PHENOMENOLOGY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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ABSTRACT - This study uses a phenomenological approach in investigating juvenile delinguency as a distinct phenomenon experienced by children-in-conflict-with-the-law (CICL) to answer the following research question – what are the lived experiences of CICL and how do their experiences inform decisions and solutions to their situation? Respondents from a regional juvenile rehabilitation facility catering to male CICLs in the Bicol Region, Philippines were selected using purposive and convenience sampling methods. Unstructured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted and field notes (memos) were also utilized. Explicitation of data was done using a five-step phenomenological method. Three themes emerged from the study with its respective sub-themes. The first theme is search for connection. This theme encompasses the respondents' family background and peer relations. The search for connection code refers to any narration of the respondent regarding his family and peer experience prior to his arrest that indicates an unconscious desire to bond with someone. From this theme, three sub-themes emerged: (a) permissive parenting style; (b) diverse set of friends; and (c) early exposure to addictive substances and unhealthy practices. The second theme is feeling of helplessness, which includes the respondents' lived experience with the five pillars of the criminal justice system. Three sub-themes emerged from this second theme: (a) ineffective duty bearers; (b) violation of rights as CICL; and (c) resigned attitude on commitment to the center. The final theme that emerged is fear of the future. This theme focuses on the respondents' perception about their future, including their hopes and aspirations once they are discharged from the center. Two sub-themes emerged from this final theme: (a) inability to trust non-offenders and (b) coping behavior for low self-esteem. Recommendations for future research were made based on the results of the study.

Keywords: juvenile delinquency, child in conflict with the law, phenomenology

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INTRODUCTION

Juvenile delinquency remains one of our most pressing social problems (Tarolla et al., 2002) that provoked two main opposing approaches for its resolution: rehabilitative approach versus a punitive approach (Muncie, 2006, as cited in, Young, Greer & Church, 2017). In addition, our understanding of juvenile delinquency, including the factors that contribute either

towards the path of recidivism or towards rehabilitation and reintegration to society, is still incomplete.

Skewed viewpoint in understanding juvenile delinquency

Existing literature on juvenile delinquency are predominantly based on adult perceptions about this phenomenon; scant among these are attempts to understand juvenile delinquency from the viewpoint of juvenile offenders themselves. In fact, out of the 12,026 journal search results on juvenile delinquency found in major international academic database by the researcher, only 0.02 percent attempted to describe juvenile delinquency from the point of view of these youths (Patrick, n.d.; Donges, 2015; Åkerström & Wästerfors, 2021). Meanwhile, studies conducted in the Philippine setting yielded 128 results on juvenile delinquency but none were conducted based on the point of view of these children. Moreover, existing academic literature is focused on the 'treatment' of juvenile offenders from a psychological approach and youth offenders being a result of macroeconomic policies, faulty social structures, and parental neglect or abuse. None was found that attempts to deeply examine juvenile delinquency as experienced by Filipino youth offenders.

This disparity in understanding juvenile delinquency both in the global and local levels could account for the poor approach towards youth offenders noted by Young, Greer & Church (2017), which includes adult-centered legal frameworks, absence of age-appropriate services and establishments, and lack of a specialist workforce to address juvenile delinquency. Further, this disjointed and traditional view on juvenile delinquency propagates a more punitive approach, which is ineffective in curbing recidivism or even fully rehabilitating these youth offenders (Tarolla et al., 2002). Though it is an established fact that juvenile offenders are a heterogenous group as described by Tarolla (2002), and that they have diverse treatment needs as a result of their different backgrounds and personal experiences, it is worthy to note that in spite of this diversity, these youth offenders experience the same social stigma attached to juvenile delinquency.

Examining the 'troubled youth'

Prior to the twentieth century, juvenile delinquency was viewed as a form of maladjusted behavior among troubled youth of a vaguely antisocial kind (Rhodes, 1939; Stullken, 1956; Gillis, 1975; Boudreau, 2010) resulting either from economic (Burgess, 1952) or psychological factors (Mcdavid & Mccandless, 1962). Regardless of the type of crime committed, a perpetrator only qualifies as a juvenile delinquent due to his/her present age when the act was committed. However, differences on the age limit qualifying an offender as a juvenile delinquent varies (Burrows, 1946).

Globally, the definition of juvenile delinquency varies according to local jurisdiction and is predominantly viewed in terms of biological, psychological and economic factors affecting the youth (United Kingdom Penal Reform International, 2013, as cited in, Young, Greer & Church, 2017).

The link between juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behavior

Significant attention to juvenile delinquency as a distinct and possible precursor for adult criminal behavior began during the nineteenth century. In an Annual Meeting of Psychological Experts to the Birmingham Justices on July 9, 1925, Potts (1925) presented a paper on delinquency based on cases referred to him by the court:

When the lay mind understands that the only way to prevent delinquency is to examine, not the seasoned offender with previous convictions, but the first offender, particularly the juvenile delinquent, whenever the seriousness of the offense or other special circumstances suggest that treatment, rather than punishment, may be desirable, a large number of first offenders, and especially cases in the Children's

Court, will be examined. The habitual criminal, who is often the greatest anxiety to the authorities, was a first offender once. Besides, the first offender has frequently been going wrong for years, although it is only his first appearance before the court. It is a fact that the habitual criminal usually begins his unfortunate career at an early age – often nine or ten – and can only be dealt with satisfactorily in the initial stages of his career. (p.676)

In the same paper, he correctly noted that delinquency can be viewed from many angles: economic particularly poverty, physiological such as a disability for an addiction, psychological that needs a professional diagnosis, and parent and child relations. However, his observations were limited to these factors only and his methodology in reaching his conclusions came from interactions during consultation with his adult patients. Though he was correct in recommending an in-depth investigation to understand abnormal behavior (i.e. including juvenile and adult delinquency), he again erred in confining his recommended action within the four corners of the consultation room.

