within the first six weeks of 2018, the Philippine Department of Health (DOH) recorded 10,980 incidences of dengue in the country (Santos, 2018). Leptospirosis which is typically transmitted to humans through wounds that are unprotected from "water contaminated by urine from infected animals" (WHO, 2019, p. 1) such as rats is another health risk in the Philippines. In Central Luzon alone, from January to mid-September 2018, a 74 percent increase in the number of patients with leptospirosis was reported (Orejas & Cardinoza, 2018). Whenever there is a typhoon, "floods cause rodents to move into the city" (WHO, 2019, p. 1). In shanty communities with unclean surroundings, flood water becomes breeding grounds for mosquitoes and rats.

Despite the huge threat faced by children from climate change, their voice and participation have been limited (Berse, 2017). This is because "child-sensitive planning, design and budgeting have been largely absent from the mechanisms that allocate funding and implement climate change projects" (Ortega & Klauth, 2017, p. 8).

Children's safety is also a concern in the context of the country's problem on illegal drugs. Under the Duterte regime's "drug war" or all-out anti-drug campaign, the police enforcers' aggressive approach to the drug problem led to the allegation of 20,584 children as users, suppliers, and couriers of illegal drugs (CSC-CRC, 2017). This has also led to the death of at least 60 children, as per the records of the Children's Legal Rights and Development Center (CLRD) (PhilRights, 2017). As a result of the anti-drug operations, at least 18,000 children had lost their parents by the end of 2016 (Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 2018). Their parents were either killed

or jailed for purportedly taking part in the drug trade. Aside from having no parents to support them, they were othered or discriminated for being the offspring of alleged drug perpetrators (PhilRights, 2017).

Due to the need to support their families, 5.5 million children in the Philippines have become child labourers, as per aa report of 2011 (UNICEF & PSA, 2015). The lack of financial resources and the pressure to help their families to express their *utang na loob* or moral indebtedness led children to work and be exposed to abuse (UP Manila et al., 2016). Based on a study of approximately 3,000 child domestic workers from seven countries, it was reported that 7% of respondents in the Philippines were punished while performing their duties. They experienced physical abuse, verbal abuse, and economic sanctions from those who hired them (Anti-Slavery International, 2013).

Other threats to children's safety which are critical but still not being given enough attention by those in government are road accidents and rabies. Based on the Philippine Health Statistics for 2012, road accidents ranked fourth as the common cause of death among children aged 10 to 14 years old, and sixth among those aged 5 to 9 years (Coram International, 2018). Meanwhile, in a span of eight years (2008 to 2016), 601 Filipino children aged below 15 died due to rabies (Amparo et al., 2018), with only 27% of cases of animal bites on children being documented, as the children did not inform or ask for vaccination at the Animal Bite Treatment Centres (ABTC) (Deray et al., 2018). The lack of a regular supply of publicly-funded anti-rabies vaccines worsened the situation. Hence, children and adults that were bitten by animals which might have rabies had no choice but to purchase a vaccine for about USD34.65 or Php1,633 (Amparo et al., 2018).

3.2.3 Filipino Children's Development Rights

The children's developmental needs have to be fulfilled if they are to meet their full potential. However, the majority of Filipino children's access to quality education, leisure, play as well as to having a stable family life remains a challenge.

Filipino adults give utmost importance to education as they consider it to be a means to a better future (Figueroa, Lim, & Lee, 2016b). Because of this, families would borrow money from others, if needed, to support their children's schooling (Medina, 1991).

Based on the Nielsen Global Survey of Education which was participated in online by 29,000 individuals across the globe, the Philippines ranked higher, compared with other nations, when it came to households' periodic expenditures that were related to knowledge development. The typical household allotment per month on education overall, and in the Philippines, were 8% and 15.4%, respectively. Having a degree was believed to increase one's chances of securing certain company positions and higher income that most people aspire to (FFE PH News Staff, 2013).

As per the 1987 Constitution, basic education in the Philippines is free, particularly in the public elementary and secondary schools. To be eligible to enrol as a first-grade pupil, a child must be six years old or have completed a kindergarten program. For children aged 12 and below who are new to the basic education program, their grade levels are determined by an assessment. The first-time students with ages 13 years and older are referred to the Alternative Learning System (ALS) Program (Llego, 2018).

However, despite the free tuition in government-funded elementary and secondary schools, a large number of children are out of school. During the 2015-2016 academic year, there were about 2.85 million Filipino children aged 15 years and below who had no access to education, while the dropout rates during the same period were 1.64 and

3.32 percent for girls and boys, respectively (Coram International, 2018). A study conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) in 2013 revealed that the limited funds and the pressure to help their families financially were the primary reasons for students aged 12 to 15 years leaving school (Coram International, 2018).

Another measure that the national government established to address the dropout rate was the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Program. It assists those families from the lowest income group by giving them subsidies to cover the costs related to their children's health and schooling, provided that the children completed a minimum of 85 percent of school attendance (Coram International, 2018). However, there were allegations that the implementation of the CCT Program was "politicized," or was being used by the local elected officials to advance their personal interests (Ferrer, 2018, p. 1).

In line with promoting children's attendance in school, the Land Transportation Franchising and Regulatory Board (LTFRB) released Memorandum Circular 2011-004 which requires public transport drivers to give school children a 20 percent discount on their fares, regardless of whether it is a school day or not. However, this rule has not been observed religiously by drivers, despite the penalty awaiting those who breach the order (Zurbano, 2018).

The quality of school facilities also affects children's school attendance. Jasper, Le, and Bartram (as cited in Figueroa et al., 2016b) argued that the students are more likely to go to class if their schools have enough serviceable toilets since the access to toilets was shown to uphold their well-being. Unfortunately, many governmental schools are wanting in toilets, and those which are currently available are unisex toilets, contrary to what the children prefer (i.e., gender-specific toilets (Figueroa et al., 2016b).

A survey of 440 secondary students from public schools in Metro Manila showed that children wanted to be provided with the "very basic school needs" such as "appropriate set of textbooks, construct more classrooms to address the overcrowding,

repair dilapidated chairs and classrooms, and provide clean comfort rooms", as well as efficient ventilation in their classrooms (Umil, 2014, p. 1). Additionally, there are several inaccurate information and misspellings in the DepEd-endorsed textbooks used in the public and private schools which need to be corrected (Go, 2018); and there is a need for appropriate seats for left-handed students (Salaverria, 2018).

Children's right to play is not based on the availability of playgrounds alone (E. De Castro, personal communication, January 8, 2019), although having such facility helps promote children's play. There is a scarcity of research on the quantity and quality of playgrounds in the Philippines. Based on a 2011 study by Play Pilipinas, there was a lack of playgrounds for children in the National Capital Region (NCR). Just a small number of governmental schools (16%) and urban areas (4%) had play facilities for children (Valdez, 2013).

There is also a lack of child-friendly television programs, especially from 5pm to 10pm when most children are at home. During this five-hour viewing period, shows are dominated by drama series that cater more to an adult rather than a child audience. It is likely that these types of programs can have detrimental effects on children (National Council for Children's Television, 2015).

Another developmental need of children is to grow up in a family environment that will nurture and care for them. Orphaned and abandoned children are immediately disadvantaged in this regard since the Philippine Government's bureaucratic process makes it difficult for them to be legally adopted and thus to have a family. It takes at least three years to adopt a child legally. The tedious and time-consuming adoption procedure in the Philippines discourages adoptive families (Kaiman & De Leon, 2016), prompting some to resort to birth simulation. Simulated birth is committed when the names of the natural parents in the birth certificate are altered so as to declare that a baby was born to other persons (Philippine News Agency, 2017). This is a crime, as per

the Republic Act 8552, as it results in a child being denied of "his or her true identity and status" (Sotto, 2018, p. 6).

3.2.4 Filipino Children's Participation Rights

Although the notion of child participation is not unknown in the Philippines even before the country ratified the UNCRC, there has not been significant progress made in this area. There are political, social, and cultural factors which hamper the advancement of children's participation in the Philippines.

The notion of child participation is not foreign among Filipinos (Bessell, 2009). In 1974 or more than two decades before the Philippine Government ratified the UNCRC, the country already had its Child and Youth Welfare Code which acknowledges "children's responsibility (not right) to 'participate actively in civic affairs in the promotion of the general welfare, always bearing in mind that it is the youth who will eventually be called upon to discharge the responsibility of leadership'" (Bessell, 2009, pp. 302-303). This Code was not patterned on any human rights instrument although it is focused on children's "welfare and protection" (p. 303). Nonetheless, the Philippine Government's ratification of the UNCRC led to a re-interpretation of the notion of child participation, from being a "responsibility" to a "right." This shift had serious implications as child participation had become an "optional" task, instead of a duty for the country. This is another example of the adult drafters' presumption contained in the Convention which had been imposed on the Filipino children through the UNCRC.

The 1974 Child and Youth Welfare Code paved the way for the founding of Councils for the Protection of Children in the *barangays* (villages or districts) and required such local bodies to have a youth representative. This Code served as the foundation of the Philippine Government's policy framework after its ratification of the UNCRC in 1990 (Bessell, 2009).

Another key legislation which contributed to child participation in the Philippines is the Local Government Code (LGC) of 1991 which became the basis for the founding of the *Katipunan ng Kabataan* or youth assemblies in every barangay. The youth assemblies are comprised of Filipino residents of the barangay aged 15 to 21. These assemblies are led by the duly elected members of their Sangguniang Kabataan (SK) or Youth Council (Bessell, 2009).

Incorporating the idea of child participation in the government's policies and programs for the child sector was the goal of the government-led Child 21 or the Philippine National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, 2000–2025. As stated in Child 21, the Philippine Government aims "that by 2025 every Filipino child will be 'actively participating in decision-making and governance, in harmony and in solidarity with others, in sustaining the Filipino nation' (Anon., 2000: 5)" (Bessell, 2009, p. 304).

However, child participation remains restricted. Based on an investigation led by the DILG and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 2007, the SK fell short in training the youth to be the future leaders of the country (Coram International, 2018). A main barrier to building up the youth was the "age hierarchy in Filipino society" that conflicts with the view of children as "capable social actors" (Bessell, 2009, p. 306). Filipino adults hold a prejudice wherein the amount of credibility given to individuals' opinion is positively correlated with their age (Coram International, 2018). Hence, childhood is considered a mere foundational stage for adulthood (Bessell, 2009). Children are treated as "incompetent and subordinate to adults" (Coram International, 2018, p. 51), and their involvement is regarded with nonchalance (Lundy & Templeton, 2018). This preconception limited the children's opportunity to voice their concerns on issues affecting their welfare (Bessell, 2009;

Coram International, 2018), and hindered their opportunity for "genuine political engagement" (Bessell, 2009, p. 306).

Such prejudice is aggravated by some specific factors, namely, the absence of definite guidelines on children's participation, conflict with their schedules in school, council members were perceived as "favourites" and were isolated (Coram International, 2018), the lack of awareness about UNCRC, intimidation, scarce resources, and the absence of channels that will pave the way to their participation (Lundy & Templeton, 2018).

The credibility of the Youth Council also suffered as it was accused of ethical issues such as "corruption, nepotism, lack of financial transparency, misspending of money and recurring programs focusing on sport and pageantry" (Coram International, 2018, p. 52). There was an allegation that the members of the Youth Council were not mentored on good governance but instead were being controlled and negatively influenced by crooked politicians (Rico, 2014).

To address the weaknesses of the Youth Council, the Republic Act No. 10742, or the Sangguniang Kabataan Reform Law, was approved in 2016. The new law made compulsory the attendance of SK officials in leadership training programs, and established the Local Youth Development Council (LYDC) to assist the SK (The SK Reform Act: A fresh start for the youth, 2016). The RA 10742 also tried to avoid political dynasties by asserting that to qualify to run in an SK election in their barangay, the candidate "must not be related within the second civil degree of consanguinity or affinity" to the elected politicians who are still holding office (p. 1).

However, the RA 10742 had a negative impact on the children's social and political participation also. This law increased the minimum age requirement to be elected as an SK official from 15 to 18 years so the officials are "legally capable of entering into contracts and being held accountable and liable for their actions."

Consequently, SK was to be dominated by young adults, as no child aged 17 and below can qualify to be an SK official (The SK Reform Act: A fresh start for the youth, 2016).

"The converse of the problematic conceptualization of children as lacking in competence and capability is the equally problematic romanticising of children as fully equipped to assume complete responsibility and to act in unfamiliar environments without support" (Bessell, 2009, p. 312). As illustrated by the case of the RA 10742, formulating solutions that are attuned to these contrasting perspectives about children is not easy. Not being able to point out the appropriate "middle-ground" is a potential hindrance to an effective realisation of children's participation (p. 312).

3.3   Issues on the Implementation of the UNCRC in the Philippines

This section focuses on the organisational challenges which affected how the national and local governments performed in promoting the Filipino children's survival, protection, development, and participation rights. The following topics are discussed: the budget allocation for children, governmental skills and efficiency, and the legislation-related issues.

3.3.1   Budget Allocation for Children

From 2010 to 2017, the government's budget for children more than tripled – from Php196.26 billion to Php684.05 billion. The bulk was allocated to basic education as made compulsory by the 1987 Constitution, as well as a result of the launching of the K-12 curriculum which required an additional two years of schooling (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017). In seven years (2010-2017), the funding for the social welfare and health agencies' programs for children had an estimated yearly increase of 40% and 23%, respectively. The funding for other agencies' (interior and local government, justice, as well as labour and employment) programs for children also rose by 13% annually.

Nevertheless, in spite of the increase in budget allocation for the child sector, the country still lags behind international standards. The DepEd's budget never met the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) standard of at least 6% of the country's GDP and, at the same time, 20% of the entire DepEd funding (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017). The DOH's budget likewise failed to reach 5% of the GDP as suggested by the WHO (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017). While publicly funded investment for each Singaporean and Thai student amounts to USD1,800 and USD853 respectively, the Philippine Government invests USD138 only for every Filipino student per year, according to the 2009 data of the World Bank (Pennington, 2017). The government's investment on children's education is seen to be restricted by the country's fast-increasing population which reached 106.5 million during the first quarter of 2018, and is estimated to rise to 141 million in 27 years (Oxford Business Group, 2018). In 2015, the Philippines had an average annual rate of population change of 1.56% which was above the regional average of 1.23% in Southeast Asia. The country ranked third, next to Cambodia (1.62%) and Malaysia (1.61%) in this regard (International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, 2018). Issues of insufficient funding for children were aggravated by other budget-related concerns, such as the absence of a strategic, transparent, and child-centred fiscal and program management (Coram International, 2018).

3.3.2 *Governmental Skills and Efficiency*

The low salary of workers and the ongoing brain drain from the country contributed to a lack of skilled personnel in public hospitals, clinics, and social welfare facilities which hampered efforts to promote children's rights. The 2004 data of the World Bank revealed that for every 1,000 Filipinos, there was just about 1.15 doctors. This was below the "regional average for East Asia and the Pacific, which stood at 1.62

physicians per 1,000 population as of 2011" (Coram International, 2018, p. 139). Also, despite the Philippine Government's efforts to hire more health personnel, the quality of services in public health facilities failed to cope with the country's steep upsurge in population (Oxford Business Group, 2018).

The limited technical skills of those in government also affected the delivery of social services to children adversely. There was a lack of well-organised planning, resource mobilisation, and data management of services (Coram International, 2018). The inefficiency in managing data disadvantaged children in minority groups as their concerns were made "invisible and has led to gaps in policies and programmes that respond to their unique needs" (p. 370). To effectively cater to the needs of children in minority groups, a "targeted" (UNICEF & PSA, 2015, p. 91) and devolved means of management is preferred, especially in addressing issues regarding school facilities, as due consideration must be given to a locality's distinct requirement as well as its available resources (Figueroa, Lim, & Lee, 2016a).

The government agencies' administrative inefficiencies also came at a cost to children's survival and development. The National Shelter Program (NSP), which was the Philippine Government's flagship initiative in providing affordable housing for low- and middle-income families, was a failure. This failure was attributed to the local governments' limited funds and know-how with regard to public housing, and to the unsynchronised efforts of the national housing agencies and their local counterparts. Implementing the NSP was also challenging due to a lack of systems that would ensure efficiency, equity, and transparency in targeting, enrolling, and overseeing housing recipients (Ballesteros, 2010).

In other instances, administrative inefficiencies resulted in a waste of governmental resources allocated for children. For example, a delay in the bidding process and the lack of dependable storage facility led to a minimum of 820,682

children's textbooks with an estimated worth of Php25.2 million being damaged by the flood (Enano, 2018a). The Commission of Audit (COA) noted that in 2017, DSWD's unutilised cash grants amounted to Php1.3 billion which was supposed to assist around two million indigent families (Gascon, 2018).

Administrative inefficiencies can compromise children's safety. To illustrate, DepEd had no allocated funds to employ security personnel that would ensure the children's safety in school (Inso, 2018). Another illustration is, despite the incomplete laboratory tests to check the vaccine's safety and effectiveness, the anti-dengue vaccine named Dengvaxia managed to be registered with the Philippines' Food and Drug Authority (FDA), and used in the DOH's anti-dengue vaccination drive (Macairan, 2019). This was the reason given to the death of at least 62 children (Aurelio, 2018). This brought about a public scare of vaccines, resulting in an upsurge in the number of patients suffering from vaccine-preventable diseases. The incidences of measles and rubella between January to November 2017 also increased from 3,804 to 18,026 for the equivalent period in 2018 (Yee, 2018).

3.3.3   Legislation-related Issues

The national government did make some legislative milestones in protecting the rights of Filipino children. The Free College Tuition Law (RA 10931) was approved in 2017. This measure aims to relieve tertiary students of paying their tuition and other school fees (Sicat, 2018). In 2018, two major legislations concerning children's health were passed, namely the Republic Act No. 11148 or the *Kalusugan at Nutrisyon ng Mag-Nanay Act* (Health and Nutrition of Mother and Child Act), and the Republic Act No. 11037 or the *Masustansyang Pagkain para sa Batang Pilipino Act* (Nutritious Food for the Filipino Child Act) (translation supplied). The RA No. 11148's main purpose is to establish a framework that would help resolve malnutrition, starvation, and other health-related issues among children who are at early stages of their development.

Meanwhile, the RA No. 11037 is meant to address hunger as well as undernutrition among students in government-funded day care facilities, kindergarten, and primary schools by launching a countrywide feeding program.

To safeguard children during emergencies, the national agency on social welfare warrants the availability of child and women-friendly spaces as per the Republic Act No. 10821 (Children's Emergency Relief and Protection Act) which was approved in 2016. Such spaces or facilities would assist children and women through "psychosocial counselling, games, educational activities, art therapy sessions, and supplementary feeding, among others" (DSWD, 2018, p. 1).

During the first quarter of 2019, key legislations that could potentially benefit the child sector were passed. Foremost of these is the Universal Health Care Law (RA 11223) which seeks to "automatically enrol every Filipino in the National Health Insurance Program" (Ranada, 2019b, p. 1). The Simulated Birth Rectification Act (RA 11222) was approved to expedite the adoption procedures and grant amnesty to those who committed birth simulation (Romero, 2019b). The RA 11201 created the Department of Housing and Urban Development to "ensure Filipinos have access to affordable housing" (Ranada, 2019a, p. 1). However, President Duterte vetoed a proposed legislative measure that bans corporal punishment as a method of discipline. He explained that it would interfere with the families' privacy. Although the President is opposed to physical abuse of children, he is inclined to agree with punishing children on a "restrained manner" because this method, according to him, made it possible for parents to raise children who respect and follow the law. He based this opinion on what he had observed from the earlier generation of Filipinos (Romero, 2019a, p. 1).

There are also pending Senate and House Bills which are predicted to benefit the child sector, if approved and enacted. Some of them have versions from both the lower and upper houses already, such as the House Bill (HB) 00781 and the Senate Bill (SB)

1657 (An Act Requiring All Government and Private Hospitals, Medical Centers, Clinics, Infirmaries, and Other Health Centers to Extend Free Medical and Dental Assistance to Indigent Children); and the HB 06938 and the SB 1971 (An Act Providing for the Special Protection of Child Passengers in Motor Vehicles).

Other bills are still awaiting concurrence either from the lower house (House of Representatives) or the upper house (Senate) of the Philippine Congress (a bicameral body). A few of these are: HB 01572 (An Act Requiring a Report Regarding the Effects Environmental Factors Have on Women and Children's Health); HB 00173 and HB 01163 (An Act Recognizing and Strengthening Alternative Care of Children, Providing Incentives to Agencies Providing the Same); HB 00373 (An Act Amending Title VI of E.O. 209 as Amended, Otherwise Known as the Family Code by Removing and/or Erasing Classification Between Legitimate, Illegitimate and Legitimated (Filiation of) Children, and for Other Purposes); SB 1519 (An Act Providing Internet Safety and Protection for Children); SB 1499 (Online Child Safety Act); and SB 2022 (Philippine Commission on Children Act of 2018).

Among the pending bills that concern the child sector, the HB 8858 is one of the most controversial. It proposes to lower the age of criminal liability from 15 to 12 years old, particularly for offences such as "kidnapping, murder, parricide, infanticide, and serious illegal detention" (Castro, 2019, p. 1). If found guilty, the children would be detained for at least 12 years. Child rights advocates protested this measure, and cited the "findings of neuroscience research and psychological annotation which say that a person reaches full emotional, mental, and intellectual maturity only at the age of 25" (Castro, 2019, p. 1).

Nonetheless, in the Philippines, the implementation of legal measures that would help promote children's rights has been deficient, and has "remained largely 'on paper'" (Coram International, 2018, p. 365). Although children's rights are reflected in the 1987

Philippine Constitution, and there are legal measures which correspond to the UNCRC, the country has no single all-encompassing law to cover every article of the Convention (CRIN, 2011), unlike Nepal, for example. To address the shortcomings of an earlier legislation to cover broad issues on children's rights in Nepal (Samiti, 2018), the Nepal government passed a new legislation entitled "Act Relating to Children 2018" which contains provisions regarding children's survival, developmental, protection, and participation rights, as well as provisions to guide the governmental agencies' implementation of child rights. In the Philippines, the absence of a comprehensive law that covers all aspects of children's rights hindered the addressing of child rights' issues that involve different factors, and led to the unsynchronised and untargeted efforts of governmental agencies (Coram International, 2018).

The passage of the LGC of 1991 also negatively impacted on the promotion of child rights. The reason for this is that the criteria used for revenue distribution were land area and size of populace, instead of "levels of poverty and deprivation of services" (Coram International, 2018, p. 367).

Children remain at the margins of the Philippine Government's programs, and in Philippine society, in general. They are not being given enough voice on matters affecting the child sector. Some of the available literature on the state of the child sector in the Philippines (Coram International, 2018; Ortega & Klauth, 2017; Plan Philippines, 2009; Protacio-Marcelino et al., 2000; PST CRRC, 2017; PST CRRC et al., 2008; UP Manila et al., 2016) revealed various factors which hampered the promotion of the Filipino children's dignity. These factors include poverty, economic inequality, high population growth, poorly equipped and undermanned public facilities, social prejudice, and governmental agencies' administrative inefficiencies in implementing laws and maximising resources for children. Such studies also exemplify that utilising the UNCRC as framework is indeed valuable in learning about the state of Filipino

children's dignity. However, inherent in this approach is the pressure to comply with a set of standards that did not necessarily consider the children's perspectives on how to promote children's dignity.

Hence, there is a gap in understanding how children perceive their dignity and how their dignity can be promoted. This thesis seeks to address this gap by positioning dangal-kapwa at the centre of this study's theoretical framework.

The next sections of this chapter detail the theoretical underpinnings which support the application of dangal-kapwa as lens in this study. Initially, there is a discussion of the two opposing paradigms on children and childhood, as well as the positioning of this thesis on the said debate. Then, I discuss sikolohiyang Pilipino as an indigenous Filipino perspective, and provide an in-depth explanation of the Filipino concepts of dangal and kapwa. The chapter ends with an examination of the relation between dangal and children's rights.

3.4   Dominant vs Emergent Paradigms

The concepts of children and childhood can be understood using dominant and emergent paradigms.

The dominant paradigm sees childhood as "biological, naturalistic and universal" (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004, p. 34). It asserts that there is a single model of childhood that is experienced by all children (Salvador, 2013), regardless of their environment and socio-cultural background (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004). Childhood is generic to all children and is characterised by vulnerability and ignorance (Lansdown, 2005).

Under the dominant paradigm, children are expected to be obedient to their parents. The parents are considered superior to the children and hence, can exercise control and make decisions on concerns involving their children (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004). Adults perceive children as weak and naïve as their physical capacity and

social boundaries are gauged according to their age (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004; Salvador, 2013). Adults believe that it is pointless to consult children since they lack the capability to fully comprehend the problems in their environment, and therefore have little choice but to rely on adults for guidance and safety (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004; Salvador, 2013). Children are then driven towards the periphery of a society that is led and controlled by the adults (Salvador, 2013).

On the other hand, the emergent paradigm is aligned with the cultural theories which assert that childhood is a product of the children's interaction with their environment (Lansdown, 2005). Hence, childhood is socially constructed. It is dependent on a particular time and space, as well as on the prevailing social, cultural, economic, and institutional factors (Jenks, 2005). In other words, there is no universal childhood as childhood varies depending on the circumstances available in a specific context. Also, children's marginalisation is a result of "adult ignorance of children's competences and maturity in matters that concern them" (Christensen & James, 2017, p. 5). Thus, looking at childhood as mere changes in the children's biological attributes is failing to see childhood's complexity (Jenks, 2005).

There are different theoretical models that are associated with the emergent paradigm. James and Prout (1997) pointed out that "childhood is both constructed and reconstructed both for children and by children" (p. 7). Childhood is shaped by the interaction between children and the different environmental factors within a society. It is a part of the social structure and culture, and is not inherent nor uniform among people (James & Prout, 1997).

According to Super and Harkness (1986 & 1994, as cited in Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004), the development niche model and the ecological systems approach by Urie Bronfenbrenner demonstrate the role of the environment in how humans develop. Bronfenbrenner (1994) argued that an appreciation of the complete environmental

structure and its sub-components where change takes place is required if we wish to comprehend how human beings develop. The five informally arranged sub-components which promote and facilitate human development are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. Microsystem refers to the child's family and nearest environment or the level where the child's skills and knowledges are initially formed. The interface among the child's different microsystems comprises the mesosystems; while the exosystem is made up of the child's various microsystems and mesosystems. Macrosystem pertains to the larger environment that is influenced by the prevailing culture, philosophies, and socio-economic conditions. Chronosystem is the level that is characterised by an extended period of past events which affect the social institutions and practices in the other systems. The child's microsystem is affected by the occurrences in the mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

The development niche model claims that children may not mature in the same way even if they thrive in identical surroundings. Each child has their own "cultural world" which is solely focused on them, and which might be unlike others' cultural worlds. This world is comprised of the environment where they are regularly exposed, the norms with regard to parenting, and the carer's attitudes or the parents' attributes (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004).

Another model which also takes into account the important role of environmental factors in human development is the rights-based approach. This approach challenges the imbalances in authority and control within a society that result in people being poor and becoming victims of corruption. It is an approach that supports progress which is characterised by fairness, liberty, and uprightness. To attain its goals, "a rights-based approach makes use of the standards, principles and methods of human rights, social activism and of development" (Theis, 2004, p. 2).

The dominant paradigm on children and childhood is prevalent in Philippine laws although there are hints that the ideas embodied in the emergent paradigm has started to take shape in Philippine legislations (Salvador, 2013). This contradiction illustrates how children are viewed in the Filipino society as well as the tension between the influence of colonisation and the Filipinos' indigenous values and beliefs (Salvador, 2013). The centuries of Spanish and American occupation of the Philippines led to "Western understandings of children and childhood rooted in the dominant discourse" (Salvador, 2013, p. 271). To illustrate, "the Family Code speaks exclusively of the parental right and duty over children within the family, engagements of children within the family are understood as a translation of the rights, duties and obligations of parents towards their children" (Salvador, 2013, p. 286). Nevertheless, the Filipinos' indigenous notion of pakikipagkapwa or "relational interdependency" (Salvador, 2013, p. 272) was a key factor in the Philippine legal system's move towards the emergent paradigm. This is exemplified by the approval of the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act of 2006 which made compulsory children's participation in the design and execution of legal initiatives concerning the youth sector (Salvador, 2013).

This study aligns with the emergent paradigm on childhood research. It challenges the dominant paradigm of children and childhood, and at the same time looks into the environmental factors which hinder the promotion of the biracial children's dignity.

3.5   Indigenous Standpoint: Sikolohiyang Pilipino and the Filipina Worldview

3.5.1   A Brief Overview of Sikolohiyang Pilipino

Sikolohiyang Pilipino (SP) is the "movement" that was initiated and led by Virgilio Enriquez during the first part of the 1970s (Pe-Pua, 2006, p. 110) due to the felt need to understand Filipino thinking and behaviour through the Filipino viewpoint (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Considering that SP was founded by Enriquez, and that he is the main author in this field, this thesis relies heavily on his works.

Having SP as epistemology is to create meaning based on Philippine cultural context. As explained by Enriquez (1992), "Sikolohiyang Pilipino is the embodiment of the systematic and scientific study, appreciation and application of indigenous knowledge for, of and by the Filipinos" (p. 32). In other words, it was based on the Filipinos' way of living and emerged from research by Filipinos for Filipinos.

SP has three key areas of protest. First and foremost, it is a liberated psychology which contradicts the psychology that bolsters the impact of colonialism among Filipinos and their culture. SP also objects to the application in Philippine context of theories and models that are based on conditions that are characteristic of Western nations. It criticises the utilisation of "an elite-oriented psychology" to take advantage of the common people or those in the lower social and economic class (Enriquez, 1992, p. 26).

According to San Buenaventura (as cited in Enriquez, 1992), SP's objectives were "*pagsasakatutubo* (indigenization), *pagka-agham* (science), and *pagka-Pilipino* (appropriateness to the Filipino/Filipino identity)" [italics added] (p. 113). These were parallel with the claim by Rood (1985, as cited in Enriquez, 1992) that SP's tasks include "the development of indigenous psychological concepts, the utilization of indigenous research methods, and the creation of a more authentic and appropriate social scientific psychology" (p. 91–92).

At one end, SP was criticised for its unwarranted linkage to the Philippine custom as well as to the supposed outdated belief system of Filipino indigenous groups. At the other end, SP was labelled as "radical" as it questioned the validity of mainstream psychology (Enriquez, 1992, p. 26). Nevertheless, those two claims were imprecise as SP's aim was merely "to put things in their proper perspective and check the imbalance resulting from extreme reliance on Western models as basis for analyzing Philippine realities" (p. 26). Furthermore, although the use of Western theories has resulted in an

erroneous and biased image of the Filipino people, SP is "not anti-Western" but rather opposes the indiscriminate application of foreign theories and paradigms on studies about the Filipinos (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p. 54).

SP acknowledges that an investigation must be conducted in a manner that is rigorous and systematic. However, SP also argues that of greater importance is for this process to have a positive social contribution as SP "aims to use science to enhance, not to dehumanize, man" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 27). As an approach, SP invites "social action" – a researcher is expected to spend time with community members, gain knowledge from them, and afterwards, apply such knowledge to assist the community (p. 26).

SP values the level of awareness that is shared by community members from a particular culture. SP prioritises "*kamalayan* (psyche), which can be shared by an entire nation, giving only subsidiary importance to *ulirat* (lower level of individual, physical consciousness)" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 28).

Even though SP started from the field of psychology, it is not exclusive to psychology. As noted by Pe-Pua (1990), SP's goal is "universal knowledge" and the field itself developed through many of the ideas which originated from different disciplines (p. 232). Hence, the application of SP's concepts and methods is not limited to research in psychology; they can be used in other branches of the social science. With regard to this thesis, SP is being applied in research within the field of public policy.

Crucial to the course of indigenization is the "source and direction of culture flow" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 85). In the process called indigenization from within, theories are based on indigenous Filipino concepts, while indigenization from without involves theories that are foreign and thereby adjusted to adopt to the Filipino culture. In other words, indigenization from within employs the "culture-as-source" approach while the indigenization from without follows the "culture-as-target" approach. The indigenous

standpoint inherent in SP asserts the viewpoint from within. In this study, the point of view of biracial children, their parents, and other stakeholders were sought and became the basis for theory development.

The move towards an indigenous way of knowing is not unique to the Philippines as it is being used in Asia and other countries as well. "Indigenous psychologies represent attempts by researchers in many countries to develop psychologies that are rooted in their own culture's understanding of human behaviour" (Allwood & Berry, 2006, p. 262). Thus, indigenisation coincides with the emergent paradigm of childhood as both are dependent on prevailing cultural context.

Indigenous scholars from different cultures claimed that American and European models fell short as tools in "solving local social problems" as they barely reflect the cultural realities of non-Western environments (Allwood & Berry, 2006, p. 263). Indigenous psychologies are a "reaction to Western imported knowledge" (Pe-Pua, 2015, p. 790), "biases" (Sevilla, 1990, p. 267), and "assault" against the non-Western people's beliefs and practices (Chilisa, 2012, p. 13). Under the indigenous approach, the process of theory formulation is participative and in accordance with the circumstances that are present in a particular context (Allwood & Berry, 2006). In the case of SP, Enriquez (1992) claimed that it gave due consideration to the "peculiarities and distinct values and characteristics of the Filipino which the Western models invariably fail to explain or consider" (p. 32). Pe-Pua (2006, p. 128) also argues that an approach can be indigenous and therefore suitable and pertinent to a particular group, but does not necessarily make it "unique" to them.

Countries vary in their experiences with the process of indigenization. For example, Nikora, Levy, Masters, and Waitoki (in Allwood & Berry, 2006) clarified that the word "I/indigenous" can either pertain to indigenous communities or to "all peoples residing in a society" (p. 254). While "residents in a society" is applicable to countries

like the Philippines, India, and Taiwan, "first peoples" or "Indigenous communities" is more relevant to Australia, Canada as well as New Zealand where "the colonization process is ongoing as the Indigenous people continue to live side by side with their colonizers" (Pe-Pua, 2015, p. 790).

SP's theoretical foundations can be traced back to empiricism, the works of Ricardo Pascual, academic-scientific psychology, and logical analysis of language. It was also influenced by rationalism, Thomism, the clerical tradition, phenomenology as well as the writings of nationalists such as Emilio Jacinto, Apolinario Mabini, Marcelo del Pilar, and members of the propaganda movement. Ethnic psychology and the works of liberalists also had an impact on the philosophical underpinnings of SP (Enriquez, 1992). However, at the core of this indigenous standpoint is the "feminist" Filipina worldview since predominant to SP is the perspective of the babaylan (ancient priestesses). As explained by De Guia (2010), "*Sikolohiyang Pilipino* is a psychology of, about and for the Filipino people. As such, it would be the psychology of the *babaylan*" (p. 87).

3.5.2   *The Significance of the Filipina Worldview*

Enriquez (1997) argued that "*Sikolohiyang Pilipino* supports an indigenous feminist perspective rooted in the indigenous intellectual tradition and culture. It draws from the intellectual and cultural tradition handed down from the babaylan who are, after all, female" (p. 52). To clarify though, Salazar (1996) explained that although females constituted the majority of the babaylans during the pre-Spanish period, there were likewise male babaylans, but they were likely to be "effeminate or blatantly homosexual" (p. 220).

According to Salazar (1996), the babaylan "was the central personality in ancient Philippine society in the fields of culture, religion and medicine and all kinds of theoretical knowledge about the phenomenon of nature" (p. 213). Mendoza and Strobel

(2015) added that, aside from being the head of spiritual and religious practices, the babaylans likewise became forerunners of the revolution against the Spanish colonisers.

Considering the babaylan's influence on SP, this research was inspired by Ong (2015) who noted the similarities between SP and feminist psychology. She explained that both uphold that "research is political; that language is a bearer and producer of culture and ideologies; that context and culture are crucial to understanding individuals; and that the power gap between researchers and participants must be addressed" (p. 46). She stated that the two approaches are both aware of the power struggle in the conduct of scientific investigations, and disapprove efforts which aim to utilise research as a tool to marginalise certain sectors. Echoing Enriquez, Ong cautioned us about deciding which language to use during research, and argued that language is a powerful mechanism that can either support or thwart the decolonisation efforts. She added that SP and feminist psychology mutually value the influence of environmental conditions on, as well as the necessity of, addressing the implicit power imbalance among those involved in the study.

3.6   Dangal and Kapwa as Ontological Position/Lens

Ontology is defined as a way of looking at reality. This reality can be seen through "the ontology continuum" (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 26) or a spectrum of lenses which researchers could choose to use, depending on the appropriateness to their study. In this thesis, dangal and kapwa were employed as ontological position or lens.

Kapwa is about "recognition of shared identity" (Enriquez, 1978, p. 103). "The *ako* (ego) and the *iba-sa-akin* (others) are one and the same in kapwa psychology: *Hindi ako iba sa aking kapwa* (I am no different from others)" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 43). Kapwa is a tie that binds individuals' personal domains including those who they barely know. This is because the notion of kapwa is not restricted to one's family and friends, but is an umbrella term that includes each and every human being regardless of status or

background (De Guia, 2018). A Filipino who ceases to be a kapwa refuses to treat others as kapwa, as well as to be treated as kapwa (Enriquez, 1992). Hence, equating kapwa to the English word "others" is a mistake. While kapwa refers to the oneness of the "'self' and 'others'," the English term "others" implies that the two are distinct entities (Enriquez, 1992). Kapwa is probably best understand as "fellow human being," where the self is attached to the other.

Kapwa is a feminist concept. Strobel (2010) cited De Guia (2005) who made a clear depiction of the ancient priestess' worldview when she claimed that the babaylan was socially acknowledged as the "embodiment of the power of kapwa" (p. 16). Daly (2015) claimed that the "antithesis of patriarchy's worldview is the Filipino consciousness of *pakikipagkapwa*" (p. 282). Kapwa "seeks fairness in the social order, equilibrium in communities with shared resources and strengths, and a generally balanced co-existence of humans with nature" (De Guia, 2018, p. 311).

Kapwa "regards all human beings as co-equals" regardless of gender, age, amount of wealth, and level of education (De Guia, 2010, p. 69). Hence, the marginalised groups including, though not limited to, children, women, and the poor, ought to be treated as kapwa.

However, kapwa is not limited to equality. As explained by De Guia (2010), the babaylan has "kapwa-centered personhood" whose way of life is characterised by "sharing and giving" (p. 96). In other words, there is mutuality or interdependence. Therefore, the Filipina perspective from the worldview of the babaylan is not just about being equal but also about being connected.

My research study follows Salvador's (2013) argument that with the application of kapwa, the emergent paradigm does not "introduce 'new' understandings of children and childhood in the Philippines but rather becomes an expression of deeply held indigenous relational values" (Salvador, 2013, p. 281).

Like kapwa, dangal (dignity) is also about equality among human beings that is reflective of the babaylan's worldview. According to Gripaldo (2001, as cited in Tabbada, 2005), as early as the time when the Filipinos revolted against the Spanish colonisers, dangal was already present in the writings of the Filipino revolutionist, Emilio Jacinto, who, through his writing entitled *Liwanag at Dilim* (Light and Darkness), argued that dangal is "founded on the equality of all humans in their humanity" (p. 44).

Dangal and kapwa are interrelated. Filipinos see dangal in every human being so they ought to treat them as kapwa. They see dangal within themselves, hence, they expect to be regarded as kapwa. It is dangal that makes humans different from other creatures, and is the reason that, although other creations are respected, only fellow human beings are considered as kapwa. Such is resonated in Javier's (2012) definition of pakikipagkapwa as "*pagkilala sa tao bilang kapwa o kawangis sa dangal ng pagiging tao*" [recognising a person as kapwa or someone who has the same dignity as a human being] (p. 19, translation supplied).

With this overview of kapwa and dangal, I shall now discuss the two concepts in more detail.

3.6.1   *The Kapwa Theory*

As a theoretical concept, kapwa seeks to explain how Filipinos behave socially. In other words, how they "*makipagkapwa(-tao)*" (Clemente et al., 2008, p. 2) or treat others as kapwa, and get treated as kapwa. Starting as a single concept, Clemente et al. later referred to its development as "kapwa theory" or "kapwa model."

Kapwa occupies centre stage in Enriquez's (1992) Filipino Behavioral Patterns and Value Structure (see Table 3.1) that he constructed using the SP framework, i.e. understanding the Filipinos from within.

Table 3.1   Kapwa Model's Value Structure

Behavior Patterns and Value Structure: Surface, Core and Societal			
Colonial/Accommodative Surface Value	*hiya* (propriety/ dignity)	*utang na loob* (gratitude/ solidarity)	*pakikisama* (companion-ship/esteem)
Confrontative Surface Value	*bahala na* (determination)	*sama/lakas ng loob* (resent-ment/guts)	*pakikibaka* (resistance)
Pivotal Interpersonal Value	*Pakiramdam (pakikipagkapwa-tao)* (shared inner perception)		
CORE VALUE	***KAPWA (Pagkatao)*** (shared identity)		
Linking Socio-Personal Values	*Kagandahang-loob (Pagkamakatao)* (shared humanity)		
Associated Societal values	*Karangalan* (dignity)	*katarungan* (justice)	*kalayaan* (freedom)

Source: Enriquez, 1992, p. 75[8]

This value structure can be appreciated by looking at the different levels of values. The pivotal interpersonal value is *pakiramdam* (*pakikipagkapwa-tao*) (shared inner perception). *Kapwa* (*Pagkatao*) (shared identity) is the core value since the rest of the values originate from it. The linking socio-personal value is *kagandahang-loob (pagkamakatao)* (shared humanity), while the associated societal values are *karangalan* (dignity), *katarungan* (justice), and *kalayaan* (freedom) (Enriquez, 1992). As a pivotal value, pakikipagkapwa is a prerequisite to the observance of the mentioned societal values.

The accommodative surface values include *hiya* (propriety/dignity), *utang na loob* (gratitude/solidarity), and *pakikisama* (companionship/esteem). The confrontative surface values include *bahala na* (determination), *sama/lakas ng loob* (resentment/guts), and *pakikibaka* (resistance) (Enriquez, 1992). Enriquez used the term 'accommodative' to refer to values that "would lead foreigners to assume that Filipinos are other-oriented" (Yacat, 2013, p. 3) or "submissive" (Enriquez, 1990 as cited in Yacat, 2013, p. 3). On the other hand, Enriquez utilised the word 'confrontative' to categorise values that are highly regarded by Filipinos especially "when situations call for asserting one's individual rights" (Yacat, 2013, p. 3).

---

[8] Re-produced with permission from the author-representative.

Enriquez (1992) claimed that earlier studies failed to gain an in-depth understanding of "the Filipino psyche" which is why he used the terms *surface* and *core* in categorising the Filipino values, and noted that the "colonial accommodative or confrontative [surface] values were confused for core values" (Aguila, 2014, p. 66–67). Surface values are easily noticed since they are Filipinos' "readily apparent attributes" although they emanate from kapwa (Enriquez, 1992, p. 60). To facilitate a more precise interpretation of the Filipinos, Enriquez highlighted the societal values which mirror the collectivist Philippine culture (Aguila, 2014).

To capture the Filipino essence and to better understand the dynamics involved in pakikipagkapwa, it is necessary to be skilled in pakikiramdam or shared inner perception (a pivotal value) and knowledgeable of the different levels of interaction that are exhibited by Filipinos.