Despite the limitations of Pott's (1925) recommendation, his initial observation that calls for intervention during the early stages of the adult criminal's life to prevent delinquency is the most practical yet ignored solution. Recent studies on adult criminal behavior (White, B., Temple, J., & Reynolds, A., 2010; Pereira, M. et al., 2016; & Welner, M. et al., 2023) emphasize the need to provide early intervention in preventing juvenile delinquency leading to adult criminal behavior.

Risk factors for juvenile delinquency

Due to the strong link between juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behavior, interest shifted towards discovering the causes of juvenile delinquency. Among the risk factors for juvenile delinquency that were identified are: (1) child-centered factors; (2) family-centered factors; (3) peer relationships; and (4) adolescence (Alampay, 2006). Child-centered factors include neuropsychological functioning and prenatal risk, and cognitive abilities and school achievement by the child. Family-centered factors include parenting practices and parent child relationships, child maltreatment and abuse, and family stressors. Meanwhile, juvenile delinquents consider their peer group as their alternative family and among the most significant persons in their lives. The processes that lead to relationships with deviant peers imply that the points for intervention still reside mainly in the family and the child. With regard to adolescence, a category of behaviors known as adolescence-limited antisocial behavior (Moffitt, 1993, as cited in, Alampay, 2006) was identified, which describes delinquency that is late in onset (i.e. first offense is committed after age 13) and is limited to the adolescent stage (and decreasing or disappearing thereafter in most cases).

Though these factors were presented in an attempt to explain juvenile delinquency, it still failed to present this phenomenon from the eyes of juvenile offenders, with the majority of the studies used as reference focused on CICL treatment using other quantitative methodologies, and timeline in conducting the study is already subject for updating. However, Alampay (2006) was correct in noting that for a child to be diverted from a pathway of delinquency, the different aspects of his ecological environment – from his family, peers, school, and community – must be transformed. This could only be attained upon comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency.

Other studies attempted to explain juvenile delinquency using the same factors. In one study, significant association was found between delinquency and personal, social and opportunity risk factors (Bobbio, Arbach, Illescas, 2020). However, it used the criminal motivation and criminal risk framework and used the survey method among 257 male adolescents in Argentina. Another study conducted in Malaysia (Piang, Osman, Mahadir, 2017) explored the

relationship between juvenile delinquency and a broken family structure and poor family relationship. Surprisingly, the study found no correlation between these variables. In fact, in the survey conducted among 196 juvenile offenders in Malaysia, the majority of these offenders came from a stable home.

In other literature, juvenile delinquency was viewed using a gender lens (Liu & Miller, 2020; Rebellon et al., 2016). Results indicated that though both girls and boys engage in juvenile delinquency, boys are more predisposed to engage in aggressive behavior and forms of juvenile delinquency. Due to the limitations of the study, no causal explanation was provided for this except in the study of Rebellon et al. (2016), which presented anticipated guilt as the probable factor.

Another study attempted to present juvenile delinquency as a result of child maltreatment and psychosocial problems in young adulthood (Basto-Pereira et al., 2016). Though the study found significant correlation between child maltreatment particularly child sexual abuse and juvenile delinquency, it cannot be used to generalize juvenile delinquency considering that not all juvenile delinquents experienced childhood sexual abuse and maltreatment. Thus, limitations to explain juvenile delinquency using various methods and factors are highly noted.

Juvenile Justice and Welfare Models and Intervention Approaches

Restorative justice emerges as a promising approach not only towards adult criminal behavior but juvenile delinquency as well. Because of its deviation from traditional adversarial court proceedings and initial gains in enabling reparation and rehabilitation, approaches to juvenile delinguency are gradually adopting this framework. In his paper, Kirkwood (2022) synthesized the strong points of restorative justice and its distinct approach for responding to moral harm. He discussed its core values, distinction between dialogue and deliberation in restorative justice practice, and the importance of context. Most notably, he emphasized that restorative justice, unlike a formal court process, intends to help all participants come to a greater understanding of the harm that occurred, why it occurred, and its impact. The process involves the offender, the victim, both of their families, and other practitioners that are tasked to assist these parties. Under the restorative justice framework, contexts such as social, cultural, historical and legal in which it occurs are given particular attention. Thus, its application in juvenile justice is based on the "balanced model", which gives equal weight to involvement of the young person responsible for the harm, the person harmed, and the community (Zinsstag, Teunkens, Pali, 2011, as cited in, Kirkwood, 2022). The paper further pointed out that this framework also requires truth-telling and honesty where people engage to share, learn and heal, as opposed to constructing their accounts in order to 'win' their case. What is favorable about this framework is its stand to holistically understand the offense committed starting from the level of the offender and the victim.

Unfortunately, and as previously emphasized, approaches to juvenile delinquency vary globally and are different from the restorative justice framework. Young, Greer & Church's (2017) analysis of international approaches to juvenile delinquency supports this statement. In a comparative analysis between juvenile delinquency policies and approaches in the United States and Australia (Artello et al., 2015), response to curb juvenile delinquency varies between treatment options and a punitive approach. The "school-to-prison" route was also raised and recommendations for policy reform and utilization of research-based approaches were made similar to Tarolla et al. (2002). Further analysis of approaches to juvenile delinquency in the non-western world particularly in China and India (Mingyue, n.d.; Ling & Qin, 2021; Friday & Ren, 2007; Sharma, 2021) yielded the same observations.