Filipinos typically communicate using "non-verbal cues and paralinguistic codes" which is likened to the Filipino concept of *pahiwatig* or the "sending of feelers" (Aguila, 2014, p. 67). They assume that others, especially those who observe pakikipagkapwa, will be able to decipher their message through pakikiramdam (Aguila, 2014).

Expounding the concept of kapwa, Enriquez introduced the classifications *ibang-tao* (outsider) and *hindi ibang-tao* (one of us) wherein the difference is based on the nature of pakikipagkapwa that is observed during interactions (Aguila, 2014). Under these two major classifications, he provided a list of "expected and acceptable behavior," as prescribed by the Filipino culture (p. 67).

Accordingly, there are eight levels of social interaction among Filipinos. Included in the ibang-tao category are: *pakikitungo* (levels of amenities/civility), *pakikisalamuha* (level of "mixing"), *pakikilahok* (level of joining/participating), *pakikibagay* (level of conforming), and *pakikisama* (level of adjusting). Under the hindi ibang-tao category

are: *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (level of mutual trust/rapport), *pakikisangkot* (level of getting involved), and *pakikiisa* (level of fusion, oneness, and full trust). These levels of interaction all fall under the umbrella of pakikipagkapwa (Enriquez, 1992, pp. 39–41) that is not just a type of interaction but also conveys "an idea, value, or conviction which Filipinos consider most important" (p. 43). Santiago and Enriquez (1976) advised researchers to attempt to reach at least the level of pakikipagpalagayang-loob with their participants so they can be assured of obtaining reliable data. After all, the pakikipagkapwa that transpires between the two parties determines somehow the quality of the data gathered.

Clemente and his colleagues (2008) eventually referred to Table 3.1 as "Kapwa model's value structure (adapted from Enriquez 2007a)" (p. 3). They also used "kapwa theory" almost interchangeably with kapwa model. (For the purpose of this thesis, I will use "kapwa theory" to refer to the value structure, and to the other elements of kapwa, such as the levels of social interaction, pakikiramdam, and so on.)

The kapwa theory had its share of criticisms. According to Clemente et al. (2008), Enriquez was unable to provide a detailed explanation of the values that comprised the table. Sta. Maria emphasised the "lack of clear basis for the choice of concepts that eventually represented the Filipino values" (p. 4). Church and Katigbak noted that the relationships of the values were "largely conceptual rather than empirical," thus echoing the criticisms of other scholars regarding the limited empirical backing of the kapwa theory itself (p. 5).

With the goal of obtaining empirical evidence for the kapwa theory, Clemente et al. (2008) conducted a two-part research on Filipino values. The first part validated the 12 values, and was participated in by 136 tertiary students. They were asked to answer a questionnaire and the collected data were analysed using statistical methods such as frequency count, means, and ANOVA. The second part focused on determining the

pattern that connects such values, and involved 47 tertiary students who were asked to come up with an illustration of probable association among the values. The data analysis was done using multidimensional scaling (MDS) (Clemente et al., 2008).

Clemente et al.'s (2008) research showed that there was no core Filipino value from which the other values emanate, unlike in Enriquez's original formulation. However, the number of values in the kapwa theory increased from 12 to 13. With 20% of the respondents used as the cut-off value, the first part of the investigation revealed that the value bahala na (determination) had to be excluded since 76.5% of the respondents answered that it was unimportant. The limited significance that bahala na received from the respondents was possibly due to "extreme variations in the definition of this term" (p. 14). Meanwhile, after clustering the values which the respondents identified as important but were not in the kapwa theory, the values *maka-Diyos* (godly) and *paggalang* (respect) exceeded the cut-off value which prompted their inclusion in the reformulated kapwa theory (Clemente et al., 2008, translation mine).

According to Clemente et al. (2008), maka-Diyos may have been excluded in the initial kapwa theory due to the influence of Marxism, as a way of denouncing the colonial Catholic Church, and the emphasis given to "human level" interactions. Meanwhile, the value of paggalang may have been likened to "being submissive" which is inconsistent with the kapwa theory being a platform for an anti-colonialist advocacy. Hence, it was perhaps excluded from the list of values or incorporated with comparable values (Clemente et al., 2008).

In the second part of the investigation, the findings were near estimates of how Enriquez grouped the values in the original kapwa theory. Following the results of their study, Clemente et al. (2008) modified the said theory by adding two dimensions, namely, the *Sarili-Lipunan* (Self-Society) dimension and the Ibang tao–Hindi Ibang-Tao dimension. While the second dimension is similar to Enriquez's earlier idea, the

first dimension was a new concept. The Sarili dimension is comprised of values that are relevant to one person and does not require dealings with another person. The Lipunan dimension is made up of values that are crucial in determining actions which are pertinent to a large group of people. In between Sarili and Lipunan, the values associated with *Grupo* (Group) are applicable whenever a person deals with a small group of people such as their relatives and networks (Clemente et al., 2008).

Figure 3.1   Reformulated Value System of the Filipino Adolescent[9]

	grupo	lipunan
sarili		
Hindi ibang-tao	Kagandahang-loob	Karangalan
	Paggalang	
	Hiya	Kalayaan
	Maka-Diyos	
	Utang na loob	Lakas ng loob
	Pakikisama	Katarungan
Ibang tao	Pakikipagkapwa	Pakikibaka
	Pakikiramdam	
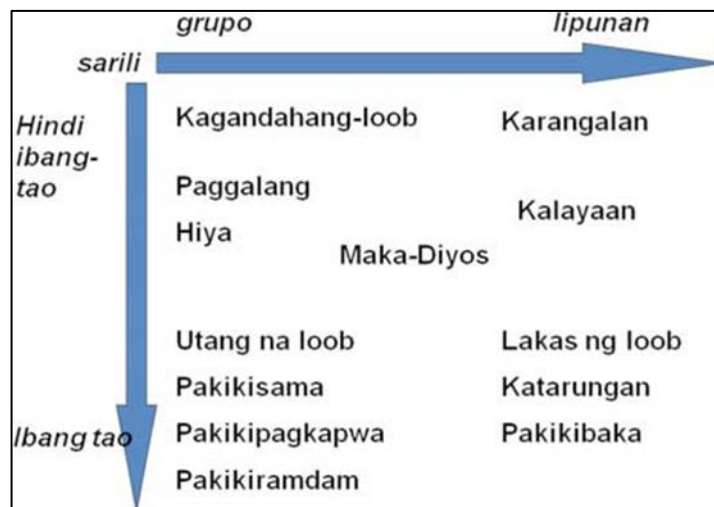
Note: From Clemente et al., 2008, p. 25). English translation of terms: *Sarili* (Self), *Grupo* (Group), *Lipunan* (Society), *Hindi ibang-tao* (One of us), *Ibang tao* (Outsider), *Kagandahang-loob* (Shared humanity), *Karangalan* (Dignity), *Paggalang* (Respect), *Hiya* (Propriety/Dignity), *Maka-Diyos* (Godly), *Kalayaan* (Freedom), *Utang na loob* (Gratitude/ Solidarity), *Pakikisama* (Companionship/ Esteem), *Pakikipagkapwa* (Treating others as fellow human being), *Pakikiramdam* (Shared inner perception), *Lakas ng loob* (Guts), *Katarungan* (Justice), *Pakikibaka* (Resistance)

Figure 3.1 seems to suggest that kapwa is not as important a value as Enriquez theorised, at least not in the view of the Filipino adolescents in Clemente et al.'s (2008) study. In reality, this diagram is a reformulation of the Enriquez's (1992) kapwa theory. Dangal (reflected as "karangalan") features clearly in the kapwa theory, be it the original or the reformulated version.

---

[9] Re-produced with permission from the author and the publisher.

3.6.2   The Dangal Framework

The kapwa theory identifies karangalan (dignity) as one of the Filipino societal values that "constitute the socio-political elements and foundation of the Philippine value system," together with kalayaan (freedom) and katarungan (social justice) (Enriquez, 1992, p. 77). This section provides a more detailed explanation of dangal as a concept as well as its manifestations, significance, and composition. There is also a discussion of how dangal is promoted and violated.

A note for the non-Filipino/non-Tagalog speakers: *Dangal* is the root word of the word *karangalan*. The affixes "*ka-an*" indicates "the state of". Thus, "*ka-dangal-an*" means the state of (having/possessing) dignity. Thus, dangal and karangalan practically mean the same thing – dignity. They are normally used interchangeably. (R. Pe-Pua, personal communication, April 14, 2019)

Understanding Dangal. Although dignity is the nearest English translation for the Filipino/Tagalog notion of karangalan, dignity represents just a single dimension of the term. Karangalan has internal and external dimensions embodied by dangal and *puri*. Puri comprises the external dimension, and is exhibited through the giving of approval or commendation, i.e. someone granting dignity to someone (Enriquez, 1992). For example, *papuri* means compliment or praise. It may come in the form of an an applause, verbal compliments, or even an award, for example. Puri also refers to "purity" or "virginity", i.e. having no sexual contact with another person (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Meanwhile, dangal constitutes the internal dimension (Enriquez, 1992) or "honor from within" that is usually intangible, such as a person's triumph, accomplishments, morale, and personal view of their dignity. Therefore, you do not need someone else to grant it to you because you just possess it. Hence, rape victims' puri might have been taken away but not necessarily their dangal (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p. 57). According to Salazar, such "internality-externality

component" of the Filipino personality, as illustrated by dangal and puri, may not be exclusive to the Filipinos but it is crucial to be aware of this in order to correctly interpret how they think and act (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p. 57). There are many other examples of the duality, i.e. internal-external, of Filipino concepts.

Enriquez (1992) described dangal as "the intrinsic quality of a person or sector that allows him/them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life" (p. 46). Dangal gives ordinary Filipinos the power within themselves to deal with the influential members of society self-assuredly and steadfastly (Enriquez, 1992). This self-confidence is a manifestation of a person's perception about the amount of dangal that they have.

Dangal is the "basic humanity" (Tabbada, 2005, p. 44) which, based on the writings of a Filipino hero of the revolution, Emilio Jacinto, can be maintained if a person is treated like a human being. Dangal may be defaced (such as with the physical aspect, as in the case of rape), but it may not be lost entirely as it is integral in each human being. To be treated like a human being is to be given the liberty to reason and act freely, as long as this does not interfere with the same liberty of fellow human beings. Moreover, Jacinto's concept of basic humanity is that which is deeply rooted in each human being and, as such, has to be protected from all types of oppression either through diplomacy or force.

Manifestations of Dangal. Dangal can be manifested in several ways. Tabbada (2005) noted that dangal, when stained, can be exhibited through being irate, vindictive, and regretful. Also, embarrassment or "*hiya* is understood as a manifestation of dangal" (p. 48) since "the reason for feeling ashamed is primarily the diminishing of one's honor, either externally as caused by another person, or internally if caused by one's own doing" (p. 22). On the other hand, I argue that when dangal is nurtured, it manifests

in happiness, an increase in a person's self-esteem, or the betterment of a group's
reputation.

Significance of Dangal. Filipinos give importance to protecting their dangal.
Enriquez (1992) argued that Filipinos who would risk their dangal for a certain cause
are likewise risking their personhood or pagkatao, thus, they would exert all possible
means to succeed. Palmer and Brown (1998), who did a study on the language of
emotion among Tagalog speakers in Las Vegas, Nevada, noted that a tainted dangal can
trigger a person to take their own life, or to seek retribution. Moreover, on his research
about urban slum dwellers in the Philippines, Kusaka (2017) found that the vilest
dishonour that provoked resentment in the indigents was when those in positions of
power regarded them as "'beast' (*hayop*)" instead of fellow human beings. He added
that "the insult 'You're a beast' (*hayop ka*) serves as a forceful expression of objection
to someone who denies the dignity of another" (p. 275).

Enriquez (2012) asserted that dangal is crucial as it defines a person or a group's
ranking, as well as the extent of their belongingness in a particular society. Protecting
dangal could also entail adhering to cultural expectations that a person or group may or
may not necessarily approve. For example, some mature women may not agree with the
cultural belief that Filipino women ought to get married and form a family. However,
the social pressure to protect their reputation and the fear of being teased as "*matandang
dalaga*" (old maid) motivate them to try to seek a partner for marriage.

In addition, restoring dangal is of such major significance that it could impel
people to revolt. As claimed by Tabbada (2005), the Spanish colonisers treated the
Filipinos like animals. The Filipinos were even literally portrayed as "monkeys" by
American author Palmer Cox in his work *Brownies in the Philippines* which was
released in 1904 when the US was setting up its imperialist government in the colony

(Delmendo, 2004, p. 73). Thus, as their dangal was undermined, the Filipinos fought to regain their honor (Tabbada, 2005).

Composition of Dangal. Tabbada (2005) explained that dangal can either be present or in abundance. In other words, dangal is innately possessed by each human being and you can even have a lot of it. Dangal can be enriched but never completely diminished as it is inherent in every person. Human beings vary in their capabilities and resources, but all are equal in their "intrinsic" dignity.

Furthermore, Tabbada (2005) argued that dangal is comprised of "an aggregate of essences that ought to be respected in a person" (p. 48). He quoted Enriquez (1992) who explained "dangal as a person's 'self-dignity – the worth of a person as appreciated by the person himself" (p. 48). This reveals the subjective nature of dangal whereby how individuals see themselves affects how much dangal they have. These essences, as well as the individuals' appreciation of themselves, are also influenced by culture and traditions, which may or may not be aligned with international conventions.

Promoting Dangal. Dangal can be maintained through being considerate, supportive, affectionate, empathetic, and tolerant (Tabbada, 2005), in other words, through pakikipagkapwa or treating others as kapwa.

The significance of pakikipagkapwa in promoting children's dangal is evident in some works which looked into children's understanding of dignity. The studies of Jamalimoghadam et al. (2017) and Noghabi et al. (2018) revealed that dignity is about treating children with respect, safeguarding their privacy, and interacting with the children and their families. Both studies, which were conducted in Iran, used qualitative content analysis and unstructured interviews. The Jamalimoghadam et al. study included 13 adolescents, while the Noghabi et al. study involved 12 school-aged children and eight parents.

A study by Narayan, Hooker, Jarrett, and Bennett (2013), which employed grounded theory, found that ensuring their privacy was crucial to the dignity of hospitalised adolescents. Polonko and Lombardo's (2005) research, which involved at least 200 university students who were asked about their childhood, claimed that "dignity is inherent in all beings" (p. 25), and that giving children accolades and encouragement was one way to promote their dignity. The results of these studies confirm Enriquez's (1978) assertion that pakikipagkapwa promotes "the dignity and being of others" (p. 106).

While pakikipagkapwa sustains dangal, giving recognition or *pagpaparangal* is one way that dangal is promoted to its fullest extent. Pagpaparangal typically takes place during *parangal* or "rites of social approval" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 46). While papuri often refers to superficial praise, parangal refers to a deep admiration and a recognition of someone's worth.

Violating Dangal. Tabbada (2005) identified "paglalapastangan as the vile counterpart of pagpaparangal" (p. 47) or bestowing honor. The root word of paglalapastangan is *lapastangan* which Ramos (1971) defined as "irreverent; disrespectful; discourteous."

Tabbada (2005) argued that "the direct opposite of parangalan, the external aspect of dangal, is *lapastanganin*, or roughly 'to defame'" (p. 46, italics mine). He referred to lapastangan as "the other side of dangal, or its deplorable other side" (p. 43).

Moreover, according to Tabbada (2005), paglalapastangan is the contemptuous denial of a vital component which does not necessarily result in destruction but rather devaluation of an aspect or entity that ought to be well-regarded. He claimed that "paglalapastangan ng pagkatao or 'demeaning one's humanity' simply means damaging the basic requirement for being human" (p. 47). The negative implication of paglalapastangan on a person's dangal, as explained by Tabbada, is parallel to the

findings of Polonko and Lombardo's (2005) study which claimed that instances of "being physically, sexually and/or emotionally" maltreated negatively affect children's dignity (p. 28).

Employing dangal as an ontological position in a qualitative study is to see each person as having basic humanity that ought to be respected, protected, and promoted. However, the application of dangal as lens is not limited to the individual level, as it can also be used to look at the collective level. There is dangal that is present in a family, a city, or even a nation. The Philippines, being a signatory to the UNCRC, is protecting its dangal by trying to implement UNCRC in its jurisdiction. When the Philippine Government ratified the Convention, it did not only signify its agreement to the UNCRC, and its acceptance of its obligation to promote the dangal of the Filipino children in accordance with the Convention. It also put the country's dangal, particularly its international reputation, at stake. According to Enriquez (1992), when dangal is at risk for the sake of a certain objective, which in this case is children's rights, the "commitment to that end is therefore total" (p. 46).

3.7 Dangal and Children's Rights

While dangal is integral to the Filipino value structure, the notion of children's rights is inherent in another Filipino value called katarungan or social justice. The two societal values are interrelated. One aspect of katarungan is respect for karapatan (rights) of individuals which is deemed crucial since karapatan's root word is *dapat* or "appropriate and correct" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 50). (Literally, "dapat" means "should/must".) Katarungan is critical to the promotion of karangalan, as the non-observance of karapatan results in the violation of dangal, and mirrors a lack of katarungan. Enriquez (1992) argued that katarungan is a must if we are to attain "peace in Philippine society" (p. 48).

The concept of dangal is crucial to the realisation of children's rights. Based on the notion of karapatan, a right can be defined as an entitlement that ought to be enjoyed by each child. However, the component of such entitlement is subjective as it is dependent on those who have the power to construct meaning. In the Philippines, the meanings of child rights and children's dignity have always been dictated by Filipino adults. The Philippine Government's ratification of the UNCRC is just another imposition of an adult-centred perspective on the rights and dignity of a child. Dangal paves the way in resolving this issue.

Dangal is a tool that can be used by children and child rights advocates to influence the construction of meaning, particularly of the concepts relating to children's rights and dignity. Dangal provides a platform that children could utilise to counter the adults' prejudice against children, and to investigate the impact of such biases on social institutions that govern and formulate policies for the child sector. Dangal establishes a baseline that delineates children's view of dignity from adults' ideas about the concept. Dangal is a framework that can facilitate child rights initiatives that are genuinely reflective of children's perspectives.

Since dangal was developed from an indigenous standpoint, it echoes not only the children's voice but also the Filipino values, beliefs, and practices. Based on dangal, child rights can be viewed as a framework for pakikipagkapwa (treating others as fellow human being) – an enabler for positive dangal experiences. Through dangal, the implementation of child rights initiatives can be patterned over the promotion of pakikipagkapwa, as well as evaluated based on their impact on the internal and external domains of children's dangal.

However, utilising dangal as a compass in implementing children's rights entails challenges. Foremost of these is the Filipinos' prevailing beliefs on children and childhood that are characteristic of the dominant paradigm which sees children as

incapable and vulnerable beings, and thus, require the adults' guidance and protection. Dangal, which is aligned with the emergent paradigm, will have to face the formidable or challenging task of reversing a belief that was shaped by hundreds of years of colonial rule. Also, the ideas about children and childhood that relate to the dominant paradigm are currently protected by social institutions, including the Philippine legal system (Salvador, 2013). Furthermore, dangal as a theoretical model is still at its developmental stage, and is therefore awaiting validation through its application in future research about children in the Philippines. Dangal is yet to build its reputation as a credible alternative to non-indigenous approaches on children and childhood studies.

Nonetheless, the rise of dangal as a human rights approach is a positive development as it indicates a move towards the emergent paradigm which embodies the psyche of a Filipino child.

3.8   Summary

The UNCRC, to which the Philippines is a state party, plays a key role in the promotion of the dignity of the Filipino children. The importance that is attached to the UNCRC is manifested in earlier studies on Filipino children which incorporated the Convention in their frameworks. However, the UNCRC has been vague in its definition of children's dignity. In addition, the literature about children's perspective of their dignity is limited and the vast majority of studies have been based on adults' biases on what constitutes the dignity of a child. This thesis seeks to address this gap through an indigenous approach rather than using the UNCRC.

The UNCRC is an agreement among countries (also called states parties) which ratified the Convention to implement the UNCRC's articles in their territories. These articles were categorised into four groups namely, survival, protection, development, and participation rights (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995). The UNCRC has a set of general principles and optional protocols. Although the UNCRC served as a platform for child

rights advocates, implementing its generic approach on diverse environments where childhoods take place posed challenges.

In the Philippines, children's survival rights have made progress although much still has to be done. There was a decrease in the number of deaths among new-born, infants, and children who were below five years old. Yet, about 13.4 million Filipino children lived in poverty in 2009 (UNICEF & PSA, 2015). These children barely had access to nutritious meals, shelter, and health services. Indigent families resorted to processed foods as well as living in squatter communities. The children of these families who needed medical treatment are at risk due to the country's inefficient health system where the cost of services is paid mainly out of their own pocket (World Bank, 2011).

Despite some protective measures, Filipino children remain vulnerable to various risks in their environment. For every three Filipino children, two become victims of violence (Sylwander, 2018) wherein one of the most common forms was corporal punishment at home or in school. Experiencing corporal punishment breeds hatred, anger, and loneliness among children, and yet it is not forbidden but rather treated as a method of moulding good character among children (PST CRRC et al., 2008). The Filipino adults' prejudice against children's capability was cited as one of the reasons why corporal punishment continues to be practised in the country (PST CRRC et al., 2008, p. 5). Other types of violence against children are bullying and online abuse.

The impact of climate change had also become a threat to the children's well-being. Extreme weather conditions damaged homes and livelihoods. Low income families, especially those in urban areas, were also vulnerable as they live in densely populated and polluted communities that had few of the necessary public facilities and services that could protect them from the ill-effects of climate change. This had adverse effects on children's health and school attendance, and yet a child-centred approach has

been missing in the local governments' climate change initiatives (Ortega & Klauth, 2017). Children's protection from abusive child labour practices, the Duterte administration's anti-drug operations, road accidents, and rabies are among the issues on children's safety that require the government's attention.

Filipinos consider education as basic to a child's development, as well as a means to gain employment. As mandated by the 1987 Philippine Constitution, no tuition fee must be charged from students who are in public elementary and high schools. However, approximately 2.85 million children in the country were not enrolled during the 2015-2016 school year (Coram International, 2018). The commonly cited reason for children being out of school was their families' lack of economic resources. Children's access to education is also affected by the cost of transportation and the quality of school facilities. Aside from education, other issues related to children's developmental needs were the limited spaces for play, dearth of television programs that are appropriate to children, and the bureaucratic adoption process that restrict orphaned and abandoned children from becoming part of a family.

Child participation had already been incorporated in the Philippine legal system prior to the government's ratification of the Convention. However, in the Child and Youth Welfare Code, participation was framed as a child's "responsibility" rather than a right (Bessell, 2009, p. 302). The UNCRC led to the reframing of child participation from being the Filipino children's responsibility to being their right. Succeeding measures such as the Local Government Code of 1991 and the Philippine National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, 2000–2025 were also employed to promote child participation in the country (Bessell, 2009). Yet, Filipino children's social and political participation barely progressed and, according to Bessell, this was largely due to the Filipino adults' prejudice against children's capability.

The Philippine Government's organisational capability affects the implementation of children's rights to survival, protection, development, and participation. The government's investment for each Filipino child was not at par with the investment on the child sector made by other Asian countries such as Singapore and Thailand (World Bank, 2009 as cited in Pennington, 2017). Despite the increase in the budget that the government allocated for the child sector, particularly on basic education, health, and social welfare services for children from 2010 to 2017, the country has not met the standards set by international bodies such as UNESCO and WHO (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017). The insufficiency of budget for child welfare programs and services was blamed mainly on the country's rapid increase in population. Other organisational issues which hindered child rights implementation were the insufficient number of skilled manpower and ineffective management of governmental agencies and its resources. These problems of governance are a major barrier to the realisation of children's rights that, in spite of the availability of legislations that had potential to assist the child sector, were not effectively promoted (Coram International, 2018).

These factors which affect the Filipino children's social, cultural, economic, and political environments have compromised the children's opportunity to enjoy their rights. The UNCRC was based primarily on adults' ideas about children's rights and dignity, and is not based on the children's perspectives regarding their rights. This thesis aims to address this gap and put forward a child-centred perspective through the application of an indigenous lens in investigating the dignity of Filipino biracial children in Angeles City.

Research approaches on children and childhood are generally categorised as either of two paradigms – dominant and emergent. The dominant paradigm regards childhood as universal, and children as vulnerable and ignorant. Under the emergent paradigm,

childhood is treated as being shaped by the environment, while children are portrayed as capable members of the community (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004; Salvador, 2013). Examples of theoretical models that are characteristic of the emergent paradigm are the social construction of childhood, the development niche model, the ecological systems approach, and the rights-based approach. This research which utilises the indigenous Filipino lens is in accord with the emergent paradigm.

This thesis' epistemology is sikolohiyang Pilipino (SP) or Filipino psychology while its ontology is dangal (dignity) – kapwa (fellow human being). SP was founded by Virgilio Enriquez to pioneer the scholarly research of the Filipino personality based on a Filipino perspective (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). SP is anti-colonist and anti-elitist (Enriquez, 1992), not necessarily against the Western models but against the indiscriminate use of these (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). SP's roots are from different schools of thought although it is predominantly feminist (Enriquez, 1992) since it is equated with the "psychology of the babaylan" (De Guia, 2010, p. 87). This turn towards the indigenous approach in research in the Philippines is shared by other countries such as India, Taiwan, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand made the same move although each country had its own unique history of indigenization (Allwood & Berry, 2006).

Kapwa is treating others as part and equal to a person's own self (Enriquez, 1992). Kapwa is a term that is associated with feminism since it defines the babaylan's worldview (De Guia, 2005 as cited in Strobel, 2010). Kapwa is about equality (De Guia, 2010; De Guia, 2018) and interdependence (De Guia, 2010). The concepts of kapwa and dangal are both associated with the notion of equality, although dangal is a pre-requisite to pakikipagkapwa or being regarded as kapwa.

Based on the Filipino Behavioral Patterns and Value Structure designed by Enriquez (1992), kapwa is the core value from which the other Filipino values emanate.

Pakikipagkapwa involves various types of interactions which can be grouped as either ibang-tao (outsider) or hindi ibang-tao (one-of-us) (Enriquez, 1992).

Due to the lack of empirical evidence, the kapwa theory was criticised by some scholars. Clemente et al. (2008) led a two-part study to determine the integrity of the structure of Filipino values formulated by Enriquez. Key findings of their research led to the inclusion of maka-Diyos (godly) and paggalang (respect), and the exclusion of bahala na (determination) in the kapwa theory. They also expanded the theory by incorporating the Sarili-Lipunan (Self-Society) dimension as well as the Ibang tao–Hindi Ibang Tao dimension.

Dangal is an inherent component of the kapwa theory which recognises karangalan (dignity) as a societal value. While dangal is karangalan's root word as well as its internal dimension, puri comprises karangalan's external dimension. As explained by Enriquez (1992), dangal pertains to human beings' innate non-physical attribute that enables them to cope with the challenges that they are experiencing. A promoted dangal is evident in an individual's level of self-confidence and improved social standing. A tainted dangal is made obvious by negative emotions such as loneliness, anger, and being ashamed (Tabbada, 2005). Dangal is highly regarded by Filipinos such that they would be willing to put everything at stake to protect it (Enriquez, 1992). While paglalapastangan (dishonour) damages dangal (Tabbada, 2005), pakikipagkapwa promotes dangal.

Understanding dangal is a positive development in advocating children's rights since dangal offers a child-centred perspective that could influence the direction of child rights initiatives in the country. The UNCRC can be seen as a starting point and a mechanism to ensure that the dangal of each child is respected, protected, and promoted to its fullest extent. Alternatively, ignoring or violating the rights of the child as mentioned in the UNCRC is paglalapastangan of dangal.

This chapter presented the research's theoretical framework. It started with a discussion of the UNCRC, the state of the Filipino children's dignity, and the Philippine Government's efforts to cater to the needs of the child sector in accordance with its compliance with the Convention. Part of this discussion was a claim that the UNCRC does not incorporate the children's view of their dignity and how it can be promoted. An indigenous Filipino standpoint called sikolohiyang Pilipino was then presented as epistemology and dangal-kapwa as ontology for the study. These were discussed.

The next chapter details the study's methodology.

Chapter 4   Methodology

In this chapter, I explain the research approach of my study , i.e. how I conceptualised the study, and how I collected and analysed the data. I discuss in detail the various activities that constituted my fieldwork, and describe the profile of my child, parent, and community participants. I then describe how I transcribed and analysed the data gathered before discussing the lessons, reflections, and challenges encountered in conducting this study.

4.1   *Maka-Pilipinong Pananaliksik* (Filipino-oriented Research)

The approach of this research is called "*maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik"* (Santiago & Enriquez, 1976, p. 3) which translates to the Filipino-oriented or the indigenous way of doing research in the Philippines. This approach was appropriate to my research as it is embedded in the Filipino culture. Although the child participants are biracial or half-foreigner, they grew up in Angeles City, and were raised by Filipino "parents"; hence, the indigenous sikolohiyang Pilipino (SP) (Filipino psychology) approach is highly relevant to them. In this study, the term "parent" is used to refer to adults who raised the biracial children regardless of whether they were related to the children or not. Hence, the word "parent" as applied in this thesis included natural parents, extended relatives, and other individuals who may or may not be related to the child by blood or kinship. This usage of the term "parent" was appropriate in this study since most of the child participants were cared for by their biological mothers; even those grandparents and other relatives, as well as those whom the child had no consanguineal nor affinal relationship, raised these children just like their own children – thus, for all intents and purposes, they were their parents.

The main research method for this study was the interview. I also used other Filipino methods such as *pakikipagkuwentuhan* (storytelling) and *pagpapapakuwento* (that

has the combined features of storytelling and interview) (Protacio-De Castro et al.,
2004). Pakikipagkuwentuhan was used to establish rapport while pagpapakuwento was
incorporated in the interviews, and was also incorporated in the drawing activities.

The interview, as a method, tends to be more formal and unidirectional, i.e., the
interviewer asks the question, and the interviewee answers; and interviewers are not
expected to share their personal details and experiences. On the other hand,
pakikipagkuwentuhan and pagpapakuwento are more casual and bi-directional in
approach. The "quality of the data produced in a qualitative interview depends on the
quality of the interviewer's skills and subject matter knowledge" (Kvale & Brinkmann,
2009, p. 82). On the other hand, the level of rapport, particularly the positioning of both
interviewer and interviewee as hindi-ibang-tao (one-of-us) is the key determinant with
regard to the quality of data gathered using the Filipino indigenous methods (Pe-Pua,
1989; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Additional details about
pakikipagkuwentuhan and pagpapakuwento are provided in section 4.1.2.

Earlier studies have proven that Filipino indigenous methods are "cross-cultural,"
and, thus, can be employed on studies about peoples from other countries, and in
contexts not limited to the Philippines (Pe-Pua, 2006, p. 121). For example, Pe-Pua had
used *pagtatanong-tanong* or "asking questions" (Pe-Pua, 2006, p. 114) – a rather
informal, improvised interviewing technique – in gathering data from young people
from diverse backgrounds in Australia (Pe-Pua, 1996). Pagtatanong-tanong was also
used on research about the legal-related concerns of migrant communities in Sydney
(Pe-Pua & Echevarria, 1998), about issues affecting refugees in Australia (Iredale,
Mitchell, Pe-Pua, & Pittaway, 1996), and the experiences of "astronaut" families from
Hongkong in Australia, where the parents, after "landing" or migrating to Australia,
returned to Hong Kong to earn a living, leaving behind "parachute" children who had to

fend for themselves, not financially, but without parental guidance (Pe-Pua, Mitchell, Iredale & Castles, 1996).

4.1.1   *Five Basic Principles of Maka-Pilipinong Pananaliksik*

According to Pe-Pua (1989) and Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000), the application of the indigenous research methods is guided by five basic principles: (a) The worth of information that may be collected in a study is considerably affected by the type of rapport that the researcher has established with the participants. In order to obtain more accurate and reliable data, the researcher needs to be regarded as hindi-ibang-tao ("one-of-us") instead of as ibang-tao ("outsider") by the participants. (b) The researchers are expected to treat the research participants as of the same or higher rank. In other words, the participants should be given the chance to query or seek clarification, as well as to provide suggestions or feedback on each stage of the investigation. (c) The top priority of the research is the well-being of the participants. Hence, the research procedures must be conducted in a manner that will not take the safety of the participants for granted. (d) The selection of research method should be based on its suitability to the group being studied. The research methods should be modified according to the participants' way of thinking and behaviour, if required. (e) Since it is through the local language that participants can better convey their thoughts and feelings, the researcher should utilise the local language in the research process (Pe-Pua, 1989; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

4.1.2   *Researching with Children using Filipino Research Methods*

Children as Kapwa (Fellow) "Researchers." Based on SP, regardless of their dissimilarities with adults, children should be regarded as fellow human beings or kapwa*;* that is, researchers should relate to them in a manner that is just, polite and cordial (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004), as such upholding their dangal (dignity). Also, children can be further treated as kapwa and their dangal promoted if they are given a

chance to be more involved in any activity which focuses on their welfare and improves their self-esteem, including research. One way to give higher regard to children as kapwa and to enhance their dangal in a research project is to consider them not only as participants but also as partners. This is in accordance with the new paradigm on childhood studies which sees "children as social actors who are subjects, rather than objects of enquiry" (Christensen & James, 2017, p. 1).

Involving children as researchers in child research is also what Alderson (2008) espoused. He claimed that aside from acknowledging their participation rights, involving children in research about children has other advantages. Having children actively participate at various stages and in a variety of methods within the research can lead to a deeper understanding of the issues about the children sector. The children themselves are the main source of information and also serve as a bridge to other children who might have reservations towards adult researchers. Alderson added that, compared with studies prepared by mainly adult academics, studies in which children are largely involved are more appealing to the media and the public due to their "novelty and immediacy" (p. 287). Engaging children as researchers also helps build up the children's abilities, self-assurance, and willpower to find resolutions to the difficulties they are experiencing.

However, conducting research with children involves ethical considerations that adult researchers should always be mindful of. According to Gallagher (2009), these considerations include informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, child protection, and power relations.

Children and the Application of Filipino Methods. In order to succeed in pakikipagkapwa or considering others such as children as kapwa, researchers should initially know how to apply pakikiramdam (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004). Pakikiramdam is "'feeling for another', exercising great care and deliberation"

(Mataragnon 1987, p. 252). Any researcher who would like to investigate Philippine society, especially in the countryside, must know that most Filipinos convey their thoughts and feelings in an indirect manner, thus making pakikiramdam a necessary disposition (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

Maggay (as cited in Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004, p. 59) argued that children in the Philippines find it difficult to communicate openly with adults due to the "unequal power relations" that exist between them. Adults are usually regarded by children as ibang tao (outsider). Therefore, in order to motivate the children to communicate openly with adults, adults should be regarded by children as hindi ibang tao (one-of-us) (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004).

There are different ways through which adults could earn the trust of children and be considered hindi ibang-tao. One way is by *pakikilahok* which involves consistently taking part in children's activities, for example, with their preferred recreational activities. It facilitates the earning of children's trust in a manner that is stress-free and gradual. For example, adults can sing and watch television with children frequently so that the children can get to know them better, and eventually feel at ease in their company.

A more focused way of pakikilahok is *pakikisalo* or having meals together. Another way by which children's trust could be gained is through pakikipagkuwentuhan or "story telling" which is a leisure activity or a popular way of entertaining themselves. It is a casual exchange of stories which can be done at any place and at any time (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004, p.80). Aside from helping the researcher earn the children's trust, pakikipagkuwentuhan is also used to collect data. Pe-Pua (2006) referred to pakikipagkuwentuhan as "a cross between the interview and the focus group discussion" wherein its unique feature is the "free exchange of ideas leading to stories that can be analysed" (p. 119).

Another method to elicit information from children is pagpapakuwento which has combined features of the interview and pakikipagkuwentuhan. Whereas pakikipagkuwentuhan involves mutual exchange of stories, pagpapakuwento involves getting them to identify, direct and own their stories. Adults merely need to take the initial step to motivate children to start sharing their stories. Children could participate in pagpapakuwento in various ways, such as by drawing, through play, dramatisation, poetry, and recitation (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004), or by replying spontaneously to a question or topic raised by another person.

4.2   Pre-Fieldwork Matters

4.2.1   Ethics Approval from the Auckland University of Technology

The ethics application relative to this research together with the various forms used during fieldwork, such as the participant information sheets and the consent and assent forms, were approved by AUTEC prior to the start of data collection (see Appendix A).

4.2.2   Development of Interview Questions

Six sets of indicative questions[10] were used during the fieldwork. These questions went through several revisions before they were approved by my supervisors. Each set corresponded to each group of participants, namely, (a) children aged 7 to 12, (b) children aged 13 to 17, (c) parents, (d) teachers, (e) church representatives and NGO workers, and (f) local government officials. (The complete list of indicative questions can be found in Appendix B.)

The questions for the two groups of children were about their neighbourhood, school, house, family, friends, leisure, health, personal belongings, safety, day to day

---

[10] Indicative questions are guide questions. They are not necessarily the final questions asked during the interviews, but rather, the researcher has some leeway to adjust the wording or the actual questions, depending on the flow of the conversation.

activities, and their rights as a child. The only difference was that the questions for children aged 7 to 12 used simpler words and shorter sentences.

There were three to five indicative questions for the adult participants, and these were mostly broad in scope. There were follow up questions using the cues from their responses. The parents were asked about the benefits and challenges of raising a biracial child, the things that they did for their children, the changes that they wished for their children, the factors which limited their capabilities as parents, and any discrimination against biracial children that they were aware of.

The questions for the teachers, church representatives, and the NGO worker were about what they knew about the needs of the biracial children, and if they had or knew of policies or programs for biracial children. There were also questions regarding their knowledge about instances of discrimination against the biracial children in Angeles City. The questions for the local officials were about policies and budget allocations for biracial children, children's rights in relation to their particular job or position, and the level of consultation with the children in Angeles City, if any, concerning matters which affected the child sector.

4.3 Initial Fieldwork Activities

4.3.1 Forming a Support Team

Research Assistant. I hired a social worker to be my research assistant (RA) for the field research. She was my former co-employee in the Pearl S. Buck Foundation–Philippines, Inc. (PSBP) where she led programs for the child sector in Angeles City. Being a Kapampangan[11] who had extensive network in the area, she became my bridge or "*tulay*" to the City Mayor and other key individuals who could inform my work. This was crucial as I was not a native nor a resident of Angeles City.

---

[11] A term used to refer to the native-born residents of the province of Pampanga where Angeles City is located.

Recruitment Facilitator. I hired and trained a recruitment facilitator (RF) to take care of the recruitment of child and parent participants. The selected RF had a college degree, was a Kapampangan, a former PSBP beneficiary[12], and a Black Filipino Amerasian. Hence, she was familiar with the research topic and with the research site. During the training, I provided the RF with further information about the research, and her role in the recruitment of participants, in accordance with what was stated in her contract.

Translation Consultant. I used the services of a Filipino language expert to review my translation of the forms and indicative questions from English to Filipino. The translation consultant (TC) had a doctorate degree in Filipino and professional experience in Filipino translation. He was also skilled in communicating with children since he was a public elementary school teacher and an author of children's books.

Junior Research Associates (JRAs). I asked the child participants in my study to choose three children to be their leaders. I named the chosen children junior research associates (JRAs), and considered them members of my support team for the fieldwork.

To prepare the JRAs for their role, they attended a training session which included a discussion of the safety protocols and the importance of respecting the privacy of other children. They were also informed about their tasks: to act as leaders, to reach out to child participants who were shy, to assist the child participants when they needed to go to the toilet, to make sure that they did not loiter, to remind them not to litter; to inform me if there was any child who needed assistance probably due to illness, injury, and quarrel with fellow participants; to prepare games during group activities, to help distribute the snacks, and to assemble and serve as custodian of the First Aid Kit.

---

[12] A recipient of educational assistance from the Pearl S. Buck Foundation – Philippines, Inc. (PSBP)

4.3.2   Translation of Forms and Indicative Questions

It is important to note that Filipino is the national language in the Philippines. It is heavily based on the major language Tagalog that remains dominant in a particular region of the country that does not include Pampanga where the research site was located. Nevertheless, Filipino is widely spoken in the whole country. English remains a foreign language that is spoken by Filipinos who are educated.

I translated all the forms and interview questions from English to Filipino so my participants could understand them. The TC reviewed the translated forms and questions. One of the TC's comments was that my use of Filipino (language) reflected the variant spoken in my home province of Bulacan, which is Tagalog, rather than the Filipino spoken in Pampanga. I had not previously been conscious of these regional variations. Hence, he made the translation more suitable to the context of Angeles (Pampanga). Before finalising the forms, the TC and RA invited volunteer children and parents, who were not among the study's participants, to read the participant information sheets and the consent and assent forms to double-check the translation. We gave special attention to the comments of the children as we wanted to ensure that the language used in the forms was developmentally appropriate (i.e., suitable to their age) and, hence, comprehensible to young readers. The TC's and the volunteers' comments were valuable in improving the forms in terms of vocabulary, grammar, and explanation of terms.

4.3.3   Recruitment of Child Participants and Parent Participants

The child and parent participants were recruited simultaneously. Since most of them were beneficiaries of PSBP where the RA was still employed, the hiring of an RF helped avoid the possibility and perception of coercion or favouritism during this recruitment process.

To be included as research participants, the biracial children had to be between 7 to 17 years old, residents of Angeles City, and studying in schools within the area. Parents were qualified to be research participants if they were the parents, guardians or carers of the biracial child participants.

We tried to ensure that the child participants had most, if not all the characteristics we wanted for the sample. This meant that the group should be composed of both male and female participants. Also, they should come from different age groups and nationalities, such as half-American, half-Australian, half-European, and half-Asian.

With regard to the exclusion criteria, biracial children and their parents who could not speak Filipino or English fluently were excluded from the study. This exclusion was necessary since my language ability was limited to Filipino and English. I did not speak Kapampangan, the local language in Angeles City, nor Bisaya which was the native language of most mothers who participated in the study.

The initial contact with potential child and parent participants took place when the RF attended the PSBP seminar for biracial children in Angeles City. During the seminar, the RF introduced the research and distributed copies of the participant information sheets. Out of the 19 biracial children who came to the seminar, only eight met the inclusion criteria and were able to attend the subsequent orientation led by the RF. During the orientation, the RF reiterated the inclusion and exclusion criteria for participants, explained the consent and assent forms, and reminded them that their participation would be voluntary, and that they could stop their participation at any time, if they wished.

While visiting the eight biracial children selected for the study, I had to exclude three child participants as I extended them assistance which might have affected their voluntary participation in the research. Since having five biracial children was far below the 13 which was my target sample size, I recruited additional child participants.

According to my RF and my RA, three more children conveyed their interest during the seminar but were absent during the orientation due to the lack of money for transportation, fever, and having forgotten the date of the orientation. So, the RF visited them in their homes and gave them an orientation. After receiving confirmation of their participation, I visited the homes of these three additional child participants.

Another effort to recruit additional child participants was through the parent volunteers who helped identify and invite other potential participants. Upon learning of their interest to participate, the RF visited them in their homes and gave them more details about the study. However, out of the four children that were invited for orientation, only two attended and confirmed their participation. Thereafter, I visited the homes of these two children.

We finally arrived at a total of ten biracial child participants. All of their parents likewise agreed to be research participants.

Among the ten biracial child participants, six were female and four were male. Their ages ranged from 7 to 12 years, with 10 as the median age, i.e. half of them were younger than 10, and half were older than 10. Eight of them were half Caucasian, one was half Black, and one was half-Korean. A summary of the children's profiles is provided in table 4.1.

Table 4.1   Profile of the 10 Child Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Background
Child 1	Male	12	Half Black American
Child 2	Female	9	Half White Australian
Child 3	Female	15	Half White British
Child 4	Male	9	Half White American
Child 5	Female	15	Half White American
Child 6	Male	7	Half White American
Child 7	Male	12	Half White British
Child 8	Female	11	Half White Australian
Child 9	Female	8	Half Korean
Child 10	Female	9	Half White Scottish

The parent participants consisted of nine females and one male (Parent 3).

4.3.4 Recruitment of Community Participants

Some members of the community were interviewed in order to gain an insight of the situation of biracial children in Angeles City. The inclusion criteria for the community participants are as follows: The teachers should be the class advisers ("form teachers") of the biracial children. The government officials and employees should be serving in offices that were related to child welfare in Angeles City. The church representatives should be priests and/or nuns who had been assigned to Angeles City for at least a year. The NGO workers should have been involved in their respective organisations, which may or may not have been accredited by the DSWD.[13] NGO workers must also have been employed in their NGOs for at least a year, and their organisations must be engaged in work for children. Foreign representatives should be from foreign governments and international bodies that had operations in Angeles City and were engaged with children.

I attempted to ensure that community participants came from different sectors (schools, parishes, organisations, and offices). The selection was based on their experience in dealing with, and their knowledge of issues concerning biracial children. They should also be able to communicate using either Filipino or English.

The City Mayor's approval, the DepEd's endorsement, and my attendance at the meeting of the Local Council for the Protection of Children (LCPC) in February 2016 facilitated the recruitment of teachers and local officials as participants.

Moreover, two parish priests and one nun expressed their willingness to participate. The recruitment of these priests and nun were through snowballing.

I was unable to recruit any representative from foreign organisations as participants as there was no such active entity in the locality at the time of my research.

---

[13] Working in a DSWD-accredited NGO was not applied as inclusion criteria for NGO workers since, although the accreditation attested to the quality of services provided by NGOs, an NGO could operate in the Philippines legally regardless of accreditation. Furthermore, given the long list of documents to submit and the tedious accreditation process, only a handful of NGOs got accredited by DSWD.

Table 4.2 lists the number and gender of the five groups of community participants in this study. Of the 16 community participants, 11 were females and 5 were males. There were 6 teachers, 5 local officials, 3 church representatives, a police officer[14], and an NGO worker.

Table 4.2 Profile of the 16 Community Participants

Group	Number of participants	Gender of participants	
		Male	Female
Teachers	6	1	5
Local officials	5	2	3
Church representatives (priests and nun)	3	2	1
NGO worker	1	0	1
Police officer	1	0	1
Total	**16**	**5**	**11**

4.4 Interviews and Other Activities with Child Participants and their Parents

4.4.1 Establishing Rapport and Building Trust

Since six out of the ten child participants as well as their parents did not know me or had not met me in person, I decided to visit them to introduce myself, show courtesy, and express my gratitude. The *pagdalaw-dalaw* (occasional visits) made it possible for me to get to know the biracial children and their parents. I learned about their favourite food, games, and hobbies. I was also informed about the children's health conditions, such as allergies, as well as the parents' source of income. Each *dalaw* (visit) ranged from 15 to 30 minutes. I brought snacks for the children, and we had *pakikisalo* (having meals together).

To further build rapport with the child and parent participants, as well as for them to meet their fellow participants, we organised a launch activity for the research. During this event, I reiterated the objectives of the study and the significance of their role as research participants. I reminded them that their participation was voluntary, and that

---

[14] A police officer was included in the sample because the Philippine National Police is a member of the LCPC.

they were free to discontinue their participation at any time, if they wished. Afterwards, the child and parent participants selected their preferred date and time for our one-on-one sessions. The parents objected whenever their children chose a schedule that conflicted with their classes. The children and their parents were consulted on the schedule and arrangement for the group activities before such were finalised. During this launching event, I gave the children papers and crayons, and asked them to tell me how they felt about attending the event by drawing or by writing a word on the paper. They either drew happy faces or wrote the word "*masaya*" (happy). As a final activity, the children chose the following child participants to become the JRAs: Child 3, Child 5, and Child 7.

4.4.2   *Interviews and Pagpapakuwento with Child Participants*

A week after I started the fieldwork in Angeles City, I noticed that the children had become more comfortable in expressing themselves to me, unlike when they initially met me. They started to speak more audibly. At this point, my pakikiramdam or "'feeling for another'" (Mataragnon, 1987, p. 252) helped me realise that I was no longer ibang tao or an outsider to my child participants.

During the interviews which were conducted at the children and parents' homes, I asked the child participants about their thoughts regarding their family and friends as well as their house, school, and neighbourhood. For example, how the children would describe their parents, relatives, and friends and what were their basis for such descriptions. I likewise asked what they liked and disliked in their houses, schools, and neighbourhoods. There were also questions that focused on the child participants' opinion about their health, safety, their notion of children's rights, and the things that they do on a daily basis.

Pagpapakuwento (or encouraging them to tell stories) was combined with the interviews particularly with regard to their views regarding their house and personal belongings.

All the interviews with the child participants were one-on-one which means it was the children who would answer the question and not their parents. I requested the parents not to coach their children during the interviews. However, parents were welcome to listen or watch if they wanted to, especially since the interviews were conducted in the children's homes or play area outside their house (for example, when it was too dark inside the house due to lack of electricity). There were instances when the parents, other relatives, and the children's playmates would watch or listen in, during the initial interviews, probably out of curiosity. Nevertheless, I noticed that in the succeeding interviews, they did not watch nor listen in anymore, although they were still within the vicinity where the interviews were being conducted.

The number of home visits ranged from 2 to 6 visits. The duration of the interviews ranged from roughly 20 to 62 minutes. The variation was due to the children's availability, health condition, and capability to answer questions.

4.4.3   Interviews with Parent Participants

The questions that were asked of parents were related to how they performed their caregiving role, the positive and negative consequences of bringing up a biracial child, the changes which they thought would be helpful to their children, the prejudices against biracial children that they were aware of, and the issues which hinder their capabilities as parents. Interviews with parent participants were conducted one-on-one in their respective homes.

I recorded all parent interviews using the audio recorder of my laptop.

4.4.4   *Other Activities with Child Participants – Drawing, Drama Performance, and Culminating Activity*

Three group activities were incorporated as part of the interaction with children, namely, drawing, drama performance and the culminating activity. These group were held in an enclosed space at the second floor of a popular fast-food chain. This venue was preferred as it was accessible to all the child participants who were from different barangays (villages/districts). Moreover, it was secured, clean, and air-conditioned; it had toilets, and using this place did not cost us extra since we purchased food there. I also chose this place because it was popular among Filipino children. Hence, I was confident that the child participants would be happy and feel at ease, and that they would like the food that were served.

The drawing was a source of data for the study. The children drew their ideal library, playground, toilet, and other facilities on sheets of A3 paper that we provided. Then they shared their drawings with other child participants usingpagpapakuwento. Pagpapapkuwento has characteristics of both story-telling and interview (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004).

The drama was a miscellaneous activity that was meant for the child participants' self-expression. We instructed the child participants to portray how they were different from other children who were not biracial. Child 5 prepared a script for the drama. According to my RA, Child 5 had some level of awareness of the discrimination that biracial children faced. Child 5 consulted my RA before she finalised the script. The children, led by the JRAs, did all the directing and acting themselves. The final drama was held during the culminating activity.

Just like the drama, the culminating activity was not meant to produce data but rather to recognise the child participants for their efforts. The children were awarded certificates and medals. The parents, RA, and RF were likewise given certificates, while

the JRAs had special awards. At the end of the program, the child and parent participants received a *koha*[15] or cash gift which was not disclosed earlier so as not to influence their voluntary participation in the research.

Having conducted my fieldwork for almost seven months, the culminating activity also paved the way for me to exit the field in a manner that portrays *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) to my child and parent participants. The culminating activity gave me a chance to reiterate my appreciation to my participants and for us to celebrate the completion of my fieldwork.

4.4.5   *Taking photos and video recording*

Photos and video footages were deemed necessary in this study because they helped capture the child participants' non-verbal responses. Ethics permission was, thus, secured from AUTEC prior to the fieldwork. A photo and/or video protocol (see Appendix A.6) was approved by the committee.

The RF informed the child and parent participants about the collection of their photos and videos during the orientation (see 4.3.3), and I reiterated this during the launch event prior to the start of data collection (see 4.4.1). The taking of photos and videos was part and parcel of the signed children's assent form, and the parents' consent form for themselves and their children.

I video recorded the one-on-one interviews with the child participants, as well as the children's group activities using a laptop. Before the recording of each interview, I reminded the child participants that their video footages would not be published and shall be used for data analysis only. Video recording started when I asked the first question, and was stopped after the child participant answered the last question. With the group activities, video recording was used mainly to document the children's

---

[15] *Koha* is a Maori word which means gift or donation.

explanation of their drawings as well as their drama performance. Parents were present when photos and video footages of their were taken.

4.5 Interviews with Community Participants

I met with all the community participants twice. In the first meeting, I gave them copies of the participant information sheets and briefed them about the research. The second meeting was for the interview. The consent forms were explained, signed, and collected prior to the start of the interview.

The interviews with the community participants were conducted one-on-one in their respective offices. I recorded all these interviews using the audio recorder of my laptop.

The questions for the local officials and the police officer looked into various governance matters that affected the child sector in Angeles City. These included the policies and budget allocation for the biracial children, the extent of consultation they conducted with children, and whether their duties and responsibilities included the promotion of children's rights.

The questions for the teachers, church representatives, and NGO worker were about their level of awareness of the biracial children's needs and the biases against them, and if their organisations had policies or programs for this group of children.

The length of interviews among community participants ranged from roughly 20 minutes to an hour and a half. This duration of the interviews depended on the participants' familiarity with the needs of and issues involving the biracial children, as well as their ability to express themselves using either Filipino or English.

4.6 Transcription and Data Analysis

I transcribed the recorded interviews of all my child, parent and community participants. I did the transcription of the adults' interviews in two rounds. In the first round, I played the recording at the rate of 30% of the actual speed, and then

encoded/typed as many words as I could understand. In the second round, I reviewed

each initial transcript using the actual speed of the recording, and I kept on repeating

portions of the recording which were unclear.

For the children's interviews, I watched each video at least five times before

finalising the transcript. Before I transcribed, I watched the videos twice. Then, I

watched for the third time during the initial transcription. I watched a fourth time to

double check if I had heard the child correctly. I watched for the fifth time to see if I had

noted all the relevant non-verbal actions accurately.

While I was transcribing, I noticed that, aside from the background noise (usually

dogs, videoke[16], children, and tricycles), some parent participants' Bisaya accent made

the transcription more tedious and time-consuming. (As mentioned earlier, some parents

were more familiar with a local dialect called Bisaya which was used by those who are

typically from the Visayas.)

I used the thematic analysis (TA) method to analyse the transcribed data. TA is

the "searching across a data set – be that a number of interviews or focus groups, or a

range of texts – to find repeated patterns of meaning" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86).

TA is independent or "not wedded to any pre-existing theoretical framework" (Braun &

Clarke, 2006, p. 81).

My method of analysis was largely inductive. I read each transcript twice before I

started coding. In practical terms, I coded the child and adult participants' data for

themes, with the help of the NVivo software. The interview questions served as

guideposts for my analysis. Under each question, I located the themes that emerged

from the participants' responses in the transcripts. I then sorted these themes by

---

[16] Videoke is a common pastime among Filipinos, whether at home or in a public place such as a mall or a bar. Regardless of singing ability, anybody is welcome to participate in a videoke session which requires a "TV with an attached player or it can also be a videoke machine" with a set of buttons that control the playlist (Blackburn, 2008, p. 1). It is a sing-along type of entertainment with the music and lyrics appearing on the TV screen.

grouping the similar data per theme. I then developed "maps" that represented sub-themes or small groups of coded data. From these, the major themes related to the nature of dangal, barriers to dangal, and means to uphold dangal emerged. The result of this analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

4.7 Ethics of Research

The ethical requirements of AUT and other ethical standards are discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.7.1 Partnership

The biracial children and parents who participated in this study are intended to be the beneficiaries of the research findings. The results include recommendations for the Angeles City Local Government and other concerned agencies to consider so as to alleviate the plight of the biracial children and their families in the locality.

Moreover, this research endeavoured to empower the biracial children since three of them were involved not only as participants but also as JRAs) As associates, they were considered members of the support team together with the RA, RF, and TC. Hence, they were trained and given a chance to act as team leaders during the various activities that were organised for all child participants.

4.7.2 Participation

The roles of the biracial children and the adult participants in this research mainly involved sharing of information through the different activities facilitated during fieldwork. All the child and adult participants took part in this study on a voluntary basis and depending on their availability. The information that they shared guided and helped frame the research progressively.

4.7.3 Informed and Voluntary Consent

The biracial children and their parents were given a comprehensive orientation about the study, as well as a copy of the information sheet in Filipino. The community

participants were provided with both Filipino and English versions of the information sheet. (See Appendix A, A.2 for the original English version of the participant information sheets.)

The biracial children were requested to assent, and their parents to consent, by signing the forms in Filipino. Other participants were asked to choose between the Filipino and English versions of the Consent form to read and sign. All participants were informed that they were free to not answer any particular question, as well as to withdraw at any point before the end of data collection, if they wished. (See Appendix A, A.3 for the original English version of the consent and assent forms.)

4.7.4 Privacy, Confidentiality and Safety

While the identity and other personal information about the child and parent participants were known to the RA, the RF, the thesis supervisors, myself and fellow child and parent participants, the access to this information about the community participants was limited to the RA, the thesis supervisors, and myself. I used pseudonyms for the biracial children and the adult participants in the final report and any other publications arising from this research.

Only the RA and myself had access to the child and adult participants' data. During the data analysis stage, the access to the data was limited to the thesis supervisors and myself.

All child and parent participants were informed about taking photos and videos of the child interviews and group activities. This was in accordance with the photo/video protocol that was approved by the AUT Ehics Committee. The child and parent participants gave their assent and informed consent about this. As indicated to them, all the photos and video footages were used to aid the data analysis only.

The RA and the RF signed a Confidentiality Agreement (see Appendix A, A.4). In line with ensuring the safety of the participants, access to counselling from a local

social worker was available (although no participant had needed it). Research safety protocols (see Appendix A, A.5) were also prepared since the RA, the RF, and myself were expected to experience risk when visiting participants at their private homes, most of which were located in poor and crowded neighbourhoods.

With regards to safety, it was important to look after my own safety. As some child and parent participants lived in communities which were reputed to be hideouts of drug addicts and criminals, I never took out my mobile phone and laptop until I reached the children's houses. I also made sure that I departed from those areas before sunset.

4.7.5   Avoidance of Conflict of Interest

I was a former executive director of the Pearl S. Buck Foundation – Philippines, Inc., (PSBP), an internationally funded NGO that helps biracial children. I have managed programs for biracial children and their parents who were potential participants of this study. For this reason, I did not get involved in the recruitment of child and parent participants directly. Instead, I hired and trained an independent recruitment facilitator to manage the recruitment of participants.

The RA, the RF, and the TC received minimal compensation while the biracial child participants and the parents were given a koha (gift). The children and parents who volunteered in the review of forms were also given a koha. But the potential participants were not informed about the koha during the recruitment stage to ensure that their participation was voluntary.

4.7.6   Confronting Biases

Although I had my own preconceptions and prejudices while doing my fieldwork in Angeles City, it was only during the data analysis stage that I became fully aware of them. I held biases against prostituted women, homosexuals, people who were short and with dark skin, and children who were born out of wedlock. I attributed such biases to the influence of a colonial mentality in my country, particularly due to my Catholic

upbringing. I dealt with my preconceptions by practicing self-critique, particularly in analysing my data; and such paved the way for me to figure out that while I had those biases, I did not let those prejudices affect the way I related to my child and parent participants.

Researching about dangal made me cautious about how I treat other people's dangal, especially the manner in which I "handled" my biases. It made me sensitive to the way the adults in Angeles City regarded the biracial children. Reaching such a level of awareness helped me better understand the situation of my child and parent participants. It also informed my writing of the section in the thesis about the forms of social prejudice which emerged as a major barrier to the promotion of the biracial children's dangal.

4.8 Upholding the Ethics of Indigenous Research

In addition to the Western ethical standard, I was also guided by the ethics of the SP research approach. Therefore, I made several attempts to uphold the indigenous research ethical standards in various stages/aspects of my fieldwork.

Regarding the basic principle of establishing rapport and trust, I built this with the children, parents, and community participants with the help of a Kapampangan social worker who became my research assistant. Prior to the interviews, I conducted pagdalaw-dalaw (occasional visits) and engaged in pakikipagkuwentuhan (storytelling) as well as pakikisalo (having meals together) with the child and parent participants. A culminating activity was held so that I could "respectfully exit the field," and share in the celebration of our collective accomplishment with the child and parent participants.

Regarding the second principle, the children and the adults were treated as co-equal or kapwa. They were consistently reminded of their voluntary participation and their freedom to ask questions as well as to remove themselves from the study at any point before the completion of my fieldwork. The children and the adults decided on the

schedules of the interviews and the group activities. By drawing and writing, the child participants were given the chance to express their feelings with regard to their involvement in the study. Recognising the children as capable social actors, the interviews were conducted individually, with an adult nearby. Three children were also given the opportunity to be members of the research support team as junior research associates.

The third principle calls for looking after the welfare of the participants. The well-being of the children and the adults was protected by having a recruitment facilitator who made sure that no child nor parent were coerced to participate in the study, considering that I used to be the head of an organisation that was implementing programs for the biracial children in Angeles City. I also made sure that counselling led by a social worker from the City Social Welfare Development Office would be made available to any child or adult participant if necessary although none of them needed such assistance. To ensure the participants' safety, the face-to-face individual interviews were conducted in their homes or offices, while the group activities were held in a public place that was secured and conducive for children's enjoyment. The children and the adults were given sufficient information about the study, and the children's assent and the adults' consent were requirements before they could be recruited for the research. To protect the identity of the participants, the access to their data were limited to the research team and the thesis supervisors. Confidentiality agreements were also signed by the research assistant and recruitment facilitator.

Regarding the principle of using appropriate methods, I employed the interview method together with the Filipino research methods such as pakikipagkuwentuhan (storytelling) and pagpapakuwento (combination of interview and storytelling). However, pakikipagkuwentuhan was used solely to facilitate the establishing of rapport

with the children and adult participants. The main method that was used to collect data was the semi-structured interview and pagpapakuwento.

Regarding the use of the local language, Filipino was the language used during data collection. It would have been ideal if I could speak Kapampangan and Bisaya so that I truly used the language of the participants. However, I did not have such background. Be that as it may, Filipino is widely spoken all over the Philippines. Even if the majority of the parent participants were from the Visayas, they and their children were able to communicate using Filipino. This was my assessment when I conducted pagdalaw-dalaw and engaged in pakikipagkuwentuhan with them after they confirmed their participation in the research and prior to the start of the data collection. Filipino was also formally taught in schools. In fact, two child participants mentioned that their favourite subject in school was Filipino because they found it "easy," compared with their other subjects such as Math and Science. Last but not the least, my participants were fond of Filipino drama series on television. To ensure the integrity of the local language use, I employed a Filipino language expert to review the translation of my forms and indicative questions.

Admittedly, if the interviews were conducted in the local languages of Kapampangan and Bisaya, the result might have been different, but I believe that the difference would be in terms of depth of description only and not the substantial content of the data. I was confident that, through Filipino and/or English, I was able to get to the core of my participants beliefs, opinions and sentiments.

4.9   Lessons from the Field

The main lesson I learned from the field was related to research skills. Before I started my fieldwork, I had very little experience in conducting research interviews. I read on this, and built my interviewing skills up during the fieldwork. Since I had child participants, I found it imperative to develop my sensitivity skills, especially in

communicating with children. Aside from skills-related issues, I likewise had to address other challenges such as managing the logistics of the fieldwork, minimising safety risks, and coping with limited technology. Nevertheless, I also realised that as my fieldwork progressed, my study had started to make an impact in the community (elaborated in section 4.10).

My original plan was to use *pagtatanong-tanong* or "asking questions" (Pe-Pua, 2006, p. 114) as my main data collection method. I was initially inclined to use pagtatanong-tanong because it was endorsed by the Children's Rehabilitation Center (as cited in Pe-Pua, 2006) as a mode of inquiry with children. As explained by Ho (1990), pagtatanong-tanong is culturally familiar, recognised, and "not normally regarded as obtrusive" (p. 142) by participants. Also, in employing pagtatanong-tanong, the researcher openly shares personal information which facilitates mutual trust and asks questions in a manner that is casual, approachable, and genuine (Pe-Pua, 1990). The Center (as cited in Pe-Pua, 2006) added that pagtatanong-tanong ensures the trustworthiness of evidence, as well as the precision and usefulness of the research, by providing a means to elucidate, check and confirm gathered information. As claimed by Enriquez (1997), "the repetition of *tanong* in *tanong-tanong* means that the question is asked several times of different informants, thus increasing the reliability of the response" (p. 48). Pe-Pua (1990) noted that, as a result of "repeating the question in a different way" during pagtatanong-tanong (p. 243), the researcher can examine the consistency of answers provided by participants.

However, due to my insufficient knowledge about and my lack of preparation on applying pagtatanong-tanong, I used the interview instead as my primary method for data gathering. Nonetheless, I exerted effort to increase my knowledge about pagtatanong-tanong after my fieldwork. I realised that if I were to do this research again, there are ways which I could do so that I would be successful in employing

pagtatanong-tanong. For example, as suggested by Pe-Pua (1989), I should memorise an outline of the topics that would be asked. Also, I should request the assistance of the RA in jotting down details immediately after each interview.. During my fieldwork, I became dependent on the printed copies of my indicative questions and made an overt use of a laptop recorder which were both contrary to pagtatanong-tanong's impromptu and unstructured character. In any case, I also thought that attending a formal training workshop on pagtatanong-tanong would be valuable in preparing myself for my fieldwork should I decide to employ pagtatanong-tanong as my main data collection method.

During the fieldwork, I also learned that the researcher should be able to adapt the conduct of interview based on the ability of the participants, and the nature of the circumstances of the interview. After noticing the children's different abilities, I adjusted some questions, by either making them simpler to be comprehensible, or using more follow up questions to probe the answers they gave. For example, in my meetings with the children, I noticed how they differed in their concept of "space." Hence, I became more specific when I asked about space such as street, village, house, and city. I realised the need to be sensitive when a child was not in the mood to participate. Such occurred once when a child participant was more inclined to play with other children than to be interviewed. Out of hiya or embarrassment, the mother tried to convince the child to discontinue playing and to participate in the interview instead. However, I explained to the mother that it would be unethical to coerce a child to participate in an interview, and added that I would just continue the interview the next time we met.

I also noticed that I had to give the children additional time to answer, and to make them feel that it was fine for me to wait until they were ready to answer. Throughout every interview session, I reminded myself to avoid any leading question. If I needed to learn about a topic that was not mentioned during the discussion, or if I

wanted to seek clarification from an earlier statement made by the participant, I asked them specific questions.

During the interviews, I noticed that electronic recording helped in verifying the accuracy of data. Digitally recording the interviews was helpful as I had participants who were speaking in Filipino but had Bisaya accents. During their interviews, there were parts that I did not understand immediately due to their accent. The video footages during the interviews of the child participants likewise captured the non-verbal responses of the child participants who, being part of the current generation of children, technology-wise, were not estranged to video recording, as they were exposed to the internet, particularly to YouTube and Facebook.

I found it crucial to ensure the children's safety when I asked them questions about sensitive topics. For example, when I asked Child 2 if she had experienced being hit by another person, she replied that her mother hit her whenever she misbehaved. After hearing what her daughter said, Child 2's mother looked at her daughter with eyes widened. Child 2 stopped from elaborating her response. Hence, I discontinued this line of questioning.

Another important lesson that I gained in the field is the value of utilising pakikiramdam (being sensitive to cues) since there were instances when my participants communicated with me through their actions. Through pakikiramdam, I came to know when to stop an interview session, as well as when not to ask a particular question. I also learned that smiling and laughing were coping mechanisms used by some child and adult participants, particularly when they felt embarrassed with a question or with the discussion that transpired.

Related to the use of pakikiramdam, I learned how important and respectful it was to withhold my reaction, especially if the research participants found such reaction to be offensive. There were occasions when I was able to contain my reaction, and there were

times when I failed to do so. For instance, I conveyed a sense of surprise inadvertently when I learned that, due to the lack of a toilet in their home, a child participant was using the toilet of their neighbour, and was taking a bath in a public space. I learned that my reaction to this incident disrespected the child's dangal. While I did not get a chance to "redeem" myself in this instance and "restore" this child's dignity accordingly, I believe that I always showed gratitude for their participation, and let them know how much I appreciated their participation. Also, I avoided making a similar mistake in the future.

Another lesson I learned from the field is related to communicating with children. Before the main fieldwork, I, together with my RA and my RF, attended a training facilitated by the TC. The TC taught us to express ourselves in a manner that was direct and simple when communicating with children. After a brief lecture on this topic, the TC invited children of different ages to join us, and asked me to have a one-on-one conversation with those children whom I met for the first time. My support team observed how I communicated with the children, and then gave some constructive suggestions, such as: avoid interrupting the children while they were talking, learn to focus as a listener, improve eye contact, be conscious of your body language or gestures, stay calm and try to comfort a crying child, refrain from being monotonous, avoid using the sentence "*Puwede ba akong magtanong ng* personal question?" [May I ask a personal question?], show more empathy, check the sequence of interview questions, and find time to practise interviewing.

A lesson, which was more of a challenge, was dealing with technology. I had to exert extra effort in doing paperwork and in communicating with my supervisors as I had no ready access to reliable technology, such as high-speed printers, multi-sheet scanners, a fast internet connection, and facilities to conduct online conferencing. I relied heavily on the internet shops in the area where I was staying.

My fieldwork was also demanding in terms of logistics. Having a reliable and dependable support team consisting of my RA, RF, TC, and JRAs was crucial in ensuring that these logistical requirements were met efficiently. The support from some top officials was likewise valuable. The City Mayor's and the DepEd's approval of my requests facilitated my recruitment of community participants.

4.10 Observed Impact of Research

My study was aimed at promoting biracial children's dangal. But even before I completed this study, I had observed some impact of the research already.

I observed that recruiting local government officials to be research participants increased their awareness about the presence of the biracial children in Angeles City. For example, even before I interviewed a particular local government official, she initiated a meeting with the Filipina sex workers in the Balibago area, and asked them about their biracial children. Another local official whom I interviewed started planning a survey to come up with a profile of the biracial children in the area. A local official and some teacher respondents struggled to provide detailed information about the needs of the biracial children in Angeles City during their interviews. I believe that the study, through the questions I asked, somehow, triggered the participants to think about their own lack of knowledge about the conditions of such children, and their lack of consultation with the child sector in the locality.

Given that my child participants considered going to fast-food chains as a form of recreation, holding our research sessions in a popular fast-food chain enabled them to spend some leisure time outside their homes, and to socialise with other children. The study also "educated" the child and parent participants about the UNCRC and the rights of children. Related to this is the information that the Convention did not support the use of corporal punishment. Some parents expressed appreciation that their stories were listened to, and relief at being able to air their personal frustrations during the interview

sessions. Likewise, the child and parent participants showed their appreciation for the research through gifts (a very Filipino cultural way) to me, such as a thank you letter, an old pen, mangoes, grapes, and vegetables. The awarding of medals during the culminating activity seemed to have improved the child participants' self-confidence, especially since some children had received some recognition for the first time in their lives.

4.11 Summary

I applied the maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik (Filipino-oriented research) approach to this study as it was suitable to the Filipino biracial children who were born in the Philippines and cared for by their Filipino parents. The five guiding principles of the maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik involve: (a) gaining the participants' trust as pre-requisite to obtaining trustworthy information; (b) treating research participants as co-equals; (c) ensuring the participants' safety during the research process; (d) ensuring that the research methods used are applicable to the circumstances of the participants; and (e) using the language that would make it convenient for the participants to express themselves (Pe-Pua, 1989; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). The interview was the primary data collection method. The Filipino indigenous method called pagpapakuwento (a combination of interview and storytelling) was incorporated in the drawing activity.

The treatment of adult and child participants as kapwa (fellow human being) was central to this research approach. This study involved biracial children as participants and as junior research associates in line with promoting their participation rights and enhancing their dangal.

Before I started my fieldwork, I secured ethics approval from Auckland University of Technology's Ethics Committee (AUTEC), and developed the interview questions. I began the fieldwork with the recruitment of a research assistant, a

recruitment facilitator, and a translation consultant. The research assistant became my *tulay* (bridge) to key officials in Angeles City including those who were members of the LCPC. In line with the AUTEC's requirement, I hired a recruitment facilitator to ensure that no child and parent participants were coerced to participate in the study considering that I used to work as an Executive Director of an organisation that assisted this group of children. The translation consultant ensured that the forms and questions that I translated from English to Filipino were comprehensible to my child and adult participants.

A total of 10 biracial children and their parents and 16 community members with different roles were recruited for this study. The biracial child participants were half black American (1), half white Australian (2), half white British (2), half white American (3), half Korean (1), and half white Scottish (1). The community participants were teachers (6), government officials (5), priests (2), a nun, a police officer, and an NGO worker. There were also group activities where the children drew and portrayed a drama as forms of pagpapakuwento (combination of interview and story-telling). To recognise the efforts of the child and parent participants, as well as of the support team, the fieldwork culminated with a recognition program where certificates and awards were given.

During my fieldwork, I had to overcome challenges that were related to my research skills, the need to communicate with my child participants effectively, and the demanding logistical requirements which was made worse by the lack of consistent access to technology. However, it was motivating to observe the fieldwork's impact in Angeles City. There was an increased awareness among adult participants regarding the conditions of the biracial children in their locality. The child and parent participants were able to engage in pakikipagkapwa with their fellow participants.

I transcribed all the interviews and coded the data with the help of the NVivo software. I identified the themes using the thematic analysis method. The results of the data analysis are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Dangal – Meaning, Barriers and Enablers

(Findings of the Study)

This findings chapter addresses the three research questions, thus the chapter is divided into three parts: the biracial children's concept of dangal (dignity), the barriers to dangal, and the enablers of dangal. Dangal was found to be understood by children as having external and internal domains, and related to pakikipagkapwa or "humaneness at its highest level" (Santiago, 1976, p. 133). The barriers to the children's positive experience of dangal included social prejudice, poverty, governmental inadequacy, and environmental disturbances. Enablers of dangal included road maps proposed by the children (that contain enhancing functionality of their surroundings), and those proposed by the adults (alleviating poverty and dealing with social prejudice).

The findings represent the views of the ten biracial child participants (4 males and 6 females) and their parents, the 16 community participants (6 teachers, 5 officials, 2 priests, a nun, a police officer, and an NGO worker). Adults from different sectors, including government, community and religious, were recruited to participate in this study to gain a broader perspective of the issues concerning the biracial children in Angeles City. Quotes from participants are included for illustration; some basic information such as role (Child, parent, etc), gender (m=male, f=female) and age (yo=years old) are given where relevant. The drawings cited in section 5.3 can be found in Appendix C.

5.1 Understanding Dangal

The general definition of dangal used in this study is from Enriquez: dangal is "the intrinsic quality of a person or sector that allows him/ them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 46). Congruent with the internality and externality dimensions of the Filipino personality

(Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000), the children's concept of dangal has an external

and an internal domain.

5.1.1   External Aspects of Dangal

At the outer layer, dangal, as expressed by the child participants, gave substance

to security which reflected the comfort or freedom from anxieties that children felt in

their bodies, including those feelings that they derived from the use of their senses, such

as their sight, smell, and touch. The main enabler of such security for them was

functionality. Something is considered "functional" if it is able to "deliver a pre-defined

performance" (Gupta, 2011, p. 321), or to function based on how it was designed. In

this study, this definition was expanded to include features that contributed to

functionality, namely, colourfulness, cleanliness, durability, space, coolness, and so on.

Colourfulness and Cleanliness. The child participants liked things that were

colourful and clean. They associated colourfulness and cleanliness with beauty.

> [When asked whether he liked their house, and why:]
> *Opo, kasi po maganda. Maraming display. Paborito ko ang mga bulaklak.*
> Yes, because it's beautiful. There are many things on display. My favourite are the
> flowers [points to plastic-made flowers in the living room]. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

He also liked his bag because it had his favourite colours which made it beautiful.

He also liked his bike because of its colour, but was sad to see it losing its paint.

Equating beauty with cleanliness, some children liked their house because it was

beautiful and always kept clean.

> *Kasi palaging nalilinis.*
> Because it is always being cleaned. (Child 6, m, 7yo)

> *Kasi maganda po pag malinis*
> It is beautiful if it is clean. (Child 9, f, 8yo)

Durability and Sturdiness. Sturdiness was also associated with beauty which implies that children looked into an object's intrinsic value, and did not depend solely on what was on the surface.

> [When asked why she considered the chairs in their school to be beautiful:]
> *Kasi po, pag upo mo, makakaupo ka; hindi siya sira. Yung ibang upuan, mga sira na.*
> Because when you sit on the chair, you can sit on it; it is not broken. Other chairs are broken. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

A house that was solidly built was considered a sturdy house. Such was the view of a child participant who was grateful for the repairs made by the carpenters to their house.

> *Kasi po, mas matibay daw yung mga kahoy.*
> Because they said the timber is stronger. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

Between durability and colourfulness, the former was preferred and, at the same time, more valued if it was also affordable. Asked to choose between her expensive doll shoes and her ordinary black plastic shoes, a child participant selected the latter.

> *Kasi po, ang doll shoes ay nasisira din. Ang ganito po [ang itim na sapatos na plastik], hindi madaling masira; tapos, makakamura ka pa.*
> Because doll shoes get broken too. This [her black plastic shoes] is hard-wearing, and is cheap. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Capacity of space. Having sufficient space helps to enhance functionality. Aside from being durable, Child 1 liked his bag because it had several pockets that helped him organise his things.

> *Kasi po para hindi masikip, kunwari puno ito [isang bulsa], dito [isa pang bulsa] ko naman ilalagay yung iba.*
> So that it is not crowded, for example, if this [one pocket] is filled up, I will place the rest here [another pocket]. (m, 12yo)

Adequate space gives physical comfort. Asked why he preferred his old pair of shoes over the pre-loved pair that was given to him by his elder brother, Child 1

explained that in addition to being durable, his old pair of shoes were neither tight nor loose.

> *Kasi po, kasyang kasya sa akin; tapos, matagal pong masira.*
> Because they fit well, and they last. (m, 12yo)

For a space to be functional, it had to have sufficient capacity to accommodate the required number of individuals who could do their activities with ease. Child 8 lived with her relatives. Explaining why she liked the place where they lived, she noted the generous space of her home.

> *Kasi po, malaki yung tinitirhan namin dito. Pag malaki yung bahay mo, marami kang makakasama; kapag maliit yung bahay mo, kaunti lang po kayo.*
> Because our place is big. If your house is big, you can be with many people; if your house is small, there would be just a few of you. (f, 11yo)

Coolness. Given the Philippines' humid weather, coolness was a functionality feature that was reported by some children who liked their neighbourhood for its atmosphere because it gave relief to the body and promoted health.

> *Masarap (ang hangin) kasi mapresko.*
> The air is good because it is cool. (Child 6, m, 7yo)

> *Presko po; masarap sa katawan.*
> It is cool; it feels nice. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Kasi po napakainit na ng panahon ngayon, puwede pong ma-heat stroke kasi walang preskong hangin.*
> It is too hot nowadays, you can get a heat stroke because there is no fresh air. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

The external domain of children's dangal is enabled by certain functionality features, which may explain why all the child participants were fond of shopping malls, supermarkets, and food chains. Such places were painted, and contained lots of displays (colourful), clean, spacious, and air-conditioned (with cool ambience). Those places were also accessible as they were just within the city; and affordable as they charged

"no entrance fee;" thus, the child participants regarded them as their *pasyalan* (places of recreation, promenades, places for walking around).

5.1.2   Internal Aspects of Dangal

With regard to the internal domain, the amount of dangal enjoyed by the children is indicated by feelings of happiness, which was enabled by pakikipagkapwa or being treated as kapwa (fellow human being).

When asked why they were happy in their school and neighbourhood, some children had no other reasons except the pakikipagkapwa that they experienced with other children. The main examples were having nice friends and classmates.

> *Batang mababait.*
> Friendly children. (Child 8, m, 7yo)

> *Kasi po, marami akong mga kaibigan.*
> Because I have many friends. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Kasi po, kapag wala kang kaibigan, hindi ka lalong sasaya. Kailangan may kaibigan, lalo kang masaya.*
> Because if you have no friend, the more that you will not be happy. You should have friends to be happier. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

> *Sa school po namin, masaya, kasi po yung mga estudyante, nakakatuwa sila kapag nagbibiruan.*
> In our school, it is fun because the students are funny when they make fun of each other. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Hence, children preferred to have more opportunities for pakikipagkapwa with fellow children. Asked what was missing in their neighbourhood that they wished it had, two child participants reported their longing for more friendly children.

> *Kapag po pinaupahan diyan, tapos may tumira, may kalaro na rin po kami.*
> When someone rents that neighbouring house, then we will have playmates. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

> *Mas maganda po ang merong kaibigan.*

It is better to have friends. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

Being treated as kapwa by adults likewise brought joy to children and promoted their dangal. Child 3 (f, 15yo) considered their house as a place filled with happiness where things like dining together, bonding, and having fun occurred. She added that it was "*tahanan sa pakiramdam* (it feels like home)." While the word "*bahay*" or house refers to the physical structure of a dwelling, the word "*tahanan*" or home implies positive or benevolent relations among the members living within.

The adjectives that the children used to describe their mothers and other carers and favourite playmates revealed the presence of pakikipagkapwa in their relationship, as well as the association between pakikipagkapwa and character. Examples of these descriptions are *mapasensiya* (patient), *mabait* (kind), *hindi palaaway* (not quarrelsome), and *matulungin* (helpful).

> *Mapasensiya, kasi kahit makulit ako minsan, pag may nagawa po akong kasalanan, hindi niya ako sinisigawan.*
> Patient, because even if I'm naughty sometimes, or if I made a mistake, she [mother] does not shout at me. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

> *Mabait, kasi po siya yung bumabawal sa akin kung ano yung masama, kung ano yung mali.*
> Kind, because she [mother] stops me from doing what is bad, what is wrong. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Kasi po mababait silang bata, hindi sila palaaway.*
> Because they are good children, they are not quarrelsome. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Siyempre po, hindi niya ako inaaway; tapos mabait siya. Tapos, minsan, nakikita ko siyang naglalaba, tinutulungan niya ang mama niya, kasi lima silang magkakapatid; siya yung panganay, ten [years old] siya.*
> Because she [a playmate] doesn't fight with me, and she is kind. Sometimes I see her doing the laundry, helping her mother because they are five siblings; and she is the eldest, ten years old. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

The children's sense of gratitude reflected their happiness for being regarded as kapwa. When asked what they wanted to tell their mothers, grandparents, and other carers, most children had only gratitude and appreciation to convey.

Salamat, kasi inaalagaan niya ako.
Thank you, because she takes care of me. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Salamat po [kay tita] dahil pinatira niya kami dito; tapos po pinapakain niya kami.
Thanks [to my aunt] because she lets us live here, and she feeds us. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Salamat po [kay tita] dahil kahit makulit ako, nilulutuan niya ako ng pagkain sa umaga; tapos po, ginigising niya ako.
Thanks [to my other aunt] because even if I'm naughty, she cooks for me in the morning, and she also wakes me up. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Thank you po [kay Lolo] dahil kahit ayaw ko pa pong kumain, pinipilit niya ako para kumain; tapos po kay Lola naman, ganun din.
Thanks [to my grandfather] because even if I don't want to eat yet, he tries to make me eat; thanks too to my grandmother who does the same. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Depicting the "kapwa-centered personhood" that is marked by "sharing and giving" (De Guia, 2010, p. 96), the child participants performed deeds which were non-verbal expressions of their gratitude, and to reciprocate their parents' pakikipagkapwa, for example, by helping with household chores.

Maghugas ng plato, mag-igib, tapos, namalengke.
Wash the dishes, fetch water, then go to the market. (Child 9, f, 8yo)

Nung Sabado at Linggo, inutusan po kami ni Lola na maglaba; tapos, nilinis namin yung kuwarto, bahay, CR. Tapos, naghuhugas po kami sa kusina, nagwawalis din dito.
Last Saturday and Sunday, my grandmother asked us to do the laundry; then we cleaned our bedroom, house, and toilet. We also wash dishes in the kitchen, and sweep the floor here [receiving area]. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Two child participants tried to earn some money as a way of showing pakikipagkapwa with their mothers who were unemployed. One collected recyclable

items and sold them, while the other worked as a part-time garbage collector. The little

money they earned went to food.

> *Binebenta po pag minsan; ipambibili ko ng mga baon.*
> I just sell them sometimes; I use the money to buy meals/snacks for school. (Child 10, f,
> 9yo)

> *Nagustuhan ko kasi marami po akong pera, pambili ng pagkain.*
> I like it [working as garbage collector] because I get lots of money to buy food. (Child 1,
> m, 12yo)

Looking at dangal's internal and external domains revealed that, based on the

children's point of view, dangal is made up largely of non-materialistic dimensions.

This was confirmed when children replied "*wala na po*" (nothing else) when asked if

there were things that they wanted to buy for their house, aside from addressing issues

related to functionality and pakikipagkapwa. Therefore, dangal is present despite the

scarcity of resources.

5.2 Barriers to Dangal

Four particular barriers to dangal emerged from the data, namely, social prejudice,

poverty, governmental inadequacy, and environmental disturbance.

5.2.1 Social Prejudice

Kapwa is shared identity, a sense of being fellow humans. Any form of prejudice

contradicts kapwa's notion of equality, which according to De Guia (2010) "regards all

human beings as co-equals," irrespective of age, gender orientation, income, and

educational level (p. 69). In the case of the biracial children, their dangal or dignity was

affected when other children and adults looked down on them. Moreover, their exercise

of pakikipagkapwa was inhibited since they were not being treated as kapwa.

There were many reports of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping from the

child participants – facets of racialising the biracial children. Prejudice is defined as "an

antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization" (Allport, 1979, p. 9) or

antagonism that is not founded on logic nor personal knowledge. Behaviours that are based on prejudice lead to discrimination (Whitaker, Colombo, & Rand, 2018). Discrimination is the "unfair treatment motivated by identity characteristics" (Bastos & Faerstein, 2012, p. 178) such as gender, skin colour, and seniority. A stereotype is defined as a "set of qualities perceived to reflect the essence of a group; beliefs about the characteristics and attributes of a group and its members that shape how people think about and respond to the group" (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010, p. 8). I categorised prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping as "social prejudice" because they are all related to how the biracial children were treated by members of society – be they fellow children, or their mothers, grandparents, other carers, teachers, and people with whom they may or may not have a relationship.