The state of juvenile delinquency in the Philippines vis-à-vis the five pillars of the Philippine Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system is composed of five pillars, namely: (1) law enforcement, (2) prosecution, (3) judiciary, (4) penology, and (5) the community (Corpuz, n.d.).

The process begins with the law enforcement, which is composed of the Philippine National Police (PNP), the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) and other similar agencies, which is tasked with crime investigation, arrest of suspects by virtue of a warrant of arrest issued by a judge or under circumstances justifying a warrantless arrest, and to refer the arrested individual/s to the Office of the Public Prosecutor for preliminary investigation.

During the preliminary investigation, the Office of the Public Prosecutor reviews all the evidence presented and resolves whether there is probable cause against the individual/s subject of the criminal complaint.

In case there is probable cause, the third pillar of the justice system through the judiciary proceeds to hear the case upon filing of the corresponding information in court by the public prosecutor. The court, taking into account all the evidence presented during the hearing, then rules on the guilt or lack thereof of the person charged with a crime; the court provides the corresponding penalty upon conviction.

The fourth pillar, which is the penal or correctional process, takes into custody the individual that was adjudged guilty by the trial court and enforces the penalty imposed upon him/her by the court. After the convicted individual/s had passed through the correction component—either unconditionally (as by full service of the term of imprisonment imposed on them), or by parole or pardon—they go back to the community, which is the fifth pillar, and either lead normal lives as law-abiding citizens in their barangays, or, regrettably, commit other crimes and thus, go back through the same processes and stages of the criminal justice system.

Prior to the enactment of Republic Act No. 9344 or the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act of 2006, Chavez (2011) noted a high incidence of juvenile delinquency and poor intervention approaches towards youth offenders: no distinction was made by the five pillars of the criminal justice system between child and adult offenders and efforts to protect the rights of Filipino juvenile offenders were few. In 2005, the Public Attorney's Office reported 11,812 cases of youth offenders and 2,121 of them were detained in the facilities of the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (Chavez, 2011). During this period, said youth offenders were detained together with adult criminals and were allotted little food budget of P45 per day (Cornelo, 2008, as cited in, Chavez, 2011). These youth offenders were treated similarly with adult offenders. It is therefore not surprising that efforts to rehabilitate Filipino youth offenders were unsuccessful (Pagunuran, 2007, as cited in, Chavez, 2011).

Release of the documentary film titled *Bunso* ("The Youngest") on 22 February 2005, which highlighted the plight of youth offenders detained in an overcrowded prison in Cebu City, led to legislative reforms on juvenile justice and welfare (Ng, 2019). On 28 April 2006, Republic Act No. 9344 was signed into law by former Philippine President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Subsequently, on 3 October 2013, Republic Act No. 10630 was enacted into law during the time of former Philippine President Benigno S. Aquino III, providing amendments to strengthen R.A. 9344 and creating the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Council under the Department of Social Welfare and Development.

Under Republic Act No. 9344, the Philippines renamed its youth offenders as *Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL)* and adopted the following definition as indicated in Section 4 (e) of said law: "Child in Conflict with the Law" refers to a child who is alleged as, accused of, or adjudged as, having committed an offense under Philippine laws. This change in terminology is consistent with Chapter 2, Section 60 (Prohibition Against Labeling and Shaming) of the same law. The law placed the minimum age of criminal responsibility at 15 years old and criminal responsibility can only attach to the CICL if there is discernment. This means that the

child is aware of the difference between right and wrong at the time of the commission of the alleged crime. Discernment is initially determined by a local social worker and finally by the court.

The Act effectively enumerated the duties and responsibilities of each member of the five pillars of the criminal justice system with regard to the apprehension, rehabilitation and reintegration of youth offenders, including the prevention of juvenile delinquency and adopted the restorative justice framework. Said Act aims to protect the rights of youth offenders and prescribes appropriate measures for their full rehabilitation and eventual reintegration to their respective communities. However, the Act also requires the CICL to serve his/her sentence if, upon reaching 18 years of age, it is deemed that he or she is incorrigible despite rehabilitation efforts, upon report by the concerned social worker to court.

Under this Act, law enforcers are prohibited from using violence, offensive language, and displaying or using firearms and handcuffs or other instruments of force or restraint, unless absolutely necessary and only as a last resort. Said Act also mandated the immediate turnover of youth offenders (i.e. within eight hours after apprehension) to the local social welfare and development office so that the latter will explain to the child and his/her parents/guardian the consequences of the child's acts with a view towards counseling and rehabilitation, diversion from the criminal justice system, and reparation, if appropriate.

During the initial investigation, the taking of the statement of the child must be conducted in the presence of the child's counsel of choice or in the absence thereof, a lawyer from the Public Attorney's Office, the child's parents/guardian and the local social welfare and development officer. Depending on the type of offense committed, the imposable penalty and the personal circumstances of the child, diversion, as an alternative to formal court proceedings, may also be resorted to as a rehabilitative measure for the youth offender in his or her community.

Court proceedings to be observed in relation to youth offenders were also prescribed by said law. Most importantly, the law expressly prohibits the detention of youth offenders in adult detention facilities though they may be committed in youth homes established by local government units or youth facilities by the Department of Social Welfare and Development pending trial.

Upon pronouncement of guilt, the youth offender's sentence is automatically suspended and a combination of disposition measures including placement to a youth rehabilitation center operated by the Department of Social Welfare and Development may be given.

The community, being the fifth pillar of the criminal justice system, through its Barangay Council for the Protection of Children, is also mandated to ensure that the rights and welfare of youth offenders are protected during their apprehension and eventual reintegration in the community. They are also tasked to provide aftercare services in coordination with the local social welfare and development office to ensure that the youth offender will no longer commit another offense.