Indicators of social prejudice reported by the child participants and their mothers, grandparents, and other carers included bullying and name-calling, cultural/racial stereotyping, social stigma, not being consulted, and corporal punishment. The negative impact of such on the child participants' dangal was manifested through expressed emotions, such as loneliness, anger, and feelings of exclusion.

Name-calling and Bullying. The child participants reported many incidents of how other children made them cry, or hurt their feelings through name-calling and labelling. One child was called "*Amerikanong fake*" (fake American).

> *Mukha daw siyang Amerikano, pero hindi English yung sinasabi niya.*
> He looks like an American, but he does not speak English. (Parent 5, f)

Another was called "*pekeng tisay*" (fake white girl), and taunted as ugly because of the moles on her face. She decided to ignore the "bullies" as a way of coping, although there were times when she felt resentful and reacted to the name-calling verbally.

> *Sabi ko, "Kung pekeng tisay ako, I don't care!"*
> I told them, "If I'm a fake White girl, I don't care!" (Child 2, f, 9yo)

Some children were picked on because of their facial features. For example, a nun reported that children whose foreign fathers were Japanese or Korean, were teased for the shape of their eyes.

> *Yung sa eyes nila na palagi daw silang nakapikit.*
> They are mocked that their eyes are always closed. (Nun, f)

The colour of their skin was perhaps the most visible feature that other children used as the focus of their social prejudice towards biracial children in Angeles City. One biracial boy (Child 1, m, 12yo) was teased quite aggressively by another child in the neighbourhood who refused to play with him, and even called him names. When the biracial child ignored his name-calling, the other child hit him with a stone that landed on the biracial boy's head, causing it to bleed. He required urgent medical attention for this. He was called "*baluga*," a "racist, derogatory term used against Aetas and anyone who happens to be too short, too curly-haired, and too dark-skinned" (R.O., 2015, p. 1).

This child was a half-Black American, and not an Aeta (an indigenous Filipino group with small physique, dark skin and kinky hair). Another half-Black American child participant who was also not from the indigenous group was also called "baluga."

> *Sabi nila maitim, kulot, baluga, kahit hindi naman. Tinanong ko rin siya, "Ano ba ang tatay mo?" "Black American po siya."*
> They say she is dark, with kinky hair, she must be a *baluga* although she is not. I asked her, "What is the background of your father?" She replied, "He is Black American." (Teacher 5, m)

A half-Black male child was bullied and called "*negro*"[17]. During the interview, his mother used the phrase "*tao rin*" (also human), implying that her son was not treated as kapwa or fellow human being.

---

[17] This term may seem outdated but it is still current in the Philippines. It is a word that originated from Black/African skin which has become associated with being inferior, lacking in civility, evilness, and so on, in the Philippines. This stigmatisation has not been eradicated although it might have diminished.

Sabi, "o, negro!", "ang itim mo!" Siguro dahil nga naiiba sila sa balat. Hindi naman dapat gaganunin; siyempre, tao rin siya, may damdamin. Nasasaktan ako pag naririnig kong ginaganun yung anak ko [umiiyak].

They said, "negro!", "your skin is dark!" Maybe because his skin is different. They should not do that; my son is also human, with feelings. I feel very hurt whenever my child is treated that way [cries]. (Parent 6, f)

Some younger-aged child participants said they did not know what made them the target of bullying. Asked why they were being bullied, the younger children's non-verbal responses reflected Child 1's (m, 12yo) reply: "*hindi ko po alam.* (I do not know)." However, according to two older children, such actions were due to other children's lack of self-assurance.

Lagi akong pinapansin ng teacher kasi nga po, ako lang yung kakaiba. Kaya naiinggit yung ibang bata. Siguro akala nila, "napapansin siya dahil maputi siya."
The teacher is always giving me attention because I am the only one who looks different. So other children feel jealous. Maybe they are thinking, "she is getting all the attention because she is White." (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Sa tingin ko, gusto po nilang saktan yung ibang tao kasi wala silang mahanap na mas mahina pa sa kanila.
I think they want to hurt others because they could not find someone weaker than them. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

The colour of the skin was also regarded as related to beauty and economic status. According to the adult participants, there was a tendency among Filipinos to associate a dark complexion with having low status, with slavery, uncleanliness, or an inferior race.

Ang tingin nila, ito [maitim na tao] ay marumi, slave, mababa. Iniuugnay natin sa madilim. Di katulad ng white, though nadi-discriminate din ang white.
They think they [dark people] are dirty, slaves, of low status. We associate it with darkness. Unlike white, although white people experience discrimination too. (NGO worker, f)

Kasi yung itim sa atin, hindi maganda. Katulad ng baluga o Aeta. Sila ay underdog. Hindi sila mataas ang lahi sa atin. We do not see them as higher race. Mas kinikilala natin ang puti. Taong bundok yan, uncivilised. Nagbe-beg ng pagkain.

Because our perception of a dark skin is not good. Like the baluga or Aeta. They are underdogs. Their race is not superior to us. We do not see them as a higher race. We give higher regard to those who are white. They [Aetas] are from the mountains, uncivilised. Begging for food. (Priest 2, m)

Cultural/Racial Stereotyping. Some adult participants tried to speculate on the biracial children's behaviour, as well as the child participants' experience of being bullied. One surmised that race was related to a child's character, for example, half-White children could be more stubborn than half-Black children because White people were known to be more independent or individualistic.

Siguro dahil di tulad ng mga itim, ang mga puti, usually, independent sila. May mga ugali sila na pag ginusto nila, gusto nila. Dahil yata sa blood.

Maybe because unlike the Black people, the White people are usually independent. They have an attitude of, if they want something, they really want it. Maybe it is in their blood. (Nun, f)

Another theory was that children's deviant behaviour was somehow related to race. For example, a mother came crying to a teacher participant because her biracial children were dropping out of school. The mother was saddened by the disobedience of her children who wanted to be fashion models. They were not studying but going into modelling work. This teacher believed that being stubborn was culturally related.

Iba talaga yung dugo. Sabihin na natin, yung kultura nila. Ibang iba sa gusto natin.

Their blood is different. Let us say, their culture. How they behave is very different from how we want it. (Teacher 6, f)

There was also stereotyping of how harmony in relationship was not easily achieved between persons of different races. This was the theory offered by a teacher participant as to why biracial students did not thrive in their school – because of the attitude of other students that they would not get along with biracial students because

they looked different. There was one particular biracial child who had to transfer to another school due to bullying. The child's mother believed her son was bullied because of his white complexion, blonde hair, blue eyes, and because he was taller than most of the children in school.

> *Siguro yung mga mag-aaral dito sa atin, hindi nila alam na mayroong batang katulad niya. Para sa kanila, pag naiba ang itsura ng isang bata, ang akala nila ay baka hindi nila ito makasundo.*
> Maybe the students here are not familiar with children like him. They think that if a child looks different, they might not be able to get along with him. (Teacher 1, f)

This type of prejudice was also reported by a mother whose biracial son came home one afternoon and told her that he was being bullied, and that other children said that he was different. To counter this incident, she taught her son what to say to other children the next time the same situation occurred – that he was just like them except that his skin colour was different.

> *Sabi ko sa kanya, "Di mo sinabi na bata ka lang rin kagaya nila! Iba lang ang kulay mo!".*
> I told him, "Didn't you tell them that you are also just a child like them! Only your skin is different!" (Parent 1, f)

While being dark-complexioned was associated with poverty and ugliness, a white complexion was associated with beauty and being wealthy – a stereotype that was held by mothers themselves.

> [When asked why she was happy for having a son]
> *Ang anak ko, pogi po siya [tumawa].*
> My son is good-looking [laughs]. (Parent 5, f)

Another mother had little self-confidence due to her limited schooling and lack of satisfaction with her looks. Therefore, she considered her half-White daughter as an unforeseen "achievement" and a source of strength.

Hindi ko po ine-expect na sobrang ganda ng anak ko [tumawa]. Natutuwa ako na kahit ganito lang ako, nakapag-anak ako ng magandang anak. Inspirasyon ko po sa buhay yun.

I did not expect that I will have a very beautiful daughter [laughs]. I'm happy that even if I'm just like this, I was able to give birth to a beautiful child. That is my inspiration in life. (Parent 2, f)

A teacher commented that although his female student did not excel in academics, her Caucasian features compensated for it. A priest participant expressed his surprise at the product of the relationship between Filipino women he considered unattractive and a white male foreigner.

Hindi rin siya ganun kagaling, pero yung talent po niya ay pang-beauty queen.
She is not that good in school, but her talent fits a beauty queen. (Teacher 5, m)

Ang ganda ng combination. Kaya siguro type na type ng mga Pinay, kasi kahit yung Pinay na kaliit at hindi maganda, pag lumabas yung bata na tatay ay White foreigner, maganda yung lalabas na anak. I was amazed.
They [White men and Filipino women] make a good combination. Probably the reason why Filipinas like it [to be impregnated by White men] is because, even if they are small and not beautiful, when the baby, fathered by a White foreigner, is born, the child is good-looking. I was amazed. (Priest 2, m)

The struggle to cope with the social stereotype that associated having a half-White child with being wealthy was described by a mother who noted that, when shopping with her child in tow, vendors assumed they were rich and usually hiked the prices up.

Dahil siya ay American, expected ng mga Pilipino ay mayaman. Kaya minsan, hindi ko siya sinasama sa mall, sa palengke, kasi pag kasama ko siya, akala nila may pera ako.
Because she is American, Filipinos expect that she is rich. So sometimes, I don't bring her to the malls, to the markets because when she's with me, people think I am rich. (Parent 7, f)

Social Stigma. Aside from associating skin colour with beauty and economic status, there is also a social stereotype or "beliefs that various traits or acts are characteristic of particular social groups" (Locksley, Hepburn, & Ortiz, 1982, p. 23).

Children who were both poor and biracial were perceived as resulting from prostitution. This view was apparently shared by many adults in society, and by other children who heard adults express these biases about biracial children and their mothers.

Nadi-discriminate ang mga biracial dahil sa colour nila, pero mas lalong discriminated yung Black kasi, sa tingin nila, ang black ay mababa. Though medyo mataas ang tingin natin sa White, discriminated din sila kasi alam naman ng society na sila ay mostly galing sa prostitution.
The biracial children are being discriminated against because of the colour of their skin, but the Blacks are more discriminated against because they are considered of low status. Although we give high regard to the White, they are still discriminated against because the society knows that they are mostly children from prostitution. (NGO worker, f)

Tayo po kasi, pag biracial, iniisip kaagad na yung mother is probably 100% pokpok.
We have this assumption that if a child is biracial, the mother is probably 100% a prostitute. (Teacher 6, f)

Yung kaalaman ng mga bata, kapag po ganun yung kulay ng estudyante, ibig sabihin, yung magulang nila ay nagtrabaho sa mga bar.
What the children know is, if a student has such skin colour, it means the mother worked in bars. (Teacher 5, m)

Naririnig nung bata, kaya yung bata, alam niyang sabihin. Naririnig niya sa matatanda.
The child hears it, so they know how to speak about it. The child also hears it from the adults. (Parent 1, f)

Mababa ang tingin nila sa iyo; hindi naman nila alam na hindi mo nga nakuha sa ganun yun. Masyadong mababa yung tingin nila sa mga nagkakaanak sa foreigner. Isip nila kaagad, nagtrabaho sa bar.
They look down on you, even if that is not really what happened. They despise women who had children with foreigners. They immediately think that those women worked in a bar. (Parent 1, f)

Where it was not the case, i.e., the mother was not a prostituted woman, the parents (mostly the mothers) would feel very hurt.

Foreign men also held prejudices against Filipina sex workers. These men had a preconception that prostituted women had sex with different men, and, thus, could not be trusted with regard to accurately identifying their children's biological fathers. As reported by the adult participants, the foreign men oftentimes refused to communicate, support, or even recognise the biracial children. Out of the ten child participants, only two had some financial support from their biological fathers, although this support was not consistent. Eight child participants had no form of communication with their fathers at all. Apparently, many foreign men refused to support and legally recognise their biracial children.

> *Dahil ito nga ay one night stand lang, kung minsan, ayaw silang tanggapin. Sasabihin na ang mother ay galing sa prostitution, kaya hindi sila sure kung ito nga ay anak nila.*
> Because it was just a one night stand, sometimes, children are not accepted. A man would say that the woman was a prostitute, so he is not sure if the child is his. (NGO worker, f)

> *Si daddy ko pinakulong ni mama ko [tumawa] kasi hindi po nagbibigay ng pera sa amin.*
> My mother sent my father to prison [laughs] because he was not giving us money. (Child 6, m, 7yo)

> *Hindi siya in-acknowledge ng daddy niya sa US Embassy.*
> He was not acknowledged by his father in the US Embassy. (Parent 5, f)

> *Pinayagan kong mag-DNA testing kasi alam ko namang anak niya. Pero wala ring nangyari. Hindi naman kami inano.*
> I agreed for them to undergo DNA testing because I was sure she was his child. But then nothing happened; he never supported us. (Parent 4, f)

> *Tinanggihan na niya siya, eh. Kung talagang gusto niyang bigyan yung anak ko, doon pa lang sa email na pinadala ko sa kanya, sinabi na niya.*
> He already refused. If he really wanted to help my son, he would have said so in his reply to my email. (Parent 1, f)

> *Gusto daw niyang maging ama. Inano muna niya sa akin, mag-DNA test daw po; tapos, pera ko daw gamitin sa pagpa-DNA test. Siyempre, wala naman akong pambabayad.*

He said he wanted to be a father. But he wanted to have a DNA test first, and for me to pay for that test. But I have no money to pay for that. (Parent 2, f)

Hindi ko na kailangang magpakita pa sa kanya. Masakit yung ginawa niya sa anak ko.
There is no need to meet him. What he did to my child was painful. (Parent 8, f)

The further impact on the biracial children was that they were deprived of having the dangal experience of a "family". Due to the influence of Catholicism, the Filipino ideal family is comprised of a mother, a father, and children. The parents are expected to be married, and the children should be biologically related to both parents. Any deviation from this ideal can lead to children being teased, "othered", and bullied. Such was the experience of some of the biracial children when they had a mother only present, and the biological father was physically absent. A frequent term used to express this stigma is "*anak sa labas*" (children out of wedlock).

Hindi sila katulad ng ibang bata dito na kaklase nila na Pilipino, kumpleto – may nanay at tatay.
They [the biracial children] are unlike their classmates who are Filipino and with a complete family – mother and father. (Teacher 4, f)

Minsan, sinabihan siya na "hindi mo naman papa yan!"
There was a time he was told, "he is not your father!" (Parent 5, f)

Iniinggit niya yung anak ko na "ako may tatay; ikaw wala."
She [my niece] was teasing my son, "I have a father; you don't have one." (Parent 1, f)

"Iba ang ama," "kawawa," lagi po siyang kawawa.
"His father is different," "what a pity," she is always pitied. (Parent 8, f)

A teacher participant's biracial grandson was fatherless, i.e. his biological father was not physically present in his life. This biracial grandson was insulted using the Filipino idiom "*napulot ka lang sa tae ng kalabaw* (you were just picked up from the carabao's dung)" which depicted the lowly treatment given to the child because his father was not in his life.

This social stigma was pervasive among other adult participants who held a bias that being fatherless would result in deviant behaviours. This pointed to the view of the roles of fathers held by Filipinos, that fathers are the protectors or defenders of their children.

> *Mahalaga ang father image, para sa ganoon, mayroong magmo-motivate sa bata. Sa larangan ng disiplina, kung nandiyan siguro ang ama niya, mas magiging mabuting bata pa siya.*
>
> A father image is important so that there is someone to motivate a child. In terms of discipline, if his father is around, he would be a better behaved child. (Teacher 1, f)

> *Pag hindi nakilala yung ama, barumbado number one. Nalululong sila sa drugs. Wala silang nakagisnang amang magdidisiplina sa kanila.*
>
> If their fathers are not around, they become troublemakers. They get addicted to drugs. This is because they are raised without a father who would impose discipline. (Nun, f)

> *Kasi ako, tagapagtanggol po ako ng anak ko. Kung sino man ang ama, siya ang tagapagtanggol sa anak.*
>
> Because I am the defender of my children. Whoever is the father, he is the defender of his child. (Teacher 5, m)

However, according to one mother, it is possible to mould a child's character properly even without a father present, although she noted that this was a big challenge, as being a single parent would always be difficult.

> *Yung tatay niya, Amerikano. Napalaki ko siya nang maayos kahit wala yung tatay niya dito.*
>
> His father is an American. I was able to raise him well, even if his father is not around. (Parent 5, f)

The Filipinos' concept of an ideal family is that the children should be from the same parents. In one example, two biracial daughters were from different racial backgrounds. One was fathered by a White American whom the child never met. The other was fathered by the mother's male partner at that time who was a Black

Amerasian. This difference evoked a typical reaction from other people: "*Ah! Magkaiba yung anak niya!*" ("Oh! Her children look different from each other!")

Another deviation from the image of an 'ideal' family was having a homosexual parent. The child could be bullied because of this; or the child could feel embarrassed for having a homosexual parent.

> *Sabi ng mga kabarkada, "bakit daddy, eh, babae yan!" Umiiyak siya.*
> Her friends said, "why daddy, when she is a female!" The child was crying. (Nun, f)

> *Kung minsan, nahihiya siya. Sabi niya, "yung damit mo, ayusin mo, ha?" [tumawa].*
> *Ayaw niya yung mukhang babae ako.*
> Sometimes he is embarrassed. He would say, "make sure that you dress properly."
> [laughs]. He doesn't like it when I dress like a woman. (Parent 3, m, with a 12yo biracial
> son)

"Just Seen, but Not Heard" – When Children are Not Consulted. Not being consulted by adults was another indicator that children were not respected as kapwa whose opinions were important. While some of the child participants were consulted by their mothers, grandparents, and other carers, none of them were consulted by their teachers nor by the authorities. This lack of consultation was experienced not only by the child participants but also by other children, whether biracial or not. When questioned if her teacher had asked about her preferences, and why, Child 5 replied:

> *Hindi po. Kasi po, sa tingin ko po, tinuturuan niya lang po kami.*
> No. Maybe because her role is to teach us only. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Based on the responses of the child and adult participants, such lack of consultation was likely due to the adults' prejudice against children based on age and their perceived capability. Adults regarded children as not aware and not having the capacity to communicate their needs. It was assumed that adults knew what children needed or wanted.

[When asked if he ever consulted with the children in the city and why:]

Hindi. Yung mga parents ang mostly ka-interact ng office namin kasi yung welfare ng mga anak nila ay alam nila.

No. Our office interacts with the parents mostly because they know about the welfare of their children. (Local official 5, m)

This bias of adults towards children was also evident in the child participants' experiences with their mothers, grandparents, and other carers. Except for three children, the rest reported that they were never consulted by their mothers, grandparents, and other carers. Of those who were consulted, it was mainly about buying basic items such as food and clothing (when there was money available). According to the child participants, some adults seemed to think that consulting children would just mean additional financial cost.

[When asked whether their parents or grandparents consulted them:]

Opo. Kapag may pera kami. Ano po ang gusto kong kainin? Saan po kami kakain?

Yes. When we have money. What do I want to eat? Where are we going to eat? (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Opo. Tinatanong niya kung gusto ba naming bumili ng damit. Basta kapag nagsuweldo po siya, tinatanong kami.

Yes. She asks us if we want to buy clothes. Whenever she gets her salary, she asks us. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Opo. Pag may pera siya, binibilhan niya din ako; pero pag wala, hindi po.

Yes. When she has money, she buys me things, but if she has no money, no. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Corporal Punishment. All the child participants had experienced some physical form of punishment, either from their mothers, grandparents, or their teachers. Corporal punishment was still regarded in Filipino culture as an "effective" means to impose discipline. However, using this did not necessarily make the adults feel good.

Minsan, pag matigas ang ulo, napapalo ko. Hindi masising masaktan, pero nagsisisi po talaga ako. Matigas ang ulo ng mga anak ko, maldita.

Sometimes if they are naughty, I hit them. I can't avoid hitting them, but I really regret it whenever I do so. My children are stubborn, naughty. (Parent 8, f)

My study revealed that physical punishment could incite hatred instead of discipline. A child participant talked about her strong dislike for her teacher who hit her students' hands with a metal ruler. The child regarded this as a disrespectful act which merely interrupted their writing.

Kasi po namamalo siya dito [kaliwang palad]. Nananakit habang nagsusulat po yung mga kaklase ko. Pinapalo po kami ng bakal na ruler. Masakit po.
Because she hits us here [points to her left palm]. She hits us while my classmates are writing. She uses a metal ruler. It hurts. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

Non-preferential Treatment for Biracial Children. Adults had a presumption that the needs of all children were the same, whether they were biracial or not. For example, when asked about the amount of funds that were spent on biracial children, one local official replied that they did not regard them as different from all other children, thus no special funds were needed to be committed to them.

Hindi kami conscious sa pagplano tungkol sa mga kabataang biracial kasi we consider them Filipino children. I'm sorry to let you know na wala talaga kaming statistics kung ilan ba sa mga na-serve namin ang biracial.
We are not consciously planning for biracial children because for us, we consider them as Filipino children. I'm sorry to let you know that we don't really have statistics on how many of the children we serve are biracial. (Official 2, f)

In a way, this notion of "equality" could disadvantage some groups because it could be used as an excuse for not looking into the unique needs of various groups within the children's sector. When asked if they had any specific policy/ies or program/s for the biracial children, seven community participants (local officials and teachers) answered "no" because they perceived the biracial children as just like other Filipino children.

Wala, kasi ito ay covered ng child's rights. Pag sinabing child's rights, pantay-pantay lang ang karapatan ng ating mga kabataan.

None, because this is covered by child's rights. When we say child's rights, children have equal rights. (Official 2, f)

Tinitingnan namin sila as isang buong sector ng kabataang estudyante.

We look at them as one sector of young students. (Official 3, m)

In general, may mga patakaran para sa lahat ng kabataan.

In general, there are policies for all the youth. (Official 4, f)

Kine-cater ng aming office, in general, mga kabataan, mapa-pure Pilipino or mixed race siya.

Our office caters to the youth in general, whether pure Filipino or of mixed race. (Official 5, m)

Walang particular doon sa biracial children, pero yung pangkalahatan, meron po.

There is no specific policy for biracial children, but there is one for all children. (Police officer, f)

Wala, kasi pantay-pantay naman yung pagtanggap namin sa school.

None, because they are all treated equally in school. (Teacher 4, f)

Wala kaming special na regulasyon. Kahit siya ay tinatawag nating biracial, Filipino pa rin siya.

We have no special regulation for them. Even if they are called biracial, they are still Filipino. (Teacher 1, f)

The community participants believed that the "generic" treatment of children meant addressing the needs of the majority, and not necessarily to reflect the concerns of the few minority. The size of the group was a common reason given for the lack of specific policies and programs for biracial children. As a consequence, biracial children could be "left behind." However, one participant opined that this group of children should be given special funding.

Dahil konti lang, they are minority.

Because they are few, they are a minority. (Priest 1, m)

Yung bilang nila, hindi ganun karami.
Their number is not that great. (Teacher 5, m)

Sana magkaron ng pondo ang government sa mga ganitong klase ng kabataan na biracial, na mapagtuunan sila ng pansin. Akala nila, pare-parehas lang tayong Pilipino. Hindi nila nakikita yung ibang uri ng pagka-Pilipino.
I hope the government would allot funds for the biracial children, that they would be given attention. The authorities think that all Filipinos are the same. They do not see the different kind of being a Filipino [of the biracial children]. (Nun, f)

5.2.2 *Poverty*

Poverty emerged as a barrier to positive dangal experiences as it forced children and parents to live in a house and a community that lacked functionality. Moreover, it constrained the extent of pakikipagkapwa of parents with the children in their care.

Communities that lack basic facilities. Five out of ten child participants resided in squatter communities with no ready access to clean water, electricity, and sanitation. This meant extra effort by the children to gain access to these. For example, two children had to fetch water using pails.

Nag-iigib lang po./Umiigib lang po.
We just fetch water. (Child 1, m, 12yo; Child 7, m, 12yo)

Child 7 had to fetch water three times a day, four full pails each time, and pay for these because the water was dispensed by a private provider who came around the neighbourhood. (There was no community-owned water source in the area.) Child 1 was from a different village and fetched water from a publicly accessible water pump once a day only, but he used bigger containers.

Access to clean water was crucial to personal hygiene. Asked how the lack of access to clean water affected him, Child 1 explained simply that he could not take a bath and would be unclean.

Hindi po ako makakaligo. Babaho po. Madumi.
I won't be able to take a bath. I will be smelly and dirty. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

Due to the lack of sanitation facilities at home, Child 1 had to step out of the house to use a toilet or to take a bath. He would take a bath in an open area near the water pump – a public space, so he had to bathe with his underwear on, removing his outer garments only. To urinate or defecate, he had to use his neighbour's improvised toilet which was a small structure located about ten steps away from their house. This "toilet" consisted of an old toilet bowl covered with scraps of wood and a piece of cloth. He had to do this all the time, including at night when he had to be extra careful as there were no lights along the way to the makeshift toilet.

This insecurity at night due to the lack of electricity was supported by the other child participants. When asked what was lacking in their neighbourhood that they wished it had, two children mentioned the power supply that would let them see in the dark or allow for other necessities.

> *Importante po yung ilaw sa gabi kasi kunwari, may kinukuha kang damit mo, hindi mo makukuha kasi wala kang ilaw.*
> It is important to have light at night because, for example, you need to get some clothes, you won't be able to get them because it's dark. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

> *Para hindi ka nilalamok, dapat may blower.*
> You need a blower in order not to be bitten by mosquitoes. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

> *Para po sa electric fan, para hindi mainit.*
> For the electric fan, so that it is not too hot. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Hindi ko po makikita yung ginagawa ko. Kunwari may assignment po ako, hindi ko makikita kasi po walang kuryente.*
> I will not be able to see what I'm doing. For example, I have assignments, I won't be able to see them because there is no electricity. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

The lack of electricity also meant extra effort in undertaking household chores. For example, without an electric stove, the child participants had to use firewood to cook their food, or heat water. Such method was cumbersome and tiring because of the need to constantly fan the fire.

Nagsisibak ng kahoy, nagpapadingas lang po kami.
We chop and just burn pieces of wood. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

Puwede ka pong magsaing sa kuryente at mag-init ng tubig, para huwag ka na lang mapagod sa de kahoy, kasi po nakakapagod yun, kasi magpapaypay ka nang magpapaypay hanggang umapoy. Nakakapawis. Sa de kahoy, mahirap.
If there is electricity, cooking rice and heating water can be done with less effort. It is very tiring to cook with firewood; you have to keep fanning until there is fire. I sweat a lot. Using firewood is difficult. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

The lack of electricity also deprived some of the child participants of ready access to television. This was unfortunate as all child participants reported watching television as their favourite leisure activity. They liked to be entertained through the cartoons and comedy programs, as well as to be updated through documentaries and news reports. This absence of power supply was an inconvenience. For example, two child participants had to go to another house owned by relatives to watch television.

Access to televised weather forecasts was important for the community, as expressed by one child, since they had to know when a typhoon was coming in order to prepare and decide whether to stay or to evacuate to a safe place. Without electricity, a particular child participant had to resort to a battery-operated radio to get the news. Also, doing the laundry was affected by the weather – not knowing whether it would rain or not, could lead to doing the laundry but not having them dry.

Pag wala po kayong kuryente, hindi mo mapapanood kung may bagyo. Hindi ka makakapaghanda. Kunwari naglaba ka, ang dami mo pong nilabhan, tapos nabasa lang ulit.
If you have no electricity, you won't know if there is a typhoon. You won't be able to prepare. For example, you did the laundry, washed a lot of clothes, then it rained, and your clothes got wet again. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

Poor Quality Housing. Since money was a determinant in the type of housing a child would have, poverty had an impact on the child's dangal as the house's structure affected its functionality. Soil flooring in the house was a major insecurity to a child

participant every time it got wet. A child felt that for their house to be a better place, it must be cemented or fortified with hollow blocks.

> *Pasementohan ito [sahig], tapos lagyan po ng hollow blocks. Napuputikan yung paa ko. Nadudumihan.*
> Have this [flooring] cemented, then put hollow blocks. My feet get muddy and dirty. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

Depreciation affected a house's functionality. One child liked their house which was an old single-storey apartment, but she did not like the "defects" or parts which needed some repair work.

> *Yung mga depektos po. Yung gripo namin, nagbara. Yung door knob, nasira ulit. Yung gutter, nahulog nung umulan nang malakas.*
> The defects. The sink clogged. The door knob broke again. The gutter fell due to heavy rain. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Health-Risk Environment. Unmaintained surroundings marked the children's neighbourhoods, and such was a functionality issue as children associated beauty and comfort with cleanliness. One child and her mother were renting an apartment unit in a dilapidated single-storey building. Asked if there was anything in their house that she did not like, she cited their toilet.

> *Banyo, [tumawa] kasi may bulate. Natatakot kasi ako lagi, parang umaano-ano [zig zag] siya, minsan pumupunta sa paa ko [itinuro ang paa].*
> The toilet, [laughs] because there is a worm. I get scared because it's moving like this [zig-zag move], it comes near my feet [smiles, points to her feet]. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

A child participant resided near a garbage dumpsite. He reported that in his neighbourhood, there were snakes, centipedes, rats, cockroaches, and mosquitoes which disturbed his play and sleep. He explained that the lack of cleanliness could negatively affect his health, to the point of making him sick.

> *Kasi po pag nakagat ka ng lamok, made-dengue ka, kaya nakakatakot. Marami ditong basura, kaya puwedeng pagbahayan ng lamok.*

> When you are bitten by a mosquito, you could suffer from dengue, hence it is scary. There is much garbage here, mosquitoes could thrive here. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

Rabies-infected stray dogs were another risk that made a community unfit for children in Angeles City. According to one mother, her son was bitten by a dog once. She did not learn about the incident until his older playmate informed her; subsequently, she had her son vaccinated immediately. This incident has made her more protective of him; she recognised that dogs were a threat to her child's safety. She subsequently gave her son a warning to avoid dogs.

> *Maraming bahay, yung mga aso nila, hindi nakatali. Baka minsan makagat siya. Sabi ko, pag alam mong may aso, huwag kang dadaan doon.*
> There are houses where their dogs are not tied up. He might get bitten. I told him, "if you know there is a dog, do not walk that way." (Parent 1, f)

Lack of Space for Children. Space is another functionality issue. Due to poverty, children became deprived of their own space, such as their own room, or even their own bed to sleep on. Some children lived in houses with no bedrooms or beds, so they slept on the floor, together with other family members. Other children normally slept in the living room. One slept on a bench covered only with a cloth; another used a piece of plywood placed over two adjacent chairs. One child and her mother slept in the living room occasionally, for example, when they had a visitor staying overnight. A cardboard served as a "mat".

> *Yung karton, tapos sapin, nilalagay namin sa lalagyan ng unan, tapos natulog na kami.*
> We use cardboard and a cloth which we place on a pillow, then we sleep. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

An older child participant explained how having enough space could make a house more functional. Such space would make their house a better place for a child of her age to live in.

> *Siguro po, mas malaki pa ng konti, kasi ang dami po naming gamit. Tsaka, isa pang kuwarto kasi dito lang po [sahig] natutulog si Daddy.*

Maybe slightly bigger because we have so many things. Also, another room because Daddy just sleeps here [points to the floor]. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

With regard to dangal's internal domain, it would seem, from the children's responses, that poverty restricted the amount of pakikipagkapwa that they received from their mothers, grandparents, and other carers. The data from the parent participants confirmed this too. For example, when asked how her being jobless affected her child, one mother confessed to the heartache this brought because she could not give her daughter what she wanted.

> *Parang kinukurot yung puso mo, kasi hindi mo maibigay yung gusto niya.*
> It feels like my heart is being pinched because I could not give what she wanted. (Parent 7, f)

Limited Access to Health Care. None of the child participants had regular dental care. The majority had never seen a dentist. Only two children had been checked by a dentist, and in both cases, they were brought to the dentist when the situation was already critical. It was their first and last time to be checked by a dentist.

Self-help was the only resort for many who could not afford to pay for dental services. For example, when a tooth was painful and/or needed to be extracted, the child or a parent would extract it themselves.

> *Pinapatanggal ko po kay Mama. Tinatalian niya ng sinulid [ngumiti], hinihila niya po.*
> I ask my mother to remove the tooth [that causes pain]. She ties a thread on the tooth [smiles], then pulls it out. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Kaya ko naman mag-isa dito eh. Nagbubunot ako kahit saan saan po, pero hindi ako umiiyak. Sabi ko, "ah" [hinawakan ang ngipin]; sabi ko, "ah ah ah!" Ang sakit!*
> I can do it myself. I pull my own and any of my teeth, but I don't cry. I exclaim, "ah" [touches teeth]; I exclaim, "ah ah ah!" It was painful. (Child 2, f, 9yo).

None of the child participants had seen a doctor regularly, and two of them had never seen a doctor at all. Of those children who had been treated by a physician, they

reported that their conditions at that time were critical, such as being bitten by a dog,

and hit with a stone.

> *Kinagat po ako ng aso.*
> A dog bit me. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

> *Nabato po ako. Dumugo po yung ulo ko.*
> I was hit by a stone. My head bled. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

This lack of regular dental and medical check-up of children may be due to the

high cost of seeking treatment with private providers (although they considered such

treatment to be of better quality). Or this lack may be due to avoiding the more

affordable services of the public hospitals because they were inefficient. Both were

unattractive options, according to one mother.

> *Naku, gutom na gutom ka na, ang hirap talaga [pumila sa public hospital], antok na*
> *antok ka na, kaso kailangan mo para magamot. Sa akin naman, ok lang maghintay,*
> *basta matatawag ka pa rin. Hindi yung naghintay ka na nga, tapos, wala naman.*
> *Masakit ang loob ko pag ganun. Sabi ko, "kung may pambayad lang ako, hindi na ako*
> *pipila diyan, eh." [Pupunta na lang ako sa private hospital.]*
> We were so hungry, it was so difficult [to queue in the public hospital], we were so
> sleepy, but we had no choice as we had to get treatment. For me, it is ok to wait for
> hours as long as we will be attended to. What I don't like is when you waited for hours,
> then you are not attended to. I feel bad whenever that happens. I told myself, "if only I
> have money, I will not stand in queue here" [and will go to a private hospital instead]
> (Parent 1, f)

Insufficient Food and Poor Nutrition. Poverty also restricted the amount and

quality of food that the mothers, grandparents, and other carers could provide the

children. The children's food intake consisted mainly of fried foods, and lacked variety.

This situation reduced the children's chance of having a balanced nutrition.

> [When asked what she ate:]

> *Kanin, daing, nuggets, Maling.*
> Rice, fried salted fish, nuggets, canned meat. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

The data also showed that some children had chicken or their favourite food only when their mothers, relatives, and other carers had extra money, or another person had been generous.

> *Pritong itlog. Biscuit. Manok. Yung fried chicken po, binili nila Mama [ngumiti] kasi may pera sila.*
>
> Fried egg. Biscuit. Chicken. The fried chicken was bought by my mother [and her partner] [smiled] because they had money. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> *Bumili si ate ko ng manok, tapos kapitbahay namin, nagbigay ng nilagang manok. Pag-uwi ko galing school, yung pancit canton po. Tapos natulog na.*
>
> My aunt bought chicken, then our neighbour gave us some boiled chicken. When I came home from school, I ate instant noodles. Then I went to bed. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

This lack of nutrition in the children's diet was echoed by the parent participants. One mother cited her lack of stable employment as the reason for her daughter's inadequate diet. When times were financially difficult, she could not provide any viand[18] with rice.

> *May mga pagsubok din po na mahirap; minsan yung naranasan ko, gaya ngayon, wala akong trabaho. Minsan nakakapag-ulam kami ng Milo lang pag wala talagang mahugot. Minsan, kape ang sabaw namin; siyempre, wala akong magagawa, wala akong pera.*
>
> There are difficult trials; just like now, I have no job. Sometimes, we just eat rice with Milo, if there is really no money. Sometimes coffee is our soup; there is nothing I can do, I have no money. (Parent 2, f)

Two community participants confirmed the lack of nutrition of biracial children due to poverty. The children skipped meals at school and worked to earn some money.

> *Hindi sapat ang baon ng bata. Pag nagre-recess sila, madalang lang siyang tumayo para bumili ng pagkain.*
>
> The child lacks food. During recess [snack break], he rarely goes to the canteen to buy food. (Teacher 1, f)

---

[18] Viand is a "meat, seafood, or vegetable dish that accompanies rice in a typical Filipino meal" (Retrieved April 5, 2019 from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/viand)

Minsan naghahanap-buhay sila at a young age kasi gusto nilang magkaroon ng pagkain.

Sometimes they work at a young age so they can eat. (Nun, f)

Limited Opportunities for Recreation. Poverty also impacted on the children's recreational activities which were naturally given less priority due to the difficulty of meeting their basic needs of food and housing. For example, their ability to watch movies in the cinemas or to visit recreational parks were very much restricted.

[When asked if she always watched movies in the mall:]
Hindi po, kasi naka-isa lang ako dahil bawal na pong bumalik. Mahihirapan kami ng pagbayad. Wala kaming bahay; nag-uupa lang po kami.
No, just once because I'm not allowed to go back because we don't have money. We do not have our own house; we just rent. (Child 2, f, 9yo)

[When asked if she watched a movie in theatres or visited recreational parks:]
Hindi po, kasi walang pera si Mama. Pag may pera po siya, pinapambili niya ng grocery para pambaon ko, tapos, nagbabayad siya ng tubig at ilaw. Bumibili siya ng mga gamit ko.
No, because Mama has no money. When she has money, she buys some grocery for my food in school, then she pays the water and electricity bills. She buys stuff that I need. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

The parent participants were very much aware of this limitation in recreation. The mothers expressed helplessness and frustration at their lack of ability to accommodate their children's leisure needs due to their not having money for these.

Gusto niyang magkaron daw ng bike. Wala naman po akong pambili ng bike.
He wanted to have a bike. But I have no money to buy him one. (Parent 5, f)

Hindi ko maibigay ang lahat ng gusto nila, kung anong gusto nila. "Mama, pasyal tayo;" "Mama, punta tayo ganito, ganyan." Parang gusto kong gawin, kaso lang hindi ko magawa; dito lang sila sa bahay, punta kami sa park, yun lang po.
I couldn't give them everything they wanted. They would say, "Mama, let's go somewhere;" "Mama, let's go to this place." I wanted to do so, but I couldn't; so they just stay here at home, or we go to the nearby park. (Parent 8, f)

Hindi ko siya niyayayang pumunta SM; o tinatanong kung ano ang gusto o kailangan niya. Hindi ko na po siya niyayaya. Mamaya, magtatampo siya sa akin kung niyaya ko siya sa ganung lugar, tapos, wala namang binili.

I don't ask her anymore to go to SM [mall]; nor do I ask what she wants or needs. I don't ask her anymore. She might get upset if I ask her to come but didn't buy her anything. (Parent 2, f)

Restricted Access to Digital Equipment and Devices. Another impact of poverty was that mothers and other carers could not accommodate the children's wish to have access to digital equipment and devices. They did not have their own laptop or computer. Only three of the ten child participants had a cellphone of their own. The parent participants wanted to buy their children computers and mobile phones but could not do so because of poverty.

Pilit kong pinapaintindi na hindi kamukha ng dati na kaya kong ibigay lahat ng gusto niya. Minsan, "bili mo ako cellphone."

I try my best to explain to him that the situation now is unlike before when I could provide all that he wanted. Sometimes he says, "buy me a cellphone." (Parent 3, m)

Yung gusto niya na magpabili ng cellphone, hindi ko maibigay sa kanya kasi wala naman akong trabaho.

My child wants me to buy her a cellphone but I could not give her this because I am unemployed. (Parent 10, f)

Naghingi po siya ng computer tablet. Sabi ko, "antayin mo na lang, anak, pag may pera."

My son was asking for a computer tablet. I told him, "just wait, son, when we have money." (Parent 5, f)

This inability to have digital gadgets turned out to be a challenge to the children's dangal. As the child participants' responses revealed, digital connectivity through mobile phones and the internet was an enabler of their pakikipagkapwa with adults and other children. Mobile phones allowed communication with relatives. The Facebook or

the internet, in general, provided a more affordable means of pakikipagkapwa with
friends, classmates, and relatives.

> [When asked who they talked to on the mobile phone:]
> *Minsan po yung tumatawag sa akin si Kuya [pinsan], tapos si Ate [tiyahin]. Tumatawag
> sila, nangangamusta minsan.*
> Sometimes my older male cousin calls me, then my aunt. They sometimes call and ask
> how things are. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

> [When asked what the purpose of her Facebook account was:]
> *Sa tita ko po, tsaka para maka-chat kami ng mama ko pag wala akong load.*
> For my aunt, and also for my mother so I could chat with her if my cellphone has no load
> [i.e., money balance]. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

For an older child participant, the mobile phone allowed her to access the internet
and to connect not only with her parents but also with her classmates in school.

> [When asked who she was texting with:]
> *Yung mga kaklase ko po, o kaya si Papa pag may sasabihin ako.*
> My classmates, or Papa if I need to tell him something. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Poverty negatively affected the internal and external dimensions of dangal for the
biracial children in this study. The child participants experienced insecurity as they had
to reside in communities with low level of functionality due to the lack of maintenance
and having no ready access to clean water, sanitation facilities, and power supply. Their
houses' structure also lacked space and were either made up of light materials or had
been highly depreciated. Furthermore, poverty restrained the extent of the children's
pakikipagkapwa with others, especially with their mothers, grandparents, and other
carers. This was manifested by their infrequent visits to doctors and dentists, their food
consumption, and their limited opportunities to engage in recreational activities and to
own digital devices.

5.2.3   *The Government's Inadequacy to Provide for the Children's Needs*

The government's actions and inactions emerged as a major barrier affecting the biracial children's dangal. The study participants believed that the local government failed to provide adequate playgrounds and other recreational facilities, and to maintain the community surroundings. They opined that the education department failed in their management of the public schools, and in providing fully functional facilities – an enabler of children's dangal in the external domain.

Provision of Recreational Space. Space was a functionality issue in neighbourhoods with no playgrounds as it indicated that there was no adequate area where children could play. Playground, a space made for children, was valuable considering that the child participants reported playing games which involved physical movements, such as running (*habulan, enemy-enemy, tagtagan*, and *langit-lupa*), hiding (*tagu-taguan*), hitting a can (*tumbang preso*), and jumping (*Chinese garter*).

Using a space that was not designed for play was a disadvantage for the children. For example, as an alternative to playgrounds, the child participants occupied streets to play; in doing this, they experienced insecurity, or even faced danger. They encountered animal faeces or dirt on street grounds, or their enjoyment was denied when the roads or streets where they played were bumpy or ridden with rocks or stones. In some instances, the road or streets were full of dust, which could cause discomfort to the eyes and nose.

[When asked what they did not like in their neighbourhood and why:]

Yung tae sa daan, kasi nakakasagabal pag naglalakad, tsaka pag naglalaro.