Although the law provides for a holistic approach towards juvenile delinquency anchored on the principles of restorative justice, prevailing perceptions and interventions on the prevention of juvenile delinquency and rehabilitation of CICL are still limited to the same biological, psychological and economic factors identified based on adult perceptions and mainly coming from a punitive approach. In fact, in his online article, Ng (2019) describes critics of Republic Act No. 9344, including a Philippine senator, as "viewing the law as being too lenient on CICL and emboldens children to commit more serious crimes at a younger age". These critics proposed to lower the age of criminal responsibility from 15 years old to 12 years old, even up to nine years old, which was met with opposition from child rights groups. However, CICL are still viewed as a scourge to society and adults express fear over them citing the reason that a case cannot be filed against them under the law (Ng, 2019).

This skewed perception on juvenile delinquency is violative of the social work principle of an individual's inherent worth and dignity considering that the parameters used to explain this Journal of Management and Development Studies Volume 10, Issue 2 (2021)

phenomenon are grounded on adult perceptions and traditional views on juvenile deviant behavior.

As a result, implementation of the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act of 2006 remains less than satisfactory and poor rehabilitation approaches on CICL remain prevalent (Juvenile Justice and Welfare Council, 2020). Most of the CICL in detention facilities are not adequately provided with the services necessary (i.e. individualized programs for CICL, full adherence to the Child Protection Policy, presence of multi-disciplinary teams, health care system for CICL, established after-care services for discharged CICL, and a clear and established monitoring system for interventions provided to CICL) for their full rehabilitation and reintegration in the community. Further, established and sustainable community-based intervention programs at the local level as an alternative to detention are lacking. Negative effects of detention to CICL were also noted (i.e. hopelessness and trauma, fosters aggressiveness, assimilation to the culture of crimes, and creates dependency among caregivers, and family separation).

Sincere efforts should be made to understand juvenile delinquency from those who experience it firsthand and bear its consequences the most in order to formulate new approaches and fine-tune existing programs that will effectively address juvenile delinquency given the Philippines' recent statistics on juvenile crimes wherein the topmost offenses allegedly committed by CICL are rape, violation of Republic Act No. 9165 and theft (Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 2022).

The promise of phenomenology in understanding Filipino juvenile delinquency

Available scientific literature on Filipino juvenile delinquents is scarce (Spruit, 2016) and focuses on the profile of these children (see Chavez, 2011); status of Filipino youth offenders in residential facilities (see Spruit, Wissink & Stams, 2016; Panelo et al., 2021); conduct disorder (see Mariano, 2018); and an assessment of the implementation of the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act in one locality (see Bilog, 2014). Among these studies, only Panelo et al. (2021) used the case study methodology. This fragmented approach to juvenile delinquency contributes to the skewed perception of Philippine juvenile delinquency.

In his graduate dissertation, Patrick (2019), used the phenomenological approach to determine the participants' perception of an urban after-school employment program in the United States. His participants were nine juvenile delinquents who were members of an urban after-school program. In said study, four themes emerged: (a) interpersonal skills, (b) self-efficacy, (c) decreased maladaptive activity, and (d) professional competencies. What is remarkable about this study is its attempt to describe the lived experiences of juvenile offenders enrolled in such programs. Its aim is to capture how the youth perceive the program to affect them and determine whether the program's intended goals and competencies align with youth perceptions of goals and competencies gained from the program. Rather than employing a quantitative approach, the study used a phenomenological approach. In spite of the noted limitations of the study, it was able to effectively examine the perceived treatment efficacy of said program from the perspectives of the youth for further policy and program inputs.

The promise of the phenomenological approach in qualitative research as illustrated by Patrick (2019) and as discussed by Henriques (2014), was previously highlighted by Groenewald (2004) when he expounded on the application of this methodology. He began by quoting the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) who stated that realities are thus treated as pure 'phenomena' and the only absolute data from which to begin. Husserl named his philosophical method 'phenomenology', the science of pure 'phenomena' (Eagleton, 1983, as cited in, Groenewald, 2004). Though the origins of phenomenology can be traced back to Kant and Hegel, Vanderberg (1997) as cited in, Groenewald (2004), regards Husserl as the "fountainhead of phenomenology in the twentieth century". Husserl's work was later on expounded by several other researchers (Groenewald, 2004).

Because the operative word in phenomenological research is 'describe', the aim of the researcher is to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon, refraining from any pregiven framework, but remaining true to the facts (Giorgi, as cited in Stones, 1988, as cited in Groenewald, 2004). Thus, phenomenology is deemed the most suited methodology for undertaking this study.

Guided by the above, this study was conducted to answer the following research question—what are the lived experiences of CICL and how do their experiences inform decisions and solutions to their situation? This study specifically focused on the lived experiences and worldview of male CICL committed at a regional juvenile rehabilitation facility in the Bicol Region, Philippines under suspended sentence, which is under the supervision of the Department of Social Welfare and Development. This study is intended to provide a glimpse on how CICL view their experiences through their own eyes and comprehend juvenile delinquency as possible inputs for improved social work and community intervention approaches, as well as inputs for policy review and formulation. However, due to the small sample size and research locale, results of this proposed study may not be used to generalize the lived experiences and worldview of all Filipino CICL.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a phenomenological approach in investigating the research phenomenon (juvenile delinquency) and answering the research questions. Purposive and convenience sampling were used to identify the sample population of 10 respondents from the CICL committed at the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth (RRCY) in Sorsogon City who are all under suspended sentence. The sample size of the respondents is based on the recommended sample size for a phenomenological study (see Padget, 2017, as cited in Patrick, 2019, Boyd, 2001; Greig & Taylor, 1999; Creswell, 1998; Schwandt, 1997; and Babbie, 1995, as cited in, Groenewald, 2004). The RRCY in Sorsogon City was selected by the researcher as it is the most accessible rehabilitation facility for CICL in the Bicol Region. Actual data gathering was conducted in the second week of November 2022. Participants to the study were selected using the following criteria: (a) admitted at the RRCY for at least one year already and (b) willing and can actively participate in the study.