The poop in the street is a nuisance when walking and playing. (Child 7, m, 12yo)

Yung mga tae po sa dinadaanan, kasi pag naapakan, didikit sa tsinelas. Mabaho. Pag umuulan at yung mga bata ay nakapaa, kumakalat yung mga ihi ng aso at daga; tapos, pumupunta sa paa nila.

The poop in the street, because when you step on them, they stick to your slippers. They stink. When it rains and the children are barefoot, the pee of dogs and rats spread and get to their feet. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Yung hindi po nakasemento yung harapan namin. Mahirap po, kasi masyadong bato bato. Kunwari, magba-bike yung pinsan ko; tapos, lubak lubak, masakit kapag nakaupo. Tapos, mahirap walisin. Maalikabok. Nakakasipon at nakakapuwing.

The uncemented road in front of our house. It is difficult because there is too much stone. For example, my cousin would bike, then it is bumpy; it is painful when biking. It is difficult to sweep. It is dusty. It causes runny nose and irritates my eyes. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Because of the unsuitability of the street as an alternative play area, children negotiated with the adults for space. For example, they were allowed to play outside the house but within the compound where they lived, and only if nobody was sleeping. Therefore, they may have gained access to a play space that was not the street, but the compound was still unsuitable for the children as it restricted the amount of time for their play.

Government's Responsibility for the School Environment. The design of a facility became a functionality issue when it did not match the children's needs. One child participant disliked their classroom's built-in toilet, and argued that a toilet should be built outside the classroom.

Kasi po minsan, nahihiya kang umihi, o mag-poopoo kasi maaamoy ng iba mong kaklase.

Because sometimes, it is awkward to pee or poop as the other students could smell it. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

The capacity to safeguard children's belongings was a functionality matter too. Schools had no lockers where students could store their items safely. The children informed us that they had to carry their books to school and back home everyday. They could not just leave their books in school because these might get lost.

Kahit mabigat po, dinadala ko kasi pag wala ka, wala kang magagawang activity, tsaka bawal kasi mag-share, at wala rin daw pong plus points. Hindi rin puwedeng iwan ang libro kasi mawawala, lalo na pag may mga estudyante na kahati kami sa room.

Even if they are heavy, I bring them to school because if you don't bring them, you won't be able to do any of the activity in the books since book sharing is not allowed by the teacher; you will also miss the bonus points. Also, we can't leave books in school because they might get lost, especially if we share the room with other students. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Mawawala po kasi. Pag nawala yun, babayaran po.
They will get lost. If they get lost, we have to pay for them. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Baka mawala. Marami pong magnanakaw sa amin [tumawa], sa mga kaklase namin; kahit pera, ninanakaw nila.
They might get lost. There are many thieves among us [laughs], my classmates; even money, they steal. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

For a classroom to be functional, there should be more than one blackboard, according to the participants. The child participants concurred that there should be an additional blackboard to facilitate learning (since they could write more), and at the same time, lessen the pressure to copy the teacher's writings on the board hurriedly.

Kunwari po classroom ito, isa lang yung blackboard. Di ba dapat dalawa yun? Isa lang! Para pag hindi nagkasya sa isa, sa isa naman. [sa ngayon] Kapag hindi nagkasya, buburahin na, kaya dapat mabilis kaming magsulat.
For example, this is a classroom, there is only one blackboard. There should be two blackboards, right? But there is just one! When the lesson does not fit the first blackboard, it may be continued in the second blackboard. [for now] When there is no more space on the board, they [teachers] erase what they have written. Hence, we should be fast in copying whatever was written on the board. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

Kapag may dagdag na blackboard, matututo ka lalo, kasi maganda pag madaming sinusulat, para madami rin po yung matutunan mo.
If there is an additional blackboard, you will learn more, because when you write more, you will learn more. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Functionality of the schools also suffered because the amount of facilities did not cope with the rise in the student population numbers. The participants made the following observations about what was going on in their schools: the increasing student

population was becoming a problem with the lack of chairs, books, blackboards and other facilities.

> *Dumadagdag nang dumadagdag yung mga estudyante kaya kumukulang nang kumukulang yung upuan.*
> The number of students keeps on increasing, so there has been less and less chairs. (Child 4, m, 9yo)

> *Doon sa publiko, medyo kulang sila sa mga libro, upuan, at mga blackboard, at saka blower, at saka sa capacity ng mga estudyante, marami ang nasa public, hindi katulad sa private.*
> In the public schools, they lack books, chairs, blackboards, and blowers; and on the number of students, there are many students in the public schools, unlike in the private schools. (Parent 5, f)

Governmental Responsibility for the Cleanliness of Surroundings. The lack of cleanliness negatively affected a school's functionality, judging from the child participants' responses. Maintaining clean surroundings, whether in the school or in the neighbourhood, was regarded as important.

> *(Sana meron kaming canteen sa school.) Kasi para hindi ka na kakain sa room, kasi po pag kumain ka sa room nyo, puwedeng malaglag yung mga kanin. Eh dun sa kainan, kahit malaglag yung mga kanin, at least may tagalinis.*
> (I wish we have a canteen in school.) So that you won't have to eat inside the classroom, because if you eat inside the classroom, grains of rice might fall on the floor. In the canteen, even if grains of rice fall on the floor, there is a cleaner. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

> *Pag dadaan ka diyan [daanan sa paligid], makati. Parang sa paningin mo, nadudumihan ka sa kanila. Tapos, mahirap po walisin.*
> Every time you walk through there [a path in the neighbourhood], it feels itchy. It looks so untidy. Then they are difficult to sweep. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

Cleanliness was an important functionality feature as it impacted on the general health, not just the senses, of children. The older child participants reported how the flooding and the pollution around the schools brought insecurity and endangered students, to the point of them getting sick or meeting an accident.

Yung paa po nila, nababasa; tsaka puwede rin silang magkasakit kasi marumi yung tubig na yun, may mga ihi rin ng daga. Puwede rin silang madulas, mauntog yung ulo, maaaksidente sila.

Their feet get wet, then they could get sick because the water is dirty; there is pee of rats. They could also slip and fall, then hit their heads; they could have an accident. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Di ba, pag baha, kapag may sugat ka, puwede kang magkasakit? Di ba uso na po ngayon yung leptospirosis, tsaka alipunga?

If it is flooding, if your feet have a wound, you might get a disease. Isn't leptospirosis common nowadays, and athlete's foot too? (Child 5, f, 15yo)

Unsafe Communities Restrict Children's Pakikipagkapwa. The lack of safety experienced by children could come at a cost to pakikipagkapwa – the enabler of dangal's internal domain. Where local and national agencies responsible for transportation and law and order failed to deliver, children were not protected. Thus were the feelings expressed by the child participants in this study.

Fear, triggered by news reports about accidents involving children, was a barrier to positive dangal experiences. This fear could lead to some of the children missing out on field trips that were important for their growth and learning.

[When asked why they did not join their school fieldtrips:]
Kasi po ayaw nina Mama kasi daw baka mapahamak ako. Marami kasi kaming nababalitaan sa TV. May mga fieldtrip po, may mga naaksidente.
Mama and others would not let me go because they were worried something bad might happen to me. There have been TV news reports about fieldtrips that went wrong. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Kasi po natatakot ako; baka kasi kapag nag-camp kami, matulad kami sa nangyari sa TV. Yung nalunod po sila sa ilog.
Because I'm scared; if we go camping, the same thing might happen to us as what was reported on TV. They drowned in the river. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

A fear of crimes against children emerged as a barrier to positive dangal experiences too. News about such crimes not only brought fear to the child participants,

but also discouraged them from taking part in pakikipagkapwa. In order to feel safe, they would just stay indoors, or even wished for a "curfew" to be imposed in the community. Even the adult participants concurred with such restrictions to pakikipagkapwa in order to protect their children. The adults' close supervision of and keeping a close eye on their children were deemed necessary.

> *Yung hindi pumupunta sa mga lugar na malalayo. Stay lang po ako sa safe na area.*
> By not going to far areas. Just stay in a safe area. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

> *Magkaron din po ng curfew na yung bawal nang lumabas ng gabi.*
> There should also be a curfew that prohibits going out at night. (Child 5, f, 15yo)

> *Kasi po may nabalitaan ako na mga bata, nasa labas, dinudukot. Halimbawa po binigyan ng kahit lollipop, lalapit, dadalhin sa malayo.*
> Because I heard of news about children being kidnapped. For example, a child was given a lollipop, and then taken away. (Parent 8, f)

> *Sa balita, may mga nare-rape, kaya kailangan ang pag-iingat siyempre.*
> In the news, there were children who were raped. I want to protect my child from that. (Parent 2, f)

> *May bali-balita na may nandudukot ng bata. "Diyos ko naman!" sabi ko. Iisa lang yung anak ko, di ba? Kung mawawala pa siya, Diyos ko po, hindi ko kakayanin yung ganun.*
> Sometimes there are news about children being kidnapped. "Oh God!" I said. I only have one child, right? If I lose him, oh God, I won't be able to handle it. (Parent 1, f)

5.2.4   Environmental Disturbances

Environmental disturbances were a barrier to positive dangal experiences as they worsened the already limited functionality of homes and schools, thus resulting in a greater degree of insecurity or even hardship for children. Furthermore, the extreme weather conditions impeded children's opportunity to engage in pakikipagkapwa with others.

Heat and Humidity. Coolness is a functionality feature that was deemed necessary for schools to be a conducive learning space for children. When asked what

was lacking in their schools, some child participants mentioned air conditioners or some other cooling devices. The parents concurred with how the lack of coolness was such a major problem for children.

> *Nasira po yung blower. Mahalaga ang blower pag pinagpapawisan.*
> The blower broke down. The blower is so important to us when we are sweating. (Child 6, m, 7yo)

> *Aircon po [ngumiti]. Mainit. Yung kamay ko, pinagpapawisan.*
> Aircon [smiles]. It is humid. My hand becomes sweaty. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

> *Mainit po. Yung mga bata, marami sila sa school, tapos yung blower, dalawa lang o kaya tatlo, kaya yung mga bata [ay] pinapawisan, tsaka natutuyuan ng pawis sa likod.*
> [The classrooms are] humid. The school is crowded, then each classroom has two or three blowers only, so the children are sweating, and the sweat dries on their back [which could lead to them getting sick]. (Parent 4, f)

> *Sobrang init, lalo na kung summer; pawis na pawis yung mga bata sa eskuwelahan, tapos, iisa lang ang blower nila.*
> It is too hot, especially during summer; the students are sweating so much in school, and then they have one blower only. (Parent 1, f)

Ironically, the adults in the school did not seem to suffer this much insecurity since they could access some cool areas in the school.

> *Maganda po doon sa loob ng office ng principal kasi malamig. Yung mga teacher po, pumupunta doon.*
> It is nice inside the principal's office because it is cool. The teachers go there. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

The functionality of a house was sometimes reduced due to the lack of protection from intense heat. Thus, there were many suggestions from both child and adult participants on how this could be addressed. For example, buying an electric fan or blower was an obvious solution, although for some, an air conditioner was a better solution. Powering such appliances then became an issue when a particular place

suffered from lack of electricity, and there were no funds to install a power source (which required strategic planning and significant financial investment).

> *(Kailangan ng kuryente) para po sa electric fan, para hindi mainit.*
> (We need electricity) for the electric fan (blower), so that it is not hot. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

> [When asked why she would like their house to have an aircon:]
> *Kahit may electric fan na, mainit pa din, kaya dapat aircon.*
> It is still hot even if there is an electric fan, so we should get an aircon. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

> [Comment on their toilet:]
> *Tiles po, tapos, finishing, tapos, bubong para hindi masyadong mainit.*
> Tiles, finishing, then the roof so that it is not too hot. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

The extreme heat impacted on the children's pakikipagkapwa negatively. Most children were discouraged or even prevented from playing outdoors because of the heat. Their mothers, grandparents, and other carers would rather have them stay indoors to be protected from the heat of the sun – in the process, restricting their pakikipagkapwa with fellow children.

> [About the neighbourhood:]
> *Boring. Yung mga bata, hindi po sila lumalabas sa bahay nila; hindi mo sila makakalaro. Kasi siguro naiinitan sila.*
> Boring. The children do not leave their houses; you couldn't play with them. Maybe because they find the weather too hot. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

> *Hindi ako pinapalabas dahil mainit daw.*
> I'm not allowed outside because she said it is hot. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Aside from pakikipagkapwa with fellow children, the extremely hot weather also discouraged pakikipagkapwa with adults, such as their parents.

> *Ngayon, mainit na po, sobrang init na, hindi kami laging umaalis kahit saan saan, kaya dito na lang po kami lagi.*
> Nowadays it is hot, it is too hot, so we seldom leave the house to go places, so we are always here [inside the house]. (Child 2, f, 9yo).

Typhoons. Along with the heat and humidity was the frequent typhoons and flooding in Angeles City that affected the biracial children's dangal experience. On a practical and day-to-day level, this made the child participants value the durability or sturdiness of their material possessions, such their shoes and other personal items.

[Comparing plastic and leather shoes:]

Ito pong sapatos ko [itim na sapatos na plastik], pang-school ko ito – plastic, para pag nabasa, hindi agad masira; hindi po katulad nung isa na hindi plastic, madaling masira.

These are my shoes [shows her black plastic shoes] that I use in school – plastic, so that if it gets wet, it doesn't get damaged easily, unlike the other one that is not plastic which gets damaged easily. (Child 3, f, 15yo)

Pumasok yung basa, tapos hindi na po dumikit. Pinadikit, pinatahi ni Mama. Ayun, nasira din; kaya ito [sapatos na plastik] na lang, binilhan na lang po ako ni Mama, hindi siya mabilis masira kahit mabasa.

It got wet, then the bottom part did not stick anymore. Mama tried to have it glued, sewn, but it still broke, so Mama bought these [plastic shoes] instead; these do not get broken easily, even if they get wet. (Child10, f, 9yo)

The durability of their house was also discussed. An unsturdy house could be problematic during a typhoon. For example, one of the child participants' house was made of scrap materials. Whenever there was a typhoon, they had to put a tent over it to block the rain water and prevent their belongings, including his school books and papers, from getting wet. Hence, when asked what was lacking in their house that he wished it had, he replied that he wished for a house made of hollow blocks.

Hollow blocks. Kunwari po umulan, hindi na mababasa lahat ng gamit; yung hollow blocks na lang ang mababasa.

A house made of hollow blocks. For example, when it rains, our belongings won't get wet; only the hollow blocks will get wet. (Child 1, m, 12yo)

5.3 Upholding Dangal

This last section of the findings chapter presents two road maps on how to uphold the biracial children's dangal. One is based on the perspectives of the child participants,

focused mainly on promoting functionality. The other is in accord with the responses of the adult participants, centred around access to education and financial support.

5.3.1 Dangal-enhancing Environment – the Children's Road Map

In their interviews and pagpapakuwento through drawing, the child participants came up with images of their ideal spaces that were relevant to their everyday lives, namely, their house, school, and neighbourhood. The themes which emerged from those drawings confirmed the children's preference for a functional environment – an enabler of dangal. (The drawings are found in Appendix C.)

Functional Space in the Neighbourhood. The drawings of four children (Child 1, Child 2, Child 7, and Child 9) who would like to have a playground in their neighbourhood revealed that they considered a playground functional if it had durable play equipment, and was safe and spacious. They wanted it to have a swing and a slide that would bring fun to children. Child 1 (m, 12yo) would like a basketball stand that was made of iron rather than of wood, since a wooden stand would not last. They preferred their playground to be a grassy area so that they would not get hurt if they fell accidentally. Child 2 (f, 9yo) also mentioned that a grassy area provided coolness, and could be used as a place to rest if she got tired of playing.

A functional playground would promote a child's happiness, and pakikipagkapwa with fellow children, according to the child participants. For example, when asked what was missing in their neighbourhood, a child participant noted that a functional playground was the only thing missing. Having one would make her very happy because she could just go there and play even if she was alone.

> *Kapag wala kang kalaro sa bahay niyo, punta ka na lang sa palaruan kung saan may mga kalaro. Puwede ka ding magpadulas o magduyan kahit ikaw lang mag-isa.*
> If I have no one to play with at home, I can just go to the playground where I might find playmates. I can also play on the slide and swing even if I'm alone. (Child 10, f, 9yo)

Aside from having the basic facilities, cleanliness would contribute to a play area's functionality. Asked what would make their community park beautiful, one child mentioned sweeping the ground, fixing the benches and tables, and providing lighting at night.

> *Wawalisan po; tapos, aayusin po ang mga sirang upuan at lamesa; tapos, lagyan ng mga ilaw para sa gabi.*
> Sweep the ground; fix the broken benches and tables; then add lights for night time. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

In his drawing, Child 7 (m, 12yo) depicted a "farmville" in their neighbourhood that would contain some loitering animals, such as chickens, goats, and horses. A farm would promote cleanliness as those animals would not need to defecate on the streets and in other public spaces. The animal faeces in the streets had always been a problem to the children's play.

Flowers and trees could provide colour and thus contribute to a neighbourhood's functionality, as drawn by some children (Child 6, Child 7, and Child 9). The functionality of a tree was depicted as increasing if it bore fruit, for example mango (Child 7, m, 12yo) or banana (Child 9, f, 8yo), that they could eat when they were hungry, or cook for the family.

A functional house. With regard to their house's functionality, colourfulness was deemed important as per the drawings of Child 6 (m, 7yo) and Child 10 (f, 9yo) who painted their ideal houses with bright colours. For Child 10, the functionality of a house could be promoted also if it had a shower, if occupants had their own room and bed, if there was a second floor or additional space, and air conditioning. Child 7 (m, 12yo) drew a chimney, while Child 2 (f, 9yo) had an extra door in their house – both were designed to expel the smoke whenever their mothers were cooking.

A Functional School Environment. The child participants' drawings of their ideal school confirmed their longing for a functional learning environment, consistent

with what they shared in their interviews. Based on their drawings of their preferred classrooms, functionality would be supported if some basic equipment were provided. For example, some children (Child 3, Child 4, and Child 9) drew classrooms with two blackboards to lessen the pressure among students in copying lengthy lessons. As explained by Child 3 (f, 15yo), "*pag puno na, sa isa naman* (when one blackboard is full, they can continue in the next blackboard)." For their computer class, Child 4 (m, 9yo) and Child 5 (f, 15yo) produced drawings where there were enough computers for all students, with no computer unit "malfunctioning". Child 4 noted that this would reduce the waiting time among students. Moreover, ensuring a cool atmosphere was noted by three child participants. Child 10's ideal classroom had an air conditioning unit, while Child 3 and Child 5 drew large electric fans.

As with Child 10, Child 3's (f, 15yo) "Dream Classroom" had chairs which she considered beautiful because "*hindi sira* (they are not broken)." Also, the teacher's table was not broken, and the table even had a drawer. An ideal classroom was also colourful, according to Child 9 (f, 8yo) and Child 3 (f, 15yo). The latter's drawing had curtains, wall posters, and wall paints, while the former's drawing of a classroom had a door painted purple. Child 3 argued that if a classroom lacked colours, "*pangit, kasi parang nabagyuhan* (it is ugly because it looks as if it was damaged by a typhoon)."

Having a library would make a school more functional. Child 8 would like her school to have a library as it would inspire her to study, as well as attract other children to enrol in their school. Her drawing entitled "My Dream Library" reflected a library with many books that were sorted, categorised and shelved in an orderly way; with a librarian; the room itself would be big, with plenty of chairs and tables; it would have tiles, and plenty of windows to allow the breeze in.

> *Yung may pintura. Hindi po nasisira yung mga books, at maayos yung lalagyan. May nakasulat, kunwari, stories, Math, at Science. Malinis. May bantay, para kapag may*

hihiramin ka na book. Malaki, tapos, marami pong lamesa, upuan, at books. Naka-tiles.
Dapat maraming bintana para kahit walang aircon ay mahangin.
The walls are painted. The books are durable, and are properly placed in shelves. There are labels, for example, stories, Math, and Science. It is clean. It has a librarian in case you need to borrow a book. It is big, and with many tables, chairs, and books. It is tiled. It should have many windows so that even if there is no aircon, it is cool. (Child 8, f, 11yo)

To replace the unisex toilet in their classroom, Child 8 (f, 11yo) made a drawing called "My Toilet for Girls." This toilet would be built outside the classroom so that "*hindi mapanghi sa (*it is not smelly in the) classroom." It would have mirrors, tiles, and would consist of five separate cubicles with multi-coloured doors – "*parang* (like a) rainbow." Having five cubicles would mean that several girls can go and use the toilet at the same time, and waiting time will be reduced.

5.3.2   *Dealing with Poverty and Social Prejudice – The Adults' Road Map*

While the children's road map seemed to address barriers such as the impact of environmental disturbances and governmental inefficiencies, the adults' road map dealt mostly with coping with poverty and social prejudice.

Education. Education was seen by the adult participants as a means, not just to alleviate the poor economic status of the biracial children, but also to counter their experiences of discrimination.

> *Sinasabi ko sa kanya, "pag nakapagtapos ka, hindi ka na masyadong kukutyain. Iidolohin ka pa nila."*
> I tell my son, "when you finish your studies, they will not tease you that much anymore. They will even idolise you." (Parent 6, f)

> *Marami kaming beneficiaries na biracial na nakapagtapos sa pag-aaral. Ngayon, sikat at successful na sila, at natutulungan nila ang kanilang pamilya.*
> We have several biracial beneficiaries who finished their studies. Now, they are popular, successful, and are helping their families. (NGO worker, f)

Pangarap niya na makita ang tatay niya. Kaya sinasabihan ko siya, "Mag-aral kang mabuti. Pag nakatapos ka, makikita mo ang ama mo."

Her dream is to see her father. So I tell her, "Study hard. When you finish your studies, you will see your father." (Parent 9, f)

Kung nakatapos sila ng pag aaral, makakapag-ibang bansa na sila. Who knows, doon nila makita ang parents nila. Maaari na silang tumayo sa sarili nilang paa at makapagtrabaho.

If they complete their education, they could travel overseas. Who knows, they might meet their parents there. They could stand on their own feet and work. (Nun, f)

Financial Assistance. Although education was seen as a key to addressing poverty, it is poverty that restricted the biracial children's access to education. To resolve this, the mothers, grandparents, and other carers needed financial support for their children.

May magsuporta talaga sa anak ko na makatapos at makapagtrabaho.
[I wish] that my child could get support so that she could finish college and get a job. (Parent 7, f)

Masuportahan siya. Kailangan po ng finansiyal. Sana nga po makatapos siya.
For him to be given support. Financial assistance is needed. I hope he will be able to finish his education. (Parent 6, f)

May tumulong. Magkaron siya ng tutor, laptop, at school service. Kasi wala akong trabaho.
I hope we will get help. That my child will have a tutor, laptop, and school service. Because I have no job. (Parent 2, f)

Sana may mabababait na puso na tumulong sa anak ko. Marami siyang pangangailangan sa pag-aaral niya.
I hope there are good-hearted people who will help my child. He has lots of needs in his studies. (Parent 3, m)

The adult participants suggested different possibilities for financial assistance with the children's education. Some of these were: support from the government (Parent 6, NGO worker); starting a small home-based business with the assistance of initial

capital (Parent 1 and Parent 9); and assisting solo parents to balance their time between caregiving and earning a living (Parent 1, Parent 3, Parent 4, and Parent 10).

Some mothers (Parent 1, Parent 5, and Parent 9) also acknowledged the assistance that they were receiving from an NGO to support their children's education. However, since the said organisation used a sponsorship system, the benefits that their children received were dependent on the discretion and capability of their individual sponsors. Hence, there was no certainty that their children's education would be supported to completion.

Another option that was brought up by the mothers was securing financial support from the children's biological fathers. However, the foreign men required proof of their paternity, specifically the DNA test results, which the mothers could not afford to pay for.

> *Wala pa pong pambayad ng DNA test.*
> We still don't have money to pay for the DNA test. (Parent 5, f)

> *Mahal kasi yung DNA test. Kulang kasi yung aming financial.*
> The DNA test is expensive. We lack financial resources. (Parent 4, f)

Aside from the DNA testing, the mothers also mentioned the need for legal assistance in facilitating their claim for child support, particularly in transacting with foreign embassies. However, their poverty constrained them from availing of these legal services. No free legal aid was available in Angeles City to handle the cases of the indigent biracial children. Hiring the services of a private lawyer was costly.

In addition to getting financial support, establishing a biracial child's paternal heritage would have positive psychological benefits as it would address their "*kulang sa pagkatao*" (emptiness inside or incomplete personhood). Asked for other reasons why biracial children were searching for their foreign fathers, a participant explained that the fathers' acknowledgement would "complete" the biracial children's identity.

Recognition ng kanilang identity. I-acknowledge man lang sila.

Recognition of their identity. That they would at least be acknowledged. (NGO worker, f)

5.4   Summary of Findings

The concept of dangal, as per the child participants' view, had external and inner domains. The external manifestation of dangal for the child participants in this study was in terms of security and comfort to their bodies mainly. Functionality of the things around them contributed to the enhancement of their dangal experience in the external realm. Functionality features included the provision of basic equipment and facilities, as well as cleanliness, colourfulness, durability, space, coolness, and other qualities that would make an object useful.

The internal domain of dangal referred to their level of happiness that were not based on or brought about by physical objects, but based more on their pakikipagkapwa, or being treated as kapwa or fellow human beings.

The main barriers to the promotion of children's dangal included the following:

- social prejudice – name-calling and bullying, cultural/racial stereotyping, social stigma, the lack of consultation of children on matters affecting them, corporal punishment, and non-preferential treatment for biracial children;

- poverty – lacking basic facilities (e.g. electricity, water, sanitation), poor quality housing, health-risk environment, lack of space for children, limited access to health care, insufficient food and poor nutrition, limited opportunities for recreation, and restricted access to digital equipment and devices;

- governmental inadequacy regarding the recreational space for children, school facilities, maintenance of school and neighbourhood surroundings, and community safety;

- environmental disturbances – extreme heat and humidity, typhoons, and flooding.

Social prejudice inhibited children's opportunity to be regarded as kapwa. Poverty restricted the functionality of children's environment as well as their pakikipagkapwa with their mothers, grandparents, and other carers. Governmental inadequacy and environmental disturbances negatively impacted on the functionality of the children's houses, schools, and neighbourhoods.

Dangal can be upheld by promoting functionality as well as through the provision of financial support and education. Children's drawings revealed that their dangal would be promoted if cleanliness, colourfulness, durability, space, coolness, and other functionality features were provided in their environment (house, school, neighbourhood). Meanwhile, the adults considered education as a social equaliser or a means to address children's poverty and experience of social discrimination. However, since poverty restricted their children's education, the adults reported their need for financial support.

Chapter 6   A Critical Discussion of Biracial Children's Dangal

This study investigated the dangal or dignity of biracial children – how this is understood by the children themselves, and the enablers and barriers to their dangal. The study aimed to address how the biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines can be helped by the Angeles City Local Government so that their dangal can be promoted, in accordance with the Philippines' compliance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

I commenced this work with the claim that there was a lack of studies about the disadvantaged biracial children in the Philippines, and thus, it was a topic that warranted investigation since the Philippines was one of the countries that ratified the UNCRC.

My study showed that the Filipino adults, especially those in authority, fell short in their pakikipagkapwa (treating someone as fellow human being, or being one with) with the indigent biracial children and with the child sector in general. The children were not provided with enough support nor voice on policies concerning their welfare. Just like most Filipino children living in poverty, the dignity of these underprivileged biracial children was negatively affected by the lack of financial resources, economic inequality, high population growth, poorly equipped and under-maintained public facilities, and the governmental agencies' administrative inefficiencies. However, the poor and biracial children experienced more social prejudice mainly due to the common presumption that their mothers were prostituted women, and to the absence of their biological fathers.

In my fieldwork, I used the interview method together with Filipino research methods to collect information from ten biracial children and their parents/guardians/carers, and 16 adult community participants in Angeles City. The previous chapter presented the main findings of the study. These findings provided

substance for a theoretical framework on the dangal of biracial children, which will be explained in the first section of this chapter. I then discuss the policy implications of the findings, and the impact of these findings on the children's welfare. I then end the chapter with a section on the ethics of indigenous research, and a reflection on the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

Throughout the chapter, I discuss the implications of the findings in general, and in relation to the literature.

6.1 Theoretical Reframing of Biracial Children's Dangal

Despite the relevance of dangal in Filipino culture, direct research about dangal is scarce. My research built on Enriquez's (1992) useful definition, and Tabbada's (2005) in-depth phenomenological study of dangal. Enriquez's explanation of dangal as the "intrinsic quality of a person or sector that allows him/them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life" (p. 46) pertains to dangal's internal domain or the pakikipagkapwa that was experienced by the biracial child participants of my study. This study explored that internal domain, and added that dangal also has an external domain wherein the "grime" pertains to the material deprivations that the children experience at home, in school, and in their community. Still, the pakikipagkapwa that the biracial child participants received from their kapwa (mothers, grandparents, other carers, friends, and teachers) made it possible for these children to "shine" or to be able to cope with the physical deprivations that they experience. For example, even if Child 1 had to walk to school for almost an hour, he did so as he yearned to meet his friends who admired his drawing skills. He was also motivated by his teacher who always gave him his attention and some money to buy food. In the case of Child 3, despite their house's limited space, she considered it a "tahanan" (home) as it was where she and her parents bonded and spent happy times together.

Tabbada (2005) asserted that dangal consists of "an aggregate of essences that ought to be respected in a person". However, I learned through this research that Tabbada's definition was based on an adult's perspective of dangal. This is because the findings of this study revealed that "being human" is the sole "essence" that constitutes a child-centred notion of dangal.

The diagram in figure 6.1 is the resulting model of the biracial children's dangal based on an in-depth analysis of the findings of this study. The model shows the external domain (grey area) and the internal domain (beige area) of dangal, and the indicators of dangal (rectangular shapes in pink and blue) in these two domains. The model also presents the enablers of dangal (pink arrows on the right pointing upward), and barriers to dangal (blue arrows on the left pointing downward). (From here onwards, I will represent in bold font the main concepts included in the model, as they are mentioned for the first or second time.)

Figure 6.1   Biracial Children's Dangal
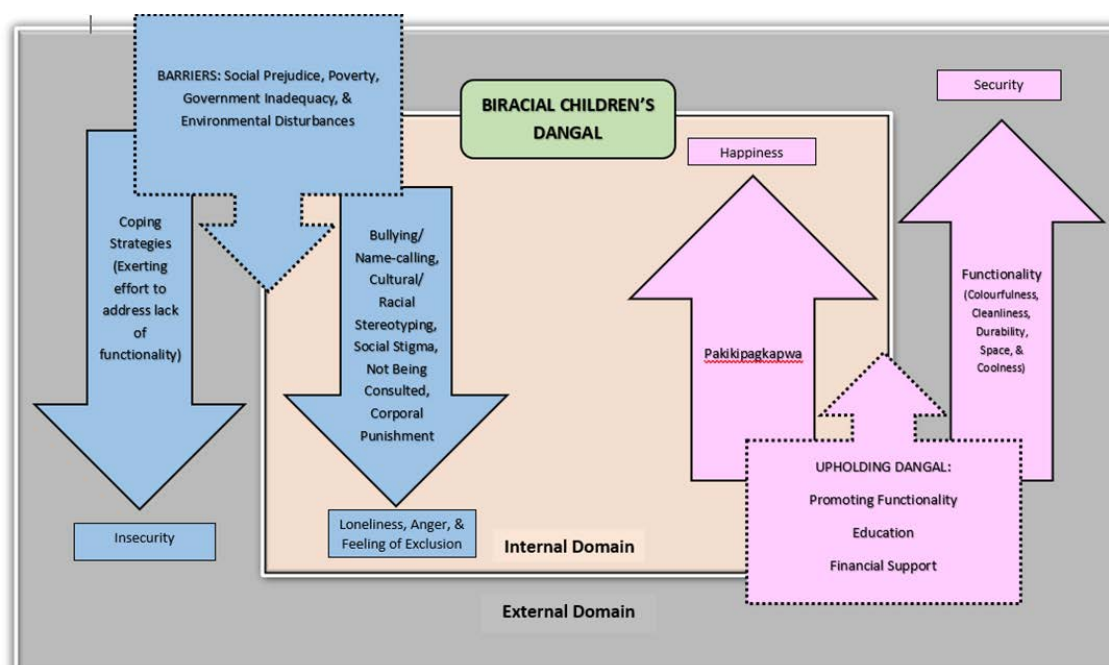
6.1.1   External and Internal Domains

The **External Domain** refers to the physical aspects of the dangal experience for biracial children in this study. The main indicator of dangal that emerged is the **Security**

or **Insecurity** effect of the physical environment. The findings of this research revealed that the child participants' experiences of security or insecurity were significant to them and as such highlighted the state of deprivation that they were in.

The **Internal Domain** refers to the psychological aspects of the dangal experience for these children, i.e. the emotions or feelings as they go through this dangal experience. These emotions are **Happiness, Loneliness, Anger** and **Feeling of Exclusion**.

The **Barriers** (that reduce dangal) and the **Enablers** (that promote dangal) in the model can affect the external or the internal domain, or both. I will now elaborate on the different elements of the model, and relate them to the relevant literature.

The indicator of a positive dangal in the external domain is the feeling of **security** or the absence of anxiety which the biracial children experience through their senses. This security is enabled by **functionality** which pertains to qualities that make an entity effectively perform its objective. These qualities consist of, though not limited to, **colourfulness, cleanliness, durability, space, and coolness**. The importance that this dangal framework attributes to functionality adds to the gap in the literature. For example, contrary to previous studies which used the UNCRC in their framework (Coram International, 2018; Ortega & Klauth, 2017; Plan Philippines, 2009; Protacio-Marcelino et al., 2000; PST CRRC, 2017; PST CRRC et al., 2008; UP Manila et al., 2016), the survey of secondary school students conducted by the child rights group Salinlahi Alliance for Children's Concerns reported the children's need for functionality features or the necessities that should be provided to children while in school (Umil, 2014). Aside from this PhD thesis and the Umil study, there were no other studies found on the impact of functionality and its related features on children's dangal or dignity. This is therefore a suggested area/topic for further research.

Within the internal domain, the indicator of positive dangal is the happiness that is felt by children. Enabler of such happiness is **pakikipagkapwa** or being regarded as a fellow human being by other children and by adults. Evidence of being treated as kapwa include the children's positive descriptions of how others behave, and the children's sense of gratitude which they expressed through both words and actions.

6.1.2   *Barriers to Dangal*

This study found four barriers to the biracial children's positive dangal experiences. Represented by a blue dotted downward-pointing arrow in the diagram, these barriers are social prejudice, poverty, governmental inadequacy, and environmental disturbances. While the impact of governmental inadequacy and environmental disturbances were found to affect the external domain mostly, poverty and social prejudice affect both the external and internal domains of dangal.

Social prejudice negates kapwa's philosophy of equality and hence, restricts pakikipagkapwa. Revealed through negative emotions (loneliness, resentment, and feelings of isolation), the child and adult participants reported indicators of social prejudice, such as bullying and name-calling, cultural/racial stereotyping, social stigma, not being consulted, and corporal punishment. These indicators are motivated by prejudice based on race, disapproval of prostitution, the Filipino notion of the "ideal" family, population size, and the view of children as ignorant, incompetent, and having uniform needs.

These findings are parallel with the findings of Gastardo-Conaco and Israel-Sobritchea (1999), and of Kutschera (2010), that having a mother who was a prostituted woman brought social degradation to the earlier generation of Filipino biracial children called Amerasians. Roces (2009) and Mananzan (1998, 2003b) argued that this prejudice against prostituted women was a result of more than three hundred years of Spanish colonisation that established patriarchy in Philippine society. The failure to

emulate the colonial image of the "Virgin Mary" (Roces, 2009) led Filipino women to see themselves and be considered by others as insignificant (Mananzan, 1991), and as a social disgrace (Ofreneo & Ofreneo, 1998). At this digital age, this Catholic belief persists as Filipino women are expected to be virgins before marriage (Bonifacio, 2018).

This social prejudice against prostituted women and their children can influence governmental decisions. To illustrate, the US Amerasian Act of 1982 excluded the Filipino Amerasians from the list of qualified Amerasian immigrants to the US as their mothers were allegedly in the sex trade (Lapinig, 2013).

This study also found that biracial children in impoverished conditions were being stereotyped as products of prostitution or of the relationship between Filipina bar girls and foreign men, even if it may be otherwise. In this research, one mother claimed that her biracial child was not a product of prostitution. In the case of Amerasians, Lapinig (2013) stated that there were those whose biological parents had "committed relationships" (p. 1).

The findings of this thesis also correspond with the findings of Gastardo-Conaco and Israel-Sobritchea (1999) and Kutschera (2010), that being a neglected child contributed to the Filipino Amerasians' social discrimination. The Catholic image of an ideal family led to a superficial understanding of the concept of family (Mananzan, 2018). It created a "standard" that an ideal family is composed of a married male and female couple with a child or children (Salvador, 2013). Deviating from this standard such as the absence of biological fathers, being born outside marriage, or having a homosexual parent, was believed to lead to the social degradation of biracial children. This type of social prejudice is pervasive in Philippine institutions, so much so that the laws do not allow divorce (Inquirer Research, 2018) or gay marriage (Salaverria & Inquirer Research, 2018).

This research supports the studies of Gastardo-Conaco and Israel-Sobritchea, (1999), Kutschera (2010), McFerson (2002), and Rondilla (2012), that Filipinos favour white skin over dark skin. My data revealed that being dark-skinned was associated with being poor, dirty, and racially inferior, while being white- or fair-skinned was linked to being wealthy, clean, and racially superior. This prejudice based on race is due to the image of colonial beauty that Filipinos got from the Spanish and American colonisers (Enriquez, 1994; McFerson, 2002; Rondilla, 2012). Moreover, while this work supports the findings of earlier studies wherein half-Black children are disadvantaged due to their skin colour, this thesis also found that half-White children are discriminated too, albeit in a different way. As an example, in shopping, sellers would immediately assume that a White person is rich, so the sellers tend to charge the White person more.

This study affirms the findings of Velayo (2005) as well as those of the PST CRRC et al. (2008) study that adults hold a bias based on children's age and perceived capability. Such bias explains the adults' lack of consultation with the child participants, and the use of physical punishment to instil discipline. Bessell (2009) explained that the notion of "age hierarchy" among Filipinos contradicts the view of children as "capable social actors" (p. 306). The adults' opinion is given more weight than the children's opinion (Coram International, 2018), and the children's voice is not given due importance (Lundy & Templeton, 2018). This "authoritative and hierarchical" relationship between children and adults was imposed by the colonial church and schools (Yacat & Ong as cited in Velayo, 2005, p. 194). It is based on the premise that adults are superior to children who are considered naive (Velayo, 2005), and whose comprehension is limited to the "the language of pain" (PST CRRC et al., 2008, p. 5).

This kind of social prejudice against children affect governmental policies. For example, corporal punishment is not banned in the Philippines (Coram International,

2018), but rather, is considered a widely accepted method of instilling discipline among children (PST CRRC et al., 2008). Relative to this, President Duterte vetoed the anti-corporal punishment bill in March 2019, arguing its likelihood to interfere with the privacy and prerogative of families. Citing his personal observation, the President argued that a "restrained" form of physical punishment has been effective in imposing discipline on children (Romero, 2019a, p. 1). However, research revealed that children's experience of physical punishment led to an emotional state marked by antipathy, seclusion, and hostility (Sanapo & Nakamura, 2010); this also negatively affected their self-efficacy, as well as their capability to form relationships with others (Sarmiento & Rudolf, 2017).

The adult community participants in my study held a presumption that all children had the same needs, regardless of their background – a notion that is aligned with the dominant paradigm (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004, p. 34) which disregards the intricacy of childhood (Jenks, 2005). This thesis supports the emergent paradigm as well as the cultural theories which take into account the influence of environmental factors (Lansdown, 2005), and regard childhood as a social construction (James & Prout, 1997; Jenks, 2005).

The adult participants' views tended to favour the majority. This led to a failure to investigate children from minority groups whose conditions do not reflect those of the majority group. We are reminded here of the observation of the Committee on the Rights of the Child's that the Philippine Government failed to provide "disaggregated data by region, gender and age" and sufficient information "on children in need of special protection, in particular, children living in extreme poverty, abused and neglected children, children in conflict with the law and children belonging to minorities and indigenous groups" (OHCHR, 2009, p. 6). The biracial children in my study belonged to the group of children described in the last statement.

Poverty is a major barrier to functionality. Because of the indigent situation of their mothers, grandparents, and other carers, the biracial children had to live in low quality and ill-equipped housing, situated in shanty communities which had no or very poor basic facilities (water, electricity, and sanitation), and which were not maintained by the government. Hence, the children had to exert effort to meet their needs, such as fetching water outside their houses and using scraps of wood to cook. The child participants are among the more than 5.55 million families that lack housing facilities (De Villa & Medina, 2018), the 6.5 million whose houses have no electricity, and the 4 million that lack water supply and toilet facilities (UNICEF & PSA, 2015).

Poverty and the Filipino value of utang na loob (moral indebtedness) trigger child labour (UP Manila et al., 2016). For example, Child 1 worked as a part-time garbage collector to help his mother who used her son's earnings to buy food. In 2011, there were approximately 5.5 million children in the Philippines who became labourers so as to provide for their families (UNICEF & PSA, 2015). This is not considered by many to be exploitation but simply a way to survive and to alleviate some of the circumstances of poverty within the family.

Poverty also limited the pakikipagkapwa that the biracial children engaged in with their mothers, grandparents, and other carers. The child participants lacked balanced nutrition, thus, making them a part of the more than two million Filipino families that were considered "food-poor" as of 2015 (Coram International, 2018, p. 164). The child participants and their parents represent those families in indigent urban areas that consume "processed and junk food" due to the lack of access to healthy foods (Coram International, 2018, p. 165).

The child participants were deprived of dental and medical care due to inefficient services in public hospitals and the expensive services of private providers. Public hospitals in the Philippines, as per the 2004 World Bank statistics, had just 1.15

physicians for every 1,000 Filipinos; and medicines were undersupplied, so that people were forced to go to private hospitals, if they could afford it, or to self-medicate (Coram International, 2018, p. 138). Many resorted to borrowing money in order to pay the medical fees (Lavado et al., 2011) since the universal health insurance was insufficient to cover most of the medical expenses (World Bank, 2011).

Due to poverty, the child participants lacked opportunities to engage in recreational activities, as well as to have their own digital equipment and devices. The absence of gadgets negatively affected the children's dangal as digital connectivity was found to be an enabler of pakikipagkapwa with fellow children and adults.

Governmental inadequacy impacted the biracial children's dangal adversely as it meant children were deprived of a functional environment; it also limited their opportunities for pakikipagkapwa. This is exemplified by the condition of the government-funded schools, playgrounds, and health facilities as well as the inadequate child protection measures.

The findings of this thesis revealed the key role of government in ensuring the functionality of schools. The child participants reported the lack of chairs, blackboards, computers, spacious and clean libraries, and gender-specific toilets. These findings validate the results of the Umil (2014) survey of secondary school students who reported the following needs: a sufficient supply of books, classrooms that are not crowded, chairs that are not broken, and hygienic toilets. In other words, functionality features such as space, durability, cleanliness, as well as suitable and reliable facilities are simply basic necessities of all students.