Prior to the conduct of the study, an application to conduct the research was sent to the Department of Social Welfare and Development Field Office V. Upon approval by the DSWD Regional Director, the researcher coordinated with the RRCY Center Head for the research proper and proceeded in person to said facility.

For ethical considerations, the researcher developed a consent form to secure the informed consent from the research participants that contains the following information: a) purpose of the research (without stating the central research question); (b) procedures of the research; (c) voluntary nature of research participation; (d) benefits of the research; and (e) procedures to protect confidentiality in accordance with Republic Act No. 10173 or the Philippine Data Privacy Act of 2012. The consent forms were presented first to the RRCY Center Head and were later on explained in Filipino and the Bicol dialect to the participants. The participants were requested to affix their signatures if they agree to voluntarily participate in the study and the signature of the Center Head alongside the CICL was also requested by the researcher. All 10 respondents voluntarily agreed to participate in the study. The respondents and the Center Head were further assured that all data gathered from the study will be destroyed by the researcher six months after its conclusion.

Data-gathering methods

Unstructured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) using separate interviews and FGD guides were conducted by the researcher with the respondents. The interview guide consists of initial 35 questions divided into five sections: CICL's personal

background, experience with the five pillars of the criminal justice system, self-view (after criminal offense), view on offense committed, and views about the future. The FGD guide consists of an initial 11 questions divided into the same five sections. Four FGDs were conducted lasting four hours each. Separate in-depth interviews were also conducted after the FGDs ranging from one hour to two hours each. Separate interviews with the Center Head and RRCY social workers and staff were also conducted by the researcher. The researcher recorded the FGDs and interviews upon securing consent from the participants. Two audio recorders were used by the researcher. In addition, field notes (memos) were also consistently maintained by the researcher for the entire duration of the data gathering process.

Explicitation of the data

Following Groenewald's (2014) observation, the researcher preferred to use the heading 'explicitation of data' instead of 'data analysis' to remain true to the design and purpose of a phenomenological study. Because 'analysis' usually means 'breaking into parts', 'explicitation' was preferred as it allowed the researcher to investigate the whole phenomenon while keeping the context whole (Groenewald, 2014). Explicitation in this study was made using these five steps following Groenewald's (2014) example: (1) bracketing and phenomenological reduction; (2) delineating units of meaning; (3) clustering of units of meaning to form themes; (4) summarizing each FGD and interview, validating it and where necessary modifying it; and (5)extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary.

Prior to the first step, transcription of the audio recordings of the FGDs and interviews made were carefully transcribed by the researcher using Microsoft Word. Codes were used to protect the respondents' identities and proper date and time were also noted. The audio recordings on the first audio recorder were transcribed first while the second audio recording was used to verify the accuracy of the first audio recorder and the transcription made. No modification was necessary as both audio recorders were able to completely record all FGDs and interviews conducted. During this process, the researcher consciously noted that the focus of study is the respondents' perspective regarding their lived experience as CICL and thereby made certain that the transcription made is verbatim.

Coding was then conducted manually by the researcher following the five steps mentioned above due to the limited access to a software program for coding. The themes that emerged from the coding process were then corroborated with the field notes of the researcher and triangulation with other data sources (i.e. documentary reports provided by the RRCY and transcription of the interviews with the Center Head and center staff) were also made.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Lived Experiences as Children in Conflict with the Law

As stated by Henriques (2014), each individual finds empathically in his or her subjective experience that the world is also experienced by others, co-experienced in a community of norms, beliefs, and habits, i.e., common relational structures and shared culture. Though the experience of the world is collective and normatively structured through common validities, norms, concepts, and practical social relations, still, each individual's particular experience maintains its distinctiveness and describes the collective context from his or her own point of view. Through a phenomenological approach, the researcher gains access to individual descriptions of aspects of that relational context to characterize the collective context.

As shown in Table 1 below, all respondents were male, with the age ranging from 16 years old to 20 years old, and born in the different provinces of the Bicol Region. Majority (six out of 10) of them committed heinous crimes under Philippine law.

Participant Code No.	Sex	Age	Offense Committed	Length of Stay at the Center
001	Male	17	Rape	>1 yr.
002	Male	18	Rape	>1 yr.
003	Male	19	R.A. 9165	>1 yr.
004	Male	19	R.A. 9165	>1 yr.
005	Male	20	R.A. 9165	>1 yr.
006	Male	17	Robbery and Acts of Lasciviousness	>1 yr.
007	Male	16	P.D. 1612 (Anti-Fencing Law)	>1 yr.
008	Male	18	Rape	>1 yr.
009	Male	18	Frustrated Murder	>1 yr.
010	Male	19	Reckless Imprudence resulting to Homicide	>1 yr.

Table 1 Participants' Profile

In spite of their individual backgrounds, the following themes emerged from explicitation of their lived experiences:

Theme 1: Search for connection

The first theme identified is search for connection. This theme encompasses the respondents' family background and peer relations. The search for connection code refers to any narration of the respondent regarding his family and peer experience prior to his arrest that indicates an unconscious desire to bond with someone. Interestingly, only two of the respondents came from broken homes and none of the 10 respondents experienced being physically or verbally abused by their parents. Except for one respondent, none of the others were close to their siblings. From this theme, three sub-themes emerged: (a) permissive parenting style; (b) diverse set of friends; and (c) early exposure to addictive substances and unhealthy practices.