The national government tried to address these issues relating to the functionality of public schools by increasing the allotted budget for basic education (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017). However, the resources remained insufficient due to rapid population growth (Oxford Business Group, 2018) made worse

by fiscal and program management that lacked strategy, transparency, and a focus on the child sector (Coram International, 2018).

The government's inadequacy was apparent in the health system that lacked functionality. The biracial children had minimal access to regular medical and dental services due to the cost and the low-quality services. Their experiences are a result of a health system where the hospital services are paid out of the patients' pocket mainly, making it difficult then for disadvantaged children to meet their medical needs (World Bank, 2011). The services in public hospitals are cheaper than in private hospitals but there are simply not enough doctors (and medicine) (Coram International, 2018) for the public hospital system to cope with the high demand of the rapidly increasing population (Oxford Business Group, 2018).

Based on the responses of the child participants, a playground contributed to an environment's functionality and facilitated pakikipagkapwa. However, their schools and neighbourhoods lacked this facility. This finding corroborates the 2011 study by Play Pilipinas showing the low proportion of playgrounds in governmental schools and in urban areas in Metro Manila (Valdez, 2013). Consequently, the child participants played on streets and roads which exposed them to heat, dust, and the risk of accidents. Road accidents was among the major causes of death of children as per the 2012 Philippine Health Statistics (Coram International, 2018). This is reflected in Sy's (2017) article that during a ten-year period (2006-2015), 667 children lost their lives due to road accidents alone.

The national and local agencies' failure to protect children from crimes and accidents disadvantaged the biracial children from experiencing pakikipagkapwa. Broadcasted and watched by the child participants on television were news wherein children were kidnapped by syndicates, or children became "collateral damage" in the police operations under the Duterte Administration's drug war (PhilRights, 2017).

Apprehensive for their safety, the children or their parents in my study chose for the children not to participate in outdoor educational activities which could have contributed to their development.

Ineffective governmental measures against bullying and corporal punishment restricted children's experience of pakikipagkapwa. The child participants were victims of bullying and corporal punishment. They were bullied by other children and were physically punished by their mothers, grandparents, aunts, and teachers. Yet, there were no solutions given by the teachers and school officials to this problem.

A factor that contributed to the persistence of these types of violence against children was the inefficient reporting of cases. According to Sanapo (2017), teachers rarely report incidences of bullying that they were aware of – an act that reflects the alleged Filipino "culture of silence concerning violence against children" (Coram International, 2018, p. 281). An ineffective justice system, the absence of financial aid and other assistance, public humiliation, and social beliefs and practices were among the reasons cited for the unreported cases of violence against children (Coram International, 2018).

The lack of financial resources restricted the pakikipagkapwa of mothers, grandparents, and other carers to their children including opportunities to engage in different outdoor recreational activities. Hence, the child participants typically spent their leisure time watching television at home or at a relative's house, and accessing YouTube through pisonet and internet shops. However, governmental measures that would protect children from harm brought by television programs and online sites were inadequate. Children were exposed to adult-oriented drama series that were inappropriate and might be harmful to them, as reported by the National Council for Children's Television (2015). UNICEF (2016), likewise, raised concerns over the tripling of the cases of online abuse of children from 2013 to 2015. The ineffectiveness

of the government to safeguard children is probably a reflection of the inadequate budget that the government allots for child protection programs (Social Watch Philippines & Save the Children Philippines, 2017).

Environmental disturbances or unfavourable conditions were found to exacerbate the already restricted functionality in children's houses, schools, and neighbourhoods. For example, the hot weather and high humidity brought extreme discomfort to my child participants. Just like the more than half of 440 students in public schools surveyed by the Salinlahi Alliance for Children's Concerns (Umil, 2014), my child participants complained about the lack of ventilation in their classrooms, and wished for more electric fans ("blowers") or air conditioners.

The worsening humidity in the Philippines did not only bring physical discomfort to the child participants, but also restrained them from pakikipagkapwa as they could not engage in outdoor activities with other children and with their parents and relatives. An example of extreme heat in the Philippines was the recorded heat index in April 2018 that went beyond the 41-degree Celsius limit (Mangosing, 2018) and was likely to cause muscle spasm, exhaustion, and even stroke if there was extended heat exposure (PAGASA, 2019).

The typhoons and flooding which caused agricultural damages and negatively affected the country's food supply (Ocampo, 2019) also brought insecurity or anxiety to the child participants as they damaged their personal belongings, such as their shoes and houses. According to UNICEF and PSA (2015), the loss of "families' productive assets" due to extreme weather disturbances led to an increase in the number of children living in poverty (p. 90).

Typhoons and floods result in the decline in school attendance (Ortega & Klauth, 2017), and according to the older child participants in my study, they were exposed to diseases such as the mosquito-borne disease dengue, and the rodent-borne disease

leptospirosis. If a squatter neighbourhood was flooded, the flood water reached areas that were infested by rats, and likewise became breeding areas for mosquitoes.

Children are at high risk with climate change. Yet, the local governments lacked child-centred plans, programs, and budgets in their efforts to address climate change (Ortega & Klauth, 2017, p. 8). The child sector was not consulted nor involved in initiatives to curb the impact of extreme weather conditions since "children are treated as a passive sector that simply needs to be provided for and evacuated in times of disasters" (Berse, 2017, p. 226).

6.1.3 Upholding Dangal

Symbolised by a dotted upward-pointing arrow which covers the internal as well as the external domains, **upholding the biracial children's dangal** entails **promoting functionality** of their environment (as per the child participants' perspectives), as well as addressing poverty and social prejudice through education (as reported by the adult participants). These two road maps for upholding dangal exemplifies the differences in perspectives between the child participants and the adult participants. While the children's responses focused largely on improving the functionality of their environment, the adults were more concentrated on resolving the biracial children's lack of economic resources and the social prejudice against them. To illustrate, Child 5 reported that addressing the minor defects of their house is enough to make it a better place for a child her age. However, Parent 7 mentioned that her biracial daughter, being a half-White American, should reside in a bigger house located in a prominent village to spare the child from the social prejudice that associates white skin with being wealthy. The same contradiction applies on children's and adults' perspectives with regard to children's schools. Based on the responses of the child participants who were in government-funded schools, resolving their schools' lack of functionality would make it a better place for children's education. However, the parents preferred to transfer their

children from public to private schools. Parent 7 believed that her biracial child should be in a private school since children from high income families were enrolled there.

To promote their dangal, the child participants would like public facilities such as playgrounds, libraries, classrooms, and toilets to be made available and functional. They wanted to have sufficient, appropriate, and durable equipment in these places. Safety, adequate space, cleanliness, colourfulness, and coolness of the surrounding must be ensured.

Unlike the younger child participants whose justification for their need for a functional environment is to address the anxiety that they experience primarily through their senses and have more opportunities for pakikipagkapwa, the older child participants were able to provide a more detailed explanation. For example, they were aware that aside from physical discomfort, exposure to environmental hazards could lead to serious illnesses and accidents. They were also conscious that while their digital devices promoted play and connected them with their family members and friends, such were also a necessity during emergency cases.

In the development of the adults' road map to uphold the biracial children's dangal, it was observed that the adult participants vary on their awareness of the biracial children's needs. The mothers, grandparents, and other carers had the highest level of awareness, followed by the NGO worker, nun, teachers, priests, and police officer. The local government officials had the least level of awareness with regard to conditions surrounding the biracial children in Angeles City. Nevertheless, all the adult participants had biases against children's capability, racial background, and family structure. Except for the mothers and grandparents, the other adults had the presumption that the biracial children from poor communities had prostituted mothers even if such may not be the case.

Adult participants argued that **education** was a solution to steer the biracial children away from poverty, and to address their experiences of social prejudice. This is consistent with the Filipinos' belief that one can escape poverty through education (Figueroa et al., 2016b, p. 19); so much so that families would borrow money from others, if needed, to support their children's schooling (Medina, 1991, p. 63). Having a university degree is considered a "levelling factor" (FFE PH News Staff, 2013) leading to a good job and stable (or high) income. However, as poverty restricted the biracial children's access to education, **financial support** was deemed crucial. Nonetheless, the value of education as a means to address the social prejudice against biracial children and to uplift their economic conditions was not reported by the child participants.

In general, this work on dangal supports the previous studies on children's view of their dignity. Polonko and Lombardo's (2005) study revealed that with regard to their dignity, children gave importance to "*respect, value or worth, integrity, authenticity* and *compassion/decency* for self and others" (italics in the original, p. 25). Narayan et al. (2013) reported that older children relate dignity to "protecting personhood" (p. 892) which corroborates with other investigations that relate dignity to the protection of privacy and to respect (Jamalimoghadam et al., 2017; Noghabi et al., 2018). The findings of these earlier works on dignity are all aligned with pakikipagkapwa. However, this thesis presented a model of biracial children's dignity or dangal that is not limited to receiving positive treatment from others. Pakikipagkapwa is not a unilateral relationship but rather asserts mutuality and interdependence. As noted by De Guia (2010), kapwa is about "sharing and giving" (p. 96). A refusal to be a kapwa is tantamount to rejecting to be an initiator as well as a receiver of pakikipagkapwa (Enriquez, 1992). This notion of pakikipagkapwa was illustrated by the child participants and their parents wherein, to express their gratitude to their parents' efforts to support the family, the child participants reported that they helped in the household

chores and tried to raise some funds which were used to buy food. Such example of the mutuality of pakikipagkapwa demonstrates their agency. This supports Abebe's (2019) reconceptualisation of children's agency as "interdependent" since it is "an integral part of and shaped by the familial notions of care, obligations, and reciprocity" (p. 10).

This study presents a model that explains both the external and internal domains of dangal together with its enablers, indicators, and barriers. It is clear that what the biracial children require are the basic needs because it is their right to have access to those.

6.2 Asserting the Children's Dangal through Policy and Programs

The findings of this research points to the need for an indigenous Filipino and child-centred approach to policy stakeholders who are concerned with promoting children's dignity in the Philippines. From the dominant and traditional view of the UNCRC that was developed by adults, the model of dangal which emerged from this study is based on the biracial children's view of their dignity. This model shows functionality and pakikipagkapwa as enablers of dangal. Although functionality has a strong a materialistic component, it points to basic necessities and does not require extra cost to what the children are entitled to. Since this model of dangal shows that the children's requirements are not costly, it can serve as a roadmap to governments that lack funds for initiatives related to children's welfare.

The Local Council for the Protection of Children (LCPC) plays a key role in ensuring that the findings of this research feed into policy formulation that will benefit the child sector in Angeles City. The LCPC has a legal mandate and serves as a primary local body in promoting children's dignity in the area. Being led by the City Mayor and City Vice Mayor and comprised of heads of various local offices, and with representatives from national agencies as well as civil society organisations, the LCPC affects all stages of the policy process, particularly policy formulation and

implementation. Hence, presenting to the LCPC the findings of this thesis is a crucial initial step.

The LCPC can conduct various initiatives in line with applying the findings of this research into policy. Foremost of these, the LCPC can pave the way for the passage of resolutions and ordinances that enhance the functionality of public facilities in Angeles City. They can recommend local laws that reinforce the cleanliness drive and ensure that streets, playgrounds, parks, schools, and other public spaces are maintained properly (eg., free of the garbage and animal wastes). The maintenance of the sewerage system is also crucial since flooding could damage the children's belongings, and expose them to accidents, dengue, and leptospirosis.

In terms of the public schools, the LCPC can advocate for more budget and coordinate with the DepEd's representative in the LCPC to improve the children's educational environment, ensuring that the basic facilities are available, and that the children's needs are attended to efficiently. For example, sufficient cooling facilities such as air conditioning units, blowers, and heat insulators should be installed in the classrooms. Providing kiosks or canteens where children can have their meals will promote cleanliness and hence functionality. As explained by Senator Grace Poe, canteens and kitchens are necessary facilities since children attend schools not just to learn but they eat there too (Terrazola, 2017). Moreover, all students must have chairs – functioning chairs, instead of broken chairs. There must be at least two blackboards in each classroom. Schools must have lockers where children can keep their books and school materials so that they do not have to carry them from home to school (and back) everyday. Books must be in good condition, free of errors (Go, 2018), and regularly updated; there must be enough for all students, and they must be distributed on time. There must be enough functioning computers for the children.

The LCPC can seek adequate budget from government for schools to have libraries and a sufficient number of toilets for all students. The LCPC must ensure that students are consulted on the design of these facilities. Based on this study, toilets must be gender specific, located outside the classroom, and working properly. If possible, the walls are colourfully painted, the toilets themselves clean, well-lighted, and have enough cubicles to avoid long queues. The libraries must have books that are well-maintained, there must be sufficient chairs and tables, a librarian, and the room/place must be colourful, clean, and cool. The LCPC should disprove the notion that the "government does not consider public school libraries a priority in the allocation of scarce resources" (Totanes, 2012, p. 182).

The LCPC can also conduct an investigation of alleged administrative lapses in DepEd, for example, the delays in the procurement of supplies which, according to Senator Poe, led to underutilisation of funds by PhP21 billion (Terrazola, 2017) which could have been used to improve the functionality of public schools in the country. In this study, one mother complained about the late distribution of students' text books in her son's public school, noting that it was half way through the school year when her son received his books.

The LCPC can seek the assistance of the private sector and NGOs to extend scholarships, tutorial services, laptops, and other educational materials to the children. It is also imperative for the LCPC to investigate the implementation of the 20% student fare discounts (Zurbano, 2018), especially in the Balibago area where two parents reported that they found it difficult to pay for their children's transportation to and from school on a daily basis due to costly tricycle fares. The LCPC has to review the effectiveness of the locality's transportation policies, especially those which affect children's attendance in school.

The LCPC can partner with the national housing agencies to fortify the public housing initiatives, and give due attention to people who live in squatter communities even if they are not original residents or voters in the locality. Hindrances to the government's National Shelter Program (NSP) include the reluctance of local authorities to "accept low-income migrants for relocation, due to limited social services and economic opportunities, and housing maintenance costs" (Ballesteros, 2010, p. 3). The local governments are also unwilling to develop a system to help identify rightful beneficiaries efficiently. As a result, "the awarding of home-lots is often ad hoc and politically dependent" (Ballesteros, 2010, p. 3). This is unfavourable to the biracial children and their families since most of the mothers were from other provinces.

The LCPC can review the city government's policy regarding the structural designs of public housing in the city to ensure that houses are functional. In accordance with the findings of this study, they must be affordable, sturdy, made of concrete, with colourful paint, with adequate insulation, with a good exhaust system to expel smoke when cooking, and with access to water, electricity, and sanitation facilities. Ideally, children will have their own room and bed.

The LCPC can review its child protection policies to ensure that the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the Department of Transportation improve their efforts to curb crimes and road accidents in general. Also, although there has been no reported deaths in Angeles City due to rabies since 2010 (SunStar Pampanga, 2018b), the LCPC can obligate the health officials of the city government to monitor their anti-rabies campaign, and ensure that the prevention and cure of rabies are being addressed. The LCPC can ask the health officials to consider the active surveillance approach, as a study by Deray et al. (2018) revealed that children who are bitten by animals do not typically report the incident nor seek treatment. Likewise, in this study, a mother

reported that her biracial son did not inform her that he was bitten by a dog, and she learned about it only when an older playmate conveyed the incident to her.

In order to make the health services accessible to children, the LCPC can recommend legislative measures that will address the overcrowding/long waiting lists in Angeles City's medical and dental facilities. The waiting time should be reduced. Adopting an appointment system, operated either through phone or online, is highly suggested. For those who have no access to phone or internet, as in the case of some children and mothers in this study, the LCPC can request the barangay (district) governments to help them gain this access. A more in-depth study on the efficiency of the public health facilities in Angeles City is also recommended.

To promote good and balanced nutrition, the LCPC can partner with NGOs and the private sector to expand and upscale the city's feeding programs. Due to limited funding, the city government's feeding programs currently run for about four months and are focused on children in day care centres only (SunStar Pampanga, 2018a). The LCPC can ask the city's Nutrition Office to educate families on food recipes that are nutritious, easy on the budget, and at the same time, preferred by children. These initiatives are meant to address cases wherein families from urban areas in the Philippines normally resort to junk and processed foods, as reported by Coram International (2018) and based on my study.

The LCPC can pave the way for ordinances that would protect the children while online. This study found that children were keen on using the pisonet (a computer with internet that works like a vending machine) as they got a four-minute online access for as cheap as one peso (roughly USD0.019) (Jovito, 2016). Unfortunately, the pisonet was alleged to have facilitated "cyberpornography" (Tudtud, 2018, p. 1). Having more pisonets is beneficial, provided protective mechanisms are put in place, particularly in

internet shops where some adults visit age-restricted websites and the children are able to sight these (Diloy, 2013).

To address the biracial children's financial needs, the LCPC can advocate for budget that will provide mothers, grandparents, and other carers with employment or livelihood assistance, as well as free DNA testing for the child and father and legal services to help establish paternity claims for biracial children – to support their claims for child support. The parent participants complained about the costly DNA testing and legal services which were requirements to demand child support from the biracial children's biological fathers. The LCPC can initiate establishing a system that would help the biracial children find, be recognised by, and secure financial support from their biological fathers. The LCPC can also discuss with the Department of Foreign Affairs the possibility of the Philippines becoming a state party to international treaties such as The Hague Convention on the International Recovery of Child Support and Other Forms of Family Maintenance (Hague Conference on Private International Law, 2007), and other similar legal instruments.

The LCPC can also recommend a budget for a free 24-hour care facility that would look after the children while the mothers, grandparents, and other carers are at work. This is crucial especially since in the cases of solo parents who have no relatives to assist in caregiving. This type of facility will not only give the mothers, grandparents, and other carers an opportunity to engage in income-generating activities, but will also protect children from possible abuse if just left to the care of other adults. The facility should be administered by licensed social workers and monitored by the city gvernment's social welfare and development office. Consulting the parents and their children are key in designing this project.

To promote pakikipagkapwa, the LCPC can recommend a budget for building more playgrounds for the children since the child participants reported the lack of

functional playgrounds in their schools and neigbourhoods. The LCPC can partner with NGOs that promote the children's play. They can also negotiate with shopping mall owners in their area to establish a free playground for the children within the mall premises. This would be preferable as children prefer cool environments such as the malls. According to the child participants, to be functional, a playground should have durable, safe, and colourful play equipment.

Pakikipagkapwa can also be promoted further if the LCPC recommends local laws that require the barangay governments to initiate more recreational opportunities for children, such as games, workshops, or a once-a-month free access to the cinema. The barangay leaders could consult children during those events to learn about their needs and suggestions for the community. Based on the findings of this research, poverty limited the biracial children's recreational opportunities and that there was a lack of an effective formal channel through which children could voice out their opinions, suggestions, and concerns on issues affecting their welfare.

To further reinforce pakikipagkapwa in favour of the biracial children, it is imperative to implement measures that would address social prejudice and its indicators. Based on the findings of this research, the child participants experienced bullying. However, a study by Sanapo (2017) stated that despite their awareness of cases of bullying, teachers rarely documented and informed the DepEd authorities about such occurrences. Therefore, the LCPC can conduct an investigation into the teachers' level of responsiveness in monitoring cases of name-calling and bullying. The LCPC should aim that all incidences are reported, investigated, and addressed.

At the same time, the LCPC can coordinate with DepEd in the provision of training and workshops on child behaviour for the teachers and the school personnel. This is to counter the current absence of a clear ruling that bans corporal punishment (PST CRRC et al., 2008; Coram International, 2018). The LCPC can also partner with

the barangay governments in promoting a more active response to cases involving

violence (UP Manila et al., 2016), and in monitoring the prevalence of corporal

punishment and other types of violence against children at home where abuses usually

occur (PST CRRC et al., 2008). Corporal punishment is a manifestation of adults'

prejudice against children's capability wherein they assume that punishing children is

the sole means to communicate with them (PST CRRC et al., 2008). This is a belief that

is not in accordance with pakikipagkapwa as illustrated in the case of Child 2 who

expressed her anger against her teacher who hit her and her classmates while they were

writing. All the child participants have experienced corporal punishment from adults.

Lastly, the LCPC can designate a team of independent child rights advocates who

would conduct regular direct consultation with children, lead investigations, and

provide possible solutions that would address concerns involving children. As reported

by the child participants, they were never consulted by their teachers while the

consultation that they experienced with their mothers, grandparents, and other carers

were limited.

The LCPC can also investigate the findings of this study about local government

officials' "generic" treatment of children which translated to focusing on the concerns

of the majority and overlooking the issues of children from the minority. From this

investigation, they can suggest solutions.

Given the Philippines' political landscape, the realisation of the policy

recommendations discussed in this thesis depends on the priorities of those in

government, especially those in the LCPC. This thesis was finalised after the 2019

election period wherein a new set of leaders would hopefully bring new thinking and

rationale leadership to the Angeles City Local Government. Although the execution of

the mentioned policy recommendations would not be as costly as other governmental

programs such as those related to public infrastructure, they would entail leadership and political will that see children as capable social actors.

It is important to note that most of the needs of biracial children that surfaced in this study reflect the needs of the disadvantaged Filipino children in previous studies (Coram International, 2018; Plan Philippine, 2009; PST CRRC et al., 2008; Sanapo, 2017). In a way, the biracial children are just like other children, except that they are more "racialised." Whatever is done for them will benefit other children as well.

6.3   Implications of the Research Findings on Child Development

Establishing a functional environment will positively contribute to the children's physical, cognitive, and social development. A clean and orderly surrounding promotes disease prevention and thereby protect children from various illnesses. Schools that are functional or made conducive for children's learning through the provision of basic facilities and features will lessen the children's anxiety and will help them focus on their studies better. A neighbourhood that has a playground and that provides children with opportunities for recreation will help children develop their socialization skills, as well as their relationships with fellow children and other adults.

Meanwhile, promoting pakikipagkapwa by implementing measures that address social prejudice against biracial children will be beneficial for these children's mental health. The findings of this thesis revealed that most of the social prejudice against biracial children were due to impact of colonisation in the Philippine culture. Hence, there must be initiatives that would increase the Filipinos' awareness of how the colonial beliefs distorted the pakikipagkapwa with women and children.

To address the social prejudice against biracial children and their families, the LCPC can use different media platforms such as the social media, print, film, and television to feature stories that negate the biases that damage the dangal of these children. For example, to counter beliefs that the absence of a father in their lives would

result to children becoming troublemakers and unsuccessful, documented stories of biracial children who were not supported by their biological fathers but were able to complete their education through the hard work of their mothers, relatives, or other carers must be featured. The LCPC could also look into documented stories which contest the colonial notion that associates dark skin colour with poverty, ignorance, and uncleanliness.

The LCPC can work with the DepEd to ensure that the children's educational materials in schools are free from such presumptions against biracial children and their mothers. At the same time, the LCPC and DepEd can fund projects that would produce books and other educational sources that are designed to challenge the social prejudice against the biracial children and their families.

The LCPC can be pro-active by calling the attention of individuals or groups who are involved in promoting the biases against biracial children and their families. The LCPC must investigate such cases and apply appropriate resolutions.

Addressing social prejudice is imperative since as per the experience of the earlier generation of Filipino Amerasians, social stigma and discrimination brought them psychological trauma, resulting in their being anti-social and low in self-esteem (Kutschera, 2010).

Providing access to education and financial support to the biracial children and their families will bring positive contributions to these children's development, both in short term and the long term. The financial support will help resolve the children's impoverished conditions that deprive them of adequate nutrition and shelter which impact their physical development negatively. With regard to the children's social development, the financial support will lessen the economic stress of parents and other carers hence, enhancing their pakikipagkapwa with their children.

Furthermore, providing access to education is beneficial to the biracial children's cognitive and social development. The children will be given the chance to enhance their knowledge and abilities continually which will likely improve their self-confidence and even their economic status. As reported by the adult participants, being able to complete their education is the way for the biracial children to address the social prejudice against them and therefore, make it possible for these children to develop socially and emotionally. However, based on the data from this research, the parents found it difficult to keep their biracial children in school because although government-funded primary and secondary schools do not charge tuition fees, the parents' minimal income was insufficient to shoulder the daily expenses incurred, such as transportation, meals, and materials for assignments or projects. The lack of functionality of schools due to governmental inefficiencies also hindered children's opportunity to learn. Tertiary education also remains inaccessible due to the limited number of fully subsidised colleges and universities. Such is unfavourable for the biracial children since a college degree is normally required in order to secure decent paying jobs in the Philippines.

6.4 Implications of the Dangal Framework for the Philippines' Compliance with the UNCRC

The dangal framework has implications for the Philippines' compliance with the UNCRC. Foremost of these is that it challenged the dominant paradigm claiming adults' superiority over children (Protacio-De Castro et al., 2004; Salvador, 2013), and sought to counter the adults' prejudicial thinking and dominance in policies related to children. Hence, the dangal framework paves the way for the formulation of child welfare policies that are reflective of the children's perspectives, and the design of programs and projects in a manner that is not oppressive of the child sector.

Furthermore, the dangal framework provides the Philippine Government with an approach that is indigenous. After all, it is based on the Filipino culture and presents a more Filipino notion of child rights that may not have been incorporated in the UNCRC. Accordingly, the dangal framework suggests that the articles of the Convention be reinterpreted to incorporate functionality and pakikipagkapwa so as to pave the way for the children's positive dangal experiences.

The dangal framework also offers the Philippine Government a pragmatic approach to the promotion of child rights. At its core, the framework is mainly about children wanting to be provided with basic necessities, and to be regarded as kapwa. Therefore, the dangal framework can enable the creation of policies that optimise the resources for children and help address the limited budget for child welfare programs (OHCHR, 2009; Coram International, 2018).

Although the dangal framework provides the Philippine Government with a different view of child rights, it does not contradict nor hinder the country's compliance with the UNCRC. Instead, the dangal framework recommends an option on how the Filipino children's dignity can be better promoted. This dangal framework is not about abandoning the UNCRC but instead, the dangal framework is supplementary to the Convention. The dangal framework is an attempt to reframe the adults' view of children from being vulnerable and ignorant to human beings who are capable of making decisions – the adults ought to respect and value this if they are sincere in serving as stewards of children's rights.

6.5   Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

A qualitative study such as this is always limited in terms of generalisability. With 10 biracial children and 26 adult participants, and limited resources for fieldwork, there is always the possibility that the data did not capture the reality completely. In addition, 8 out of 10 biracial child participants were half-White. There was only one half-Black

and one half-Korean child participant. Therefore, the sample was made up of one type of biracial group mostly, and lacked representation of the non-White biracial children such as the Japino (half-Japanese) and the Chinoy (half-Chinese). Another limitation of this research is that it was not able to explore the intersection between the children's biracial background with class, gender, race, and age. Determining the relations among these variables would better our understanding on the complexity of the issues concerning the biracial population.

This leads to the first suggestion for future research: That more research be done with biracial children, particularly on the various types of social prejudice against them, not only in Angeles City, but in other parts of the Philippines. Further on, comparative studies with biracial children in similar situation, such as those in Olongapo City which was a former site of the US Naval Base in Central Luzon, will better our understanding and provide more comprehensive information. More time and resources are needed to research these areas.

The initial use of the UNCRC framework was recognised early in the study and an alternative dangal framework evolved. The dangal framework, however, has its own limitations. Dangal was developed from an indigenous standpoint which makes it context-based. It is influenced by various social, cultural, economic, and political factors which may be unique in a particular environment. Based on the experience of using this framework, I suggest the application of dangal in research involving children from other minority groups. For example, it will be interesting to research the dangal experience of children from indigenous communities, the children of homosexual couples, the children in the orphanage, street children, the children that were involved in drug addiction, and those who lost their parents as a result of the government's aggressive campaign against illegal drugs. Comparing the findings of such studies will be valuable in improving the dangal framework. These studies will also pave the way

for the crafting of child-centred governmental policies that are more relevant to the needs of the said children from different sub-groups.

It will also be interesting to employ the dangal framework on studies involving adults from marginalised sectors, and then compare them with this study. Learning how adults and children differ in their understanding of dignity will be useful in enhancing this framework on dangal.

A further related proposal is to combine the UNCRC framework and the dangal framework in future studies. One possible way of doing this is by expanding the dangal framework by incorporating the UNCRC as a framework for the dangal-enabler pakikipagkapwa. After all, the articles of the Convention are all about treating children as kapwa.

In this study, pagpapakuwento worked as a data collection method for my child participants who were at least nine years old. However, there has been a limited literature about pagpapakuwento, and its viability as a cross-cultural method needs further investigation. Hence, the application of pagpapakuwento as a cross-cultural method is a suggestion for future research.

6.6 Going Back and Moving Forward: The Ethics of Indigenous Research

According to Pe-Pua (2006), in the indigenous research approach, the "status of equality applies even at the data reporting stage which will have to involve the participants themselves. The accuracy of data interpretation and the fairness of the presentation should be confirmed by the participants" (p. 131). Unfortunately, I was not able to present the results of data analysis to the children and the adult participants before such were finalised due to time and resource constraints. Hence, if I were to do this research again, I would have planned better to ensure that the children and the adults who participated in the study would be given the opportunity to review, comment on, and benefit from the findings before the thesis is written. Nevertheless, the findings

of this study shall be presented to the children and adult participants after it has been finalised and submitted to the university. I will conduct separate meetings for the group of child participants and their parents. During these meetings, I will explain my plan to disseminate the research findings so that such could inform the policy process and benefit the child sector, particularly the biracial children from indigent communities. If needed, I will prepare two sets of presentation materials – one set for the adults and another set for the children – in order to communicate the findings effectively.

With regard to the community participants (teachers, government officials, priests, nun, and NGO worker), I will email to them a copy of the findings individually. Some of the publication outlets where I intend to disseminate the research findings are conference presentations, journal articles, print and online newspapers for adult and child readers, and social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook which are popular among children in the Philippines. I will also present the findings to the Angeles City's LCPC where I also intend to volunteer to help them craft policies based on this study.

6.7   Conclusion

I go back to my overall research question: "How can the biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines be helped by the Angeles City Local Government so that the dangal of these children can be promoted?"

First and foremost, the city government must understand the problem based on the biracial children's perspective. This way, they would be able to package initiatives that target the needs of said group of children effectively and efficiently. Based on this study, functionality and pakikipagkapwa are the key enablers of the biracial children's dangal, while the major barriers are social prejudice, poverty, governmental inefficiencies, and environmental disturbances. To address those barriers, the city government must partner with the national agencies, barangay (district) governments,

and NGOs in promoting a functional environment, in giving the biracial children access to education, in increasing the society's social awareness on discrimination against these children, and in providing direct and indirect means of financial support.

My initial plan with this thesis on the biracial children in the Philippines was to apply the UNCRC as framework. However, I ended up using it as a springboard for my final framework since the UNCRC was not sufficient for my goal of discovering how to help the biracial children in Angeles City. The UNCRC was based on adults' understanding of children's dignity and their biases on how children's dignity can be promoted. This is reflected in the lack of studies on children's dignity based on the children's perspectives that were used in developing the UNCRC framework (Jamalimoghadam et al., 2017; Narayan et al., 2013; Noghabi et al., 2018; Polonko & Lombardo, 2005).

A Filipino indigenous perspective allowed me to understand how children in the Philippines view their dignity. Thus, an original contribution of this thesis was in the use of an "indigenous" lens or a perspective from within the culture and from within the group being investigated – an alternative paradigm for studying child's rights. The relational concept of kapwa paved the way to building the dangal framework that has strong emphasis on the equality between children and adults. Hence, the child participants were perceived and treated as kapwa or fellow human beings. The kapwa theory facilitated a culture-based understanding of the social dynamics among the child and adult participants. Kapwa helped in the analysis and development of dangal's internal domain wherein pakikipagkapwa is recognised as an enabler of dangal. This domain is significantly affected by the connection or type of relationship that the children have with fellow children and adults. Kapwa served as a lens which guided the analysis of the child participants' social interactions at home, in school, and in their neighbourhood. Pakikipagkapwa or treating others as kapwa was identified as an

enabler of the internal domain of children's dangal. Without this Filipino lens, a full grasp of the conditions surrounding the lives of biracial children in Angeles City, as well as the various experiences that are meaningful to them, would not have been possible. In summary, the focus on the relational concept of kapwa and the two-dimensional (internal and external domains) concept of dangal provided a suitable anchor for investigating and explaining the dangal of biracial children, and the enablers and barriers to positive dangal experiences. The use of indigenous methods of research was also embedded in the indigenous approach.

The use of the indigenous approach led to the second original contribution of this thesis, that is, the development of a dangal framework that makes the children's voices, rather than the adults', the centre of attention. The dangal framework is a useful tool for understanding and addressing the needs of children in general, and of biracial children in particular. It enables us to fully grasp the children's perspectives, especially if we consult them directly, and build on their insights. After all, if we are for them, then we should be doing things with them. A significance of this study, thus, lies in providing a reframing of children's needs. However, since this thesis is the first to employ the dangal framework, this approach is subject to further refinement and validation through its application in future investigations about the Filipino children's dignity.

Furthermore, central to this thesis' methodological approach is the recognition of children as kapwa or fellow human being. During the fieldwork in Angeles City, the activities with the child participants were marked with pakikipagkapwa, and contributed to the promotion of their dangal.

Last but not the least, the study is significant in that it was motivated by both a theoretical and an applied focus. The thesis demonstrated the crafting of public policy using indigenous research methodology, and such is the study's third contribution to knowledge. The findings of this research became the basis for policy recommendations

to address the needs of the biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines. However, not only did this study aim to suggest solutions to problems, but it endeavoured to refine the theoretical lens for understanding human and social conditions more adequately.

References

Abebe, T. (2019). Reconceptualising children's agency as continuum and
  interdependence. *Social Sciences, 8*(3), 1–16.
  https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8030081

Aguila, A. P. N. (2014). *Social media and the renegotiation of Filipino diasporic
  identities* [Doctoral thesis]. https://doi.org/10.7939/R3XP6V867

Al Jazeera English. (2013, February 26). *Challenges of Philippines' mixed race
  children* [Video]. YouTube. https://youtube/lbbMxkJTSa8

Alderson, P. (2008). Children as researchers. In P. M. Christensen, & A. James (Eds.),
  Research with children: Perspectives and practices (pp. 276–290). Falmer Press.

Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice*. Perseus Books.

Allwood, C. M., & Berry, J. W. (2006). Origins and development of indigenous
  psychologies: An international analysis. *International Journal of Psychology*,
  41(4), 243–268.

Amparo, A. C. B., Jayme, S. I., Roces, M. C. R., Quizon, M. C. L., Villalon, E. E. S.,
  III, Quiambao, B. P., & Nel, L. H. (2018). The evaluation of operating Animal Bite
  Treatment Centers in the Philippines from a health provider perspective. *PLOS
  ONE*, *13*(7). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0199186

*An Act Amending Title VI of E.O. 209 as Amended, Otherwise Known as the Family
  Code by Removing and/or Erasing Classification Between Legitimate, Illegitimate
  and Legitimated (Filiation of) Children, and for Other Purposes (HB 00373)*. (n.d.)

*An Act Promoting Positive and Non-Violent Discipline, Protecting Children from
  Physical, Humiliating or Degrading Acts as a Form of Punishment and
  Appropriating Funds Therefor (HB 08239)*. (n.d.)

*An Act Providing for the Special Protection of Child Passengers in Motor Vehicles (HB
  06938, SBN 1971)*. (n.d.)

An Act Providing Internet Safety and Protection for Children (SBN 1519). (n.d.)

An Act Recognizing and Strengthening Alternative Care of Children, Providing

Incentives to Agencies Providing the Same (HB 00173, HB 01163). (n.d.)

An Act Requiring a Report Regarding the Effects Environmental Factors Have on

Women and Children's Health (HB 01572). (n.d.)

An Act Requiring All Government and Private Hospitals, Medical Centers, Clinics,

Infirmaries, and Other Health Centers to Extend Free Medical and Dental

Assistance to Indigent Children (HB 00781, SBN 1657). (n.d.)

Anakbayan. (2017, November 15). *Upholding EDCA & Mutual Defense Treaty in*

Trump meeting reaffirms Duterte's puppetry to US imperialism.

http://www.anakbayan.org/upholding-edca-mutual-defense-treaty-in-trump-

meeting-reaffirms-dutertes-puppetry-to-us-imperialism-anakbayan/

Angeles City Teen Information Center. (2016). [Initial results of survey conducted

among selected biracial children in Angeles City]. Unpublished raw data.

Anti-Slavery International. (2013). *Home truths: Wellbeing and vulnerabilities of child*

domestic workers. Anti-Slavery International. http://www.antislavery.org/wp-

content/uploads/2017/01/cdw_report_final_3.pdf

Arayata, M. C. (2018, June 23). *Bullying victims, parents not helpless under PH laws*.

http://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1038320

ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly. (2011). *Philippines country report on the*

welfare and protection of children: *3rd AIPA caucus report*.

http://www.aipasecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/4.Welfare-and-

Protection-of-Children.pdf

Aurelio, J. M. (2018, April 8). DOH list of Dengvaxia deaths grows. *Philippine Daily*

Inquirer, A5.

Bajo, A. F. (2018, November 30). *Group urges gov't to finalize, submit children's report for UNCRC*.

https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/metro/676620/group-urges-gov-t-to-finalize-submit-children-s-report-for-uncrc/story/

Ballesteros, M. (2010, March 27). *Reforming housing for the poor in the Philippines*. http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2010/03/27/reforming-housing-for-the-poor-in-the-philippines/

Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas. (2017, May 9). *Key rates*. http://www.bsp.gov.ph/

Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas. (2019, January 25). *Key rates*. http://www.bsp.gov.ph/

Bastos, J. L., & Faerstein, E. (2012). Conceptual and methodological aspects of relations between discrimination and health in epidemiological studies. *Forum*, 28(1), 177–183. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/csp/v28n1/19.pdf

Bernardo, A. B. I., Ganotice, F. A., & King, R .B. (2015). Motivation gap and achievement gap between public and private high schools in the Philippines. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, *24* (4), 657–667. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-014-0213-2

Berse, K. (2017). Climate change from the lens of Malolos children: Perception, impact and adaptation. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, *26* (2), 217–229. https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-10-2016-0214

Bessell, S. (2009). Children's participation in decision making in the Philippines: Understanding the attitudes of policy-makers and service providers. *Childhood, 16*(3), 299–316. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209335305

Blackburn, S. (2008, May 30). *Videoke in the Philippines*. http://ezinearticles.com/?Videoke-in-the-Philippines&id=1214399

Bonifacio, G. T. (2018). Religion and gender equality in Catholic Philippines: Discourses and practices in the 21st century. In E. Ruspini, G. T. Bonifacio, & C.

Corradi (Eds.), *Women and religion: Contemporary and future challenges in the global era* (pp. 41–57). Policy Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. SAGE.

Brewer, C. (2001). *Holy confrontation: Religion, gender and sexuality in the Philippines, 1521-1685*. Raintree Publishing Inc.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In *International encyclopedia of education* (2nd ed.), *3* (pp. 1643–1647). Elsevier Sciences, Ltd.

Buan, L. N. (2015, November 15). *Foreign and fatherless: Abandoned children in Pampanga's sex industry*. http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/544395/news/specialreports/foreign-and-fatherless-abandoned-children-in-pampanga-s-sex-industry

Buck, T. (2014). *International child law*. Routledge.

Cabuenas, J. V. (2017, January 2). *PAL launches Clark-Incheon route*. http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/money/companies/594356/pal-launches-clark-incheon-route/story/

Camus, M. R. (2017, February 11). Airport authority eyes Clark-US link. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B1.

Camus, M. R. (2018, February 15). Ph is world leader in social media usage. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B1.

Castro, G. M. (2019, February 8). *Lowering age of criminal liability contradicts laws protecting children.* https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/222335-lowering-age-of-criminal-liability-contradicts-laws-protecting-children

Cepeda, M. (2018, January 3). *Philippine population to exceed 107 million by end-2018 – PopCom*. https://www.rappler.com/nation/192783-philippine-population-2018

Cheng, W. (2017, March 6). *Duterte approves national broadband plan, gov't portal*. http://news.abs-cbn.com/business/03/06/17/duterte-approves-national-broadband-plan-govt-portal

Child Rights International Network. (2011, November 29). *Philippines: National laws*. https://www.crin.org/en/library/publications/philippines-national-laws

Child Welfare Code of Angeles City, Ordinance No. 327, S-2012. (n.d.)

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies.* SAGE Publications, Inc.

Christensen, P., & James, A. (2017). Researching children and childhood: Cultures of communication. In P. Christensen, & A. James (Eds.), *Research with children: Perspectives and practices* (pp. 1–10). Routledge.

Chua, R. (1994, March 17). Sex tourism in the Philippines rises from ashes of Mount Pinatubo. *Asian Wall Street Journal*. http://ezproxy.aut.ac.nz/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/315689898?accountid=8440

Cipriani-Price, M., Lim, B. K., & Alberici, D. J. (2010). Biracial. In C. S. Clauss-Ehlers (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of cross-cultural school psychology* (pp. 155–161). Springer.

Civil Society Coalition on the Convention on the Rights of the Child Inc. (2017). *Joint CSC-CRC UPR submission: 3rd cycle – Philippines.* https://www.upr-info.org/sites/default/files/document/philippines/session_27_-_may_2017/js6_upr27_phl_e_main.pdf

Clark Global City: Welcome to the new center. (2018, April 11). *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 10.

Clemente, J. A., Belleza, D., Yu, A., Catibog, E. V. D., Solis, G., & Laguerta, J. (2008). Revisiting the *kapwa* theory: Applying alternative methodologies and gaining new insights. *Philippine Journal of Psychology, 41*(2), 1–32.

Coram International. (2018). *Situation analysis of children in the Philippines*. https://www.unicef.org/philippines/nationalsitan2018.pdf

Daly, P. P. (2015). *Pagbabalik-loob*, cyberactivism, and art: Babaylan provocations and creative responses. In S. L. Mendoza, & L. M. Strobel (Eds.), *Back from the crocodile's belly: Philippine babaylan studies and the struggle for indigenous memory* (pp. 251–278). UST Publishing House.

De Guia, K. (2010). An ancient reed of wholeness: The babaylan. In L. M. Strobel (Ed.), *Babaylan: Filipinos and the call of the indigenous* (pp. 69–107). Ateneo de Davao University-Research and Publication Office.

De Guia, K. (2018). Connected with all life – the enduring Filipino *kapwa* orientation: The Filipino shared self in a postmodern context. In R. Pe-Pua (Ed.), *Handbuk ng sikolohiyang Pilipino, Bolyum 1: Perspektibo at metodolohiya (Handbook of Filipino psychology, Volume 1: Perspectives and methodology)* (pp. 310–328). The University of the Philippines Press.

De Villa, K., & Medina, M. (2018, November 14). Massive housing challenge. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B6–4.

Delmendo, S. (2004). *The star-entangled banner: One hundred years of America in the Philippines*. Rutgers University Press.

Department of Social Welfare and Development. (2015, March). *Directory of social welfare and development agencies with valid registration, licensed to operate and accreditation per AO 16 s. 2012*. http://www.dswd.gov.ph/download/NGOs/dirngos/SWDAs_valid_RLA032015.pdf

Department of Social Welfare and Development. (2018, July 26). *DSWD ensures child-friendly spaces in evacuation centers*. https://pia.gov.ph/news/articles/1010809

Department of the Interior and Local Government. (2014). *Local Council for the Protection of Children*. https://www.region6.dilg.gov.ph/index.php/programs/66-socially-protective-and-safe-lgus/115-lcpc

Deray, R., Rivera, C., Gripon, S., Ulanday, C., Roces, M. C., & Amparo, A. C. (2018). Protecting children from rabies with education and pre-exposure prophylaxis: A school-based campaign in El Nido, Palawan, Philippines. *PLOS ONE*, *13*(1). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0189596

Diloy, Y. C. (2013). *Online risks Filipino children face today*. https://www.cameleon-association.org/publications/etudes/2013-Online-risks-Filipino-children-face-today-BD.pdf

Dinglasan, R. (2015, January 17). *Pope Francis: The Catholic Church's future is here in Asia*. http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/popefrancis/story/407323/pope-francis-the-catholic-church-s-future-is-here-in-asia

Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination: Theoretical and empirical overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 3–28). Sage.

Duerr, R. I. (2015, January 15). *The pope's Philippine visit and the politics of religion*. http://www.dw.de/the-popes-philippine-visit-and-the-politics-of-religion/a-18194506

Dumlao-Abadilla, D. (2018a, April 5). Tycoons build Clark nerve center vs disasters. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B3.

Dumlao-Abadilla, D. (2018b, April 6). FDC building $200-M gaming resort in Clark's Mimosa estate. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B3.

Enano, J. (2018a, August 15). DepEd to probe loss of textbooks worth P25M.

Philippine Daily Inquirer, A5.

Enano, J. (2018b, December 6). Ph no. 11 on global list of among most climate deaths.

Philippine Daily Inquirer, A6.

Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives*.

University of California Press.

Enriquez, K. (2012). From *hiya* to *dangal*: A critique of John Paul II's theological

anthropology in light of the experience of Filipino women. *Budhi: A Journal of

Ideas and Culture*, *16*(1), 51–75.

Enriquez, V. G. (1978). *Kapwa*: A core concept in Filipino social psychology.

Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review, 42(1-4), 100–108.

Enriquez, V. G. (1990). Towards a liberation psychology. In V. G. Enriquez (Ed.),

Indigenous psychology: A book of readings (pp. 123–136). Akademya ng

Sikolohiyang Pilipino.

Enriquez, V. G. (1992). *From colonial to liberation psychology: The Philippine

experience*. University of the Philippines Press.

Enriquez, V. G. (1994). *Pagbabangong-dangal: Indigenous psychology and cultural

empowerment*. Quezon City, Philippines: Akademya ng Kultura at Sikolohiyang

Pilipino.

Enriquez, V. G. (1997). Filipino psychology: Concepts and methods. In H. S. R. Kao, &

D. Sinha (Eds.), *Asian perspectives on psychology: Cross-cultural research and

methodology series, 19*. Sage Publications.

Ferrer, C. (2018, December 8). *DSWD projects should not be politicized, says official*.

http://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1056093

FFE PH News Staff. (2013, September 11). Nielsen survey reveals Filipinos value education. *For Filipinos in Europe Magazine*. http://ffemagazine.com/nielsen-survey-reveals-filipinos-value-education/

Figueroa, L. L., Lim, S., & Lee, J. (2016a). Investigating the relationship between school facilities and academic achievements through geographically weighted regression. *Annals of GIS*, *22*(4), 273–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/19475683.2016.1231717

Figueroa, L. L., Lim, S., & Lee, J. (2016b). Spatial analysis to identify disparities in Philippine public school facilities. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, *3*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/21681376.2015.1099465

Finer, L. B. & Hussain, R. (2013). *Unintended pregnancy and unsafe abortion in the Philippines: Context and consequences*. https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/ib-unintended-pregnancy-philippines.pdf

Francisco, K., & Geronimo, J. Y. (2013, October 22). *Why fake NGOs got away*. https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/41913-why-fake-ngos-got-away

Gallagher, M. (2009). Ethics. In E. K. M. Tisdall, J. E. Davis, & M. Gallagher (Eds.), *Researching with children and young people* (pp. 11–28). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Gascon, M. (2018, August 12). P1.3B for poor left unused–COA. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A2.

Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Israel-Sobritchea, C. (1999). *Filipino-Amerasians: Living in the margins*. The University Center for Women's Studies Foundation in collaboration with Pearl S. Buck International and Agencies Collaborating Together With Amerasians.

Geronimo, J. Y. (2014, October 24). *UNICEF: PH 'a little behind' in upholding children's rights*. https://www.rappler.com/nation/73000-unicef-philippines-behind-rights-children

Go, A. C. (2018, May 15). Errors in our textbooks. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A14.

Gupta, D. (2011). Functional clothing: Definition and classification. *Indian Journal of Fibre and Textile Research, 36*, 321–326. http://nopr.niscair.res.in/bitstream/123456789/13225/1/IJFTR%2036%284%29%20321-326.pdf

Hague Conference on Private International Law. (2007, November 23). *Convention on the International Recovery of Child Support and Other Forms of Family Maintenance*. https://assets.hcch.net/docs/14e71887-0090-47a3-9c49-d438eb601b47.pdf

Ho, D. Y. F. (1990). Asian psychology: An east-west dialogue on indigenization and beyond. In V. G. Enriquez (Ed.), *Indigenous psychology: A book of readings* (pp. 137–172). Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino.

Inquirer Research. (2018, March 11). More people accept divorce, surveys show. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A7.

Inso, F. A. (2018, April 8). PTAs should help provide security. *Cebu Daily News*. https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/170051/ptas-help-provide-security

International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. (2018). *Asian demographic and human capital data sheet 2018*. http://www.iiasa.ac.at/web/home/research/researchPrograms/WorldPopulation/PublicationsMediaCoverage/ModelsData/AsiaDataSheet2018_web.pdf

Iredale, R., Mitchell, C., Pe-Pua, R., & Pittaway, E. (1996). *Ambivalent welcome: Settlement experiences of humanitarian entrant families in Australia*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs.

Jamalimoghadam, N., Yektatalab, S., Momennasab, M., Ebadi, A., & Zare, N. (2017). Hospitalized adolescents' perception of dignity: A qualitative study. *Nursing Ethics*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0969733017720828

James, A., & Prout, A. (1997). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Falmer Press.

Javier, R. E., Jr. (2012). *Pakikipagkapwa: Pilipinong lapit sa pananaliksik.* Central Book Supply, Inc.

Jenks, C. (2005). *Childhood.* Routledge.

Johns Hopkins University. (2007). *International child sex tourism: Scope of the problem and comparative case studies*. http://www.protectionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/JHU_Report.pdf

Jovito, L. (2016, February 29). *Pisonet Business (Internet Cafe Business Plan)* [Blog post]. https://powerpinoys.com/pisonet-business-internet-cafe/

Jupp, M. (1990). The UN convention on the rights of the child: An opportunity for advocates. *Human Rights Quarterly, 12*(1), 130–136.

Kaiman, J., & De Leon, S. (2016, May 28). The Philippines has 1.8 million abandoned children: Here's what keeps many from adoption. *Los Angeles Times*. http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-philippines-orphans-adv-snap-story.html

Kalusugan at Nutrisyon ng Mag-Nanay Act (Republic Act No. 11148). (n.d.)

Kivisto, P., & Croll, P. R. (2012). *Race and ethnicity: The basics*. Routledge.

Kusaka, W. (2017). *Moral politics in the Philippines: Inequality, democracy and the urban poor*. NUS Press.

Kutschera, P. C. (2010). *Stigma, psychosocial risk, and core mental health symptomatology among Amerasians in the Philippines: A multiple-case study* [Doctoral dissertation]. Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3419580)

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Laforteza, E. M. C. (2015). The somatechnics of whiteness and race: Colonialism and mestiza privilege. Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Lansdown, G. (2005). *The evolving capacities of the child*. https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/evolving-eng.pdf

Lansford, J. E., Alampay, L. P., Al-Hassan, S., Bacchini, D., Bombi, A. S., Bornstein, M. H.,…Zelli, A. (2010). Corporal punishment of children in nine countries as a function of child gender and parent gender. *International Journal of Pediatrics*. https://doi.org/10.1155/2010/672780

Lapinig, C. M. (2013, May 27). The forgotten Amerasians. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/28/opinion/the-forgotten-amerasians.html

Lavado, R. F., Sanglay-Dunleavy, A. B., Jimenez, J., & Matsuda, Y. (2010). *How are government hospitals performing?: A study of resource management in DOH-retained hospitals*. http://www.eaber.org/sites/default/files/documents/PIDS_Lavado_2010.pdf

Lavado, R. F., Ulep, V. G. T., Pantig, I. M. T., Ortiz, D. A. P., Jimenez, J. F., Datu, M. B. G., & Banzon, E. P. (2011). *Profile of private hospitals in the Philippines*. https://dirp4.pids.gov.ph/ris/dps/pidsdps1105.pdf

Legaspi, P. E. (2001). The changing role of local government under a decentralized state: The case of the Philippines. *Public Management Review, 3*(1), 131–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/14719030122810

Leyson, J. F. J. (2001). The Philippines. In R. T. Francoeur, & R. J. Noonan (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of sexuality* (Vol. 4, pp. 456–501). The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Limber, S. P., & Flekkoy, M. G. (1995). The UN convention on the rights of the child: Its relevance for social scientists. *Social Policy Report, 9*(2), 1–16.

Llego, M. A. (2018, January 26). DepEd basic education enrollment policy. https://www.teacherph.com/enrollment-policy/

Locksley, A., Hepburn, C., & Ortiz, V. (1982). Social stereotypes and judgments of individuals: An instance of the base-rate fallacy. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 18*(1), 23–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(82)90079-8

Local Government Code (LGC) of 1991 (Republic Act 7160). (n.d.)

Lundy, L., & Templeton, M. (2018). *The views, perspectives and recommendations of children across the world*. https://www.childrightsconnect.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/DGD-REPORT_WEB_en_def_web.pdf

Macairan, E. (2019, March 2). *DOJ indicts Garin, 9 others for Dengvaxia deaths*. https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2019/03/02/1898019/doj-indicts-garin-9-others-dengvaxia-deaths

Macasaet, S. D. C. (2013). *A look at Philippine civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs: Characteristics, concerns and challenges*. CODE-NGO.

Mananzan, M. J. (1991). *The woman question in the Philippines*. Saint Paul Publications.

Mananzan, M. J. (1998). Theological reflections on violence against women: Catholic perspective. In E. M. Ahmed (Ed.), *Women and religion: Seeds of violence* (Vol. 3). Heinrich Boll Foundation.

Mananzan, M. J. (2003a). *The Filipino women: Before and after the Spanish conquest of the Philippines.* Proquest Publishing Inc.

Mananzan, M. J. (2003b). Women, religion and spirituality: Religious education and gender issues. In S. F. Alatas, L. T. Ghee, & K. Kuroda (Eds.), *Asian interfaith*

dialogue: Perspectives on religion, education and social cohesion (pp. 109–121). Centre for Research on Islamic and Malay Affairs and The World Bank.

Mananzan, M. J. (2016). *Shadows of light: Philippine church history under Spain* (A people's perspective). Claretian Communications Foundation, Inc.

Mananzan, M. J. (2018). *Nun-talk: Selected speeches and articles*. Claretian Communications Foundation, Inc.

Manasan, R. G., Celestino, A. B., & Cuenca, J. S. (2011). *Mobilizing LGU support for basic education: Focus on the Special Education Fund*. https://dirp4.pids.gov.ph/ris/dps/pidsdps1107.pdf

Mangahas, F. B. (2006). The babaylan historico-cultural context. In F. B. Mangahas, & J. R. Llaguno (Eds.), *Centennial crossings: Readings on babaylan feminism in the Philippines* (pp. 21–46). C & E Publishing.

Mangosing, F. (2018, April 28). Heat index reaches 'dangerous' levels. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A4.

Masustansyang Pagkain para sa Batang Pilipino Act (Republic Act No. 11037). (n.d.)

Mataragnon, R. H. (1987). Pakikiramdam in Filipino social interaction. In *Foundations of Behavioral Sciences: A Book of Readings*. Social Science I Committee, University of the Philippines.

McFerson, H. M. (2002/2011). Filipino identity and self-image in historical perspective. In H. M. McFerson (Ed.), *Mixed blessing: The impact of the American colonial experience on politics and society in the Philippines* (2nd ed.). The University of the Philippines Press.

Medina, B. T. G. (1991/2015). *The Filipino family* (3rd ed.). The University of the Philippines Press.

Medina, M., & Roa, A. (2018, December 8). A 'new city' takes shape. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B4–4.

Melton, G. B. (1991). Preserving the dignity of children around the world: The U.N. convention on the rights of the child. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 15*(4), 343–350. https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(91)90019-A

Mendoza, S. L., & Strobel, L. M. (Eds.). (2015). *Back from the crocodile's belly: Philippine babaylan studies and the struggle for indigenous memory*. UST Publishing House.

Narayan, K., Hooker, C., Jarrett, C., & Bennett, D. (2013). Exploring young people's dignity: A qualitative approach. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, *49*(11), 891–894. https://doi.org/10.1111/jpc.12430

National Council for Children's Television. (2015). *Television viewing of the Filipino child*. http://ncct.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Television-Viewing-of-the-Filipino-Child.pdf

Navales, R. G. (2015, August 6). Village exec wants lost territory back. *SunStar Philippines*. https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/24255

Noghabi, F. A., Yektatalab, S., Momennasab, M., Ebadi, A., Zare, N. (2018). Exploring children's dignity: A qualitative approach. *Electronic Journal of General Medicine*. https://doi.org/10.29333/ejgm/94093

Ocampo, K. R. (2019, January 13). Climate change toll on PH agriculture in 2018: P36B. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A3.

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2009, October 2). *Concluding observations: The Philippines*. http://www2.ohchr.org/English/bodies/crc/docs/co/CRC-C-PHL-CO4.pdf

Ofreneo, R. E. & Ofreneo, R. P. (1998). Prostitution in the Philippines. In L. L. Lim (Ed.), *The sex sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in Southeast Asia* (pp. 100–129). The International Labour Office.

Ong, M. G. (2015). *Happy in my own skin: Filipina migrants' embodiment of ageing in New Zealand* [Doctoral thesis]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/26986/whole.pdf?sequence=2

Online Child Safety Act (SBN 1499). (n.d.)

Orejas, T., & Cardinoza, G. (2018, September 12). 'Lepto' toll in Central Luzon: 3 dead, 128 sick in 2 months. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A12.

Ortega, J. B., & Klauth, C. (2017). *Climate landscape analysis for children in the Philippines*. https://www.unicef.org/philippines/UNICEFPHCLAC.pdf

Oxford Business Group. (2018). *The report: Philippines 2018*. https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/philippines-2018

Palmer, G. B., & Brown, R. (1998). The ideology of honour, respect, and emotion in Tagalog. In A. Athanasiadou, & E. Tabakowska (Eds.), *Speaking of emotions: Conceptualisation and expression* (pp. 331–355). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co.

Paul, J. (2018, October 7). *2018 guide to child support in Philippine law*. https://lawyerphilippines.org/2018/10/07/2018-guide-to-child-support-in-philippine-law/

Pe-Pua, R. (1989). *Pagtatanong-tanong*: A cross-cultural research method. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 13*, 147–163.

Pe-Pua, R. (1990). *Pagtatanong-tanong*: A method for cross cultural research. In V. G. Enriquez (Ed.), *Indigenous psychology: A book of readings* (pp. 231–249). Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino.

Pe-Pua, R. (1996). *'We're just like other kids': Street-frequenting youth of non-English-speaking background.* Australian Government Publishing Service.

Pe-Pua, R. (2006). From decolonizing psychology to the development of a cross-indigenous perspective in methodology: The Philippine experience. In U. Kim, G.

Yang, & K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp.109–137). Springer.

Pe-Pua, R. (2015). Indigenous psychology. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (2nd ed., Vol. 11) (pp. 788–794). Elsevier.

Pe-Pua, R., & Echevarria, A. (1998). *Cultural appropriateness, or plain customer service?: Legal needs of NESB residents in Fairfield*. Ettinger House.

Pe-Pua, R., Mitchell, C., Iredale, R., & Castles, S. (1996). *Astronaut families and parachute children: The Cycle of migration between Hong Kong and Australia.* Australian Government Publishing Service.

Pe-Pua, R., & Protacio-Marcelino, E. A. (2000). *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino psychology): A legacy of Virgilio G. Enriquez. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 3*(1), 49–71. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00054

Pennington, J. (2017, March 22). *Education, inequality, poverty: A paradox in the Philippines*. https://www.aseantoday.com/2017/03/education-inequality-poverty-a-paradox-in-the-philippines/

Pew Research Center. (2013, February 13). *The global Catholic population*. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/02/13/the-global-catholic-population/

Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA). (2019, March 6). *Effects of heat index in our body*. https://www1.pagasa.dost.gov.ph/index.php/44-climatology-and-agrometeorology/climate-impact-assessment/3572-heat-index

Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism. (2018, September 20). *The rights of our children*. http://pcij.org/stories/the-rights-of-our-children/

Philippine Commission on Children Act of 2018 (SBN 2022). (2018).

Philippine Council for NGO Certification. (2012). *Philippine Council for NGO Certification*. https://www.pcnc.com.ph/

Philippine News Agency. (2017, February 18). House approves bill to rectify simulated birth records. *Manila Bulletin*. https://news.mb.com.ph/2017/02/18/house-approves-bill-to-rectify-simulated-birth-records/

Philippine Statistics Authority. (2019, January 11). *Cities in the province of Pampanga*. https://psa.gov.ph/classification/psgc/?q=psgc/citimuni/035400000

PhilRights. (2017, November 20). *The state of the Filipino child under Duterte's "war on drugs."* http://philrights.org/the-state-of-the-filipino-child-under-dutertes-war-on-drugs/

Plan Philippines. (2009). *Toward a child-friendly education environment: A baseline study on violence against children in public schools*. http://plan-international.org/learnwithoutfear/files/philippines-toward-a-child-friendly-educationenvironment-english

Polonko, K. A., & Lombardo, L. X. (2005). Human dignity and children: Operationalizing a human rights concept. *Global Bioethics*, *18*(1), 17–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/11287462.2005.10800863

Protacio-De Castro, E., Camacho, A. Z., Balanon, F., Yacat, J., Galang, M. T., & Ong, M. (2004). *Handbook for social workers on basic bio-psychosocial help for children in need of special protection*. UNICEF. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/2720/pdf/2720.pdf

Protacio-Marcelino, E., Balanon, F. A. G., Camacho, A. Z. V., Ong, M. G., Verba, A. G., & Yacat, J. A. (2000). *The world of children involved in the sex industry: Reducing the risks and harm of sexual exploitation, STD, and HIV/AIDS in Filipino children* [Unpublished manuscript].

Psychosocial Support and Children's Rights Resource Center (PST CRRC). (2017).
Children and the sex trade in the digital age: A study on the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Metro Manila.
file:///C:/Users/em165579/Desktop/final_children_and_the_sex_trade_in_the_digital_age.pdf

Psychosocial Support and Children's Rights Resource Center (PST CRRC), Ong, M. G., Domingo, J., & Balanon, F. G. (2008). *Corporal punishment in the Philippines.* https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/sites/default/files/documents/4895.pdf

Punongbayan, J. C. (2018, October 18). *Analysis: Whatever happened to the Reproductive Health Law?.* https://www.rappler.com/thought-leaders/214581-analysis-whatever-happened-to-reproductive-health-law-philippines

Ralston, M. (2007). *Selling sex in heaven* [The lens]. CBC.

Ralston, M., & Keeble, E. (2008). *Reluctant bedfellows: Feminism, activism, and prostitution in the Philippines.* Kumarian Press.

Ramos, T. V. (1971). *Tagalog dictionary.* University of Hawaii Press.

Ranada, P. (2019a, February 19). *New law creates Department of Housing and Urban Development.* https://www.rappler.com/nation/223856-new-law-creates-department-housing-urban-development

Ranada, P. (2019b, February 20). *Duterte signs universal health care law.* https://www.rappler.com/nation/223942-duterte-signs-universal-health-care-law

Reed, A. J. (2014). *Exploiting vulnerability: A study of the lives of Filipino women who have been trafficked into sex work* [Master's thesis]. https://researchbank.rmit.edu.au/eserv/rmit:160968/Reed.pdf

Republic of the Philippines. (1987). *Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.*

Reyes, C., Tabuga, A., Asis, R., & Mondez, M. B. (2014). *Child poverty in the Philippines.* http://dirp3.pids.gov.ph/webportal/CDN/PUBLICATIONS/pidsdps1433.pdf

Richard T. Bell & Associates. (2019). *Problems with enforcement of the Hague Convention.* https://www.hg.org/legal-articles/problems-with-enforcement-of-the-hague-convention-18793

Rico, R. (2014, November 20). *Child rights advocate to Aquino: Fulfill UNCRC commitment.* https://noonbreakbalita.com/2014/943/child-rights-advocate-aquino-fulfill-uncrc-commitment/

Roces, M. (2009). Prostitution, women's movements and the victim narrative in the Philippines. *Women's Studies International Forum, 32*(4), 270–280. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2009.05.012

Romero, A. (2019a, March 3). *Palace defends Duterte's veto of anti-corporal punishment bill.* https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2019/03/03/1898335/palace-defends-dutertes-veto-anti-corporal-punishment-bill

Romero, A. (2019b, March 15). *Duterte signs law on simplified adoption process.* https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2019/03/15/1901646/duterte-signs-law-simplified-adoption-process#JrHf3d3b7XeQ4dzL.99

Rondilla, J. L. (2012). *Colonial faces: Beauty and skin color hierarchy in the Philippines and the U.S.* [Doctoral dissertation]. http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/etd/ucb/text/Rondilla_berkeley_0028E_12807.pdf

Russia Today. (2016, May 25). *Fallen angels* [Video, documentary]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/gV8GLhJv6ck

Salaverria, L. B. (2016, November 4). Gov't to spend P8 trillion for infrastructure projects. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A21.

Salaverria, L. B. (2018, December 9). Schools must have classroom seats right for lefties-Angara. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A2.

Salaverria, L. B. & Inquirer Research. (2018, July 1). PH LGBT-friendly but 61% oppose same-sex marriage. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A2.

Salazar, Z. (1996). Ang babaylan sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. In *Women's role in Philippine history* (pp. 52–72). University Center for Women's Studies.

Salvador, R. (2013). *Child participation in the Philippines: Reconstructing the legal discourse of children and childhood* [Doctoral dissertation]. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/43724/1/Salvador_Rommel_M_201311_SJD_thesis.pdf

Samiti, R. S. (2018, September 4). *Proposal on considering bill relating to children passed*. https://thehimalayantimes.com/kathmandu/proposal-on-considering-bill-relating-to-children-2075-passed/

Sanapo, M. S. (2017). When kids hurt other kids: Bullying in Philippine schools. *Psychology*, *8*(14), 2469-2484. https://doi.org/10.4236/psych.2017.814156

Sanapo, M., & Nakamura, Y. (2010). Gender and physical punishment: The Filipino children's experience. *Child Abuse Review*. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.1148

Santiago, C. E. (1976). The language of food. In G. Cordero-Fernando (Ed.), *The culinary culture of the Philippines* (pp. 133–139). Bancom Audiovision Corporation.

Santiago, C. E., & Enriquez, V. G. (1976). Tungo sa maka-Pilipinong pananaliksik. *Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Mga Ulat at Balita* 1 (4), 3–10.

Santiago, L. Q. (2007). *Sexuality and the Filipina*. The University of the Philippines Press.

Santos, T. G. (2018, March 2). DOH reports 11,000 new dengue cases. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A7.

Santos, A. F., Hofmann, C. T., & Bulawan, A. (1998, May). *Prostitution and the bases: A continuing saga of exploitation.* https://catwap.wordpress.com/resources/speeches-papers/prostitution-and-the-bases-a-continuing-saga-of-exploitation/

Sarmiento, C., & Rudolf, R. (2017). The impact of childhood maltreatment on young adults' mental health: Evidence from the Philippines. *Asian Social Work and Policy Review*, *11*(1), 76–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/aswp.12115

Schmidt, J., & Schmidt, L. (2014, December 19). *What is a holy family?* https://www.catholicstand.com/what-holy-family/

Sevilla, J. C. (1990). Evaluating indigenous methods: A second look. In V. G. Enriquez (Ed.), *Indigenous psychology: A book of readings* (pp. 266–274). Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino.

Sicat, G. P. (2018, March 21). *Implementing the free college tuition law.* https://www.philstar.com/business/2018/03/21/1798692/implementing-free-college-tuition-law

Simons, M. (2015, July 18). *Philippines' Angeles City filled with children fathered by Australian tourists.* http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3164917/The-red-light-city-Philippines-filled-children-fathered-Australian-sex-trade-tourists-women-pregnant-abandoning-nothing.html

Social Watch Philippines and Save the Children Philippines. (2017). *Budget for real change?: Alternative budget fiscal year 2017*. Retrieved from https://socialwatchphilippines.weebly.com/uploads/2/7/2/0/27203019/2017_abi_orange_book.pdf

Sotto, J. M. O. (2018, March 12). Childless couples told: No shortcuts to adoption. *Cebu Daily News*, 6.

Strobel, L. M. (2005). *A book of her own: Words and images to honor the babaylan.* T'Boli Publishing and Distribution.

Strobel, L. M. (Ed.). (2010). *Babaylan: Filipinos and the call of the indigenous.* Ateneo de Davao University-Research and Publication Office.

SunStar Pampanga. (2018a, July 11). *Angeles City gets P8.4-M supplemental feeding aid.* https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/1752352

SunStar Pampanga. (2018b, October 4). *Angeles City awarded for anti-rabies program.* https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/1767634

Sy, K. (2017, April 12). *In numbers: Road crash incidents in the Philippines.* https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/road-safety/166151-road-crashes-philippines-awareness-safety

Sylwander, L. (2018, November 20). UNICEF: 70 years and counting. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A9.

Tabbada, E.V. (2005). A phenomenology of the Tagalog notions of *hiya* [shame] and *dangal* [dignity]. In R. M. Gripaldo (Ed.), *Filipino cultural traits: Claro R. Ceniza lectures* (pp. 21–55). Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Tejero, C. C. (2016, December 11). Angeles beyond Fields Avenue. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, F3.

Terrazola, V. E. (2017, October 7). DepEd urged to invest in school kitchen facilities and equipment. *Manila Bulletin.* https://news.mb.com.ph/2017/10/07/deped-urged-to-invest-in-school-kitchen-facilities-and-equipment/

The SK Reform Act: A fresh start for the youth. (2016, February 14). *Catanduanes Tribune*. http://www.catanduanestribune.com/article/3XR7

Theis, J. (2004). *Promoting rights-based approaches: Experiences and ideas from Asia and the Pacific*. https://www.crin.org/docs/resources/publications/hrbap/promoting.pdf

Thomas, N. (2011). *Children's rights: Policy into practice*. Lismore, Australia: Centre for Children and Young People, Southern Cross University. http://epubs.scu.edu.au/ccyp_pubs/29/

Torres, E. (2016, July 27). SC rejects appeal, reaffirms EDCA. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 2.

Totanes, V. R. (2012) Money and leadership: A study of theses on public school libraries submitted to the University of the Philippines' Institute of Library and Information Science. *Public Library Quarterly*, *31*(2), 181–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/01616846.2012.684622

Tudtud, C. F. M. (2018, May 30). Radaza wants "piso-net" banned. *The Freeman*. https://www.philstar.com/the-freeman/cebu-news/2018/05/30/1820014/radaza-wants-piso-net-banned

Umil, A. M. (2014, July 12). *Public school kids cry out for books, more rooms, more cooling fans*. http://bulatlat.com/main/2014/07/12/public-school-kids-cry-out-for-books-more-rooms-more-cooling-fans/

UN monitoring and reporting. (n.d.). http://www.childrensrightswales.org.uk/un-monitoring-reporting.aspx

United Nations Children's Fund. (n.d.). *Convention on the rights of the child*. http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=child

United Nations Children's Fund. (2016, June 7). *UNICEF study: 8 in 10 Filipino youth in danger of online sexual abuse*. https://www.unicef.org/philippines/media_25534.html#.W8Hbw9Mza70

United Nations Children's Fund & Philippines Statistics Authority. (2015). *Child poverty in the Philippines*. https://www.unicef.org/philippines/ChildPovertyinthePhilippines_web.pdf

United Nations Public Administration Network. (2004). *Republic of the Philippines: Public administration country profile*.

http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan023241.pdf

United States Embassy in the Philippines. (n.d.) *Eligibility for a CRBA*.

https://ph.usembassy.gov/u-s-citizen-services/child-family-matters/birth/crba/

University of the Philippines [UP] Manila, the University of Edinburgh, Child Protection Network Foundation, & UNICEF Philippines. (2016). *A systematic review of the drivers of violence affecting children in the Philippines*. Manila: UNICEF Philippines, 2016.

https://www.unicef.org/philippines/PHL_NBSVAC_LitReview.pdf

Valdez, E. (2013, June 1). Palarujuan: A child's right to play. *Manila Times.*

https://www.manilatimes.net/palarujuan-a-childs-right-to-play/5885/

Velayo, R. (2005). A perspective on child abuse in the Philippines. In F. L. Denmark, H. H. Krauss, R. W. Wesner, E. Midlarsky, & U. P. Gielen (Eds.), *Violence in schools* (pp. 191–205). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-28811-2_10

Whitaker, R. M., Colombo, G. B., & Rand, D. G. (2018). Indirect reciprocity and the evolution of prejudicial groups. *Scientific Reports*, *8*, pp. 1–14.

https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-018-31363-z

World Bank. (2011). *Philippine health sector review: Challenges and future directions (English).* World Bank.

http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/500561468295233918/Philippine-health-sector-review-challenges-and-future-directions

World Health Organization. (2018). *Dengue and severe dengue*.

https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/dengue-and-severe-dengue

World Health Organization. (2019). *Leptospirosis*.

https://www.who.int/zoonoses/diseases/leptospirosis/en/

Yacat, J. (2013). Filipino psychology (Sikolohiyang Pilipino). In K. D. Keith (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 551–556). Wiley-Blackwell.

Yee, J. (2018, December 13). Distrust in vaccines leads to spike in measles cases. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A9.

Zurbano, J. E. (2018, June 12). PUVs not giving fare discounts to seniors, students warned. *Manila Standard.* http://manilastandardtoday.com/news/national/267930/puvs-not-giving-fare-discounts-to-seniors-students-warned.html

Appendix A: Ethics Clearance and Forms

A.1 Ethics Clearance

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

5 October 2015

Marilyn Waring
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Marilyn

Re Ethics Application: **15/324 How might the biracial children in Angeles City, Philippines be helped by the Angeles City Local Government so that these children might fully exercise their rights as guaranteed in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child?**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 5 October 2018.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 5 October 2018;

- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 5 October 2018 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Maria Margaria Lavides execpsbp@gmail.com

A.2 Participant Information Sheets

(1) For child participants aged 7 to 12 years old

Thank you for completing this form – will you ask your parent/caregiver to sign here

_____ (signature)

_____ (Date)

if they feel that you understand what the project is about and give this form back to me.

Researcher Name: **María Margarita "Ate Marjs" Lavides**

WHAT DO I DO IF I HAVE CONCERNS ABOUT THIS RESEARCH?

Any concerns regarding the this project should be sent to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Marilyn Waring, through her email address marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz and/or New Zealand work phone number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Concerns regarding how the research is being done should be sent to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, _ethics@aut.ac.nz_ , (+64) 921 9999 extension 6038.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on _type the date final ethics approval was granted_, AUTEC Reference number _type the reference number_.

AUT
TE WĀNANGA AROHUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

RESEARCH ON EXERCISE OF RIGHTS OF
BIRACIAL CHILDREN
IN ANGELES CITY, PHILIPPINES

INFORMATION SHEET AND ASSENT FORM
FOR CHILDREN (7 TO 12 YEARS OLD)

(parent/caregivers please read to children)

This form will be kept for a period of 6 years

Hello – my name is "Ate Marjs" and I am a university student.

I would like to meet you once or twice a week for about 3 months

Whenever we will meet, we will do some fun stuff like playing and story-telling. We will also eat our favourite snacks at Jollibee. There will also be other children who will join us so you will have other new friends.

Please do not be shy to talk to me so that we can get to know each other better. You can ask me about my work whenever you want to. Sometimes I might use a tape recorder or video camera.

Let me know how you feel about this by colouring in one of these words -

Happy   Fine
Not Sure
Worried

If you are not sure or worried come and talk to me about it or ask one of your teachers or your caregiver about this.

I am finding out about children like you who have a parent from overseas – you might like to find out about this as well.

Please circle **YES** if you would like to take part in the study

Please circle **NO** if you do not want to do this

Please circle **MAYBE** if you are not sure. If you cannot decide that is fine because you can come along anytime and tell me or one of your teachers or your caregiver that you want to join in.

This is my photo

I hope we can do this together. It will be great to meet you and you will know who I am because of my photograph. I will also wear a badge with my name on, "Ate Marjs," whenever we have an activity.

(2) For child participants aged 13 to 17 years old

Participant Information Sheet

Biracial child (13 to 17 years old)

Date Information Sheet Produced:

28 August 2015

Project Title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

An Invitation

Hi! My name is "Ate Marjs" and I am a university student. I am doing research for my degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Public Policy).

I would like to invite you to take part in my study about children and young people in Angeles City who have a parent from overseas. Taking part is voluntary—that means you only have to take part if you want to. And, if you decide to take part, you can change your mind about that if you tell me before I finish collecting information for my study (31 December 2015).

What is the purpose of this research?

I want to understand what life is like for children and young people who have a parent from overseas. Then I will try to work out ways to make life even better. Some of the ways to do this might mean asking the government to work with other groups to make sure children and young people have everything they need. I can't promise that this will happen, but I will try to make sure it does. At the end of the research, I will write a thesis—a kind of book—about what you have told me, other things I have learned and what would make life better for children with parents from overseas. I will also tell people about what I have learned at conferences, by writing articles and a book.

How was I chosen and why am I being invited to take part in this research?

You are being invited to take part in this research as you have a parent from overseas and you live in Angeles City. I speak Filipino, so I want to talk to young people who can speak Filipino very well.

What will happen in this research?

I will meet with you at your home and at your school to talk about what life is like for you. When we meet at the school, there will be other young people there too. Moreover, I will need to take your photo and video footage because they will help me better understand you. However, your images will not be included in my book or thesis and will not be published in any form without your written permission. Also, should you decide to stop participating in my research, all information about you such as the tapes and transcripts, or parts of them, will be omitted from the study while the video images will not be used in analysis or write-up.

What are the discomforts and risks and how will they be alleviated?

I might sometimes ask questions that are a bit personal. But you don't have to answer a question if you don't want to. And if you don't want to take part in the research any more, that's fine. You can just tell me. And if you feel worried or upset, I can request a social worker to later visit and help you but only if you want me to facilitate such assistance.

What are the costs of taking part in this research?

I want to meet with you a few times so we can get to know each other and I can hear what you have to say about your life. So we will have a few meetings and they will take about 32 hours over three months. If you have to spend money on transport or food to come to the meetings, I will pay you back for that.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

By joining me in this research, you will be able to help me make life better for children who have a parent from overseas.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are interested in taking part in this research, please text or call the recruitment facilitator [name] through [mobile phone number]. You will then attend the orientation where the recruitment facilitator will explain everything about the research really clearly. After the recruitment facilitator has explained everything at the orientation, you will have **2 weeks** to decide if you still want to take part. If you do, I will ask you to sign a paper to say that you want to take part (the paper is called an "Assent Form").

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. You will definitely receive feedback on the results of this research. As soon as the study has been completed, I will organize a meeting with participants in Angeles City and provide a presentation of findings.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the this project should be sent to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Marilyn Waring, through her email address   marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz and/or New Zealand work phone   number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Concerns regarding how the research is being done should be sent to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , (+64) 921 9999 extension 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Maria Margarita R. Lavides
Email: execpsbp@gmail.com
Mobile: _____

Thank you very much!

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number*.

(3) For parent participants

Participant Information Sheet

Caregiver

Date Information Sheet Produced:

28 August 2015

Project Title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

An Invitation

Greetings!

My name is Maria Margarita Lavides. You can call me "Marjs." I am a postgraduate student at AUT University in Auckland, New Zealand. I am presently doing a research as a requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Public Policy).

I would like to respectfully invite you to participate in this study about Angeles City's current generation of biracial children or those Filipino children whose one parent, usually the father, is a foreigner. Please note that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection (31 December 2015).

What is the purpose of this research?

This study aims to develop a set of innovative and contemporary interventions and recommendations that may be adopted by the local government to address the problems facing the biracial children. The expected outputs of this research include a thesis, a journal article, a book, a conference paper, and other academic publications or presentations.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are being invited to participate in this research as you are a caregiver of a biracial child and a resident of Angeles City. However, please note that this study requires that you should be able to effectively communicate using the Filipino language.

What will happen in this research?

There will be research-related activities which would require your participation. You will need to attend the orientation and be available during the home visits and interviews. Moreover, in order to aid my analysis, I will need to take your photo and video footage. However, please note that your images will not be included in the thesis and will not be published in any form without your written permission. Also, should you decide to withdraw from the research, all relevant information about you such as the tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be omitted from the study while the video images will not be used in analysis or write-up.

What are the discomforts and risks and how will they be alleviated?

You might be asked of questions that are personal and sensitive. However, you will be free to not answer any question and to withdraw from the study at any time prior the end of data collection in December 2015. Please also note that the primary researcher has requested the DSWD to provide post-interview or post-activity assistance such as counselling to participants that request it.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be expected to spend 10 hours for this project within a 3-month period. Moreover, with regard to your expenses on meals and transportation as a research participant, please note that I will reimburse them.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

This research will give you the chance to contribute in the efforts to alleviate the plight of biracial children in Angeles City.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are interested to participate in this research, please text or call the recruitment facilitator [name] through [mobile number] within 3 days after receiving this invitation. You will also need to attend the orientation. Kindly note that comprehensive information about the study shall be provided during the orientation and the Consent Form shall also be distributed and explained on that day. After the said orientation, you may confirm your participation in the research by texting or calling the recruitment facilitator **within 2 weeks** and by submitting your duly signed Consent Form at the start of the initial research activity in which you will take part.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. You will definitely receive feedback on the results of this research. As soon as the study has been completed, I will organize a meeting with participants in Angeles City and provide a presentation of findings.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the this project should be sent to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Marilyn Waring, through her email address   marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz and/or New Zealand work phone   number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Concerns regarding how the research is being done should be sent to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , (+64) 921 9999 extension 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?
Researcher Contact Details:

Maria Margarita R. Lavides

Email: execpsbp@gmail.com

Mobile: _____

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, **AUTEC Reference number** *type the reference number.*

(4) For community participants

Participant Information Sheet

(For an adult interviewee except caregiver)

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Date Information Sheet Produced:

28 August 2015

Project Title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

An Invitation

Greetings!

My name is Maria Margarita Lavides. You can call me "Marjs." I am a postgraduate student at AUT University in Auckland, New Zealand. I am presently doing a research as a requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Public Policy).

I would like to respectfully invite you to participate in this study about Angeles City's current generation of biracial children or those Filipino children whose one parent, usually the father, is a foreigner. Please note that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection (31 December 2015).

What is the purpose of this research?

This study aims to develop a set of innovative and contemporary interventions and recommendations that may be adopted by the local government to address the problems facing the biracial children. The expected outputs of this research include a thesis, a journal article, a book, a conference paper, and other academic publications or presentations.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are being invited to participate in this research as you have knowledge and insights that could lead to understanding of issues concerning the exercise of rights of biracial children in Angeles City. However, please note that this study requires that you should be able to effectively communicate using either the Filipino or the English language.

What will happen in this research?

I will visit you in your office at your preferred schedule and conduct a face-to-face interview.

What are the discomforts and risks and how will they be alleviated?

You might be asked of some questions that will necessitate answers which are duly supported by data that are confidential to your organization. However, please note that you will be free to not answer any question and to withdraw from the study at any time prior the end of my data collection on 31 December 2015.

This version was edited in July 2015

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be expected to spend 1 hour to answer all the interview questions.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

This research will give you the chance to contribute in the efforts to alleviate the plight of biracial children in Angeles City.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are interested to participate in this research, please text or call me through [mobile number] within 3 days upon receiving a copy of this invitation. I will be glad to meet you and provide you with an orientation. During the said orientation, I will give you comprehensive information about the study as well as a copy of the Consent Form. However, please note that you will not be required to complete said form nor to confirm your participation during the said orientation meeting. Instead, you will be given **2 weeks** after the mentioned meeting to confirm your participation by texting or calling me. Should you confirm your participation, you will be required to submit your duly signed Consent form on the day of your interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. You will definitely receive feedback on the results of this research. As soon as the study has been completed, I will organize a meeting with participants in Angeles City and provide a presentation of findings.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the this project should be sent to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Marilyn Waring, through her email address   marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz and/or New Zealand work phone number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Concerns regarding how the research is being done should be sent to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , (+64) 921 9999 extension 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Maria Margarita R. Lavides

Email: execpsbp@gmail.com

Mobile: _____

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number*.

A.3 Consent and Assent Forms

Consent Form

(For adult interviewees except caregivers)

Project title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

Project Supervisor: **Dr. Marilyn Waring**

Researcher: **Maria Margarita Lavides**

O I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 28 August 2015.

O I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

O I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

O I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

O If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

O I agree to take part in this research.

O I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): YesO NoO

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details:

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date on which the final approval was granted* AUTEC Reference number *type the AUTEC reference number*

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

2 July 2015   page 1 of 3   This version was last edited in July 2015

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Project title:	**Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

Project Supervisor:	**Dr. Marilyn Waring**
Researcher:	**Maria Margarita Lavides**

O I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 28 August 2015.

O I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

O I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

O I permit the researcher to take photograph and video footage of myself and my child/children for as long as those images will be used for academic purposes only and will not be published in any form outside of this project without my written permission.

O I understand that any copyright material created is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the photographs or video images.

O I permit the researcher to get copies of my child's/ children's records from school and health clinics.

O I understand that I may withdraw my child/children and/or myself or any information that we have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

O If my child/children and/or I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information such as the tapes, photographs, and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be omitted from the study while the video images will not be used in analysis or write-up.

O I agree to take part in this research.

O I agree to my child/children taking part in this research.

O I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): YesO NoO

Child/children's name/s : ....
....
Caregiver's signature: ....
Caregiver's name: ....
Caregiver's Contact Details:

....
....
....
Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted *AUTEC Reference number* type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

2 July 2015   page 2 of 3   This version was last edited in July 2015

Assent Form

(For biracial children with ages 13 to 17)

Project title:	**Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**
Project Supervisor:	**Dr. Marilyn Waring**
Researcher:	**Maria Margarita Lavides**

- ○ I have read and understood the sheet telling me what will happen in this study and why it is important.
- ○ I have been able to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and written up.
- ○ I permit the researcher to take my photograph and video footage for as long as those images will be used for her study only and will not be published in any form outside of this project without my written permission.
- ○ I permit the researcher to get copies of my grades from school as well as my record in the health clinic.
- ○ I understand that while the information is being collected, I can stop being part of this study whenever I want and that it is perfectly ok for me to do this.
- ○ If I stop being part of the study, I understand that all information about me such as the tapes, photographs, and transcripts, or any part of them, will be omitted from the study, while the video images will not be used in analysis or write-up.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant Contact Details:

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date on which the final approval was granted **AUTEC Reference number*** *type the AUTEC reference number*

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

A.4 Confidentiality Agreement Forms

Confidentiality Agreement

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Project title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

Project Supervisor: **Dr. Marilyn Waring**

Researcher: **Maria Margarita Lavides**

○ I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe is confidential.