Sub-theme 1(a): Permissive parenting style. Though none of the respondents had abusive parents or guardians, nine of them experienced parental neglect while one participant stated that he "was always used to getting his way". This participant narrated that "there was no one to tell me that what I was doing was wrong" and another participant said that "my parents never really cared much about me", which was echoed by the other remaining participants. They recalled that their parents were "always busy with work" or "were preoccupied with other things" and that "they [parents] did not check-up on them". The same participant who said that he "was spoiled" by his parents also stated that his peers remarked that he was "lucky to have such parents who give him everything he wants". However, all participants said that they would have wanted their parents to reprimand them when they were still younger. One participant said, "I would have preferred that they were strict with me because I was doing those crazy things (i.e. going out with friends to drink until dawn) just to get their attention but they never told me off so I continued to behave that way just to get their attention"; he felt that he was "not important to them". Another participant said that "he was bored" because his parents barely talked to him as they were busy with work.

Sub-theme 1(b): Diverse set of friends. Though juvenile delinquents consider their peer group as their alternative family and among the most significant persons in their lives (Moffitt, 1993, as cited in, Alampay, 2006), respondents view their peer groups as such only if it satisfies their yearning for connection. Once they feel disconnected from their peer group, they change their set of peers again ("Pag hindi na ako masaya sa kanila, sa iba naman ako sumasama para hindi boring.") Thus, the diverse set of friends reported by the majority of the respondents (only two of the respondents maintained the same set of friends from childhood to puberty while the rest regularly changed their set of friends). One participant said that "If I feel that they are not being good to me, I no longer hang out with them." Another participant also shared that "if I

was no longer enjoying myself with them, I'll leave and hang out with other youth who are more fun." All participants said that they chose to hang out with their peers outside their homes because they "felt happier".

Sub-theme 1(c): Early exposure to risky behavior. All participants experimented with alcohol and cigarettes at an early age through their peers. The youngest age for trying to smoke and drink alcohol for the first time was nine years old. However, only three out of the 10 participants used drugs and the youngest age among them for experimenting with drugs was at 13 years old. A lone participant also disclosed being heavily involved in gambling before his arrest and that his addiction to gambling began when he was only 16 years old. According to the participants, aside from "feeling good", engaging in vices at the urging of their peers made them feel welcome and that they belong to their peer group (Masarap sa pakiramdam tsaka pag sumunod ka sa kanila, parte ka talaga ng grupo kasi hindi pwedeng paiba-iba ka). It made them feel connected with their peers when they engage in similar activities regardless of its harmful effects.

Theme 2: Feeling of helplessness

The second theme identified is feeling of helplessness, which includes the respondents' lived experience with the five pillars of the criminal justice system. Participants' discussion centered on their experience with the following duty bearers under this system: law enforcers, community or barangay officials, social workers, lawyers, judges, and Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth staff. Terminology or phrases used by the respondents during the focused group discussions and in the interviews that were coded under this theme included them "not understanding the whole process due to language barriers" ("Wala naman akong naintindihan Ate kasi puro English"), "just plead guilty so that it's over" ("Umamin na lang daw ako para tapos na") as advised by most of their lawyers, and "just let it be and keep guiet so that they will not go after you or your family" ("Hayaan ko na lang daw para 'di ako balikan at ang pamilya ko") after having their rights violated by some law enforcers and some barangay officials but decided not to report these violations ("Di na ako nagreklamo kasi wala naman akong mapapala at baka balikan pa ako at pamilya ko"). Only four respondents were assisted by a social worker either from the court or the local government unit concerned ("Wala namang social worker 'dun na tumulong sa akin"; "'Yung isang social worker 'dun sa huli ko na nakita pero wala naman siyang ginawa 'di naman niya ako kinausap"; "Pinagalitan ako at sinigawan nung social worker ko kasi bakit ko daw ginawa 'yun"; "Basta wala naman akong social worker dun"). Some of the respondents also experienced being scolded by a judge and one was threatened by incarceration ("Galit na galit sa akin 'yung judge bakit ko daw ginawa 'yun"; "Sabi nung judge sa akin ipapakulong na lang daw niya ako"; "Sinigawan ako nung judge sa hearing kasi pasaway daw ako."). From this theme, three sub-themes emerged: (a) ineffective duty bearers; (b) violation of rights as children in conflict with the law; and (c) resigned attitude on commitment at the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth.

Sub-theme 2(a): Ineffective duty bearers. Six respondents recalled not being assisted by a social worker during the whole criminal proceedings for reasons unknown to them and two respondents said that their social workers severely scolded them and blamed them because they were "disobedient and hard-headed." Most of their lawyers advised them just to keep quiet and just plead guilty later on to get a lighter sentence ("Basta tahimik lang daw muna ako at siya muna ang sasagot tapos saka na ako aamin para mas mababa ung sentensiya ko") and only one respondent recalls his lawyer patiently explaining to him in the vernacular the whole court process after their hearing. Four respondents were scolded by their judge during the hearing. All of the respondents felt that they were not given the chance to be heard in court and that the judge was partial to the private complainant or to the prosecution particularly for the drugs cases ("Di naman ako pinasalita nung judge sa hearing kasi laging 'yung mga pulis tinatanong niya tsaka 'yung nagrereklamo"). Most of the respondents experienced being placed inside detention centers together with male adult offenders for more than a year because they

were told that "there was no other choice as there was no center to place them" ("Nakahalo ako sa mga matatandang preso kasi wala raw center"). One of the respondents recalls that the location of the trial court was three hours away from their municipality and so everything passed by in a blur because he was so sleepy and tired from the travel ("Mga tatlong oras ang biyahe naming papuntang hearing kaya antok na antok ako sa hearing kaya wala naman akong naiintindihan dun"). He further added that no one bothered to explain the court process to him and he was afraid to ask questions ("Wala namang nagpaliwanag sa akin ano 'yung nangyayari tsaka takot din ako magtanong").