○ I understand that the contents of the tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.

○ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Transcriber's signature: ....

Transcriber's name: ....

Transcriber's Contact Details:

....

....

....

....

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details:

Dr. Marilyn Waring

email address   marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz

work phone   number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEC Reference number type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Transcriber should retain a copy of this form.

2 July 2015   page 1 of 2   This version was last edited in July 2015

Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: **Research on Exercise of Rights of Biracial Children in Angeles City, Philippines**

Project Supervisor: **Dr. Marilyn Waring**

Researcher: **Maria Margarita Lavides**

○ I understand that all the material I will be asked to monitor and record is confidential.

○ I understand that the contents of the Consent Forms, tapes, recordings or interview notes can only be discussed with the researchers.

○ I will not keep any copies of the information nor allow third parties access to them.

Intermediary's signature: ....

Intermediary's name: ....

Intermediary's Contact Details (if appropriate):

....

....

....

....

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details:

Dr. Marilyn Waring

email address   marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz

work phone   number (+64) 9219999 extension 9661.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted *AUTEC Reference number* type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Intermediary should retain a copy of this form.

A.5 Researcher Safety Protocol

Researcher Safety Protocol

(For Primary Researcher)

Date: 28 August 2015

- The primary researcher will be accompanied by social worker Agnes Espiritu for the entire duration of fieldwork in Angeles City, Philippines.

- The primary researcher's local contact person is Agnes Espiritu who may be reached through email address agnesespiritu@yahoo.com or pampangapsbp@gmail.com

- The primary researcher confirms that there is network coverage in the areas where the research will take place and that she will bring her mobile phone to all activities that will be organized for the study.

- The primary researcher will regularly update her PhD supervisors and will maintain contact at least once a week through email.

- This safety protocol has been discussed by the primary researcher to her PhD supervisors.

Prepared by:

Maria Margarita Lavides

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number*.

Researcher Safety Protocol

(For Agnes Espiritu)

Date: 28 August 2015

- Agnes Espiritu will regularly inform her supervisor at the Pearl S. Buck Foundation – Philippines, Inc. (PSBP) regarding the schedule of her fieldwork to accompany the primary researcher in Angeles City, Philippines.

- Agnes Espiritu shall confirm to her supervisor at PSBP that there is network coverage in the areas where the research will take place and that she will bring her mobile phone to all activities that will be organized for the study.

- Agnes Espiritu will regularly update her supervisor at PSBP regarding her safety and will maintain contact on a daily basis.

- This safety protocol shall be discussed by Agnes Espiritu to her supervisor at PSBP prior her involvement in this research.

Prepared by:

Maria Margarita Lavides

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted,* **AUTEC Reference number** *type the reference number.*

Researcher Safety Protocol

(For Junior Research Associates)

Date: 28 August 2015

- The primary researcher shall regularly inform the caregivers of junior research associates regarding the schedule of their fieldwork in Angeles City, Philippines.

- The primary researcher shall provide the caregivers of junior research associates of the exact addresses where the interviews and activities will take place.

- The primary researcher shall text the caregivers of junior research associates when she and the children have arrived at the venue of an interview or activity.

- The primary researcher shall text the caregivers of junior research associates when she and the children have left the venue of an interview or activity and shall inform the caregivers of an estimated time of arrival back at the children's homes.

- The primary researcher shall give her mobile number to the caregivers of junior research associates so that the latter can monitor their children by contacting the former.

- The primary researcher shall maintain and regularly bring a copy of the contact details of the junior research associates and their caregivers.

- The primary researcher shall confirm to the caregivers of the junior research associates that there is network coverage in the areas where the research will take place and that she will bring her mobile phone to all activities that will be organized for the study.

- The primary researcher will ensure that all junior research associates will participate in this research only during daytime or between 7am to 5pm.

- The primary researcher will pick up the junior research associates from their houses and bring them home safely after each activity.

- This safety protocol shall be discussed by the primary researcher to the junior research associates and their caregivers prior their involvement in this research.

Prepared by:

Maria Margarita Lavides

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, **AUTEC Reference number** *type the reference number*.

Researcher Safety Protocol

(For Recruitment Facilitator)

Date: 28 August 2015

- The recruitment facilitator shall consistently inform the primary researcher and Agnes Espiritu regarding the schedule of her home visits, orientation, and other activities related to the study.

- The recruitment facilitator shall confirm to the primary researcher and Agnes Espiritu that there is network coverage in the areas where her fieldwork will take place and that she will bring her mobile phone to all activities that she will undertake.

- The recruitment facilitator shall regularly update the primary researcher and Agnes Espiritu regarding her safety and will maintain contact on a daily basis.

- This safety protocol shall be discussed by the primary researcher and Agnes Espiritu to the recruitment facilitator prior her involvement in this research.

Prepared by:

Maria Margarita Lavides

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, **AUTEC Reference number** *type the reference number*.

A.6 Photo and Video Protocol

Photo and/or Video Protocol

(For child and caregiver participants)

Date: 28 August 2015

- The potential child and caregiver participants shall be informed of the taking of their photo and/or video footage during data collection through the participant information sheet and such will also be explained during the orientation meeting.

- The potential child and caregiver participants can give consent to the taking of their photo and/or video footage by signing the consent and assent forms.

- The primary researcher shall request Agnes Espiritu to facilitate the taking of photo and video footage.

- The taking of photo and video footage shall be done to record the primary researcher's interactions with child and caregiver participants so as to capture their nonverbal communication. This is deemed important as Filipinos communicate mainly in an indirect manner.

- All gathered images of participants will not be included in the thesis and will not be published in any form without their written permission.

- If a child or caregiver participant withdraws from the research, his/her photo and/or video image will not be used in analysis or write-up.

Prepared by:

Maria Margarita Lavides

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number.*

page 1 of 1   This version was edited in July 2015

Appendix B: Interview Questions

B.1 Indicative Questions for Child Participants

Questions for Children aged 7-12 years old	Questions for Children aged 13-17 years old
Neighbourhood	
What is it like living in your neighbourhood? Why?	Please tell me something about your neighbourhood.
What do you like about your neighbourhood? What don't you like about your neighbourhood? Why?	What do you like about your neighbourhood? Why? What don't you like about your neighbourhood? Why?
What do you think about the cleanliness in your neighbourhood? Why?	What do you think about the cleanliness in your neighbourhood? Why?
Do you like the air quality in your neighbourhood? Why? How about the water quality? Why?	How would you describe the air quality in your neighbourhood? Why? How about the water quality? Why?
What would make your neighbourhood better for you? *(Note: The researcher will ask the child participants this question. However, instead of immediately answering in a verbal manner, the former will ask the latter to answer through drawing, put a title, and be prepared to explain their work.)*	What do you think your neighbourhood should have so that it will be a better place for children of your age? Why?
School	
Please tell me something about your school.	Please tell me something about your school.
What is your favourite subject? Why? What is the easiest subject for you? Why? What is the most difficult subject for you? Why?	What is your favourite subject? Why? What is the easiest subject for you? Why? What is the most difficult subject for you? Why? How do you work on difficult assignments?
Is there someone who helps you with your school work? If yes, who is that? How does he/she help you?	
Do you learn a lot at school? If yes, what helps you to learn a lot? Why? If no, why? What do you think your school should have so that you will learn more? Why?	Do you learn a lot at school? If yes, what helps you to learn a lot? Why? If no, why? What do you think your school should have so that you will learn more? Why?
Do you enjoy attending school? If yes, what makes you enjoy attending school? Why? If no, why? What do you think your school should have so that you will enjoy it? Why?	Do you enjoy attending school? If yes, what makes you enjoy attending school? Why? If no, why? What do you think your school should have so that you will enjoy it? Why?
What is the best thing about school? What is the worst thing about school? How that could be made better?	

What will make school better for you? *(Note: The researcher will ask the child participants this question. However, instead of immediately answering in a verbal manner, the former will ask the latter to answer through drawing, put a title, and be prepared to explain their work.)*

Social Interaction with adults	
How would you describe your parent? How about your mom? Your dad? Your siblings? Tell me about your grandmother. What about your grandfather? Your aunts? Your uncles? Your cousins?	How would you describe your relationship with your parent? How about with your mom? Your dad? Your siblings? Tell me about your grandmother. What about your grandfather? Your aunts? Your uncles? Your cousins?
Does your parent ask about what you think or like? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about a time that this happened. Who decides what you eat? Who decides which clothes you should wear? Are you ok with this?	Who makes the decisions at home? Who makes the decisions at school? Does [parent] ever ask your opinion about issues that affect you? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about a time that this happened.
Does your teacher ask about what you think or like? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about a time that this happened.	Does [teacher] ever ask your opinion about issues that affect you? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about a time that this happened.
Aside from your parent and teacher, are there other adults who ask about what you think or like? If no, why? If yes, who are they? What happened that time?	
Are you a member of any group? If no, why? If yes, tell me about that [group]. Do you enjoy being a member of that group? What does your group do? What do you do as its member? Is there any group that you would like to join, but weren't allowed to or couldn't? Why?	
Day-to-day activities	
Please tell me everything that you did yesterday [any day from Monday to Friday] from the time you woke up until you went to sleep at night. (This question is a stimulus for pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)	Please tell me everything that you did yesterday [any day from Monday to Friday] from the time you woke up until you went to sleep at night. (This question is a stimulus for pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)
Please tell me everything that you did last Sunday from the time you woke up until you went to sleep at night. (This question is a stimulus for pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)	Please tell me everything that you did last Sunday from the time you woke up until you went to sleep at night. (This question is a stimulus for pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)

Leisure	
Do you play games with other children? If no, why? If yes, what type of games do you play with them? Who are your favourite playmates? Why? Are there games that you like but you could not do? If yes, what are those? Why?	
When was your last birthday? Can you remember how you celebrated your last birthday? Tell me everything you can remember about that.	When was your last birthday? Can you remember how you celebrated your last birthday? Tell me everything you can remember about that.
Do you go to birthday parties of other children? If no, why? If yes, do you enjoy them? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to a party? Why?	Do you go to birthday parties of other children of your age? If no, why? If yes, do you enjoy them? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to a party? Why?
Do you go to cinemas to watch movies? If no, why? If yes, when was the last time you watched a movie? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to a movie? Why?	Do you go to cinemas to watch movies? If no, why? If yes, when was the last time you watched a movie? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to a movie? Why?
Have you visited the Dinosaur Park and other amusements here in Angeles City? If no, why? If yes, when was the last time you visited an amusement park? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to an amusement park? Why?	Have you visited the Dinosaur Park and other amusements here in Angeles City? If no, why? If yes, were there times when you wanted but couldn't go to an amusement park? Why?
Do you join school field trips? If no, why? If yes, did you enjoy the school field trips? Why? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't join a school field trip? Why?	Do you participate in school field trips? If no, why? If yes, did you enjoy the trip? Why? Were there times when you wanted but couldn't join a school field trip? Why?
Do you and your family go on trips? If no, why? If yes, did you enjoy the trips? Why? Were there times when you and your family wanted but couldn't go to a trip? Why?	Do you and your family go on trips? If no, why? If yes, did you enjoy the trip? Why? Were there times when you and your family wanted but couldn't go on a trip? Why?
What are your favourite TV programs? What are the internet sites that you like? Have you seen other TV programs that are not nice? What didn't you like about them? Have you visited internet sites that are not nice? What didn't you like about those sites?	What are the TV programs that you always watch? What are the internet sites that you always visit? Among the TV programs that you can access, is there anything that you don't like? What are those? Why? Among the internet sites that you can access, is there anything that you don't like? What are those? Why?

Health	
What do you think a healthy child is like? Would you consider yourself healthy? Why?	Please tell me something about your health. What do you think a healthy child of your age is like? Would you consider yourself healthy? Why?
Who helps you whenever you are ill or has injuries? How do they help you?	Whenever you are ill or injured, to who do you immediately go to for assistance? Why? How do they help you?
Do you remember the last time that [parent] brought you to the doctor? Can you tell me what happened that time? What was good about the visit? What didn't you like about the visit? What would have made the visit better? Why?	Do you remember the last time that your parent brought you to the doctor? Could you tell me why you were brought to the doctor? What was good about the visit? What didn't you like about the visit? What would have made the visit better? Why?
House	
Can you show me around your house and tell me about it as we go along? *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)*	Can you show me around your house and tell me about it as we go along? *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)*
Do you like your house?	Do you like your house?
[If yes] Tell me what you like about your house. [child responds] [Probe why the child likes x, y, z]. Are there things you don't like about your house? Tell me about those. Are there other things that you like/don't like about your house?	[If yes] Tell me what you like about your house. [child responds] [Probe why the child likes x, y, z]. Are there things you don't like about your house? Tell me about those. Are there other things that you like/don't like about your house?
[If no] Tell me what you don't like about your house. [child responds] [Probe why the child doesn't like x, y, z]. Are there things you do like about your house? Tell me about those. Are there other things you like/don't like about your house?	[If no] Tell me what you don't like about your house. [child responds] [Probe why the child doesn't like x, y, z]. Are there things you do like about your house? Tell me about those. Are there other things you like/don't like about your house?
What would make your house a better place for you to live in? Why?	What do you think your house should have so that it will be a better place for you to live in?
General	
Please tell me everything that you ate yesterday. *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)* Are there other things that you eat on other days?	Please tell me everything that you ate yesterday. *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)* Are there other things that you eat on other days?
Personal belongings	
Can you show me and talk about your clothes, shoes, bags, and other belongings? *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)*	Can you show me and talk about your clothes, shoes, bags, and other belongings? *(This is a form of pagpapakuwento. Questions will follow after the kuwento or story.)*

Do you have your own cell phone? How about computer? What other gadgets do you have? Who gave them to you? Are there gadgets that you need but couldn't have? If yes, what are those? Why do you need them? Are there gadgets that you want but you couldn't have? If yes, what are those? Why do you want them?	Do you have your own cell phone? How about computer? What other gadgets do you have? Who gave them to you? Are there gadgets that you need but couldn't have? If yes, what are those? Why do you need them? Are there gadgets that you want but you couldn't have? If yes, what are those? Why do you want them?
Work	
Have you thought or tried to do some work so as to earn some money? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about your work. What type of work did you do? How much money did you get? How many hours did you work each week? How old were you then? Were there any good things about working? Tell me about them. Were there any bad things? Tell me. Did you tell [parent] that you didn't like x, y, z? What happened?	Have you thought or tried to do some work so as to earn some money? If no, why? If yes, please tell me about your work. What type of work did you do? How much money did you get? How many hours did you work each week? How old were you then? Were there any good things about working? Tell me about them. Were there any bad things? Tell me. Did you tell [parent] that you didn't like x, y, z? What happened?
Safety	
What do you think police officers do? Have you ever seen one? Describe the officer. Have you ever spoken to a police officer? Tell me about that.	What do you think police officers do? Do you think the police officers in your community are good in what you think they do? Why? Have you ever seen a police officer? If yes, tell me about that. Have you ever spoken to a police officer? If yes, tell me about that too.
Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? If yes, what makes you feel safe? If no, what makes you feel unsafe? What do you think must be done so that you will feel safe in your neighbourhood?	Do you feel safe in your community? If yes, what are the things that make you feel safe? Why? If no, what are the things that make you feel unsafe? Why? What do you think must be done so that you will feel safe in your community?
Social interaction	
	Are you a member of any group? If no, why? If yes, tell me about that [group]. Do you enjoy being a member of that group? What does your group do? What do you do as its member? Is there any group that you would like to join, but weren't allowed to or couldn't? Why?
	What are the social activities of children of your age in your community? Have you participated in any of thse? If yes, how? If no, why? Is there any social activity that you would like to join, but weren't allowed to or couldn't? Why?

Child rights	
	What are the political activities of children of your age in your community? Have you participated in any of them? If yes, how? If no, why? Is there any political activity that you would like to join, but weren't allowed to or couldn't?
Are you aware that you have rights as a child? If yes, how did you know about these rights? Have you ever heard about the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child? If yes, how did you know about it? What do you think is a right? Can you explain to me those rights that you are aware of?	Are you aware that you have rights as a child? If yes, how did you know about these rights? Have you ever heard about the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child? If yes, how did you know about it? What do you think is a right? Can you explain to me those rights that you are aware of?
Are there children who hurt your feelings? If yes, please tell me what happened that time. Are there adults who hurt your feelings? Can you tell me what happened that time? What do you think must be done so that they can no longer hurt your feelings?	
Has anyone ever hit you? If yes, who is that person? Why did he/she hit you? What do you think you should do if someone hits you? Why?	Has anyone ever hit you? If yes, who is that person? Why did he/she hit you? Please tell me what happened that time. What do you think must be done so that such will not happen again?
	Do others say or do things that hurt your feelings? If yes, can you tell me about this? What do you think should happen so that they will not be able to hurt your feelings anymore?
	Have you been taught on what you should do if someone has hit you? If yes, can you share them with me?
Community	
	Are there pubs and clubs in the community where you live? What is it like having these pubs and clubs in your community–does it affect you in any way? Do you think having these pubs and clubs in the neighbourhood is good or bad for you? Why?

B.2 Indicative Questions for Adult Participants

Parents

- What are the good things about raising a biracial child like [name]? What are the
  challenges?

- What are those things that you did for [child] yesterday from the time you woke
  up until you went to sleep at night?

- Are there changes that you would like to happen so that [child] can continually
  attend school? If none, why? If yes, what are these? Why? What stops you from
  initiating these changes?

- Are there other things that you would like to do for [child] but couldn't do? If
  none, why? If yes, what are these? What stops you from doing these things for
  [child]?

- Have you ever seen or heard of instances of discrimination against biracial
  children like [child]? If yes, please tell me about this. Why do you think it
  happens? What do you think must be done so that such will not happen again?
  Why?

Teachers

- What do you know about the needs of biracial students in your school?

- Have you ever seen or heard of instances of discrimination against biracial
  students in your school? If yes, please tell me about this. Why do you think it
  happens? How do the teachers in your school handle such instances?

- Does your school have any current policy or activity that is specific to the
  biracial children? If none, why? If yes, what are these? What was your basis for
  this policy or activity? Why?

Church reps/NGO worker

- What do you know about the needs of biracial children in Angeles City? How did you know about these needs?

- Have you ever seen or heard of instances of discrimination against biracial children in Angeles City? If yes, please tell me about this. Why do you think it happens? What do you think must be done to resolve such issue on discrimination in Angeles City? Why?

- What does your church/NGO do specifically for the biracial children in Angeles City? If none, why? [If there is something being done] Do you think your efforts are sufficient or not sufficient? Why? [If not sufficient] How can this be addressed?

Local government officials/employees

- Does your office have any policy that is specific to the biracial children in Angeles City? If none, why? If yes, what are these? What was your basis for such policies? Why?

- How much budget did your office allocate for children in Angeles City for year 2015? What was the basis for such allocation? How much of this budget in 2015 was actually spent for children in Angeles City? Why? How much was spent for the biracial children in Angeles City in 2015? Why?

- Are children's rights reflected in your job description? If no, why? If yes, please give details about this.

- Has your office consulted the children in Angeles City regarding issues that affect their lives? If no, why? If yes, how? What have you learned about the needs of the biracial children during your consultation? If none, why?

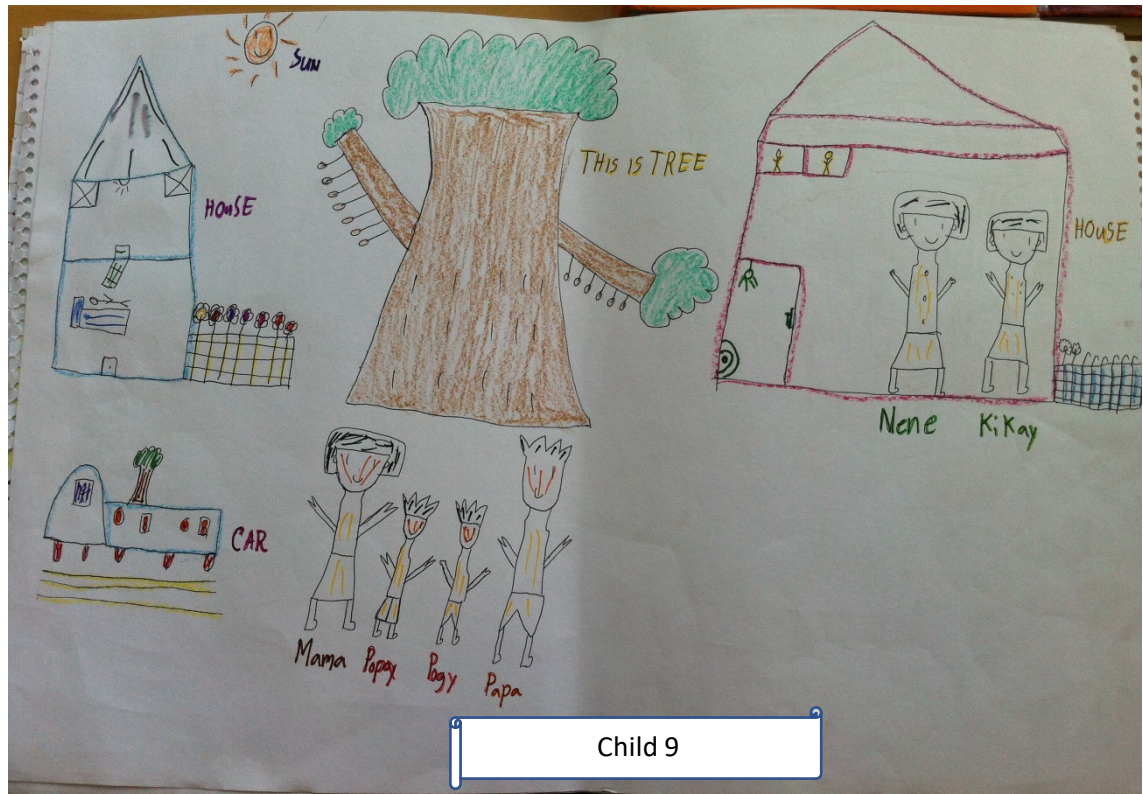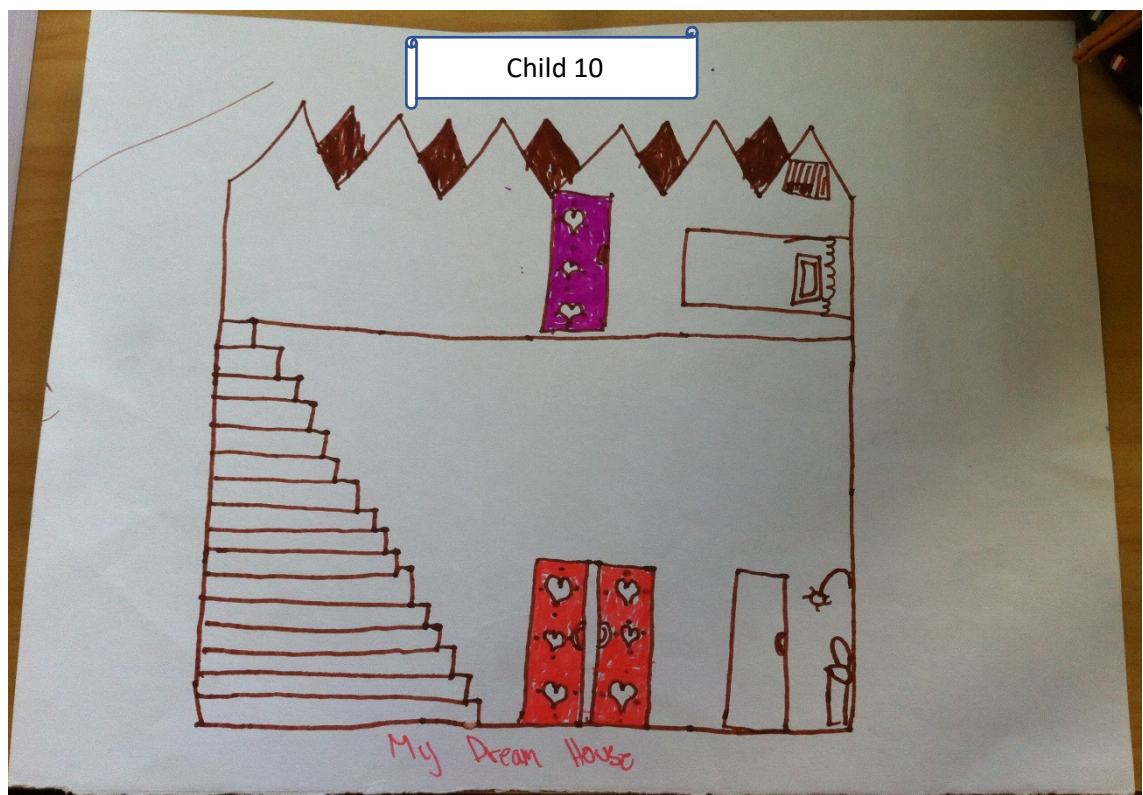# Appendix C: Child Participants' Drawings

C.1 House

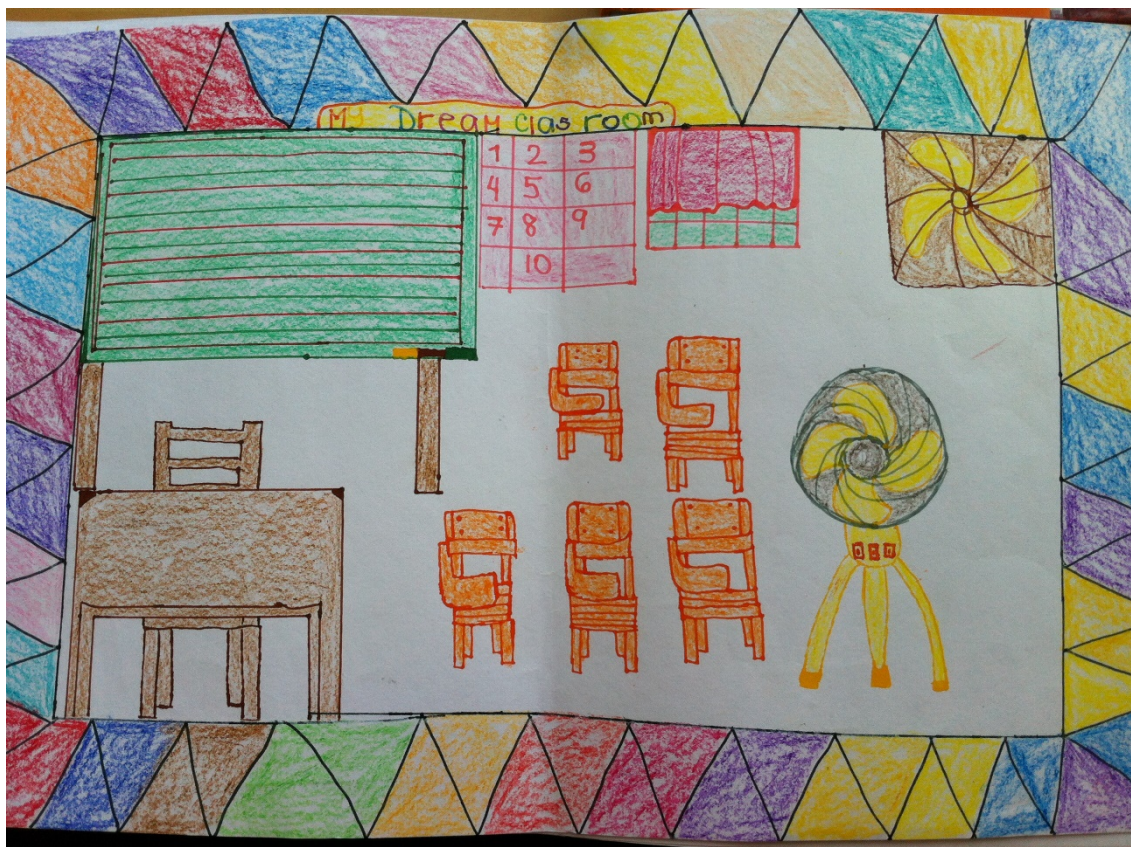Child 2's dream house

Child 6's dream house

Child 9's dream house
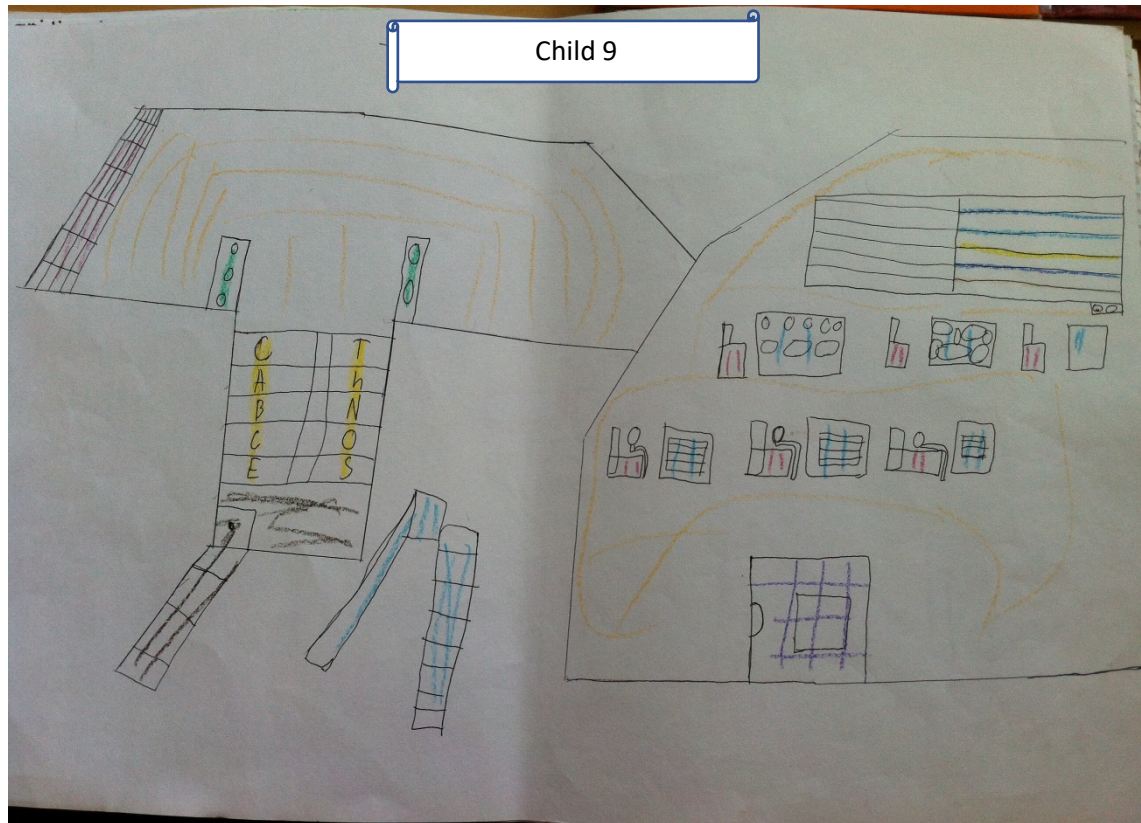

Child 10's dream house
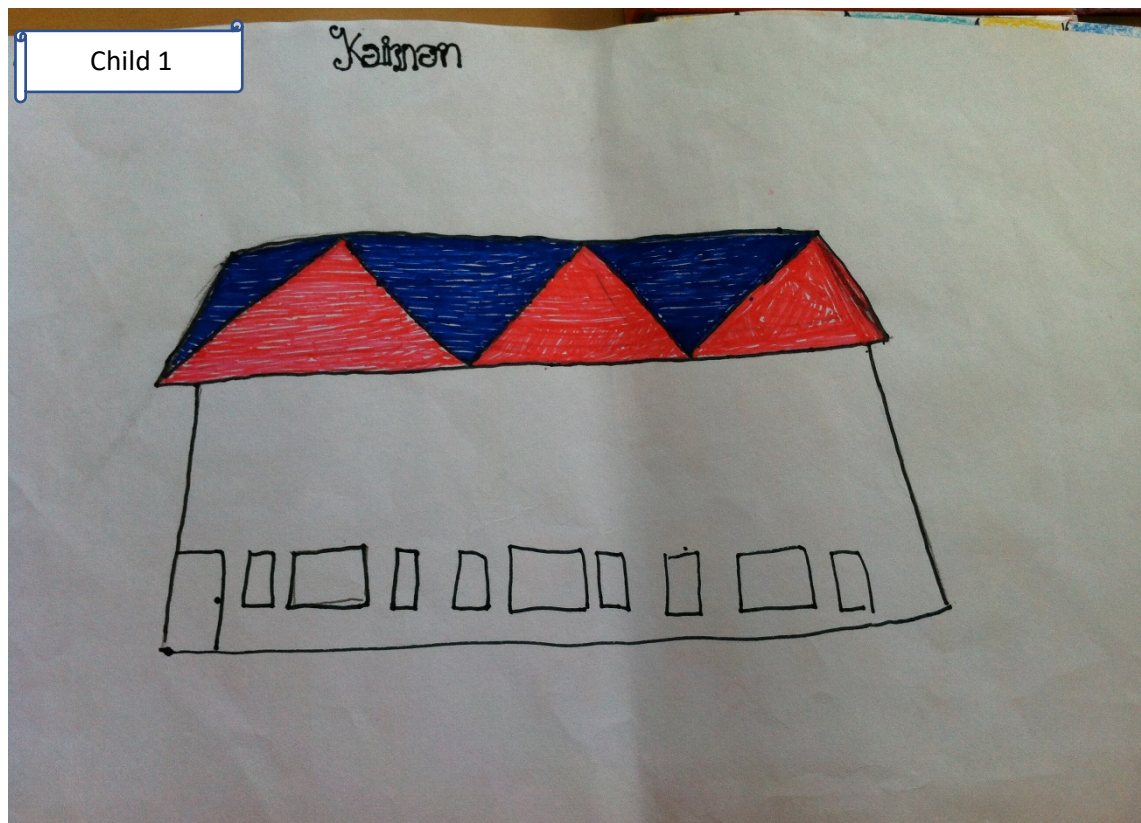
C.2 School

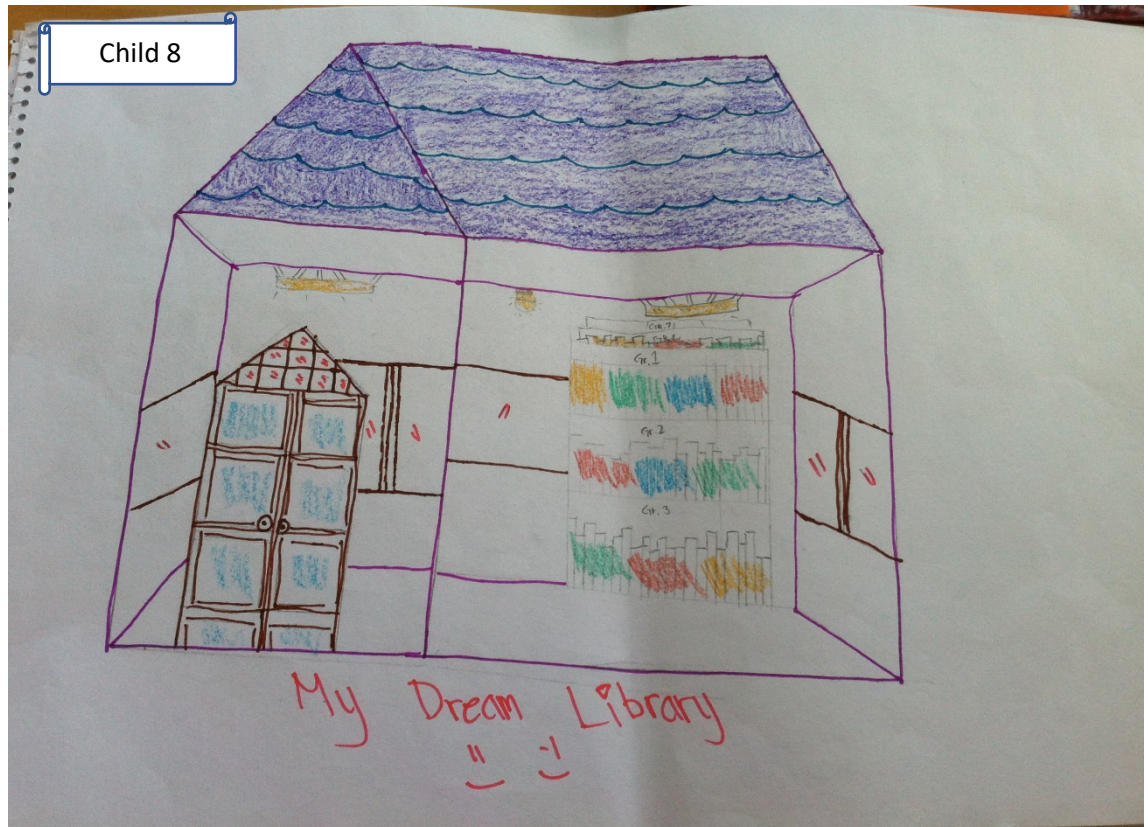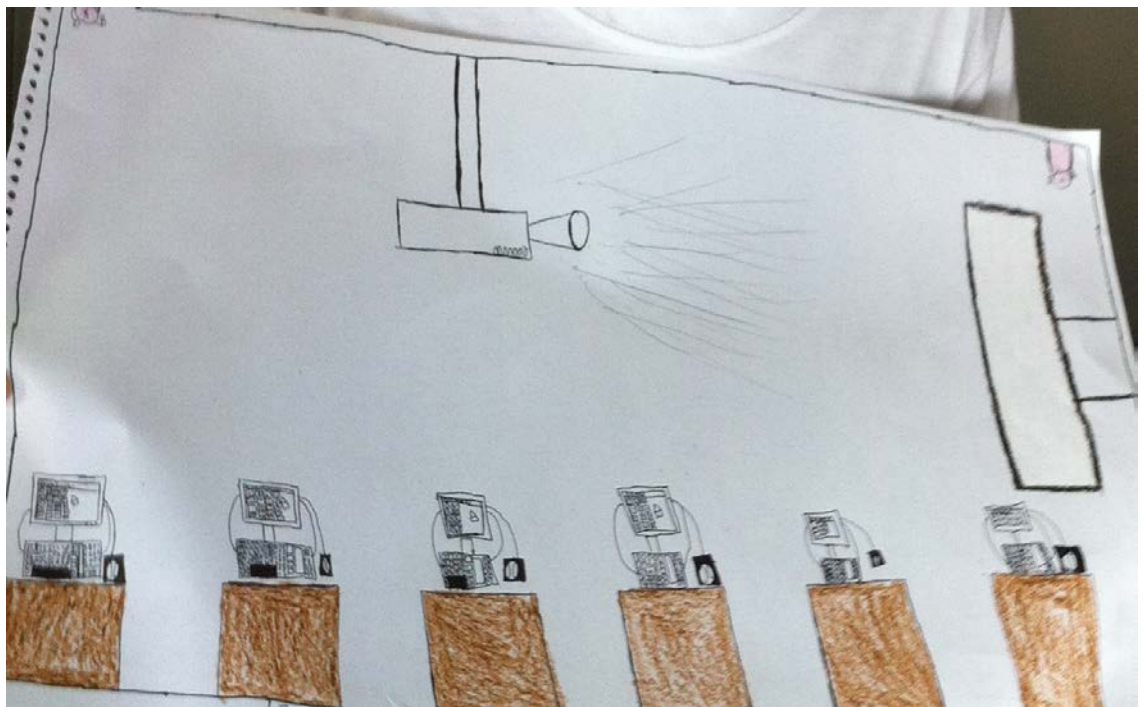Child 3's dream classroom

Child 10's dream classroom

Child 9's preferred classroom and playground

Child 1's ideal school canteen

Child 8's dream library

Child 4's preferred computer lab

Child 5's ideal computer lab

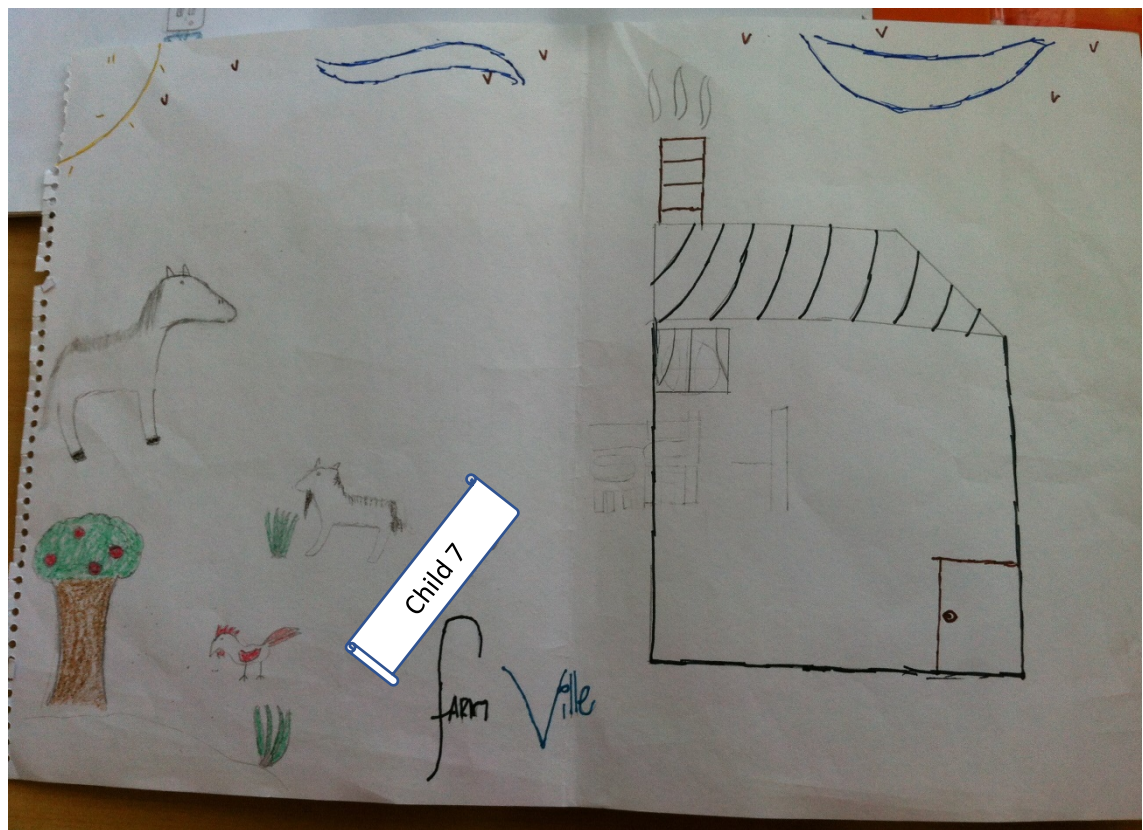

Child 8's toilet for girls

C.3 Outside Home and School

Child 1's ideal playground

Child 7's ideal playground

Child 7's farm ville