Sub-theme 2(b): Violation of rights as children in conflict with the law. Contrary to the provisions of Republic Act No. 9344, as amended, majority of the respondents experienced their rights being violated by law enforcers during arrest through use of excessive force ("punched and kicked repeatedly"), excessive threat ("a gun was pointed at me") and handcuffs. Some of the respondents had their pictures and personal details posted in social media by barangay officials with derogatory captions (i.e. "Most Wanted" and "should be killed" or "dapat pinapatay" in the vernacular). They were bashed on social media as reported by some of their family members and a respondent even felt so miserable that he wanted to end his life already if not for the advice of some adult inmates inside the detention center ("Parang napaka-walang kwentang tao ko na noon na gusto ko na lang mamatay pero inalalayan ako nung ibang preso"). When asked why they were placed inside the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology Detention Centers, the respondents answered that they were simply told that "there was no other choice". Some of the respondents recalled that even while they were detained at a certain police station, some policemen would punch them and kick them for no apparent reason particularly if they are under the influence of liquor ("Pag lasing sila [police officers] qiqisingin nila kami isa-isa tapos nakahilera habang nakatayo tapos susuntukin kami sa tiyan isa-isa hanggang magsawa sila"). One of the respondents said that a policeman even showed him a group chat of policemen wherein his photo was posted and there was reward money of Php50,000.00 for his life but said nothing about it ("May patong na Php50K sa ulo ko dun pero 'di na ko umimik.") Majority of the respondents also experienced being physically abused inside these detention centers as they were not separated from the adult offenders ("Pagpasok mo kahit bata ka pa, may ritwal 'yun. Kung ayaw mo naman magpa-tattoo sa loob, bugbog kapalit"). Most of the respondents also experienced being gossiped about in their community with their barangay officials taking the lead before they were detained ("Daming Marites sa amin lalo na 'yung mga barangay officials").

Sub-theme 2(c): Resigned attitude on commitment at the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth (RRCY). Though the respondents acknowledged that there were positive changes in their behavior and attitude due to their commitment at the RRCY, all of them said that they also felt that "they had no choice but to go to the RRCY". Those involved in drugs cases said that they 'accepted their fate' of going to the RRCY as they would have been dead if they were still on the streets during the height of the Philippines' anti-drug war campaign like some of their peers ("Nagpapasalamat pa rin na napunta rito kasi 'yung ibang kasabayan ko na-tokhang, napatay talaga sila"; "Buti na lang napunta ako rito kasi nabago 'yung takbo ng buhay ko kahit papano"). Though they grudgingly thanked the people who caused their arrest and commitment to the RRCY, the feeling of remorse was still incomplete as they felt that they were the ones who were wronged in the process.

Theme 3: Fear of the future

The third theme that emerged is fear of the future. This theme focuses on the respondents' perception about their future, including their hopes and aspirations once they are discharged from the center. All respondents shared that they are apprehensive about their future. Though they want to return to their families, except for one respondent who needs to relocate given his house's proximity with the private complainant, they are unsure what their future will be.

Half of the respondents said that they have no desire to go back to school and will instead look for any decent job that will make them earn money while the remaining half are still undecided if they really want to go back to school.

Among the reasons they cited for choosing not to go back to school is because they felt that they are already "too old for it" (napaglipasan na ng panahon), "school no longer interests them", and "they have no capacity for learning." They are also afraid of being labelled as "criminals" once they return to their respective communities. However, all of them are still hoping for another chance once they are discharged from the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth to change the course of their lives; they still dream of a distant future wherein they are successfully employed both locally and even internationally and that they also have their own families already. Yet, most of the respondents said that because they fear that people will judge them again, there are times that they consider going to prison instead to serve their sentence ("Mas gusto ko na lang pumasok sa kulungan kasi dun walang manghuhusga sa'yo, pare-pareho kayo doon"). They reasoned that at least no one will judge them there as "all of us are the same." The sub-themes that emerged from this theme are as follows: (a) inability to trust non-offenders; and (b) low self-esteem.

Sub-theme 3(a): Inability to trust non-offenders. All respondents admitted their fear of being judged for their deeds by other people once they go back to their communities. They resent this possibility and assert that they should be judged "not for what they have done but for who they really are". They all expressed that they are now more comfortable interacting with other children in conflict with the law, and even adult offenders for those who have been mixed with adult offenders in detention facilities, and prefer their company compared with non-offenders whom they view as biased individuals. This sub-theme is related to sub-themes 2(a) and 2(b) particularly their negative experience with the duty bearers from the five pillars of the criminal justice system who were supposed to help them as provided for under the law.

Sub-theme 3(b): Coping behavior for low self-esteem. To compensate for their perceived low self-esteem, the majority of the respondents have tattoos in different parts of their bodies either symbolizing something that is important to them or simply as part of a rite of passage. Some of them had their tattoos done before they were apprehended while some of them had their tattoos done inside detention facilities by adult offenders. They said that the tattoos made them look strong and fearful (maangas at astig). Only three respondents refused to have tattoos on their bodies as they viewed their bodies as "sacred" and "a gift from God." However, all of them shared that they perceived themselves as "not highly capable of learning" when asked whether they still want to finish their studies. The respondents also became more self-conscious during the last focus group discussion session covering this topic and most of them resorted to exaggerated behavior (i.e. puffed chest, flexing of arm muscles with tattoos while speaking, and speaking in a deeper and somber voice) to minimize the perceived impact of their responses.

The link between perception and behavior

Respondents' lived experiences influenced decisions and solutions to their situation. Prior to their apprehension, respondents tried to cope with feeling disconnected from their parents given their permissive parenting styles by engaging with a diverse set of friends. They engaged with peers who made them feel 'happy' despite the possible harm they might cause. These peers introduced them to vices (i.e. alcohol, cigarettes, illegal drugs and gambling) as a rite of passage to their peer groups, which the respondents participated in order for them to feel that they belong. Due to their feeling of being disconnected from their families particularly their parents as can be seen in Theme 1, their peers became their surrogate family, albeit temporarily, moving on to another peer group if it does not satisfy their need for connection. Unfortunately, without strong parental figures to counteract the negative influence of their

peers, respondents continued to engage in juvenile delinquent behaviors with multiple sets of friends.

On the other hand, respondents learned to feel helpless and to fear the future as embodied by Themes 2 and 3 due to their negative experience with the duty bearers of the five pillars of the criminal justice system. They did not attempt to change their fate, silently enduring the violation of their rights as children in conflict with the law and accepting with resignation their commitment to the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth. They also exhibited low self-esteem and tried to adopt negative coping behaviors in order to appear strong and capable. There was no conscious effort from among the respondents to change their lives as children in conflict with the law despite the intervention measures provided to them at the center because they appeared to have adopted the negative perception of people about juvenile delinquents. Thus, it remains to be seen whether commitment to the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth will be able to effectively rehabilitate the respondents and lead productive lives upon reintegration to their respective communities.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the course of this phenomenological study among 10 male respondents committed at a regional juvenile rehabilitation facility under suspended sentence, the following themes and sub-themes emerged, as presented in Figure 1 below:

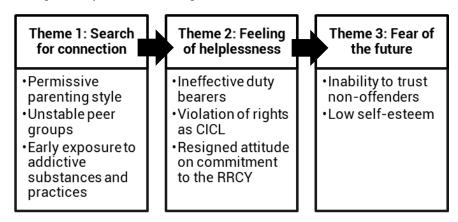


Figure 1 Summary of Themes

Relating these themes to the extant literature on juvenile delinquency previously discussed, results of the study is contrary to the findings of Alampay (2006) that children in conflict with the law consider their peers as their alternative family and a significant part of their lives given the respondents' propensity to change their peer groups if they perceive that they are no longer happy; they view their peers as an alternative source of their 'happiness' instead from a purely self-serving perspective. This constant search for 'happiness' can be traced to the permissive parenting style they have experienced from childhood until young adulthood, though most of them came from stable family homes. Notably, however, is that the results of the study reinforced the Malaysian study (Piang, Osman, Mahadir, 2017) that found no correlation between juvenile delinguency and a broken family structure and is also contrary to the findings of another study that juvenile delinquency is a result of child maltreatment and psychosocial problems in young adulthood (Basto-Pereira et al., 2016) considering that none of the respondents experienced abuse at home. However, given the permissive parenting styles they have experienced though most of them came from stable family homes. Alampay (2006) was correct to point out that the primary point of intervention to prevent juvenile delinquency begins at home with the parent-child relationship.

Similar to the findings of extant literature and studies on the implementation of juvenile justice intervention programs and approaches, findings of this study as encapsulated by the second

theme points to a highly punitive approach towards juvenile delinquents and the complete disregard for their rights as children even if they have committed a legal offense. Though the intervention programs provided at the Regional Rehabilitation Center for Youth received positive reviews from the respondents, it remains to be seen whether it would be effective to counter their negative experience with other duty bearers tasked to work with children in conflict with the law and reverse the last theme that emerged: fear of the future, and its subthemes. What may be considered as the tipping point here is the response from several respondents that they seriously consider going to prison instead of going back to their communities and be judged by 'biased people' again. It therefore appears that there is a correlation between the second and last theme, with the second theme appearing to cause the emergence of the third theme.

Based on the results of the study, juvenile delinquency, as experienced by the respondents, is not simply a condition resulting from economic and psychological factors affecting the juvenile nor is it a simple legal problem rooted on the juvenile's age. As illustrated by these themes, it is a social phenomenon that originates from the breaking of the bond between the child and his primary caregivers and the efforts undertaken by the disconnected youth to seek that connection elsewhere, even from unsafe individuals and means outside of the family home (i.e. peers of ill-repute, addictive substances, vices). Without effective duty bearers to help him, he may feel helpless to change the course of his life and instead learns to perceive the future with fear. Moreover, there is also a need to go even further than Potts' (1925) in the initial stages of his career. Intervention must begin not when the child commits his/her first offense but sincere efforts should be made by the child's parents, or in their absence a suitable guardian or duty bearer under the five pillars of the criminal justice system - to protect the bond between the child and his parents/caregivers. Effective juvenile delinquency prevention and rehabilitation programs requires a deviation from the current prevailing punitive view on children in conflict with the law and targeting instead the underlying reasons for their delinquent behavior as shown in this study.

To further explore juvenile delinquency, future research on the following topics is recommended: (a) replication of a similar study in other geographical areas; (b) use of a gender lens in undertaking a phenomenological study on juvenile delinquency; (c) exploration of the perspectives of duty bearers from the five pillars of the criminal justice system who work with children in conflict with the law; (d) influence of cultural and societal factors on juvenile delinquency; and (e) longitudinal study of juvenile justice intervention programs in the country.

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